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THE
DISCOVERIE OF WITCHCRAFT

ARISE ⁘ PRAY ⁘ WORK ⁘

THE DISCOVERIE

OF

WITCHCRAFT

BY

REGINALD SCOT, Esquire

ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, EDIN. LIBRARY

BEING A REPRINT OF THE FIRST EDITION
PUBLISHED IN 1584

Edited

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, GLOSSARY, AND INTRODUCTION

BY

BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

DEPUTY INSPECTOR GENERAL

Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft

50 Copies ~~printed on~~
in Roxburgh binding No. 25

DATE May/86 Elliot Stock

E.C.

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LONDON
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1886

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DEDICATION.

To the Memory

OF

H.R.H. PRINCE LEOPOLD, DUKE OF ALBANY,

UNTIMELY TAKEN FROM US,

THIS WORK OF AN ELIZABETHAN ENGLISHMAN,

AND OF A KINDRED SPIRIT,

WHOSE HONESTY, INTELLIGENCE, AND COMPASSION

FOUGHT AGAINST THE CRUEL SUPERSTITION

AND IGNORANCE OF HIS AGE,

IS,

BY ROYAL PERMISSION AND WITH REGRETFUL ESTEEM,

DEDICATED BY

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

THIS reprint is not a facsimile of the edition of 1584, for that was in black letter, and its page smaller and of quarto size. Being also for modern readers, and for use, the *i* of the original has become, where necessary, the *j* of the second edition ; the *u* and *v* have been altered according to modern usage, that is, generally interchanged ; while the short *s* replaces the *ſ*. Such modernisations render it more readable by the historical and philosophical student, by the man of science, and by the psychological physician, willing to learn all that may instruct himself and benefit others. Neither would this reprint have been undertaken, unless the work itself had appeared to my friend and fellow-student, W. T. Gairdner, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Medicine in the University of Glagow,—and led by him—to myself and others, worthy on the above-mentioned grounds, of being reproduced, and as being both in matter and style a valuable English classic.

While, however, it is not a facsimile, yet, excepting such variations as are above noticed, and allowing for the few and trifling errors from which no copy can expect to be free, not even a photographic one, as experts in these matters well know, this will, I believe, be found a correct reprint. Every proof has been thrice, and sometimes oftener, read over with the original by myself, and these efforts have been well supplemented by the intelligence and care of its printers. Even the word-errors of the original, where not in its list of errata, have been retained, though the true or conjectural readings have been given in the margin, or in two or three instances in the Notings at the end. Except also in two instances, where for necessity's sake alterations have been introduced within [ ]s, and the original given in the margin, the old punctuation has been retained, it being, as a rule, very good, while any slight slips are

readily observed, and do not affect the sense. For such other differences as are due to the black letter, and for others like these, I would refer the print-studying reader to the Introduction.

In the biographical portion of this Introduction, besides a supposition or two of my own, which from his writings seem to me highly probable, there have been given notices of his pedigree, age, and marriages, matters hitherto unknown or misstated, and for which I would at once record my indebtedness to Edmund Ward Oliver, Esq. This gentleman having taken an interest in investigating these questions, and being a perfect stranger to me, wrote and offered the results of his inquiries so soon as he had learnt that I was engaged with this reprint, and has since most obligingly answered the various questions that I have had occasion to put to him. A copy of Scot's Will has been also for the first time published, and some Notes and a Glossary added. Were I to have imitated the learned editors of former days, I should have added, not some, but exhaustive notes on every point, gathered from every known and unknown source; but I have confined myself to explanation, or to making a few remarks on the text, giving also the author's agreement with, or obligations to Wier, so far as I knew them, and Shakespeare's and Middleton's obligations to himself; my reason for not entering into greater details being that I am no student of the pseudo-science of witchcraft, but a student only of what is useful, and true, and good.

It would be unseemly, especially after mentioning Mr. Oliver's name, were I to close this without acknowledging the kind assistance of my well-known friend, James Gairdner, Esq., of the Public Record Office; of my Shakespearian friends, W. Aldis Wright, LL.D., and P. A. Daniel, Esq.; of that given me by the Very Reverend Father W. H. Eyre, lately Superior of Stonyhurst; by Mrs. Amelia Green; as also by Prof. W. W. Skeat, and Dr. J. A. H. Murray, in my Glossary; though all were, and personally are, strangers; as are Miss Kath. P. Woolrych, Oare Vicarage, Kent, and Miss Ayscough, of Brabourne Vicarage; and especially that given me by my other Shakespearian friends, the Rev. W. H. Harrison, of St. Anne's, South Lambeth, and W. G. Stone, Esq. My best thanks are also due to Mr. J. J. Jervis for the use, for the printer, of a partially incomplete copy of the first

edition; to the University of Glasgow for the loan, for my own use, for the greater part of a year, of another copy of this first edition; and for the use for the same period of a copy of the third edition to my Alma Mater of Edinburgh, endeared to me by the teachings, remembrances, and kindnesses of Sir William Hamilton, Allan Thomson, Christison, Traill, Jamieson, that most sagacious of surgeons and teachers, Syme, and the ever-to-be-revered physician and man, W. Pulteney Alison.

BR. NICHOLSON.

ERRATA.

The pagings, as usual, are those of the first edition.

P. 20, heading, ch. ii, "*inquistors*", read "*inquisitors*".
P. 92, l. 5, 6, "Ulyffes" (*bis*), read "Ulysses".
P. 169, l. 9, "obsevation", read "observation".
P. 192, l. 3. "εσιαν", read "εστιαν".
P. 334, l. 2, from end, "three," read "three;"
P. 347, l. 6, from end, "left it", read "left in".
P. 522, l. 6, from end, "*Silyllæ*", read "*Sibyllæ*".

INTRODUCTION.

EXCEPT that they add the names of some who have opposed his views, or some such trifling matters, all the writers of biographical notices of Scot have drawn their information from the account given of him in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* Nor, indeed, until lately, unless original search had been made, were other sources available. Hence I, in the first place, give his words verbatim from the edition of 1691.

"REYNOLDE SCOT, a younger Son of Sir *John Scot* of *Scots-hall*, near to *Smeeth* in *Kent*, by his Wife, Daughter of *Reynolde Pimp* of Pimps-court Knight, was born in that County, and at about 17 years of age was sent to *Oxon*, particularly, as it seems, to *Hart* hall, where several of his Country-men and name studied in the latter end of K. *Hen.* 8. and in the Reign of *Ed.* 6. *&c.* Afterwards he retired to his native Country without the honour of a degree, and settled at *Smeeth*, where he found great incouragement in his studies from his kinsman Sir *Thos. Scot.* About which time taking to him a Wife, he gave himself up solely to solid reading, to the perusing of obscure authors that had by the generality of Scholars been neglected, and at times of leisure to husbandry and gardening, as it may partly appear from these books following.

"A perfect platform of a Hop-garden, and necessary instructions for the making and maintenance thereof, with notes and rules for reformation of all abuses, &c. *Lond.* 1576. qu. the 2. edit. as it seems.

"The discovery of Witchcraft; wherein the leud dealing of Witches, and Witchmongers is notably detected, the knavery of Conjurers, the impiety of Inchantors, the folly of Southsayers, &c. With many other things are opened, which have long been hidden, howbeit very necessary to be known. *Lond.* 1584. qu. in 16 books.

"Discourse upon Devils and Spirits.—In this, and the former, both printed together, it plainly appears that the author was very well versed in many choice books, and that his search into them was so profound, that nothing slip'd his Pen that might make for his purpose. Further also in the said *Discovery* and *Discourse*, though he holds that Witches are not such that were in his time and before, commonly executed for Witches; or that Witches were, or are not; yet they, which were written for the instruction of all Judges and Justices of that age, (being the first of that nature that were published in the Mother tongue,) did for a time make great impressions in the Magis-

tracy and Clergy, tho afterwards condemned by *James* King of *Scots* (the same who succeeded Qu. *Elizabeth* in the Monarchy of *England*) in his Preface to *Dæmonology*, printed under his Name at *Edinburgh* in 1597. qu. and by several others since, among whom was *Rich. Bernard* of *Batcomb*, in his Epist. Ded. before his *Guide to Grand Jury-men*, &c. Lond. 1627. in oct. What else our author *Scot* hath written, I cannot yet tell, nor anything else of him, only but that he dyed in *Sept.* or *Oct.* in fifteen hundred ninety and nine, and was buried among his Ancestors in the Church at *Smeeth* before-mentioned.

"In the time of the said *Reynold Scot* and before, have been conversant among the Muses in *Hart* hall, the *Sackviles* of *Sussex*, the *Colepepers* of *Kent* and *Sussex*, the *Sedlies* of *Kent*, and the *Scots* before mentioned, with others of inferiour note of the said Counties."

Notes added in Bliss's Reprint.

"7. The learned author in his *Discovery* is as vehement against Popery as against witchcraft, and quite indecent in his abuse of the saints of the Romish church."—COLE. [His indecency being for the most part a narrative of, and obvious reflections on, their indecency. And this I say understanding the sense in which he uses the word.]

"8. See a full account of this curious book, as Mr. Oldys calls it, in his *British Librarian*, p. 213. All the copies of the first edit. 1584, that could be found were burnt by order of K. James I. an author on the other side of the question."—Vid. *Hist. Dictionary*, sub voce "Scot".

["REGINALDUS SCOTUS, *Anglus, tractatum de Incantamentis* scripsit, in quo plerasque traditiones de Magia Melancholiæ, & morbis variis, aut artibus histrionicis adscribit."] "Hunc in Anglia publica auctoritate combustum, sibi autem nunquam fuisse visum refert Thomasius de crimine magiæ § 3."—Vide [J. v.] Vogt., *Cat. Libr. rar.*, p. 617 [1713].

"Liber in folio scriptus Anglica lingua a Reginaldo Scoto in quo plurima occurrunt contra magiæ existentiam argumenta. Est ille etiam in Belgicam linguam conversus: sed plenior editio est ultima Anglica."—*Morhof.*, ii, 459.

[Then a short note on the three editions.]

In 1874 there were privately printed, *Memorials of the Scot Family*, by Jas. Renat Scott, Esq., and from them I extract the following tables:

Rich. Scott = Mary Whetenhall.

Reginald author.	Richard *ancestor of the Scotts of Shrewsbury and elsewhere.*	Edward = May, d. of John Warren.		[2 d.]

A quo the Scotts of Glemsford Suffolk *and afterwards of Ohio and Massachusetts in America.*

Reg. Scott, b. 1541, mar. 11 Oct. 1568, died Oct. 1599. = Alice Cobbe, d. of Th. Cobbe of Cobbes Place, Aldington, Kent.

Collyar = Marie. Elizabeth = Sackville Turnor of Tablehurst, Sussex.

But as the first part of the ancestry given in this book is not supported by anything beyond possibility and legend, so this latter portion is incorrect in various particulars. Instead, however, of taking each inaccuracy item by item, it will be simpler to give a consecutive account of such facts as to his ancestry, and as to Reginald Scott himself, as can be proved by documentary evidence or rendered probable by deductions therefrom.

John Philipot, Rouge Dragon and Somerset Herald, who died in 1645, set forth the pleasant and picturesque, but slightly supported origin of the family. I say pleasant, because the Scotts in the times of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, were a family of large possessions, wealth, and influence, influence so great that it is said that Elizabeth refused the request made by Lord Buckhurst, or the Earl of Leicester, that Sir Thomas Scott should be ennobled, saying that he had already more influence in Kent than she had. She seems also to have had from this, or from some other reason, a personal dislike to them, for in her Progress in 1573, she having passed three days at his father-in-law's, Sir John Baker, of Sissinghurst Castle, declined to visit Scotts-hall, saying she wished to proceed to her own house, though on her way thither she had to pass Sir Thomas's gates. In his *Villare Cantianum*, p. 313, Philipot has these words: "*Scotts-hall*, which is now and hath been for divers Descents the Inheritance of eminent Gentlemen of that Sirname, whom I dare aver upon probable Grounds were originally called *Balioll*. *William Balioll*, second brother to *Alexander de Balioll*, frequently writ his Name *William de Balioll le Scot*, and it is probable, that upon the Tragedy of *John*, Earl of *Atholl*, who was made prisoner by *Edward* the first, and barbarously executed, in the year 1307. (whilst he endeavoured more nobly than successfully to defend the gasping Liberty of Scotland against the Eruption of that Prince;) this Family to decline the Fury of that Monarch, who was a man of violent passions, altered the name of

Balioll to that of their Extraction and Country, and assumed for the future the Name of *Scot.* That the Sirname of this Family was originally *Balioll*, I farther upon these Reasons assert. First, the ancient Arms of Balioll Colledge in Oxford, which was founded by *John Balioll*, and dedicated to St. Katharine was a Katherin-Wheele, being still part of the paternal Coat of this Family. Secondly, *David de Strabogie*, who was Son and Heir to the unfortunate Earl above-said, astonished with an Example of so much Terror, altered his name from *Balioll* to Strabogie, which was a Signory which accrued to him the Right of his Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to *John Comin*, Earl of Badzenoth and Strabogie, and by this Name King *Edward* the second, omitting that of *Balioll* restored *Chilham-castle* to him for Life, in the fifteenth year of his reign. Thirdly, the Earls of *Buccleugh*, and the Barons of Burley in Scotland, who derive themselves originally from *Balioll*, are known at this instant by no other Sirname, but Scot, and bear with some inconsiderable Difference, those very Arms which are at present the paternal Coat of the Family of *Scots-hall.*"

This tradition excluded, we find that Sir William Scot of Braberne, now Brabourne, in Kent, is the first of whom we have historical mention. He was knighted in 1336, when the Black Prince was created Duke of Cornwall, and died in 1350 : a brass to his memory, being in Weever's time (1631), the first of the memorials of the Scot family in Brabourne church. According to Philipot, this Sir William was the same with Sir William Scot, then Chief Justice of England; but if Mr. Foss be right in stating that this latter died in 1346, the year of the Black Death, this view cannot be upheld.

Another Sir William, apparently a grandson of the above, acquired through his mother the manor of Combe in Brabourne, and through his first wife and her relations—modes of increase in which the family seem to have been fortunate—that of Orlestone, as well as other places; and in 1420 he built Scotshall, in the manor of Hall in Smeeth, and was in 1428 sheriff of the county, and in 1430 knight of the shire in parliament. He died 1433. Scotshall, from time to time enlarged or rebuilt, and especially so by Sir Edward Scot, in the reign of Charles I, became the family seat for twelve generations. Evelyn, under date August 2, 1663, records his visit to it (soon after the young knight's marriage), and calls it "a right noble seate,

uniformely built, with a handsome gallery. It stands in a park well stor'd, the land fat and good. We were exceedingly feasted by the young knight, and in his pretty chapell heard an excellent sermon by his chaplaine." It was sold, with the remaining possessions of the family, at the close of the last century, and destroyed in 1808. Some undulations in a field on the north side of the road from Ashford to Hythe, about half a mile to the east of Smeeth church, alone mark its site.

The son of this second Sir William, named Sir John, being connected with the Woodvilles, and therefore with the wife of Edward IV, and being a staunch Yorkist, and apparently a man of intelligence, was employed in special embassies to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, especially in 1467, when he went to treat of the marriage of the king's sister with the duke. He had also various other and more substantial favours conferred upon him from time to time, from 1461 onwards, including that of Chilham Castle for life, as somewhat oddly, and I think wrongly, noted in the extract from Philipot. He died in 1485, and probably intestate, as no will is recorded.

To him succeeded his son, the third Sir William in this account, and he dying in 1524, was succeeded by his son, a second Sir John. This last, by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Reginald Pympe, had three sons, and died on the 7th October 1533. The eldest, William, followed his father on the 5th June 1536, and leaving no offspring, his next brother, Sir Reginald, took his place. Of the third brother, Richard, the father of our Reginald, I shall speak presently. Meanwhile, returning to the main line, I would say that Sir Reginald, dying on the 16th October 1554, was succeeded by his son, Sir Thomas, the "cousin" to whom Reginald was much indebted, and one of the four to whom he dedicated his *Witchcraft*. He was, in his day, a man of note, intelligence, and action. Finding his estate in debt, he yet kept one hundred at his table, was most hospitable, and died owing nothing, though, of course, to provide for the younger of his very numerous progeny, various portions of his estate were by his will sold after his death. He was deputy-lieutenant of his county, sheriff of Kent in 1576, knight of the shire for the Parliaments of 13 and 28 Elizabeth, chief of the Kentish forces at Northbourne Downs, where they were assembled to repel any landing

from the Armada; and it may be added, as showing his promptness, readiness, and decision, that 4,000 of these were there, equipped for the field, the day after he received his orders from the Privy Council. He was one of the Commissioners to report on the advisability of improving the breed of horses in this country, and either before or after this, is said to have published a book on the subject. He was a Commissioner for draining and improving Romney Marsh, and afterwards Superintendent of the improvements of Dover harbour. Various letters to and from him in reference to Dover harbour, as well as to the Kentish forces, are to be found in the State Calendars. Having been the parent of seventeen children by his first wife, Emmeline Kempe, a relative by maternal descent, he died on the 30th December 1594, and Ashford parish offered to pay the expenses of his funeral if only they were allowed to bury him in their church. Most of these facts are noted in the following verses, which I give, chiefly because there are some probabilities that they were by Reginald. A copy of them seems to have been found among the family papers, in his handwriting. That he made some of the verse translations given in his *Witchcraft* is extremely probable, from the want in these cases of marginal references to the translator's name; hence a second probability. The verses themselves render it likely that they were one of those memorial elegies then affixed επι ταφον by affectionate friends and relatives, and not what we now call an epitaph; and the third verse clearly shows that they were written at least some little time after Sir Thomas's decease, and therefore were not improbably written to be affixed to the handsome tomb erected over his remains. Hence a third probability; but beyond the accumulated force of these we cannot go.

Epitaph on Sir Thomas Scott, as given in the "Memorials of the Scott Family", and also in Pick's "Collection of Curious Pieces in the World", vol. 3.

Here lyes Sir Thomas Scott by name;
Oh happie Kempe that bore him!
Sir Raynold, with four knights of fame,
Lyv'd lyneally before him.

His wieves were Baker, Heyman, Beere;
His love to them unfayned.
He lyved nyne and fiftie yeare,
And seventeen soules he gayned.

His first wief bore them every one ;
The world might not have myst her !*
She was a very paragon
The Lady Buckherst's syster.

His widow lyves in sober sort,
No matron more discreeter ;
She still reteiynes a good report,
And is a great housekeeper.

He (being called to special place)
Did what might best behove him.
The Queen of England gave him grace,
The King of Heav'n did love him.

His men and tenants wail'd the daye,
His Kinne and countrie† cryed ;
Both young and old in Kent may saye,
Woe worth the day he dyed.

He made his porter shut his gate
To sycophants and briebors,
And ope it wide to great estates,
And also to his neighbours.

His House was rightly termed Hall
Whose bred and beefe was redie ;
It was a very hospitall
And refuge for the needie.

From whence he never stept aside,
In winter nor in summer ;
In Christmas time he did provide
Good cheer for every comer.

When any service shold be doun,
He lyked not to lyngar ;
The rich would ride, the poor wold runn,
If he held up his fingar.

He kept tall men, he rydd great hors,
He did write most finely ;
He used fewe words, but cold discours
Both wysely and dyvinely.

His lyving meane,‡ his charges greate,
His daughters well bestowed ;
Although that he were left in debt,
In fine he nothing owed.

---

* Though a paragon, she lived, he would say, a quiet, retired life, obedient and loving to her husband.

† "Countrie", seems not unlikely to be used here, as in the *Discoverie* not unfrequently, and twice in Wood's notice just given, and, as then, for county.

‡ "Meane", that is, moderate, midway between the very rich and the poor.

But dyed in rich and happie state,
  Beloved of man and woman
And (what is yeate much more than that)
  He was envied* of no man.

In justice he did much excell,
  In law he never wrangled :
He loved rellygion wondrous well,
  But he was not new-fangled.

Let Romney Marsh and Dover saye ;
  Ask Norborne camp at leyseur ;
If he were woont to make delaye
  To doe his countrie pleasure.

But Ashford's proffer passeth all—
  It was both rare and gentle ;
They would have pay'd his funerall
  T' have toomb'd him in their temple.

Before returning to Richard and Reginald, we may conclude this short notice of their ancestors by mentioning the very probable circumstance that the former were, by the female line, descendants of John Gower, the poet, as explained in the following table :

Sir John Pashell=Elizabeth, d. of Richard Wydeville, sister of Earl Rivers, aunt of Edward IV's wife.

John Pashell,=1. Ludovic (Lowys), d. of Th. Gower, ob. *circa* 1458.
ob. *circa* 1472.

William, ob. *ante* 1485, *s. p.*

Elizabeth, or Isabel,=Reg. Pympe.
ob. *ante* 1485.

Anne=Sir John Scot, father of Richard Scot.

The Pashells, or Pashleys, were descended from Sir Edmund de Passelege, a Baron of the Exchequer, who purchased a manor in Smeeth in 1319 ; he died 1327. The family resided at Iden, Sussex ; and the house there, and the manor in Smeeth, devolved on the Scots, Anne Pympe being her father's only child. It is true that John Gower, the poet, does not mention any children in his extant will, but he was probably seventy-eight when he died ; and, what is more to the purpose, his published will was probably only his testament, the will or declaration of uses of the land being commonly at

* "Envied", most probably in its then frequent sense of hated.

that time a separate instrument. Th. Gower, of Clapham, given above as the father of Lowys, was probably the son or grandson of John Gower (see Sir Harris Nicolas in *The Retrosp. Rev.*, 2 Ser., ii, 103-17). Also Gower the poet is known to have had property in Southwark; and Th. Gower, of Clapham, refers in his will (1458) to his tenement called The Falcon, in Southwark, near the hospital; and in Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iii, 623, there is noticed a deed of conveyance dated 22nd November 1506, of part of the site of St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark, made by John Scot, of Iden, and Anne his wife, daughter and heir of John Pashley, who was cousin and heir of John Gower. It may be added as curious that Sir Robert Gower, who is believed to have been uncle to the poet, was buried in Brabourne church in 1349; his monument, now destroyed, being noticed in Weever.

On p. 500, Scot speaks of "his kinseman M. Deering", Edw. Dering the divine, a writer on theological subjects and chaplain to her Majesty; but in what way they were kin I have been unable to discover.*

Returning now to Reginald's father, Richard, the youngest of the three sons of that Sir John who died in 1533, we find that he married Mary, daughter of Geo. Whetenall, whose father was sheriff of Kent in 1527, and whose family had lived for three centuries at Hextall's Place, near Maidstone. She survived her husband; and being remarried to Fulke Onslow, Clerk of the Parliaments, died before him, 8th October 1582, and was buried, as he afterwards was, in Hatfield church, Herts, where a brass to their memory is fixed in the north wall of the chancel. Of Richard himself nothing more is known. He probably died young, and certainly before December 1554, his death being mentioned in the will of his brother Sir Reginald, who died on the 16th of that month. In this will, failing his own issue—a lapse which did not occur—he left his real estate "unto Rainolde Scotte,

* My mother being a Dering, a daughter of the Thomas that was drowned in the West Indies, when trying to reach his vessel H.M.S. *Circe*, induces me to add, through the courtesy of Sir Edw. C. Dering, that a portrait of this worthy is still to be seen at Surrenden Dering, and that a family tradition has it, that preaching before her Majesty, he had the boldness to tell her, "that she had no more controul over her passions than an untamed heifer." He was speedily unfrocked, and is said to have emigrated to America, where an Edw. Dering is at this moment the head of that branch, and a large landowner in Maine.

son and heire of my brother Richard Scotte, dec[d]", and Rainolde's issue failing, it was devised to a more distant branch. Hence, contrary to the table given on page *xi*, from "The Memorials", "Rainolde" was either the only son of Richard, or the only son then living. The same conclusion follows from the Inquis. post mortem of Lady Wynifred Rainsfoord, taken the 20th March 1575/6, where Sir Thomas Scot and his brothers are said to be co-heirs with Reynold of the lands held by her in gavelkind, the sons having one moiety, and Reynold the other.

This Inquisition also gives Reynold's then age as thirty-eight or more, the words "et amplius" being, as was, usually at least, done in these documents, attached to all the other ages mentioned. Hence he was born in or before 1538 (not in 1541), and as, according to Wood, he entered Hart Hall, Oxford, when about seventeen, he entered it *circa* 1555; the intention that he should do so having been probably entertained by Sir Reginald, his uncle, who died 16th December 1554, and his expenses borne by his cousin, Sir Thomas. I say probably, because we have seen that, failing his own issue, he was named by Sir Reginald as the next heir to the estate, and also because we know nothing of the circumstances in which his widowed mother was left, nor as yet of the date at which she was re-married to Onslow.

On the 11th of October he married Jane—not, as stated in "The Memorials", Alice—Cobbe, the daughter of an old yeoman family long resident at Cobbe's Place, in the adjoining parish of Aldington. The entry in the Registers of Brabourne is—

> "M* Reignold Scott and Jane Cobbe
> were maryed the xi[th] of October 1658."

The only issue of this marriage, the only issue (that at least survived) of both his marriages—for the Maria in the table of "The Memorials" was the daugher of his second wife by her first husband—was Elizabeth, afterwards married to Sackville Turnor; and the only issue of that marriage, prior at least to Reynold's death in 1599, was Cicely. Elizabeth's birth must have been in or before 1574, for in the Inquis.

* To this upper portion of the "M" is added a character which may make it "Mr." or "Married"; but I have not myself yet seen the entry.

post mortem of Reg. Scot generosus in 1602, she is said to be "28 et amplius". The Holy Maid of Kent (mentioned by Scot, p. 26) was servant to one of her maternal progenitors, probably to her grandfather.

In this year, 1574, was also published the first issue of his brain, his tractate on *The Hoppe-Garden*, the first work, I believe, in which not only was the culture of the hop in England advocated, both as having been successfully tried by him, and as against its importation from Poppering, in Flanders, where its mode of culture, etc., was endeavoured to be kept secret; but the whole subject of its growth, culture, drying, and preservation was gone into in a practical manner, and further explained by woodcuts. And here it may be worth noting that in this year Reynold was necessarily absent so far from London that the publisher inserted this apologetic note: "Forasmuch as M. Scot could not be present at the printing of this his Booke, whereby I might have used his advise in the correction of the same, and especiallie of the Figures and Portratures conteyned therein, whereof he delivered unto me such notes as I being unskilfull in the matter, could not so thoroughly conceyve, nor so perfectly expresse as . . . . the Author, or you . . . . the Reader might in all poyntes be satisfied [etc., etc.]." In the second edition, however, in 1576, it was: "Now newly corrected and augmented," the augmentations increasing the book from fifty-three pages, exclusive of the epilogue, to sixty, and the corrections including one added and one emended engraving. As a matter of curiosity, and as showing that neither the publisher nor the author expected a second edition, it may be added that though only two years had elapsed, some at least of the wood engravings required to be re-cut in almost exact facsimile. A third edition was issued in 1578, and from these we can date the commencement of the hop harvests in Kent.

In 1575 he succeeded to one moiety of such part of Lady Winifred Rainsford's estate as was held in gavelkind. Possibly, indeed, we may place his enjoyment of it earlier, for Lady Rainsford was declared insane; and to this, by the way, I am not disinclined to attribute Reynold's prolonged absence from London in 1572, the attendance of some one of the family being required, and he, being older than the sons of Sir Thomas, and of a junior branch, and a man of busi-

ness, having been chosen or requested to go. And I think we may place his loss of that estate between this date and that of 1584, the date of the publication of the *Witchcraft*. At least, in this *Discoverie* occur two passages which, taken together, seem to point to this. In his dedication to Sir Th. Scot he says: *A* vi, "My foot being [not, having been] under your table, my hand in your dish, or rather in your pursse" —and, *A* viii: "If they will allow men knowledge and give them no leave to use it, men were much better be without it than have it; . . . . it is, as . . . . to put a candle under a bushell: or as to have a ship, and to let hir lie alwaies in the docke: which thing how profitable it is, I can saie somewhat by experience." Though it may be said that Reynold was a man of business, and, as appears from his writings, a man of decision and of unusual intelligence, still circumstances may combine to bring disaster as a shipowner on such a one, and more especially if he be new to the business. That he did in some way lose his "moiety" is shown by the words of his will, for, speaking of his second wife, he says, "whome yf I had not matched wth all I had not dyed worth one groate." Not, improbably, I think, it was to the time of his first marriage, or to his widowership, or to both, that Wood more especially refers when he speaks of his giving himself up to solid reading, etc.

When his first wife died and when he re-married is as yet unknown to us. But this latter could hardly have taken place until the latter end, at earliest, of 1584, since in that year he, as already quoted, describes himself as, "having his foot under your [Sir Th. Scot's] table", etc., or in other words, as being a dependant not worth one groat. Nor do we know more of this second wife beyond these slight particulars that we gather from Reynold's will: that her Christian name was Alice—given in "The Memorials" instead of Jane, to Cobbe, the first wife—that she was a widow with a daughter by her former husband; and that she had some land, either in her own right or derived from her former husband. That she was a widow at the time of her re-marriage is shown by Reynold's bequest of "six poundes thirteene shillings foure pence to my daughter in Lawe Marie Collyar for apparell [? mourning] desiring that her mother's hand be not anie thinge the shorter towards her in that respect." Whether Collyar were this daughter's maiden name, and therefore the name of her mother's first

husband, or whether it were the name of her own husband, is doubtful, though from the words just quoted I rather incline to this second supposition, and that the husband was not a man of much means. With regard to what I have said as to the mother's possession of property, it has been suggested to me by one of good judgment, and a solicitor, that Reynold's expression as to not dying worth a groat was merely an excuse for leaving the bulk of his property to his wife ; as also that these concluding words of the will, and the resistance of probate to it made by Elizabeth, his daughter by his first wife, indicate the existence of family differences, probably attributable to this second marriage having been entered into with one of a social rank inferior to his own. I cannot, however, deduce this latter supposition from anything we know, neither can I thus interpret the last words of his will, nor believe him guilty of such a perversion of the truth. Reading his will attentively, I think we find that Scot, with his usual fine sense of justice, gives all the lands in "Aldington, Ruckinge, and Sellinge", which had become his by his marriage with Alice, "to her and *to her* [not to his] heires", while he only gives his lands in Romney Marsh and his lease of Brabourne Rectory to her for *her life*, and then the lease at least, which had come to him "from his Cozen Charles", to his daughter Elizabeth. Reading the last words of his will verbatim, I think it consistent with justice to hold, that though he may have obtained these lands in Romney Marsh through the use of what had been his wife's former property, but was during his marriage his own, he was entitled to leave them to his wife only for her life, they then proceeding not, as did the others, to her heirs, but to his. I strongly suspect, also, that his casual omission of any directions as to whom these Romney Marsh lands were to go after her death was the real cause of the probate of the will being resisted by his daughter Elizabeth, so as to definitely raise this point.

Reserving all notice of his *Witchcraft* till I speak of it under its bibliography, I would say that we know little more of his life. The Rev. Jos. Hunter, in his *Chorus Vatum*, states that he was "a Collector of subsidies to Q. Elizabeth in 15..., for the county of Kent." Urged to inquiry by this, my friend, Jas. Gairdner, Esq., kindly examined for me the Exchequer documents in the Public Record Offices, and it appears from them that he was collector of subsidies for the lathe of

Shepway in the years 28 and 29 of Elizabeth (1586-87). It may be added that, as appears from a previous document, $\frac{125}{299}$, in the same class of papers, that Sir Reynold Scot and other Commissioners for the collection in the lathe of Shepway, of the first payment of the subsidy granted by the Parliament, 37 Henry VIII, had appointed a high Collector. Thus we learn the mode of his appointment; and on looking through the lists we find that many such were "generosi", though the payment was but small. For Scot, forty shillings was deducted from the incomings; and this not as a percentage, but as salary.

From the same documents we find that he is twice designated "armiger", a word agreeing with his 1584 title-page, "by Reginald Scot, Esquire", though in the editions of his *Hoppe Garden* his name alone is given. This was for myself an important find; but it will suffice here to say that it confirms Hunter's supposition that this esquireship was due to his having been made a justice of the peace, though as to the date it can only as yet be said that this dignity was probably granted between 1578 and 1584.

In an *Accompt of Sir Th. Heanage, knight, Treasurer at Warr*, in the Public Record Offices, and printed by J. Renat Scott in the *Arch. Canti.*, vol. xi, p. 388, we find the following entries:

"Sr Thomas Scott knighte Collonel generall of the footemen in Kent for his Entertainment at xiij^{s} iiij^{d} p^{r} diem for xxij dayes begonne the xxixth of Julye and endinge the xix of Auguste the summe of xiiij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}."

. . . . . .

"Reinalde Scotte Trench mayster for his Enterteinment at iiij^{s} p^{r} diem, and due to him for the same tyme iiij^{li} viij^{s}."

. . . . . .

"Sr Thomas Scott knighte for Thenterteynem^{t} of lxiij Wachemen & Garders appointed to watche & warde at Dongenesse for xxij dayes begonne [etc., as above] at viij the pece p^{r} diem xlvi^{li} iiij^{s}."

From the Muster-roll taken on the 25th Jan. 1587-8, and now in the possession of Mr. Oliver, it appears that the county had then furnished 8,201 footmen and 711 horsemen, and that Sir Thomas was captain of the 309 trained foot raised in the lathe of Shepway, with four hundreds of the lathe of Scraye and Romney Marsh. Hence his office as Colonel-General was not given him—indeed, this is shown by the *Accompt*—until the men had been assembled in camp on the 29th July. In like

manner the Muster-roll gives Sir Jas. Hales as Captain of the Lances; but in the pay list Th. Scott (a son of Sir Thomas) is Captain both of the Light Horse and Lances. With regard to "Reinalde", who, under the name of Reginald, appears in the Muster-roll as one of the thirteen captains over 1,499 untrained foot, Mr. J. Renat Scott, in a note, states that he was a son of Sir Thomas Scott; but though sons of Sir Thomas were also captains, this assertion is a guess, unsupported by any known evidence.

He made his will on the 15th September 1599, and died twenty-four days thereafter, on the 9th October. Some say that he was either taken ill at Smeeth or died there, probably misinterpreting the words of his will; some also say that he was buried there; while some think that he was buried by the side of and close to Sir Thomas Scott's tomb in Brabourne church; but all these, like the supposition of Philipot in his Kent Notes, *Harl. MS.* 3917, fol. 78*a*, that he erected that tomb, are mere guessings, and as such we leave them.

To the few particulars thus gathered together we are obliged, with the exception of two small points, one probable, and the other, I think, certain, to confine ourselves. The first or probable point is, that as his name appears five times as a witness to family business documents between 1566 and 1594, his signature appearing in this last year in Sir Thomas's will, he must have kept up familiar intercourse with the latter, and was not improbably, in some measure at least, his man of business, and possibly his steward. The second point, which also goes to confirm this first one, as also to confirm the belief that he was made a justice of the peace, as being a person whose attainments, if not his position, would render him useful in such a post, is one to which I was independently led by his writings, and which is, I find, borne out by almost contemporary testimony.

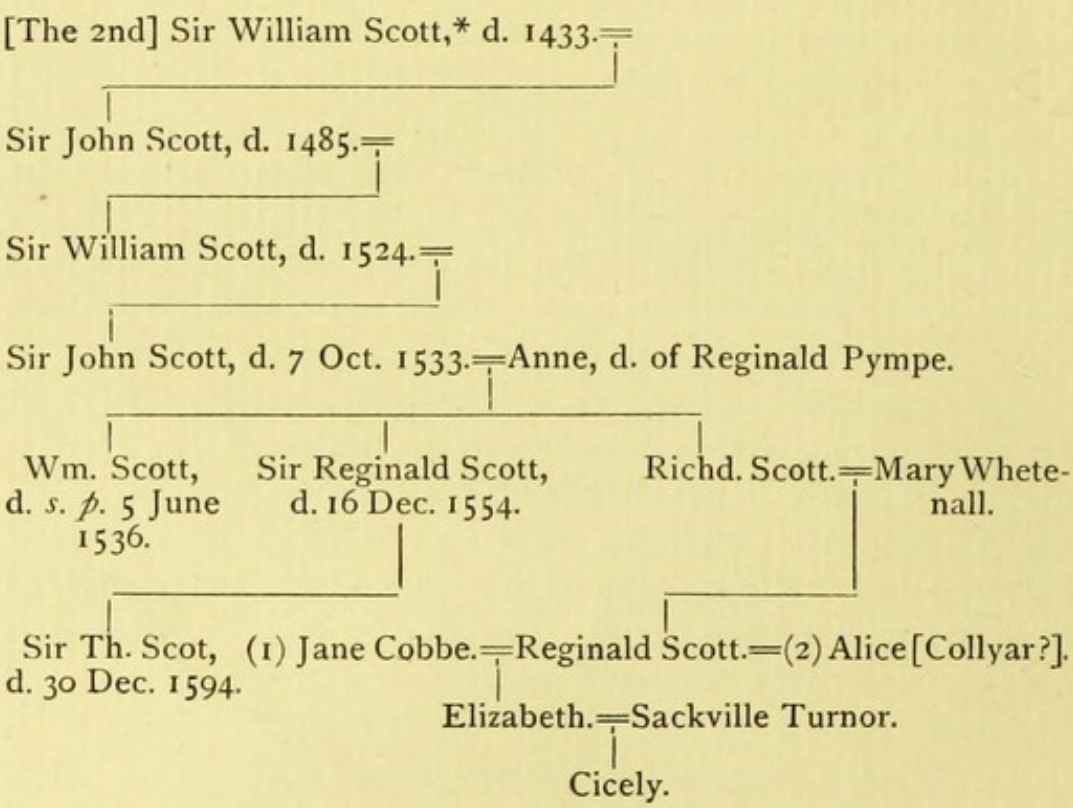
He who in his *Hoppe Garden* showed such practical thought and foresight, and in his *Witchcraft* such independence of thought, was not a man, especially when married and a father, to live in dependence on a cousin. The wording, as well as the tone of his writings, agree with this. We find in them traces of legal study, a habit of putting things, as it were, in a forensic form, and noteworthy and not unfrequent references to legal axioms or dicta, quoted generally in their original Latin. The Dedication before his *Hoppe Garden*, and the first before

his *Witchcraft*, are to men of high legal rank, judges, in fact, to whom he acknowledges his obligations. Referring the reader to these, and to the ambiguous sentence in the latter commencing "Finally" (sig. *A* ii), I would also give the words in the latter, where he says, *A*. v: "But I protest the contrarie, and by these presents I renounce all protection"; and in the former the legal phraseology is carried on throughout in—"and be it also knowne to all men by these presentes that your acceptance hereof shall not be any wyse prejudiciall unto you, for I delyver it as an Obligation, wherein I acknowledge my selfe to stande further bounde unto you, without that, that I meane to receyve your courtesie herein, as a release of my further duties which I owe," A. iii. v. And in B. v.: "neither reproove me because by these presents I give notice thereof." So also he would seem to have been an attendant at the assizes; and if we look to the story, told at page 5, of Marg. Simons, we find that he was not only present at the trial, but busied himself actively in the matter, talking to the vicar, the accuser, about it, advertising the poor woman as to a certain accusation, he "being desirous to heare what she could saie for hir selfe", and inquiring into the truth of her explanation by the relation of divers honest men of that parish. In like manner, his Will is written "wth myne owne hande" twenty-five days before his death; and, on inquiring from a lawyer, I find that it is drawn up in due legal form, and by one who had had a legal training. Lastly, Thomas Ady, M.A., in *A Candle in the Dark*, 1656, alias, *A Perfect Discovery of Witches*, 1661, a book, like Scot's, against the reality of witchcraft, distinctly tells us, p. 87, that Scot "was a student in the laws and learned in the *Roman* Laws", the latter being exactly what such a man would be if he had turned towards the law as a profession. These considerations appear to me conclusive, even though it be added as an argument *per contra* that his name has not been found among the rolls of the Temple, Inner or Middle, or in those of Lincoln's or Gray's Inn.

And in taking leave of this portion of my subject, I cannot but reiterate the obligations both the reader and the literary world generally are under to Mr. Edmund Ward Oliver. The suppositions as to the cause of Scot's loss of his moiety of the estates of Lady Winnifred Rainsford—not, it is believed, a large sum—and as to his law-studentship, based as they are on facts stated by Scot or derived from

his writings, and those of Th. Ady, are my own ; while in one or two instances I have put forth opinions not quite in accord with that gentleman's. But nearly all the biographical facts regarding Scot himself and his marriages, in contradistinction to the supposed facts hitherto set forth, are due to the intelligent research of Mr. Oliver, and are not unfrequently stated in his own words.

The following table will bring into one view the pedigree of Reginald Scot given in the previous pages :



* It is noteworthy that, notwithstanding the memorial inscription to the first Sir William, Reginald, or whoever was the author of the verses to Sir Thomas, only traces the pedigree to this fourth knight after Sir Reginald. Either then the first Sir William was then accounted somewhat mythical, or not being a knight of fame, he was not recognised as the same with Sir William Scott, the Chief Justice of England.

WILL OF RAYNOLD SCOT.

Extracted from the copy, not the original, in the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.

S In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the Name of God Amen. I Raynolde Scott in the Countie of Kent gent beinge of the Parish of Smeth Doe make and ordaine and wth myne owne hande doe write this my Last will and Testament on Saturdaye the fyfteenth of September Anno Dñi a thousand fyve hundred nyntie nyne and in the fortie one yeare of the raigne of o^r^ soveraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth Fyrst I bequeath my Sowle to Almightie god and my body to be buryed as yt shall seeme good to Alice my wiefe whome I make and ordaine to be myne onely Executrix Item I bequeath to my sayde wief All my goods and chattells plate housholde stuffe Juelles and Chaynes with all my leases and goods moveable and vnmoveable savinge such as I shall by this my Will other Wise dispose of Item I (for the trust I repose in Mr Edwarde Hall of Ashforde and of my neighbou^r^ Raynolde Keale of Smeeth in countie aforesaide doe make them two the overseers to this my Last will and gyve to eyther of the*m* for theire paines and trouble wch they ar like to sustaine herebye fyve poundes Item I bequeath to Sr John Scott my lease of the banke or pond at Aldinge Item I bequeath to my graund childe Cisley Turno^r^ tenne poundes to buy her a little Chaine Item I gyve to my daughter in Lawe Marie Collyar six poundes thirteene shillings foure pence to be paide unto her within one quarter after my decease, to be bestowed in app*ar*ell upon her selfe as she shall seeme good nether would I have her mothers hand anie thinge the shorter towardes her in that respect Item I give to my daughter Turno^r^ the Covenant that I have of my Cozen Charles Scott touchinge the renuinge of my lease when his grace doth renne [*read* renue] his lease of Braborne Rectorie provided that my meaninge is, that my said wief shall enioye the full tearme that I nowe possesse and howsoever yt shalbe renued my daughter shall have the only renuinge which shalbe in effecte after the whole tearme wch I holde now be expired so as by any meane [intervening] renuinge my saide wief be not defeated of my true meaninge towardes her Item I do bequeath to my saied wief and to her heires for ever All my Landes Lyinge in Aldington and now in thoccupac*i*on of John Pollard and all my Landes in Ruckinge in thoccupac*i*on of —— Diggons and all my Landes in Sellenge in the occupac*i*on of —— Coakar All which Landes lye in the ~~sayde~~ sayde* Countie of Kent Item I gyve and bequeath to my said wief all my other Landes in Rumney Marshe or els where in the said countye

* *Sic*, first at end of line. † *Sic*, to be paide *is interlined above* this.

duringe her naturall lieft Item I doe gyve to my Servante Moyll Smyth the some of twentie shillinges yearelie duringe his natu*r*all Life to be paide out of all my Landes halfe yearelie and that for defaulte of payment yt shalbe Lawfull for him to distraine And so I ende desyreinge the worlde to iudge the best hereof and of the consyderac*i*ons for greate is the trouble my poore wief hath had with me, and small is the comforte she hath receyved at my handes whome yf I had not matched wth all I had not dyed worth one groate.—

Ray: Scott.

By a short notice following the copy of the will, it was proved on the 22nd November 1599. There is also a document setting forth that Alicia Scott, relicta, and Elizabetha Turnor, als Scott, filia naturalis et legitima, had disputed, before certain functionaries named regarding the will, and that probate was granted as aforesaid on the 22nd November 1599. But as the cause or subject of the dispute is not mentioned, this, like the short notice, is not given.

ABSTRACT OF INQUIS. POST MORTEM, 18 ELIZ. P. 1, No. 84.

Inquisition taken at Maidstone on the death of Lady Wynifred Rainsfoord, 30 *March,* 18 *Eliz.* [1575-6].

She was seised of the Manors of Nettlested and Hiltes with appurtenances in E. and W. Peckham, Brenchley, W. Barmling, Merewood, Marden; also of the Manor of Pympe with appurtenances in Yaulding, Marden, and Brenchley. Also various other lands, some of which, called Stockenbury, Motelands, and Souchefields, are in Brenchley.

She died 17 Oct. last, at Chelmsford in Essex.

Th. Scott, kt., is her next heir, viz., son and heir of Reginalde Scotte, kt., sonne and heir of Anne Scotte, wife of John Scotte, kt., daughter and heir of Reginald Pympe, brother of John Pympe, father of said Lady Winifred.

Thomas Scotte, kt., Charles Scott, Henry Scotte, George Scotte, and William Scotte [brothers of the first-named Thomas Scotte, kt.], and Reginald Scotte, are coheirs of the lands held in gavelkind. One moiety thereof descends to Thomas, Charles, etc. [as named above], sons and coheirs of Reginalde Scotte, kt., son and heir of Anne Scotte; and the other moiety to Reginald, son and heir of Richard Scotte, junior, son of the said Anne.

Thomas miles is 39 et amplius, Charles 34 [etc.], Henry 32 [etc.], George 30 [etc.], William 22 [etc.], and Reginald 38 years of age et amplius.

The exact words regarding the co-heirs are: "descendebant et de jure descendere debent præfato Thomæ Scotte militi, Carolo Scott, Henrico Scotte, Georgio Scotte et Will'o Scotte, fratribus dicti Thomæ Scotte militis et Reginaldo Scotte, consanguineo prædicti Thomæ Scotte militis, ut consanguineis et coheredibus prædictæ dominæ Winifridæ eo quod prædictæ terræ . . . . ultimo recitata sunt de natura de gavelkind." This disproves the assertion of Mr. J. Renat Scott in *Arch. Cant.*, xi, 388, and repeated in his genealogy of the Scott family, that the Reginald Scott mentioned in the former as receiving pay among those appointed in 1587-8 was "a son of Sir Thomas".

ABSTRACT OF INQUIS. P.M., 45 ELIZ., PARS. I, NO. 71.

Inquisition taken at Maidstone, 2 Dec. [1602], *after the death of Reginald Scot, generosus.*

He was seised of a tenement and 20 acres of land called Graynecourtte, held of Th. Scott, Esq., as of his manor of Brabourne, a tenement called Essex, and 20 acres of land in two parcels in Allington [Aldington], held of Edw. Hall, as of his manor of Pawlson. One parcel of land called Haythorne field, containing 20 acres in Bonington, held of the Queen in capite, and a tenement and one parcel of land lying in Barefield, containing two acres in Brabourne, tenure unknown, and one acre in Brabourne and 5 acres in Brabourne, and two parcels in Smeeth, and 30 acres of marsh called Gatesleaf, in Newchurch, held of Martin Barneham, Esq., as of his manor of Bylsyngton.

He died 9 Oct., 41 Eliz. [1599], at Smeeth.

Elizabeth, wife of Sackville Turner, gent., is his daughter and next heir, and was 28 years of age and more at his death.

Alice, his widow, has received the rents since his death.

[Elizabeth was the next heir to his own property, but that which was his own through his wife Alice, he specially devised "to her and to *her* heirs".]

The Cause and History of the Work.—That is, what induced Scot to write it, and why did he set it forth as he did? inquiries which involve, among other matters, a short notice of the position then and previously held by witchcraft in England. His *Hoppe-garden* shows him to us as a man of intelligence, foresighted and reflective of thought, and desirous of improving the state of his country and countrymen. It shows him also as one who could not only seize a thought and commend it to others, but as one who had perseveringly put his idea into practice, found it feasible, and then so learnt the processes necessary for growing the plant, and preparing its catkins and storing them for use, that a priori one would suppose that he had done what he did not, namely, visited Holland and learnt the processes on the spot. The same qualities are seen in his *Witchcraft*, as is also his independence of thought. No sooner had his suspicions been aroused than he proceeded, as shown by the work and its references, to investigate the matter thoroughly and perseveringly. To this also he was encouraged, or rather led, by yet other two qualities, his straightforwardness or honesty of purpose, and his compassion, for these taught him that he was engaged in a righteous work, that of rescuing feeble and ignorant, though it may be too pretentious and shrewish, old women from false charges and a violent death, and in a noble work in endeavouring to stem the torrent of superstition and cruelty which was then beginning to overflow the land.

Nor was this the result in any way of a mind sceptically inclined. His book shows that he accepted the opinions of his day, unless he had been led to inquire into them, and either re-receive them as facts or discard them. Led doubtless by his academic training, it is abundantly clear that he had inquired into the grounds of his belief in the Established Church, and into the additions that had been made to its faith in the course of illiterate ages by the Popish Church. He had read Plotina, who taught him that the so-called vicars of Christ and his vice-gerents on earth were often devils incarnate and standard-bearers of vice, and that the system which did now and again produce a St. Francis d'Assis—all reverence to his name—produced also the congeners of Loyola, and Loyola himself, whose followers, while assuming to themselves the holy name of Socii Jesu, made that name famous and infamous, and their tenets execrated throughout the

civilised world. But he accepted with some doubting, having, as he thought, great authority for it and no means of investigation, the story of the Remora; and accepted without doubting the beliefs that the bone of a carp's head, and none other, staunched blood, the value of the unicorn's horn, and the like, and—notwithstanding his disbelief in astrology—that seed-time and springing were governed by the waxing and waning of the moon. He also believed that precious stones owed their origin to the influences of the heavenly bodies; and besides his credulous beliefs as to certain waters, narrated at the commencement, he in the next chapter gives the absurdly wonderful virtues of these stones, some, as he says, believed in by him, "though many things most false are added".

How then came he to inquire into and write so strongly against witchcraft? Before the time of the eighth Henry, sorcerers were dealt with by the ecclesiastical law, which punished them as heretics. Moreover, their supposed offences against the person seem, chiefly at least, to have been taken notice of when they were supposed to interfere with high or state matters or persons, as in the cases of Joan of Arc or Dame Eleanor Cobham. But in Henry's time, probably through the extension of continental ideas, aided, it may be, by a desire to restrain the ecclesiastical power, c. 8 of the thirty-third year of his reign was passed. By this it was enacted, that witches, etc., who destroyed their neighbours, and made pictures [images] of them for magical purposes, or for the same purposes made crowns, swords, and the like, or pulled down crosses, or declared where things lost or stolen were become, should suffer death and loss of lands and goods, as felons, and lose the privileges of clergy and sanctuary. Afterwards, by 1 Edw. I, c. 12, this and other offences first made felonies in Henry's time were no longer to be accounted such. Thirdly, in the fifth year of Elizabeth, Parliament, by its twelfth chapter, enacted, that whereas many have practised sorceries to the destruction of people and their goods, those that cause death shall suffer as was declared by 33 Henry VIII, c. 8, except that their wives and heirs shall not have their rights affected by such attainder. But that when a person was only injured, or their goods or cattle destroyed, the offenders should for the first offence suffer a year's imprisonment, and once a quarter be exposed in the pillory in a market town for six

hours, and there confess their offences; and for the second offence suffer death as felons, with the exceptions before rehearsed. While any who seek treasure, or would bring about unlawful love, or hurt anyone in his body or goods, should for a first offence be imprisoned and suffer as before, and for a second be imprisoned for life and forfeit his goods and cattle. This, so far as humanity is concerned, is a distinct advance on Henry's enactment, though an apparent going back from that of Edward. Perhaps, as before, it arose from a desire to remove the offences from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical law, which would have burnt them, nor, as evidenced by its little results, does it seem to have been made through any mania or scare in the matter. This came on later, when, as we are told by Brian Darcie in 1582, at what time, under pie-crust promises of favour, he was endeavouring to get women to confess, and then be hanged,—"there is a man of great learning and knowledge come over lately into our Queenes Majestie, which hath advertised her what a companie and numbers of Witches be within Englande: whereupon I and other of her Justices have received Commission for the apprehending of as many as are within these limites." Alas, this man of great learning and knowledge seems to have been none other than that otherwise light of the English Church, the great, good, and pious Bishop Jewel, who, having returned from a forced residence abroad, was speedily promoted by her Majesty, and in a sermon preached before her, in 1572, brought in the subject as follows:—

"Heere perhaps some man will replie, that witches, and conjurers often times chase away one Divell by the meane of another. Possible it is so; but that is wrought, not by power, but by Collusion of the Divels. For one Divell, the better to attaine his purpose, will give place, and make as though he stood in awe of another Divell. And by the way to touch but a word or two of this matter for that the horrible using of your poore subjects inforceth thereunto. It may please your Grace to understand, that this kind of people, I meenes witches and sorcerers, within these few last yeeres, are marvellously increased within this your Grace's realme. These eies have seene most evident and manifest marks of their wickednesse. Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto the death, their collour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benummed, their senses are bereft."

"Wherefore, your poore subjects most humble petition unto your Highnesse, is, that the lawes touching such malefactours, may be put in due execution. For the shole of them is great, their doings horrible, their malice intollerable, the examples most miserable. And I pray God, they never practise further, then upon the subject. But this only by the way, these be the scholers of Beelzebub the chief captaine of the Divels."

The plantings of the Queen in the commissions of her Justices thus instigated and encouraged, produced an abundant crop. According to the Dedications of Scot, Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, had had "in these causes such experience", *A* ii. v., while Sir Thomas Scot, as Justice of the Peace, had also had "manie poore old women convented before him for . . . . witchcraft", *A*. vi. Various booklets also, presently to be spoken of more at large, excited still more the imaginations of a credulous people, and it had been supposed, before Scot wrote, as will be seen on p. 473, and in my note on that page, that the Queen's person had been aimed at in that way.

It thus appears that though Scot may have been brought up in a traditional but little-regarded belief in witchcraft, he, when he was at least thirty-four, was not only unprepared, but startled, to witness and take part in this new departure from justice and mercy. Witchcraft, chiefly looked on as useful in discovering things lost, or in bringing a wished-for sweetheart to return the love of the seeker, or in curing ailments simple or grievous, became feared, reviled, and sought out: sought out by Commission of the Queen, sought out by the people as a great and fearful evil rapidly overspreading the land, and able and willing, like the Plague and Black Death, to count its victims by thousands, and from the cottage to the throne itself. He, a man both intelligent and compassionate, sees poor, old, decrepit creatures eking out a miserable livelihood by begging an occasional dole from their better off neighbours; ill-tempered by age and condition, and therefore abusive when refused such dole, or on slighter causes, sometimes perhaps through old knowledge or superstition, but probably more often for the sake of gain, pretending to be wise above what is known; he sees these accused of selling their souls for the sake of such a position in the world, he hears them accused sometimes of foul, more frequently of unlikely, crimes and acts, nay, such as an unprejudiced

common sense must laugh at, while the evidence is nearly always so faulty that, were the accusation a different one, it would be at once turned inside out and thrown aside. Unfortunately, too, some of these old women being more or less mad, and others driven through fear on the one hand, or through promised favour on the other, confess themselves capable of doing these things, though any man of sense and observation could detect their state or motives. Luckily, too, he had had close to him, and in his wife's family, the known and talked-of imposture of the Holy Maid of Kent; and in his own time and close to his own door, the case of the Pythonist of Westwell, at first carried out triumphantly, and then, on her own confession and her re-acted acts, branded as an impostor, like the Holy Maid. The Dutchman, too, at Maidstone, after being set forth as a worker of miracles and an exorcist, was found to be a rogue; and "manie other such miracles had beene latelie printed, whereof diverse had beene bewraied." He had taken part also—apparently as one engaged for the defence—in that piece of folly called the trial of Margaret Simons, and knew the history of Ade Davie, and of her restoration to sanity without exorcism, hanging, or burning.

Is it not natural that his suspicions, and more than suspicions, should have been aroused, and that he should have been thus led to take up the whole subject seriously? One who had given himself up, as Wood says, to reading and thought as well as to healthy and useful exercise, must have sought for and obtained books on either side of the subject, and in especial the known book of Wier; and thoughtful reading of these, and meditation must have led him to extend his views, and gather them into a harmonious and consistent whole. Meanwhile, however, the bloodthirsty superstition daily increased, and there were published first, the mad book or books of Richard Gallis—spoken of in pp. 132-3—of the witches at Windsor, now, I believe, unfortunately lost, where, among other things, he narrates how, at a Sabbath meeting, he had a hand-to-hand encounter with the devil, and wounded him so sore that he stank of brimstone; and in 1582, there took place the wholesale condemnation of the poor old women of St. Osees, thirteen I believe of whom were hanged. There had been no such condemnation before in England. It is not unlikely that he himself witnessed their condemnation—see pp. xxv-vi.

So unusual was it, that—as I cannot but believe on other evidence, as stated in my noting on Macbeth—a ballad was written on it, which became very commonly known, and was remembered as late as 1606. This same unusual breadth of punishment also created so much attention that Justice Brian Darcie thought it worth while to set forth in print, not the trial, but the depositions taken before him, and thus inform a too ignorant public that he and he alone was the primary cause of such a purification.

These facts, and especially this last, aroused, I believe, Scot's compassion and indignation, and made both find vent in printed words. And besides these likelihoods, including that of date, there are two at first sight seemingly contradictory facts, which made themselves manifest to me when I first carefully read the book, and before I had formed any opinion on their causes, and which are on this view reconciled. These facts are, that while the plan which he has adopted, and his facts and conclusions, seem to have been deliberately sought out, thought over, and canvassed, there are evidences throughout of a feverous haste of composition, such feverous haste as the above spoken of emotions would excite in a man like Scot, who had witnessed so horrible and so bloody a perversion of justice. The proof of the first fact I leave to be observed by the intelligent reader; but while the second must also be observed by him, it is needful, to the full exposition of my argument, that I should collect in one view most at least of the details. This haste is evidenced in some of his corrected errata, but more in those that he did not correct. Thus we have, on p. 174, a curious slip, by which Pharaoh becomes a Persian, and Nebuchadnezzar takes Pharaoh's place as an Egyptian king, for other parts of the book prove conclusively that this was an unintentional lapsus, and one a second time overlooked when the book was re-read before the title-page and the preliminary leaves were set up. Similar are his errors as to Haias and Sedaias, for at one time he speaks of Rabbi Sedaias Haias, repeating it also at the last when he gives his "forren authors" consulted, and between these speaks of them as two persons, as they were. More especially would I call attention to his blunders as to Argerius Ferrerius. He quotes him—yet he is always Ferr*a*rius—five times in his text, twice in his table of contents, and once in his "authors used". So in his translation from him, the "s" of

" verbis" being indistinct in some copies, he read the word as "verbi", and thereby translated the sentence into such unmistakable nonsense that this alone should have shown him his error. So, also, we have the senseless, because careless, rendering of the sword in hand passage, p. 257; and with these may be classed his adoption of T. R.'s curious mistranslations from Wier's *Pseudomonarchia*, or from another copy of the *Empto. Salomonis*, for a moment's consideration would have shown him their absurdity, and led him to turn to Wier. In p. 19 also, we find "infants" where, as stated in my note, all the editions of the *Mal. Malef.* in the British Museum have " infames"; and this, though a slip of memory, betokens, when taken with the rest, overhaste. These slips, in an ordinary writer, would lead to another conclusion, but not in this case, where we have evidence of both ordinary and recondite knowledge, of conclusions tried by actual experiment, of a quick and intelligent perception, and of what may be called, in a good sense, a ready and acute subtlety in refuting or retorting allegations or objections.

Our author's indebtedness to Cornelius Agrippa and to Wier has, in a great measure, been anticipated in what has been said; but a few words may here be added. Casually coming across their books when he became a reader of out-of-the-way works, he did not become a follower of theirs, and then write a book, as the disciples of Pythagoras wrote books to expound and hand down the doctrines of their master. Wier had written a book against witchcraft, and a clear and comprehensive book. But while Scot certainly followed Wier in point of time, and as certainly was much indebted to him for the perfecting of his book, yet, as I have said, Scot seems to have taken up his belief against the reality of witchcraft from what he in his own experience had witnessed; and my view, that he was then led to read Wier and Cornelius Agrippa, and the writers on the other side, seems to me confirmed by what we find as to his indebtedness to Wier. The " Notings on Wier" show that, while he copied him in some other instances, he borrowed from him mainly a long list of illustrations, some of which even he may have drawn independently from the same sources as did Wier.

Bibliography.—We do not find an entry of Scot's *Hoppe-garden* in the Stationers' Registers, because the entries about 1574 are want-

ing. But why do we not find so large and important a book as the *Witchcraft* of 1584 so entered, the writer being of a family of no mean repute, and the head of his house, Sir Th. Scot, being in those days a man of some mark? The answer, after what has been said, is simple. He upheld and defended a heresy, the existence and diabolical powers and practices of witches being believed in and guarded against, by the Queen, the bishops, and the people. Hence the reply of the Stationers' Company would most certainly have been—the same as in more trifling cases—"provided he shall get the bishop of London his alowance to yt", words which, under the circumstances, would have been a refusal, and a refusal which, had any steps been taken against him after its publication, would have told against him. Hence he resolved to print it, taking all the blame and responsibility on his own shoulders, no stationer's name being connected with it, and the name of the printer appearing only at the end of the book, without date or place of address—"Imprinted at London by | *William Brome.*" And here, by the way, it may be mentioned that though called in catalogues a quarto, its signatures are in eights. As before stated, both Thomas Ady and Anthony à Wood tell us that it "did for a time make great impressions on the Magistracy and Clergy", and that it did so generally is shown by the appearance of Webster's, Ady's, and other books on the same side, and those of Gifford, Perkins, and others, on the other, including King James, who, in 1597, issued his *Dæmonologie* specially against it. Whether Elizabeth or the authorities under her took any notice of it is doubtful, for, as I have said, he was still an Esquire in 1587 ; and the last words of his will, "for greate is the trouble my poor wief hath had with me, and small is the comforte she hath receyved at my hands", and his designation of himself as "gent.", point rather to a voluntary surrender of his office, through weakness and ill-health, than to a dismissal.

But zeal for the truth, as he believed it, combined with his fears for himself, for he believed that he had been the object of witchcraft and of the machinations of the evil powers more than once, though luckily in vain, led the royal author on the other side to cause Scot's book to be burned by the common hangman ; and, as is also said by Cole, not one copy alone, as significant of its character, and of its

being a *liber prohibitus* in the eyes of this Protestant Pope, but as many as could be laid hands upon. While, too, I have as yet found no direct proof of this latter statement, it is perhaps in some degree confirmatory of it, that no copies of the book exist in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, nor in that of Lambeth Palace, nor in that of Sion College. To the same cause is most likely due the exceedingly neat copy of various chapters, and parts of chapters, contained in the Sloane MS., ff. 2189, in the British Museum, its date according to the experts there being *circa* 1620. At one time I had suspected that these extracts had been made with the intent of writing a book either for or against the truth of witchcraft; but the methodical neatness of all but the first two or three pages, the manner in which the typographical form of the book is followed, the consecutive, though broken manner, in which the extracts follow one another, the absence of any word or any sign of remark or comment throughout, now cause me to hold that it was a copy made by or for one who took such portions as he wished from a book otherwise inaccessible.

Turning back to this burning, I would say also that I have not come across any English contemporary, or even early statement as to it, much less as to its date. Perhaps, however, without much fear of error, we may suppose it to have been done immediately after the Act against witches, passed in the first year of James's reign. By it the Act 5 Eliz. was repealed, and any conjuration, etc., of an evil spirit was made a crime punishable by death as a felon, the culprit losing all benefit of clergy and sanctuary. The finding of treasure by magical means, provoking to unlawful love, or destroying of cattle, was for the first offence to bring with it imprisonment for one year, standing in the pillory once a quarter for six hours, and confessing his crime, as in the Act repealed; and for the second offence death as a felon, though the dowry and the heirship were not attainted. This Act itself shows how strong were James's convictions in the matter, as does the publication in London of his *Dæmonologie* in the same year, it being entered on the Stationers' Registers on the 3rd April 1603. Scot's book was therefore against James's belief, and the esteem in which it was held against his own powers as a reasoner and author. While, however, so far as I can find, we owe the knowledge of this burning to a German source, its extreme likelihood is corroborated by

what I have said, that James's belief in witchcraft was with him an undoubted Article of Faith, and by the fact that various books, known and unknown, were at different times publicly burnt during his reign, though no official records of these burnings have been preserved.

Cole, as quoted in Bliss's edition of the *Athen. Oxon.*, gives the account as made by Thomasius de crimine magiæ, a book which I believe does not exist. There is a Thesis inaugaralis de crimine magiæ submitted in 1701 by Johan Reiche to the Regia Academia Fredericiana . . . præside D. Christiano Thomasio. But Reiche refers to an earlier writer—"Gisberti Voetii | Theologiæ in Acad. Ultrajectina Professoris | Selectarum | Disputationum | Theologicarum, | Pars Tertia. | . . . . | Ultrajecti, | Ex Officina Johannis à Waesberge, | Anno CIↃ IↃ C LIX, | " which says, p. 564 :

". . . . *Reginaldus Scot* nobilis Anglus magiæ crimen aperte negavit, & ex professo oppugnavit, omnes ejus mirabiles effectus aut ad melancoliam, aliosve naturales morbos, aut ad artem, industriam, & agilitatem hominum figmentis & præstigiis suis illudentium, aut ad stolidas imaginationes, dictorum magorum, aut ad vanas nugas & fictiones eorundem magorum referens. Ejus *liber* tit. *Discoverie of Withcraft* [*sic*] in Anglia combustus est ; quem nominatim etiam perstringit Sereniss. Magnæ Briantniæ [*sic*] *Rex Jacobus in Dæmonologia*, eumque tangit diffusissimæ eruditionis Theologus *Johannes Raynoldus*, *in cens. lib. Apocryph. tom.* 2 *prælect.* 169. In eundem, sed innominatum calamum strinxit eximius & subacti judicii Theologus, *Guilelm. Perkinsus in tractatu de Bascanologia. Pars libri* istius *Reginaldi Scot elenctica* (nam reliqua in editione Anglicana conjurationes continebat,) in Belgicum idioma translata est, ante annos aliquot Lugd. Batav. per Thomam Basson : ex illius libri lectione, seu fonte perenni, non pauci ab illo tempore docti & indocti in Belgio fluctuare, & de Magia σκεωτικιζειν ac λιβερτινιζειν, (ut Libertinis & Semilibertinis infesta est patria nostra) quin eo ignorantiæ sæpe prolabi, ut non iniquè illis applicari potuerit, quod Sereniss. *Rex Jacobus in Dæmonologiâ* subdito suo Reginaldo Scot : *esse quasi novos Sadducæos :* cum omnes diabolorum operationes & apparitiones suaviter exibilant: tanquam anicularum, aut superstitionis meticulosæ phantasmata ac sabellas. Sunt & alii, sed pessimi magiæ patroni, qui ad Deum & divina charis-

mata seu gratias gratis datas, aut ad angelos bonos, operationes magicas referunt."

Dr. W. N. du Rieu, Librarian of the University of Leyden, kindly informs me, that a translation into Dutch, "omitting some formulæ of malediction and other matters which would more interest English readers," was made and edited by Th. Basson, an English stationer living at Leyden in 12mo in 1609. It was undertaken at the instigation of the professors of law and history, and its dedication, dated 10th January 1609, was to the Curators of the University, and to the burgomasters of Leyden. A second and corrected edition, published by his son, G. Basson, was also printed at Leyden in 1637, though the dedication is dated 8th May 1637, Amsterdam.

Though in various of the notes the passages have been spoken of, yet to call attention to the matter, and in the hope that others may be more successful, I would add that I have not discovered the principle on which he went, nor his authorities, for his Scripture readings. In his Latin quotations he generally quotes the Vulgate, twice or thrice Beza, or Beza varied, while at other times he goes by some other translation, or possibly makes it himself. So his long English quotation, p. 284, is not taken from Wycliffe's, Tyndale's, Cranmer's, Coverdale's, Matthews', or from the Genevan, Bishops', or Rheims versions, though more like the Genevan, while, curiously enough, it precedes the one of 1611 by one or two verbal coincidences. Hence, I believe that he varied the Genevan version according to his own views and taste, and am the more inclined to this in that the passage is not in Italics, the then type and mark of quotations, but in Romans.

Notwithstanding, however, the decree that had gone forth, and, notwithstanding the strange Sadducean assertion, not argument, set forth by James, and followed by John Rainolds, D.D., in his work on the Apocrypha (*tom.* ii, 1032), and by Gisbert Voet, the book's inherent excellency, as reported by Ady, and as evidenced by the notices of it in the various books on either side that afterwards came forth, and in part, perhaps, through that decree itself, called for its reproduction; and in 1651 it was issued with a new title-page, though naturally it was again not entered on the Stationers' Registers. This time it was really—as evidenced by the signatures—a quarto. The text was one and the same with that printed off by Richard Cotes; but there were

three issues, and three slightly different title-pages. The first bears—LONDON | Printed by *Richard Cotes.* 1651. The second has—*Printed by* R. C. *and are to be sold by* Giles Calvert, *dwelling at the* | *Black Spread-Eagle at the West-end of* Pauls. 1651. And except for these final words, separated on both title-pages by a line from the rest, both are word for word, and even to the misprint "superstions" identical. The explanation, in all probability, if not certainty, being that my "first" one was the first issue, when the publisher thought it more prudent to withhold his name; the other, a second issue of copies still called for, when, finding no ill results, he had become bolder. The third has below the line spoken of: *London* | Printed by E. [not R.] Cotes and are to be sold by Thomas Williams at the | Bible in *Little Britain* 1654. In this "SCOTS" is printed without the apostrophe, "men", "women", and "children", as also "treatise", have capital initials; on both occasions it has "Devils", not "Divels"; and the last line but one above the dividing line ends "De-" not "Divels", and "superstions" is rightly printed "superstitions". These variations in the title-page, and the exact conformity of the text as to the various peculiarities of the letters, words, and sizes of the punctuation, show that Williams had come into possession of Calvert's remainder, or of his set-up type, and had issued these sheets, prefixing a new title-page of his own, printed by E. Cotes.

There is not the slightest evidence of a copy of the 1584 edition having been prepared for the press, beyond the new title-page, and on two occasions the translation of Latin, that Scot had not—as he had done in similar instances—translated. The Latin-named ingredients on p. 184 are Englished, and I have thus been enabled to give them in my notings with the more probability that they are correct. The second instance is, as stated in my margin, on p. 416. Two or three press errors are corrected, one of them not a certain emendation, and all within the competency of an ordinary compositor or reader; but no others, not even that of "increase" for "incense", p. 446, while fresh errors, indicative of a careless "reader", are made.

What has been thus said as to the character of this second reprint, goes to prove that it was a publisher's venture based upon the demand for the book, and, therefore, for gain, and one which he carried out spite

of its having been burnt, and placed among the "prohibited books". In like manner, and for the like purpose, and as before, without entry in the Stationers' Registers, there was brought out the third, and so-called folio edition of 1665, though the sheets are in sixes. All but the title-page, which, curiously enough, was again re-written, though still bearing, like the second, the words, "By Reginald Scot Esquire"; it is a careless reprint of that second, with all its errors, and new ones superadded. But as a novelty and inducement to buy, nine chapters, commencing the fifteenth book, and a second book of the "Discourse on Devils and Spirits", were added by an anonymous author. Who this anonymity was, I have uselessly spent some little time in inquiring, time that might have been better employed, even had I found him. But it goes to prove that these additions were merely made for novelty's sake, and its glamour and gain, in that the writer was a believer in, and not improbably, from his minute directions, as well as from his reticence, a practiser of witchcraft, or of what he thought to be witchcraft. He also, and I give this as one possible clue, was a strong believer in the perishable Astral spirit of a man, as well as of Astral spirits in general, and much of his "Discourse" is taken up with remarks on these.

I may here add, as showing the carelessness with which these second and third editions were edited, a note of the errata marked in the first and not corrected in them.

75, 21. "We," so the second; in the third the (,) is rightly placed after "years". A correction that could have been made by the least intelligent of "readers".

168, 31. "Earth *read* firmament." Not corrected.

247, 29. "Write *add* it." Not corrected.

269, 16. "If there be masses *delete* If." Retained, but the second attempts to correct by inserting "no" before "masses", and the third follows suit, though it is as nonsensical as before.

463, 16. "Their business *read* that business." Not corrected.

Beyond these, the limited edition now printed is the only other known to me. As stated in the preface, it is a reprint of the first edition, with some slight alterations in the lettering, but not in the spelling. Besides the few errata that have been found and recorded, the small heading on its left hand pages up to p. 24 is "Chap. —",

like that on the right hand, instead of being "1 or 2 Booke". So also in the earlier pages, the marginal references, though correct, are not printed line for line with the original. The pictorial initial letters of the first chapter of each book occupy in the original almost a third of the page. The first word of a chapter has only its first two letters—including its pictorial letter—in capitals, but the remainder, as well as the rest of the first line, is in larger type than the rest. The original being also in black letter was enabled to use both Romans and Italics as variants, whereas the reprint could only use Italics. The rule of the original is, however, in general very simple. "The — Chapter", the contents of the chapter and proper names are in Romans; "The — Booke" and quotations in Italics; the translations of quotations in Romans. Wherever there can be any doubt the type of the original is marked in the margin, as are occasional uses by the author of [ ] to distinguish them from the editor's use of the same. It may be added that "The — Chapter", and the contents of the chapter, have been transposed. The V like arrangement of the lines at the end of a chapter have not been followed, but been imitated according to the spirit in which they were employed ; for, after an investigation made for the purpose, it was found that they do not indicate a division of the text or matter, but were simply compositors' devices to fill up a page when that page either ended a book, or when its blank space did not allow of the commencement of a new chapter. Similarly, on one page, a (· . ·) was added to complete the page. And, in like manner, if there was still space at the end of a book, an engraving was inserted. I would add that all the page references that I make are to the pages of the 1584 edition.

I had collected for an appendix various grammatical peculiarities of the age; but they increased the number of pages, and therefore the price of the book, without, as seemed to me, sufficient cause, more especially as the reader can readily consult Dr. Abbot's *Shakesperian Grammar*, as well as notices in other books. One point, however, ought to be attended to. Though an educated and University man, accustomed to Latin and Greek, he, like all of his time, followed the then frequent habit of using singular verbs after plural nominatives not immediately proceding them. A close examination of these, both in Scot and Greene, another literate and Utriusque Academiæ in

Artibus Magister; and one notable one in Ben Jonson, who elsewhere, so far as I know, avoids this error; as well as those in Shakespeare and others, have shown me that they cannot be explained as is sought in Dr. Abbot's *Shakesperian Grammar*, § 333, where the form of the verb is held to be a remnant of the northern early English third person plural in "s". The instances alone of the auxiliary verbs so used set this theory aside, and show that the custom was due to carelessness, habit, the remoteness or after position of the true nominatives, and to the nearness of another word, sometimes even to a transposed objective; or of a "that" or "which" that had the look of a singular, or in the case of a double nominative, to both words being considered as implying one thought, as indeed they often did, being merely synonyms. Our Elizabethan ancestors would have said: "Pity and compassion moves me," because they held pity and compassion were one and the same; and the habit of using Saxon and Latin, or other synonyms, led them to use the same construction when the meanings were but allied. This seems to me the more likely explanation: but the reader may prefer this—that our ancestors took the phrase to be elliptical, and that the verb really employed after both substantives was to be understood after the first and before the "and".

Contemporary Notices of Scot.—Of strictly contemporary notices, I know of but two. In Nash's *Four Letters Confuted*, 1593, he asks, ed. Grosart, ii, 252: "How is the *Supplication* a diabolicall Discourse, otherwise than as it intreats of the diverse natures and properties of Divels and spirits? in that far fetcht sense may the famous *defensative against supposed Prophecies*, and *the Discoverie of Witchcraft* be called notorious Diabolicall discourses, as well as the *Supplication*, for they also intreate of the illusions and sundrie operations of spirits." The second is in Gabriel Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593, ed. Grosart, ii, 291: "Scottes discoovery of Witchcraft, dismasketh sundry egregious impostures, and in certaine principall Chapters, & speciall passages, hitteth the nayle on the head with a witnesse: howsoever I could have wished, [G. H. is nothing if he be not quasi-critical and emending] he had either dealt somewhat more curteously with Monsieur Bodine, or cõfuted him somewhat more effectually."

Of course, various of the after-writers on witchcraft, whichever side they took, either spoke of him explicitly, or alluded to him;

Webster, Wagstaffe, Ady, and others, on the same side as Scot, and Meric Casaubon, Cotta, etc., ending with Glanvil on the other. But these, the really curious in such matters may be left to search out for themselves. Only I would like to mention John Deacon's and John Walker's *Dialogicall Discourses of ... Devils* [etc.], 1601, both because they, being clergymen, had the boldness—besides adding new arguments of their own, and though their wording is somewhat less decided than their own evident belief—out of three explanations of the case of the Witch of Endor which they set before the reader, to plainly prefer Scot's view of her ventriloquism, both naming him in the text, and giving the reference to his page in their margin ; and secondly, because so far as a hasty look enables one to give an opinion, they spoke more rationally on magical and other points than one would at that date expect. They also quote the opinion of Hippocrates on magical cures, as given by Scot, p. 450, and show that they take it, though not literally, from him, and not from Hippocrates directly, by giving a reference to Scot in the margin. Afterwards they published in 1603, a second large work, *A summarie* [?] *answer to John Darrell*, the first work having been also suggested by the same impostor, and his setting forth of himself as a caster out of devils.

I have said on p. *xxii* that the discovery of Scot's name in the Subsidy Rolls for 1586 and 1587 with the affix of "Armiger" was for me an important find. And now I would explain that it was so, inasmuch as it set my mind at rest as to the oneness of the Raynold of the *Hoppe-garden* with the Reginald Scot Esquire, of the *Witchcraft*. Aware that Reynold and Reginald were variants of one name, used of and by the same person, the following facts hindered me for a long time from accepting the common belief that the Raynold and Reginald of these two works were one and the same. First, the author of the *Hoppe-garden* in each of his signatures to the editions of 1574-6-8, three in each, appears as Raynold. In the marriage entry, in the pay-account of the Kent forces, in the Muster-roll, and in the Will, it is also Raynold. But in 1584, throughout the *Witchcraft*, that is, four times in all, the name appears as Reginald. Secondly, in the Will of 1599, in accordance with the want of any title on the title-page of the *Hoppe-garden*, he describes himself as "gent", and in the Inquisitio p. m., though he is called Reginald, the document being in Latin, he

is, as in his Will, "generosus". But in the title-page of the *Witchcraft*, he is Reginald Scot Esquire. The finding no evidence of the separate existence of a Raynold and a Reginald, the frequent references to the Scriptures in the *Witchcraft*, and the very frequent references to the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, in the "Address to the Reader" of the *Hoppe-garden*, the use in both works, as already quoted, of certain legal phrases, and the occurrence in the prefatory part of the *Hoppe-garden* of "with the licour (or rather the lucre)", and "condemne the man, or rather the mynde", a trick of language not unfrequently repeated in the *Discoverie*, a trick resulting from his love of irony, shook my doubts. But there were still, the want of any title after the name in the *Hoppe-garden*, the "gent" of the Will, and the "generosus" of the Inquisitio, as against the "Esquire" of the *Discoverie*. First, however, Hunter's suggestion, that his esquireship was due to his having been appointed a Justice of the Peace, and then the discovery of armiger after his name, have removed all reasonable doubts; and to turn our belief to a positive certainty, it only remains to discover that he was a Justice of the Peace.

Possibly the reader may now expect some pages on Scot's style as a writer, and on his claim—his claim, yet not one made by himself—to be considered an English classic. But, besides that, I am not "greatly æsthetic", and besides having expressed my opinions in more than one place in this Introduction, I think that any reader, with any appreciation of style, and of the manner in which an argument ought to be carried out, can come to but one conclusion. Such belief, I may add, is strengthened by this, that most writers whom I have consulted are of this opinion : and I would conclude with three quotations, chiefly regarding the way in which he carried out his argument. The Rev. Jos. Hunter, in his MS. *Chorus Vatum*, ch. v, says : "In fact, I had no notion of the admirable character of this book till I read it this September 1839. It is one of the few instances in which a bold spirit opposes himself to the popular belief, and seeks to throw protection over a class of the defenceless. In my opinion, he ought to stand very prominent in any catalogue of Persons who have been public benefactors."

"To answer his argument was wholly impossible, and though the publication of his book did not put an end to the notion which con-

tinued very prevalent for a century afterwards [though we know from Ady that it greatly checked the belief for a time], yet it had, I have no doubt, much to do with the silent and gradual extinction of it."

So D'Israeli, in his *Amenities of Literature*, has these words : "A single volume sent forth from the privacy of a retired student, by its silent influence may mark an epoch in the history of the human mind."

"Such a volume was *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, by Reginald Scot, a singular work, which may justly claim the honour in this country of opening that glorious career which is dear to humanity and fatal to imposture."

Thirdly, Professor W. T. Gairdner, M.D. and LL.D., thus speaks, in his address on "Insanity : Modern Views as to its Nature and Treatment", read before the Glasgow Medico-Chirurgical Society : "But I cannot leave it [witchcraft] . . . without expressing, more strongly than even Mr. Lecky does, the unqualified admiration and surprise which arise in the mind on finding that in 1584 . . . there was at least one man in England . . . who could scan the whole field of demonology, and all its terrible results in history, with an eye as clear from superstition, and a judgment as sound and unwavering in its opposition to abuses, as that of Mr. Lecky himself. There is only one book, so far as I know, in any language, written in the sixteenth or even the seventeenth century, that merits this praise : and it is a book which, notwithstanding its wide human interest, its great and solid learning, and a charming English style that makes it most readable, even at the present day, has never been reprinted for two hundred years, and is therefore extremely inaccessible to most readers. Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* . . . stands brightly out amid the darkness of its own and the succeeding age, as a perfectly unique example of sagacity amounting to genius." He adds : "Nothing, however, is more evident than that Scot, however indebted to Wier (and both of them, probably, to Cornelius Agrippa . . .), was far in advance of either in the clearness of his views and the unwavering steadiness of his leanings to the side of humanity and justice."

NOTE.—*The italic numerals in the side margins denote the pages of the first, the ordinary numbers those of the second edition.*

The diſcouerie of witchcraft,

Wherein the lewde dealing of witches *and witchmongers is notablie detected, the* knauerie of coniurors, the impietie of inchan- *tors, the follie of ſoothſaiers, the impudent falſ-* hood of couſenors, the infidelitie of atheiſts, *the peſtilent practiſes of Pythoniſts, the* curioſitie of figurecaſters, the va- *nitie of dreamers, the begger-* lie art of Alcu- myſtrie,

The abhomination of idolatrie, the hor- *rible art of poiſoning, the vertue and power of* naturall magike, and all the conueiances *of Legierdemaine and iuggling are deciphered:* and many other things opened, which *haue long lien hidden, howbeit* verie neceſſarie to be knowne.

Heerevnto is added a treatiſe vpon the *nature and ſubſtance of ſpirits and diuels,* &c: all latelie written *by Reginald Scot* Eſquire.

1. Iohn. 4, 1.

Beleeue not euerie ſpirit, but trie the ſpirits, whether they are of God; for manie falſe prophets are gone out into the world, &c.

1584

SCOT'S

Diſcovery of VVitchcraft:

PROVING

The common opinions of Witches contracting with Divels, Spirits, or Familiars; and their power to kill, torment, and conſume the bodies of men women, and children, or other creatures by diſeaſes or otherwiſe; their flying in the Air, &c. To be but imaginary Erronious conceptions and novelties;

WHEREIN ALSO,

The lewde unchriſtian practiſes of Witchmongers, upon aged, melancholy, ignorant, and ſuperſtious people in extorting confeſſions, by inhumane terrors and tortures is notably detected.

ALSO
- The knavery and confederacy of Conjurors.
- The impious blaſphemy of Inchanters.
- The impoſture of Soothſayers, and Infidelity of Atheiſts.
- The deluſion of Pythoniſts, Figure-caſters, Aſtrologers, and vanity of Dreamers.
- The fruitleſſe beggerly art of Alchimiſtry.
- The horrible art of Poiſoning and all the tricks and conveyances of juggling and Liegerdemain are fully deciphered.

With many other things opened that have long lain hidden: though very neceſſary to be known for the undeceiving of Judges, Juſtices, and Juries, and for the preſervation of poor, aged, deformed, ignorant people; frequently taken, arraigned, condemned and executed for Witches, when according to a right underſtanding, and a good conſcience, Phyſick, Food, and neceſſaries should be adminiſtred to them.

Whereunto is added, a treatiſe upon the nature, and ſubſtance of Spirits and Divels, &c. all written and publiſhed in *Anno* 1584. by *Reginald Scot*, Eſquire.

LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Cotes*. 1651.

Size, Fol., 10¼ in. × 6⅛.

THE
Diſcovery of Witchcraft:

PROVING,

That the Compacts and Contracts of WITCHES with *Devils* and all *Infernal Spirits* or *Familiars*, are but Erroneous Novelties and Imaginary Conceptions.

Alſo diſcovering, How far their power extendeth, in Killing, Tormenting, Conſuming, or Curing the bodies of Men, Women, Children, or Animals, by Charms, Philtres, Periapts, Pentacles, Curſes, and Conjurations.

WHEREIN LIKEWISE

The Unchriſtian Practices and Inhumane Dealings of *Searchers* and *Witch-tryers* upon *Aged*, *Melancholly*, and *Superſtitious* people, in extorting Confeſſions by Terrors and Tortures, and in deviſing falſe Marks and Symptoms, are notably Detected.

And the Knavery of *Juglers*, *Conjurers*, *Charmers*, *Soothſayers*, *Figure-Caſters*, *Dreamers*, *Alchymiſts* and *Philterers*; with many other things that have long lain hidden, fully Opened and Deciphered.

ALL WHICH

Are very neceſſary to be known for the undeceiving of *Judges*, *Juſtices*, and *Jurors*, before they paſs Sentence upon Poor, Miſerable and Ignorant People; who are frequenly Arraigned, Condemned, and Executed for *Witches* and *Wizzards*.

IN SIXTEEN BOOKS.

By REGINALD SCOT *Eſquire.*

Whereunto is added

An excellent Diſcourſe of the *Nature* and *Subſtance*

OF

DEVILS and SPIRITS,

IN TWO BOOKS:

The *Firſt* by the aforeſaid *Author:* The *Second* now added in this *Third Edition*, as Succedaneous to the *former*, and conducing to the compleating of the *Whole Work*: With *Nine Chapters* at the beginning of the *Fifteenth.** *Book* of the *DISCOVERY.*

LONDON:

Printed for *A. Clark*, and are to be ſold by *Dixy Page* at the *Turks-Head* in *Cornhill* near the *Royall Exchange*, 1665.

* [*Sic.*]

To the Honorable, mine especiall good A. ii. A.
Lord, Sir Roger Manwood Knight, Lord
cheefe Baron of hir Majesties Court
of the Eschequer.

INSOMUCH as I know that your Lordship is by nature whollie inclined, and in purpose earnestly bent to releeve the poore, and that not onlie with hospitalitie and almes, but by diverse other devises and waies tending to their comfort, having (as it were) framed and set your selfe to the helpe and maintenance of their estate ; as appeareth by your charge and travell in that behalfe. Whereas also you have a speciall care for the supporting of their right, and redressing of their wrongs, as neither despising their calamitie, nor yet forgetting their complaint, seeking all meanes for their amendement, and for the reformation of their disorders, even as a verie father to the poore. Finallie, for that I am a poore member of that commonwelth, where your Lordship is a principall person; I thought this my travell, in the behalfe of the poore, the aged, and the simple, might be/ verie fitlie commended unto you : A. ii. v.
for a weake house requireth a strong staie. In which respect I give God thanks, that hath raised up unto me so mightie a freend for/ them A. v.
as your Lordship is, who in our lawes have such knowledge, in government such discretion, in these causes such experience, and in the commonwealth such authoritie; and neverthelesse vouchsafe to descend to the consideration of these base and inferior matters, which minister more care and trouble, than worldlie estimation.

And in somuch as your Lordship knoweth, or rather exerciseth the office of a judge, whose part it is to heare with courtesie, and to determine with equitie ; it cannot but be apparent unto you, that when punishment exceedeth the fault, it is rather to be thought vengeance than correction. In which respect I knowe you spend more time and travell in the conversion and reformation, than in the subversion & confusion of offenders, as being well pleased to augment your owne private paines, to the end you may diminish their publike smart. For in truth, that commonwealth remaineth in wofull state, where fetters and halters beare more swaie than mercie and due compassion.

Howbeit, it is naturall to unnaturall people, and peculiar unto witchmongers, to pursue the poore, to accuse the simple, and to kill the innocent ; supplieng in rigor and malice towards others, that

which they themselves want in proofe and discretion, or the other in offense or occasion. But as a cruell hart and an honest mind doo seldome meete and feed togither in a dish ; so a discreet and mercifull magistrate, and a happie commonwealth cannot be separated asunder. How much then are we bound to God, who hath given us a Queene, that of justice is not only the very perfect image & paterne ; but also
A. 2. of mercie & clemencie (under God) the meere fountaine &/ bodie it
A. iii. selfe? In somuch as they which hunt most after bloud in/ these daies, have least authoritie to shed it. Moreover, sith I see that in cases where lenitie might be noisome, & punishment wholesome to the commonwealth ; there no respect of person can move you, no authoritie can abash you, no feare, no threts can daunt you in performing the dutie of justice.

In that respect againe I find your Lordship a fit person, to judge and looke upon this present treatise. Wherein I will bring before you, as it were to the barre, two sorts of most arrogant and wicked people, the first challenging to themselves, the second attributing unto others, that power which onelie apperteineth to God,[a] who onelie is the Creator of all things,[b] who onelie searcheth the heart and reines, who onelie[c] knoweth our imaginations and thoughts, who onelie[d] openeth all secrets, who[e] onelie worketh great wonders, who onelie hath power[f] to raise up & cast downe ; who onelie maketh thunder, lightning, raine, tempests, and restraineth them at his pleasure ; who onelie[g] sendeth life and death, sicknesse & health, wealth and wo; who neither giveth nor lendeth his[h] glorie to anie creature.

[a] Apoc. 4, 11.
[b] Rom. 8. Acts. 5. Apoc. 2.
[c] Luke. 16.
[d] Dan. 2. & 28, & 47.
[e] Psalm. 72. & 136. Jer. 5.
[f] Job, 5. & 36 Sam. 12. 1. Reg. 8. 2. Reg. 3. Isaie. 5. Zach. 10. & 14. Amos. 4. 7.
[g] Job. 1.
[h] Isaie. 42, 8.

And therefore, that which greeveth me to the bottome of my hart, is, that these witchmongers cannot be content, to wrest out of Gods hand his almightie power, and keepe it themselves, or leave it with a witch : but that, when by drift of argument they are made to laie downe the bucklers, they yeeld them up to the divell, or at the least praie aid of him, as though the raines of all mens lives and actions were committed into his hand ; and that he sat at the sterne, to guide and direct the course of the whole world, imputing unto him power and abilitie inough to doo as great things, and as strange miracles as ever Christ did.

A. 2. v. But the doctors of this supernaturall doctrine saie/ somtimes, that
A. iii. v. the witch doth all these things by vertue of hir/ charmes ; sometimes that a spirituall, sometimes that a corporall divell doth accomplish it; sometimes they saie that the divell doth but make the witch beleeve she doth that which he himselfe hath wrought ; sometimes that the divell seemeth to doo that by compulsion, which he doth most willinglie. Finallie, the writers hereupon are so eloquent, and full of varietie ; that sometimes they write that the divell dooth all this by

Gods permission onelie ; sometimes by his licence, somtimes by his appointment : so as (in effect and truth) not the divell, but the high and mightie king of kings, and Lord of hosts, even God himselfe, should this waie be made obedient and servile to obeie and performe the will & commandement of a malicious old witch, and miraculouslie to answere hir appetite, as well in everie trifling vanitie, as in most horrible executions ; as the revenger of a doting old womans imagined wrongs, to the destruction of manie innocent children, and as a supporter of hir passions, to the undoing of manie a poore soule. And I see not, but a witch may as well inchant, when she will ; as a lier may lie when he list : and so should we possesse nothing, but by a witches licence and permission.

And now forsooth it is brought to this point, that all divels, which were woont to be spirituall, may at their pleasure become corporall, and so shew themselves familiarlie to witches and conjurors, and to none other, and by them onlie may be made tame, and kept in a box, &c. So as a malicious old woman may command hir divell to plague hir neighbor : and he is afflicted in manner and forme as she desireth. But then commeth another witch, and she biddeth hir divell helpe, and he healeth the same partie. So as they/ make it a kingdome A 3
divided in it selfe, and therefore I trust it will not long endure, but will shortlie be overthrowne, according to the words of our Savior, *Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur*, Everie king/dome divided in *A.* iiii.
it selfe shalbe desolate.

And although some saie that the divell is the witches instrument, to bring hir purposes and practises to passe : yet others saie that she is his instrument, to execute his pleasure in anie thing, and therefore to be executed. But then (me thinks) she should be injuriouslie dealt withall, and put to death for anothers offense : for actions are not judged by instrumentall causes ; neither dooth the end and purpose of that which is done, depend upon the meane instrument. Finallie, if the witch doo it not, why should the witch die for it? But they saie that witches are persuaded, and thinke, that they doo indeed those mischeefs ; and have a will to performe that which the divell committeth : and that therefore they are worthie to die. By which reason everie one should be executed, that wisheth evill to his neighbor, &c. But if the will should be punished by man, according to the offense against God, we should be driven by thousands at once to the slaughterhouse or butcherie. For whosoever loatheth correction Proverb. 5.
shall die. And who should escape execution, if this lothsomnesse (I saie) should extend to death by the civill lawes. Also the reward of sinne is death. Howbeit, everie one that sinneth, is not to be put to death by the magistrate. But (my Lord) it shalbe proved in my

booke, and your Lordship shall trie it to be true, as well here at home in your native countrie, as also abrode in your severall circuits, that (besides them that be *Venificæ*, which are plaine poisoners) there will be found among our witches onelie two sorts; the one sort being such
A 3 v by imputation, as/ so thought of by others (and these are abused, and not abusors) the other by acceptation, as being willing so to be accompted (and these be meere cousenors.)

Instit. lib. 5. ca. 8. sect. 6. Item upon Deut. cap. 18. Lib. de lamiis, pag. 5. A. iiij. v.

Calvine treating of these magicians, calleth them cousenors, saieng that they use their juggling knacks onelie to amase or abuse the people; or else for fame: but he/ might rather have said for gaine. Erastus himselfe, being a principall writer in the behalfe of witches omnipotencie, is forced to confesse, that these Greeke words, *μαγία, μαγγαγία, φαρμακία*, are most commonlie put for illusion, false packing, cousenage, fraud, knaverie and deceipt: and is further driven to saie, that in ancient time, the learned were not so blockish, as not to see that the promises of magicians and inchanters were false, and nothing else but knaverie, cousenage, and old wives fables; and yet defendeth he their flieng in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, &c.

But as Erastus disagreeth herein with himselfe and his freends: so is there no agreement among anie of those writers, but onlie in cruelties, absurdities, and impossibilities. And these (my Lord) that fall into so manifest contradictions, and into such absurd asseverations, are not of the inferior sort of writers; neither are they all papists, but men of such accompt, as whose names give more credit to their cause, than their writings. In whose behalfe I am sorie, and partlie for reverence suppresse their fondest errors and fowlest absurdities; dealing speciallie with them that most contend in crueltie,[a] whose feete are swift to shed bloud, striving (as [b]Jesus the sonne of Sirach saith) and hasting (as [c]Salomon the sonne of David saith) to powre out the bloud of the innocent; whose heat against these poore wretches cannot be allaied with anie other liquor than bloud. And therfore I feare that [d]under their wings will be found the bloud of the soules of the poore, at that daie, when the Lord shall saie;/ [e]Depart
A 4 from me ye bloudthirstie men.

[a] Isaie. 59, 7. Rom. 3, 15.
[b] Eccl. 27, 5.
[c] Prov. 1, 16.
[d] Jer. 2, 34.
[e] Ps. 139, 15. Esai. 33, 15.

And bicause I know your Lordship will take no counsell against innocent bloud, but rather suppresse them that seeke to embrue their hands therein; I have made choise to open their case unto you, and to laie their miserable calamitie before your feete: following herein
[A. v.] the/ advise of that learned man Brentius, who saith; *Si quis admonuerit magistratum, ne in miseras illas mulierculas sæviat, eum ego arbitror divinitùs excitatum*; that is, If anie admonish the magistrate not to deale too hardlie with these miserable wretches, that are called

In epistola ad Jo. Wier.

witches, I thinke him a good instrument raised up for this purpose by God himselfe.

But it will perchance be said by witchmongers ; to wit, by such as attribute to witches the power which apperteineth to God onelie, that I have made choise of your Lordship to be a patrone to this my booke; bicause I think you favour mine opinions, and by that meanes may the more freelie publish anie error or conceipt of mine owne, which should rather be warranted by your Lordships authoritie, than by the word of God, or by sufficient argument. But I protest the contrarie, and by these presents I renounce all protection, and despise all freendship that might serve to helpe towards the suppressing or supplanting of truth : knowing also that your Lordship is farre from allowing anie injurie done unto man ; much more an enimie to them that go about to dishonor God, or to embezill the title of his immortall glorie. But bicause I know you to be perspicuous, and able to see downe into the depth and bottome of causes, and are not to be carried awaie with the vaine persuasion or superstition either of man, custome, time, or multitude, but mooved with the authoritie of truth onlie : I crave your countenance herein, even so farre foorth, and no further, than the lawe of God, the lawe of nature, the lawe of this land, and the/ rule A 4 v
of reason shall require. Neither doo I treat for these poore people anie otherwise, but so, as with one hand you may sustaine the good, and with the other suppresse the evill : wherein you shalbe thought a father to orphans, an advocate to widowes, a guide to the blind, a staie to the lame, a comfort & countenance to the honest, a scourge/ and terror to the wicked. [*A. v. v.*]

Thus farre I have beene bold to use your Lordships patience, being offended with my selfe, that I could not in brevitie utter such matter as I have delivered amplie: whereby (I confesse) occasion of tediousnes might be ministred, were it not that your great gravitie joined with your singular constancie in reading and judging be means of the contrarie. And I wish even with all my hart, that I could make people conceive the substance of my writing, and not to misconstrue anie part of my meaning. Then doubtles would I persuade my selfe, that the companie of witchmongers, &c : being once decreased, the number also of witches, &c : would soone be diminished. But true be the words of the Poet,* [* Homer.]

Haudquaquam poteris sortirier omnia solus,
Námque aliis divi bello pollere dederunt,
Huic saltandi artem, voce huic cytharáque canendi :
Rursum alii inseruit sagax in pectore magnus
Jupiter ingenium, &c.

And therefore as doubtfull to prevaile by persuading, though I have reason and common sense on my side ; I rest upon earnest wishing ; namelie, to all people an absolute trust in God the creator, and not in creatures, which is to make flesh our arme : that God may have his due honor, which by the undutifulnes of manie is turned into dishonor, and lesse cause of offense and errour given by common received evill example. And to your Lordship I wish, as increase of honour, so continuance of good health, and happie daies.

Your Lordships to be commanded

Reginald Scot.

To the right worshipfull Sir

[*A.* vi.] A. *a*

Thomas Scot Knight, &c.

[Rom. and Ital. of this reversed from original.]

SIr, I see among other malefactors manie poore old women convented before you for working of miracles, other wise called witchcraft, and therefore I thought you also a meet person to whom I might cõmend my booke. And here I have occasion to speake of your sincere administration of justice, and of your dexteritie, discretion, charge, and travell emploied in that behalfe, wherof I am oculatus testis. Howbeit I had rather refer the reader to common fame, and their owne eies and eares to be satisfied; than to send them to a Stationers shop, where manie times lies are vendible, and truth contemptible. For I being of your house, of your name, & of your bloud; my foot being under your table, my hand in your dish, or rather in your pursse, might bee thought to flatter you in that, wherein (I knowe) I should rather offend you than please you. And what need I currie favour with my most assured friend? And if I should onelie publish those vertues (though they be manie) which give me speciall occasion to exhibit this my travell unto you, I should doo as a painter, that describeth the foot of a notable personage, and leaveth all the best features in his bodie untouched.

I therefore (at this time) doo onelie desire you to consider of my report, concerning the evidence that is commonlie brought before you against them. See first whether the evidence be not frivolous, & whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of ghesses, presumptions, & impossibilities contrarie to reason, scrip-/ ture, and nature. See also what persons complaine upon them, A *a* 2 whether they be not of the basest, the unwisest, & most faithles kind of people. Also/ may it please you to waie what accusations and [*A.* vi. *v.*] crimes they laie to their charge, namelie: She was at my house of late, she would have had a pot of milke, she departed in a chafe bicause she had it not, she railed, she curssed, she mumbled and whispered, and finallie she said she would be even with me: and soone after my child, my cow, my sow, or my pullet died, or was strangelie taken. Naie (if it please your Worship) I have further proofe: I was with a wise woman, and she told me I had an ill neighbour, & that she would come to my house yer it were long, and so did she; and that she had a marke above hir waste, & so had she: and God forgive me, my stomach hath gone against hir a great while. Hir mother before hir was counted a witch, she hath beene beaten

and scratched by the face till bloud was drawne upon hir, bicause she hath beene suspected, & afterwards some of those persons were said to amend. These are the certeinties that I heare in their evidences.

Note also how easilie they may be brought to confesse that which they never did, nor lieth in the power of man to doo : and then see whether I have cause to write as I doo. Further, if you shall see that infidelitie, poperie, and manie other manifest heresies be backed and shouldered, and their professors animated and hartened, by yeelding to creatures such infinit power as is wrested out of Gods hand, and attributed to witches : finallie, if you shall perceive that I have faithfullie and trulie delivered and set downe the condition and state of the witch, and also of the witchmonger, and have confuted by reason and lawe, and by the word of God it selfe, all mine adversaries objections and arguments : then let me have your countenance against them that maliciouslie oppose themselves against me./

A a 2 [*A*. vii.] My greatest adversaries are yoong ignorance and old custome. For what follie soever tract of time hath fostered, it is/ so superstitiouslie pursued of some, as though no error could be acquainted with custome. But if the lawe of nations would joine with such custome, to the maintenance of ignorance, and to the suppressing of knowledge; the civilest countrie in the world would soone become barbarous, &c. For as knowledge and time discovereth errors, so dooth superstition and ignorance in time breed them. And concerning the opinions of such, as wish that ignorance should rather be mainteined, than knowledge busilie searched for, bicause thereby offense may grow : I answer, that we are commanded by Christ himselfe to search for knowledge : for it is the kings honour (as Salomon saith) to search out a thing.

John. 5.
Prov. 15, 1.

Aristotle said to Alexander, that a mind well furnished was more beautifull than a bodie richlie araied. What can be more odious to man, or offensive to God, than ignorance : for through ignorance the Jewes did put Christ to death. Which ignorance whosoever forsaketh, is promised life everlasting : and therfore among Christians it should be abhorred above all other things. For even as when we wrestle in the darke, we tumble in the mire, &c : so when we see not the truth, we wallow in errors. A blind man may seeke long in the rishes yer he find a needle; and as soone is a doubt discussed by ignorance. Finallie, truth is no sooner found out in ignorance, than a sweet savor in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and give them no leave to use it, men were much better be without it than have it. For it is, as to have a tallent, and to hide it under the earth; or to put a candle under a bushell : or as to have a ship, & to let hir lie

Acts. 3.
Proverbs. 9.

Matth. 25.
Matth. 5.
Luke. 8.

alwaies in the docke : which thing how profitable it is, I can saie somewhat by experience./

But hereof I need saie no more, for everie man seeth that none can be happie who knoweth not what felicitie meaneth. For what availeth it to have riches, and not to have the use/ thereof? Trulie the heathen herein deserved more commendation than manie christians, for they spared no paine, no cost, nor travell to atteine to knowledge. Pythagoras travelled from Thamus to Aegypt, and afterwards into Crete and Lacedæmonia : and Plato out of Athens into Italie and Aegypt, and all to find out hidden secrets and knowledge : which when a man hath, he seemeth to be separated from mortalitie. For pretious stones, and all other creatures of what value soever, are but counterfeits to this jewell : they are mortall, corruptible, and inconstant; this is immortall, pure and certeine. Wherfore if I have searched and found out any good thing, that ignorance and time hath smothered, the same I commend unto you : to whom though I owe all that I have, yet am I bold to make other partakers with you in this poore gift. A a 2 v [A. vii. v.]

Your loving cousen,

Reg. Scot.

[*A*. viii]. A *a* 3

To the right worshipfull his loving friends, *Maister Doctor Coldwell Deane of Ro-* chester, and Maister Doctor Read- *man Archdeacon of Can- turburie, &c.*

[Rom. and Ital. reversed ; the italics of original smaller than in that to Sir Th. Scot.]

HAving found out two such civill Magistrates, as for direction of judgement, and for ordering matters concerning justice in this common wealth (in my poore opinion) are verie singular persons, who (I hope) will accept of my good will, and examine my booke by their experience, as unto whom the matter therin conteined dooth greatlie apperteine: I have now againe considered of two other points : namelie, divinitie and philosophie, whereupon the groundworke of my booke is laid. Wherein although I know them to be verie sufficientlie informed, yet dooth not the judgement and censure of those causes so properlie apperteine to them as unto you, whose fame therein hath gotten preeminence above all others that I know of your callings : and in that respect I am bold to joine you with them, being all good neighbours togither in this commonwelth, and loving friends unto me. I doo not present this unto you, bicause it is meet for you; but for that you are meet for it (I meane) to judge upon it, to defend it, and if need be to correct it; knowing that you have learned of that grave counseller Cato, not to shame or discountenance any bodie. For if I thought you as readie, as able, to disgrace me for mine insufficiencie; I should not have beene hastie (knowing your learning) to have written unto you: but if I should be abashed to write to you, I should shew my selfe ignorant of your courtesie.

I knowe mine owne weakenesse, which if it have beene able to mainteine this argument, the cause is the stronger. Eloquent words may please the eares, but sufficient matter persuadeth the hart. So as, if I exhibit wholsome drinke (thought it be small) in a treene* dish with a faithfull hand, I hope it will bee as well accepted, as strong wine offered in a silver bowle with a flattering heart. And surelie it is a point of as great liberalitie to receive a small thing thankeful/lie, as to give and distribute great and costlie gifts bountifullie : for there is more supplied with courteous answers than with rich rewards. The ty/rant Dionysius was not so hated for his tyrannie, as for his churlish and strange behaviour. Among the poore Israelites sacrifices, God was satisfied with the tenth part of

[* = wooden]

A *a* 3 v.

[*A*. viii. *v*.]

an Ephah of flower, so as it were fine and good. Christ liked well of the poore widowes mite, Lewis of France accepted a rape root of clownish Conan, Cyrus vouchsafed to drinke a cup of cold water out of the hand of poore Sinætes: and so it may please you to accept this simple booke at my hands, which I faithfullie exhibit unto you, not knowing your opinions to meet with mine, but knowing your learning and judgement to be able as well to correct me where I speake herein unskilfullie, as others when they speake hereof maliciouslie.

Some be such dogs as they will barke at my writings, whether I mainteine or refute this argument: as Diogenes snarled both at the Rhodians and at the Lacedæmonians: at the one, bicause they were brave; at the other, bicause they were not brave. Homer himselfe could not avoid reprochfull speaches. I am sure that they which never studied to learne anie good thing, will studie to find faults hereat. I for my part feare not these wars, nor all the adversaries I have; were it not for certeine cowards, who (I knowe) will come behind my backe and bite me.

But now to the matter. My question is not (as manie fondlie suppose) whether there be witches or naie: but whether they can doo such miraculous works as are imputed unto them. Good Maister Deane, is it possible for a man to breake his fast with you at Rochester, and to dine that day at Durham with Maister Doctor Matthew; or can your enimie maime you, when the Ocean sea is betwixt you? What reall communitie is betwixt a spirit and a bodie? May a spirituall bodie become temporall at his pleasure? Or may a carnall bodie become invisible? Is it likelie that the lives of all Princes, magistrates, & subjects, should depend upon the will, or rather upon the wish of a poore malicious doting old foole; and that power exempted from the wise, the rich, the learned, the godlie, &c? Finallie, is it possible for man or woman to do anie of those miracles expressed in my booke, & so constantlie reported by great clarks? If you saie, no; then am I satisfied. If you saie that God, absolutelie, or by meanes can accomplish all those, and manie more, I go with you. But witches may well saie they can doo these things, howbeit they cannot shew how they doo them. If I for my part should saie I could doo/ those things, my verie adversaries would saie A a 4. that I lied.

O Maister Archdeacon, is it not pitie, that that which is said to be doone with the almightie power of the most high God, and by our saviour his onelie sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, shouldbe referred to a baggage old womans nod/ or wish, &c? Good Sir, is it not one *B.* i. manifest kind of Idolatrie, for them that labor and are laden, to come

unto witches to be refreshed? If witches could helpe whom they are said to have made sicke, I see no reason, but remedie might as well be required at their hands, as a pursse demanded of him that hath stolne it. But trulie it is manifold idolatrie, to aske that of a creature, which none can give but the Creator. The papist hath some colour of scripture to mainteine his idoll of bread, but no Jesuiticall distinction can cover the witchmongers idolatrie in this behalfe. Alas, I am sorie and ashamed to see how manie die, that being said to be bewitched, onelie seeke for magicall cures, whom wholsome diet and good medicines would have recovered. I dare assure you both, that there would be none of these cousening kind of witches, did not witchmongers mainteine them, followe them, and beleeve in them and their oracles : whereby indeed all good learning and honest arts are overthrowne. For these that most advance their power, and mainteine the skill of these witches, understand no part thereof : and yet being manie times wise in other matters, are made fooles by the most fooles in the world.

Me thinks these magicall physicians deale in the commonwelth, much like as a certeine kind of Cynicall people doo in the church, whose severe saiengs are accompted among some such oracles, as may not be doubted of; who in stead of learning and authoritie (which they make contemptible) doo feed the people with their owne devises and imaginations, which they prefer before all other divinitie: and labouring to erect a church according to their owne fansies, wherein all order is condemned, and onelie their magicall words and curious directions advanced, they would utterlie overthrowe the true Church. And even as these inchanting Paracelsians abuse the people, leading them from the true order of physicke to their charmes : so doo these other (I saie) dissuade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whisper in mens eares to teach them their frierlike traditions. And of this sect the cheefe author at this
A a 4 v time is/ one Browne, a fugitive, a meet cover for such a cup: as here-
[* Arians] tofore the Anabaptists, the Arrians,* and the Franciscane friers.

Trulie not onlie nature, being the foundation of all perfection; but also scripture, being the mistresse and director thereof, and of all christianitie, is beautified with knowledge and learning. For as nature without discipline dooth naturallie incline unto vanities, and
Rom. 2, 27. as it were sucke up errors : so doth the word, or rather the letter of
2. Cor. 3, 6. the scripture, without understanding, not onlie make us devoure errors, but yeeldeth us up to death & destruction : & therefore Paule saith he was not a minister of the letter, but of the spirit.

Thus have I beene bold to deliver unto the world, and to you, those
B. i. v. simple/ notes, reasons, and arguments, which I have devised or col-

lected out of other authors : which I hope shall be hurtfull to none, but to my selfe great comfort, if it may passe with good liking and acceptation. If it fall out otherwise, I should thinke my paines ill imploied. For trulie, in mine opinion, whosoever shall performe any thing, or atteine to anie knowledge; or whosoever should travell throughout all the nations of the world, or (if it were possible) should peepe into the heavens, the consolation or admiration thereof were nothing pleasant unto him, unles he had libertie to impart his knowledge to his friends. Wherein bicause I have made speciall choise of you, I hope you will read it, or at the least laie it up in your studie with your other bookes, among which there is none dedicated to any with more good will. And so long as you have it, it shall be unto you (upon adventure of my life) a certeine amulet, periapt, circle, charme, &c : to defend you from all inchantments.

Your loving friend

Reg. Scot.

B. ii. B

To the Readers.

TO you that are wise & discreete few words may suffice: for such a one judgeth not at the first sight, nor reproveth by heresaie; but patientlie heareth, and thereby increaseth in understanding: which patience bringeth foorth experience, whereby true judgement is directed. I shall not need therefore to make anie further sute to you, but that it would please you to read my booke, without the prejudice of time, or former conceipt: and having obteined this at your hands, I submit my selfe unto your censure. But to make a solemne sute to you that are parciall readers, desiring you to set aside parcialitie, to take in good part my writing, and with indifferent eies to looke upon my booke, were labour lost, and time ill imploied. For I should no more prevaile herein, than if a hundred yeares since I should have intreated your predecessors to beleeve, that Robin goodfellowe, that great and ancient bulbegger, had beene but a cousening merchant, and no divell indeed.

Isai. 11.
Prover. 1.

If I should go to a papist, and saie; I praie you beleeve my writings, wherein I will proove all popish charmes, conjurations, exorcismes, benedictions and cursses, not onelie to be ridiculous, and of none effect, but also to be impious and contrarie to Gods word: I should as hardlie therein win favour at their hands, as herein obteine credit at yours. Neverthelesse, I doubt not, but to/ use the matter so, that as well the massemoonger for his part, as the witchmoonger for his, shall both be ashamed of their professions.

B. ii v.

But Robin goodfellowe ceaseth now to be much feared, and poperie is sufficientlie discovered. Nevertheles, witches charms, and conjurors cousenages are yet thought effectuall. Yea the Gentiles have espied the fraud of their cousening oracles, and our cold prophets and inchanters make us fooles still, to the shame of us all, but speciallie of papists, who conjure everie thing, and thereby bring to passe nothing. They saie to their candles; I conjure you to endure for ever: and yet they last not a pater noster while the longer. They conjure water to be wholesome both for bodie and soule: but the bodie (we see) is never the better for it, nor the soule anie whit

reformed by it. And therefore I mervell, that when they see their owne conjurations confuted and brought to naught, or at the least void of effect, that they (of all other) will yet give such credit, countenance, and authoritie to the vaine cousenages of witches and conjurors; as though their charmes and conjurations could produce more/ apparent, certeine, and better effects than their owne. B v

But my request unto all you that read my booke shall be no more, but that it would please you to conferre my words with your owne sense and experience, and also with the word of God. If you find your selves resolved and satisfied, or rather reformed and qualified in anie one point or opinion, that heretofore you held contrarie to truth, in a matter hitherto undecided, and never yet looked into; I praie you take that for advantage: and suspending your judgement, staie the sentence of condemnation against me, and consider of the rest, at your further leasure. If this may not suffice to persuade you, it cannot prevaile to annoy you: and then, that which is written without offense, may be overpassed without anie greefe.

And although mine assertion, be somewhat differing from the old inveterat opinion, which I confesse hath manie graie heares, whereby mine adversaries have gained more authoritie than reason, towards the maintenance of their presumptions and old wives fables: yet shall it fullie agree with Gods glorie, and with his holie word. And albeit there be hold taken by mine adver/saries of certeine few words or sentences in the scripture that maketh a shew for them: yet when the whole course thereof maketh against them, and impugneth the same, yea and also their owne places rightlie understood doo nothing at all releeve them: I trust their glorious title and argument of antiquitie will appeare as stale and corrupt as the apothecaries drugs, or grocers spice, which the longer they be preserved, the woorsse they are. And till you have perused my booke, ponder this in your mind, to wit, that *Sagæ*, *Thessalæ*, *Striges*, *Lamiæ* (which words and none other being in use do properlie signifie our witches) are not once found written in the old or new testament; and that Christ himselfe in his gospell never mentioned the name of a witch. And that neither he, nor Moses ever spake anie one word of the witches bargaine with the divell, their hagging, their riding in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, their hurting of children or cattell with words or charmes, their bewitching of butter, cheese, ale, &c: nor yet their transubstantiation; insomuch as the writers hereupon are not ashamed to say, that it is not absurd to affirme that there were no witches in Jobs time. The reason is, that if there had beene such witches then in beeing, Job would have said he had beene bewitched. But indeed men tooke no heed in those daies to this

B. iii.

Mal. malef. par. 2. *quæ.* 2.

1. Pet. 4. 1. doctrine of divels ; to wit, to these fables of witchcraft, which Peter saith shall be much regarded and hearkened unto in the latter daies.

Howbeit, how ancient so ever this barbarous conceipt of witches omnipotencie is, truth must not be measured by time : for everie old opinion is not sound. Veritie is not impaired, how long so ever it be suppressed ; but is to be searched out, in how darke a corner so ever it lie hidden : for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be broched too rathe. Finallie, time bewraieth old errors, & discovereth new matters of truth. Danæus himselfe saith, that this question hitherto hath never beene handled ; nor the scriptures concerning this matter have never beene expounded. To prove the antiquitie of the cause, to confirme the opini/on of the ignorant, to inforce mine adversaries arguments, to aggravate the punishments, & to accomplish the confusiō of these old women, is added the vanitie and wickednes of them, which are called witches, the arrogancie of those which take upon them to/ worke wonders, the desire that people have to hearken to such miraculous matters, unto whome most commonlie an impossibilitie is more credible than a veritie ; the ignorance of naturall causes, the ancient and universall hate conceived against the name of a witch ; their ilfavoured faces, their spitefull words, their cursses and imprecations, their charmes made in ryme, and their beggerie ; the feare of manie foolish folke, the opinion of some that are wise, the want of Robin goodfellowe and the fairies, which were woont to mainteine chat, and the common peoples talke in this behalfe ; the authoritie of the inquisitors, the learning, cunning, consent, and estimation of writers herein, the false translations and fond interpretations used, speciallie by papists ; and manie other like causes. All which toies take such hold upon mens fansies, as whereby they are lead and entised awaie from the consideration of true respects, to the condemnation of that which they know not.

Danæus in suo prologo.

B 2

B. iii. v.

Howbeit, I will (by Gods grace) in this my booke, so apparentlie decipher and confute these cavils, and all other their objections ; as everie witchmoonger shall be abashed, and all good men thereby satisfied. In the meane time, I would wish them to know that if neither the estimation of Gods omnipotencie, nor the tenor of his word, nor the doubtfulnes or rather the impossibilitie of the case, nor the small proofes brought against them, nor the rigor executed upon them, nor the pitie that should be in a christian heart, nor yet their simplicitie, impotencie, or age may suffice to suppresse the rage or rigor wherewith they are oppressed ; yet the consideration of their sex or kind ought to moove some mitigatiō of their punishment. For if nature (as Plinie reporteth) have taught a lion not to deale so roughlie with a woman as with a man, bicause she is in bodie the

weaker vessell, and in hart more inclined to pitie (which Jeremie in his lamentations seemeth to confirme) what should a man doo in this case, for whome a woman was created as an helpe and comfort unto him? In so much as, even in the lawe of nature, it is a greater offense to slea a woman than a man : not bicause a man is not the more excellent creature, but bicause a woman is the weaker vessell. And therefore among all modest and honest persons it is thought a shame to offer violence or injurie to a woman : in which respect Virgil/ saith, *Nullum memorabile nomen fœminea in pœna est.*

Lam. Jer. 3. & 4. cap. verse. 10.
1. Cor. 11. 9.
Ibid. vers. 7.
Ge. 2. 22. 18.
Arist. lib. problem. 2. 9.
Vir. Georg. [*B.* iv.]

God that knoweth my heart is witnes, and you that read my booke shall see, that my drift and purpose in this enterprise tendeth onelie to these respects. First, that the glorie and power of God be not so abridged and abased, as to be thrust into the hand or lip of a lewd old woman: whereby the worke of the Creator should be attributed to the power of a creature. Secondlie, that the religion of the gospell may be seene to stand without such peevish trumperie. Thirdlie, that lawfull favour and christian compassion be rather used towards these poore soules, than rigor and extremitie. Bicause they, which are commonlie accused of witchcraft,/ are the least sufficient of all other persons to speake for themselves ; as having the most base and simple education of all others ; the extremitie of their age giving them leave to dote, their povertie to beg, their wrongs to chide and threaten (as being void of anie other waie of revenge) their humor melancholicall to be full of imaginations, from whence cheefelie proceedeth the vanitie of their confessions ; as that they can transforme themselves and others into apes, owles, asses, dogs, cats, &c : that they can flie in the aire, kill children with charmes, hinder the comming of butter, &c.

B 2 v

And for so much as the mightie helpe themselves together, and the poore widowes crie, though it reach to heaven, is scarse heard here upon earth : I thought good (according to my poore abilitie) to make intercession, that some part of common rigor, and some points of hastie judgement may be advised upon. For the world is now at that stay (as Brentius in a most godlie sermon in these words affirmeth) that even as when the heathen persecuted the christians, if anie were accused to beleeve in Christ, the common people cried *Ad leonem:* so now, if anie woman, be she never so honest, be accused of witchcraft, they crie *Ad ignem.* What difference is betweene the rash dealing of unskilfull people, and the grave counsell of more discreet and learned persons, may appeare by a tale of Danæus his owne telling ; wherein he opposeth the rashnes of a few townesmen, to the counsell of a whole senate, preferring the follie of the one, before the wisdome of the other.

Eccl[us.] 35, 15.

At Orleance on Loyre (saith he) there was a manwitch, not only/
[*B.* iv. *v.*] taken and accused, but also convicted and condemned for witchcraft, who appealed from thence to the high court of Paris. Which accusation the senate sawe insufficient, and would not allow, but laughed thereat, lightlie regarding it ; and in the end sent him home (saith he) as accused of a frivolous matter. And yet for all that, the magistrats of Orleance were so bold with him, as to hang him up within short time after, for the same or the verie like offense. In which example is to be seene the nature, and as it were the disease of this cause : wherein (I saie) the simpler and undiscreeter sort are alwaies more hastie & furious in judgements, than men of better reputation and knowledge. Nevertheles, Eunichius saith, that these three things ; to wit, what is to be thought of witches, what their incantations can doo, and whether their punishment should extend to death, are to be well considered. And I would (saith he) they were as well knowne, as they are rashlie beleeved, both of the learned, and unlearned. And further he saith, that almost all divines, physicians and lawyers, who should best know these matters, satisfieng themselves with old custome, have given too much credit to these fables, and too rash and unjust sentence of death upon witches. But when a man pondereth (saith he) that in times past, all that swarved from the church of Rome were judged heretikes ; it is the lesse marvell, though in this matter they be blind and ignorant.

And surelie, if the scripture had beene longer suppressed, more absurd fables would have sproong up, and beene beleeved. Which credulitie though it is to be derided with laughter ; yet this their cruel-
B 3 tie is to be/ lamented with teares. For (God knoweth) manie of these poore wretches had more need to be releeved than chastised ; and more meete were a preacher to admonish them, than a gailor to keepe them ; and a physician more necessarie to helpe them, than an executioner or tormentor to hang or burne them. For proofe and due triall hereof, I will requite Danæus his tale of a manwitch (as he termeth him) with another witch of the same sex or gender.

Lib. 15. *cap.* 18. *de varietatib. rerum.*

Cardanus from the mouth of his owne father reporteth, that one Barnard, a poore servant, being in wit verie simple and rude, but in his service verie necessarie and diligent (and in that respect deerelie
[*B.* v.] beloved of his maister) professing the art of witchcraft,/ could in no wise be dissuaded from that profession, persuading himselfe that he knew all things, and could bring anie matter to passe ; bicause certeine countrie people resorted to him for helpe and counsell, as supposing by his owne talke, that he could doo somewhat. At length he was condemned to be burned : which torment he seemed more willing to suffer, than to loose his estimation in that behalfe. But his

maister having compassion upon him, and being himselfe in his princes favor, perceiving his conceipt to proceed of melancholie, obteined respit of execution for twentie daies. In which time (saith he) his maister bountifullie fed him with good fat meat, and with foure egs at a meale, as also with sweet wine : which diet was best for so grosse and weake a bodie. And being recovered so in strength, that the humor was suppressed, he was easilie woone from his absurd and dangerous opinions, and from all his fond imaginations : and confessing his error and follie, from the which before no man could remoove him by anie persuasions, having his pardon, he lived long a good member of the church, whome otherwise the crueltie of judgement should have cast awaie and destroied.

This historie is more credible than Sprengers fables, or Bodins bables, which reach not so far to the extolling of witches omnipotencie, as to the derogating of Gods glorie. For if it be true, which they affirme, that our life and death lieth in the hand of a witch ; then is it false, that God maketh us live or die, or that by him we have our being, our terme of life appointed, and our daies numbred. But surelie their charmes can no more reach to the hurting or killing of men or women, than their imaginations can extend to the stealing and carrieng awaie of horsses & mares. Neither hath God given remedies to sicknes or greefes, by words or charmes, but by hearbs and medicines ; which he himselfe hath created upon earth, and given men knowledge of the same ; that he might be glorified, for that therewith he dooth vouchsafe that the maladies of men and cattell should be cured, &c. And if there be no affliction nor calamitie, but is brought to passe by him, then let us defie the divell, renounce all his works, and not so much as once thinke or dreame upon this supernaturall power of witches ; neither let us prosecute them with such despight, whome our fansie condemneth, and our reason acquiteth: our/ evidence against them consisting in impossibilities, our proofes in unwritten verities, and our whole proceedings in doubts and difficulties./

Amos. 3. 6.
La. Jer. 3. 38.
Isai. 45. 9.
Rom. 9. 20.

[*B* v. *v*.]

Now bicause I mislike the extreame crueltie used against some of these sillie soules (whome a simple advocate having audience and justice might deliver out of the hands of the inquisitors themselves) it will be said, that I denie anie punishment at all to be due to anie witch whatsoever. Naie, bicause I bewraie the follie and impietie of them, which attribute unto witches the power of God : these witchmoongers will report, that I denie there are anie witches at all : and yet behold (saie they) how often is this word [Witch]* mentioned in the scriptures? Even as if an idolater should saie in the behalfe of images and idols, to them which denie their power and godhead, and

B 3. v.

* [ ] in text.

inveigh against the reverence doone unto them ; How dare you denie the power of images, seeing their names are so often repeated in the scriptures ? But truelie I denie not that there are witches or images : but I detest the idolatrous opinions conceived of them ; referring that to Gods worke and ordinance, which they impute to the power and malice of witches ; and attributing that honour to God, which they ascribe to idols. But as for those that in verie deed are either witches or conjurors, let them hardlie suffer such punishment as to their fault is agreeable, and as by the grave judgement of lawe is provided.

Places amended by the author, and to be read as followeth. The first number standeth for the page, the second for the line.

46. 16. except you.
51. 9. one Saddocke.
75. 21. that we of
110. 21. as Elimas.
112. 10. is reproved.
119. 16. one Necus.
126. 12. Magus as.
[*16 138. 2. the hart.
144. 25. in hir closet at Endor, or in.
168. 31. the firmament.
187. 16. reallie finished.
192. put out the first line of the page.
247. 29. write it.
257. 32. an image.
269. 16. there be masses.
333. 14. evenlie severed.
363. 26. for bellowes.
366. 27. his leman.
438. 29. exercise the.
450. 1. that it is.
463. 19.*that businesse.
471. 19. cōteineth nothing.
472. 11. I did deferre.
491. 6. so difficult.
491. 27. begat another.
503. 9. of all the.
519. 7. the Hevites.
542. 30. their reproch./

[Corrected in this 4th edition. The numbers of the 3rd line in original, *i.e.*, from 438, are smaller.]

The forren authors used in this Booke.

ÆLianus.
Aetius.
Albertus Crantzius.
Albertus Magnus.
Albumazar.
Alcoranum Franciscanorum.
Alexander Trallianus.
Algerus.
Ambrosius.
Andradias.
Andræas Gartnerus.
Andræas Massius.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Apollonius Tyanæus.
Appianus.
Apuleius.
Archelaus.
Argerius Ferrarius.*
Aristoteles.
Arnoldus de villa nova.
Artemidorus.
Athanasius.
Averroës.
Augustinus episcopus Hip.
Augustinus Niphus.
Avicennas.
Aulus Gellius.
Barnardinus de bustis.
Bartholomæus Anglicus.
Berosus Anianus.
Bodinus.
Bordinus.
Brentius.
Calvinus.
Camerarius.
Campanus.
Cardanus pater.
Cardanus filius.
Carolus Gallus.
Cassander.
Cato.
Chrysostome.
Cicero.
Clemens.
Cornelius Agrippa.
Cornelius Nepos.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Cyrillus.
Danæus.
Demetrius.
Democritus.
Didymus.
Diodorus Siculus.
Dionysius Areopagita.
Dioscorides.
Diurius.
Dodonæus.
Durandus.
Empedocles.
Ephesius.
Erasmus Roterodamus.
Erasmus Sarcerius.
Erastus.
Eudoxus.
Eusebius Cæsariensis.
Fernelius.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Fuchsius.
Galenus.
Garropius.
Gelasius.
Gemma Phrysius.
Georgius Pictorius.
Gofridus.
Goschalcus Boll.
Gratianus.
Gregorius.
Grillandus.
Guido Bonatus.
Gulielmus de sancto Clodoaldo.
Gulielmus Parisiensis.
Hemingius.
Heraclides.
Hermes Trismegistus.
Hieronymus.
Hilarius.
Hippocrates.
Homerus.
Horatius.
Hostiensis.
Hovinus.
Hyperius.
Jacobus de Chusa Carthusianus.
Iamblichus.
Jaso Pratensis.
Innocentius. 8. Papa.
Johannes Anglicus.
Johannes Baptista Neapolitanus.
Johannes Cassianus.
Johannes Montiregius.
Johannes Rivius.
Josephus ben Gorion. [* Ferre-]
Josias Simlerus.
Isidorus.
Isigonus.
Juba.
Julius Maternus.
Justinus Martyr.
Lactantius.
Lavaterus.
Laurentius Ananias.
Laurentius a villavicentio,
Leo II. Pontifex.
Lex Salicarum.
Lex 12. Tabularum.
Legenda aurea.
Legenda longa Coloniæ.
Leonardus Vairus.
Livius.
Lucanus.
Lucretius.
Ludovicus Cælius.
Lutherus.
Macrobius.
Magna Charta.
Malleus Maleficarum.

Manlius.
Marbacchius.
Marbodeus Gallus.
Marsilius Ficinus.
Martinus de Arles.
Mattheolus.
Melancthonus.//
B. vi. *v.*] B 4 v. Memphradorus.
Michael Andræas.
Musculus.
Nauclerus.
Nicephorus.
Nicholaus 5. Papa.
Nider.
Olaus Gothus.
Origines.
Ovidius.
Panormitanus.
Paulus Aegineta.
Paulus Marsus.
Persius.
Petrus de Appona.
Petrus Lombardus.
Petrus Martyr.
Peucer.
Philarchus.
Philastrius Brixiensis.
Philodotus.
Philo Judæus.
Pirkmairus.
Platina.
Plato.
Plinius.
Plotinus.
Plutarchus.
Polydorus Virgilius.
Pomœrium sermonum quadragesimalium.
Pompanatius.
Pontificale.
Ponzivibius.
Porphyrius.
Proclus.
Propertius.
Psellus.
Ptolomeus.
Pythagoras.
Quintilianus.
Rabbi Abraham.
Rabbi ben Ezra.
Rabbi David Kimhi.
Rabbi Josuah ben Levi.
Rabbi Isaach Natar.
Rabbi Levi.
Rabbi Moses.
Rabbi Sedaias Haias.
Robertus Carocullus.
Rupertus.
Sabinus.
Sadoletus.
Savanorola.
Scotus.
Seneca.
Septuaginta interpretes.
Serapio.
Socrates.
Solinus.
Speculum exemplorum.
Strabo.
Sulpitius Severus.
Synesius.
Tatianus.
Tertullianus.
Thomas Aquinas.
Themistius.
Theodoretus.
Theodorus Bizantius.
Theophrastus.
Thucidides.
Tibullus.
Tremelius.
Valerius Maximus.
Varro.
Vegetius.
Vincentius.
Virgilius.
Vitellius.
Wierus.
Xanthus historiographus.

¶ *These English.*

Barnabe Googe.
Beehive of the Romish church.
Edward Deering.
Geffrey Chaucer.
Giles Alley.
Gnimelf Maharba [Abraham Fleming].
Henrie Haward.
John Bale.
John Fox.
John Malborne.
John Record.
Primer after Yorke use.
Richard Gallis.
Roger Bacon.
Testament printed at Rhemes.
T. E. a nameles author. 467.
Thomas Hilles.
Thomas Lupton.
Thomas Moore Knight.
Thomas Phaer.
T. R. a nameles author. 393.
William Lambard.
W. W. a nameles author. 542.

[These Contents in original end the book as do our Indices.]

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[* doe]
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[* *sic*]

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[* make]

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Book II.

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THE END.

The discoverie of Witchcraft.

¶ *The first Booke.*

The first Chapter.

An impeachment of Witches power in meteors and elementarie bodies tending to the rebuke of such as attribute too much unto them.

THE fables of Witchcraft have taken so fast hold and deepe root in the heart of man, that fewe or none can (nowadaies) with patience indure the hand and correction of God. For if any adversitie, greefe, sicknesse, losse of children, corne, cattell, or libertie happen vnto them; by & by they exclaime uppon witches. As though there were no God in Israel that ordereth all things according to his will; punishing both just and unjust with greefs, plagues, and afflictions in maner and forme as he thinketh good: but that certeine old women heere on earth, called witches, must needs be the contrivers of all mens calamities, and as though they themselves were innocents, and had deserved no such punishments. Insomuch as they sticke not to ride and go to such, as either are injuriouslie tearmed witches, or else are willing so to be accounted, seeking at their hands comfort and remedie in time of their tribulation, contrarie to Gods will and commandement in that behalfe, who bids us resort to him in all / our necessities.

Job. 5.

Matth. 11. 2.

Such faithlesse people (I saie) are also persuaded, that neither haile nor snowe, thunder nor lightening, raine nor tempestuous winds come from the heavens at the commandement of God: but are raised by the cunning and power of witches and conjurers; insomuch as a clap of thunder, or a gale of wind is no sooner heard, but either they run to ring bels, or crie out to burne witches; or else burne consecrated things, hoping by the smoke thereof, to drive the divell out of the aire, as though spirits could be fraied awaie with such externall toies: howbeit, these are right inchantments, as *Brentius* affirmeth.

In concione.

But certeinlie, it is neither a witch, nor divell, but a glorious [a] God that maketh the thunder. I have read in the scriptures, that God [b] maketh the blustering tempests and whirlewinds: and I find that it is [c] the Lord that altogither dealeth with them, and that they [d] blowe according to his will. But let me see anie of them all [e] rebuke and still the sea in time of tempest, as Christ did; or raise the stormie wind, as [f] God did with his word; and I will beleeve in them. Hath

[a] Psal. 25.
[b] Psal. 83.
[c] Eccles. 43.
[d] Luke. 8. Matth. 8.
[e] Mark. 4, 41. Luke. 8, 14.
[f] Psal. 170.

[g] Job. 38, 22. anie witch or conjurer, or anie creature entred into the [g] treasures of
2. the snowe; or seene/ the secret places of the haile, which GOD hath prepared against the daie of trouble, battell, and warre? I for my part
Eccles. 43. also thinke with Jesus Sirach, that at Gods onelie commandement the snowe falleth; and that the wind bloweth according to his will, who
[h] Leviti. 26. verse. 3 4. onelie maketh all stormes to cease; and [h] who (if we keepe his ordinances) will send us raine in due season, and make the land to bring forth hir increase, and the trees of the field to give their fruit.

[i] Psal. 78, 23. But little thinke our witchmongers, that the [i] Lord commandeth the clouds above, or openeth the doores of heaven, as *David* affirmeth; or that the Lord goeth forth in the tempests and stormes, as the
[k] Nahum. 1. Prophet [k] *Nahum* reporteth: but rather that witches and conjurers are then about their businesse.

The *Martionists* acknowledged one God the authour of good things, and another the ordeiner of evill: but these make the divell a whole god, to create things of nothing, to knowe mens cogitations, and to doo that which God never did; as, to transubstantiate men into beasts,
3. &c. Which thing if divels could doo,/ yet followeth it not, that witches have such power. But if all the divels in hell were dead, and all the witches in *England* burnt or hanged; I warrant you we should not faile to have raine, haile and tempests, as now we have: according to the appointment and will of God, and according to the constitution of the elements, and the course of the planets, wherein God hath set a perfect and perpetuall order.

I am also well assured, that if all the old women in the world were witches; and all the priests, conjurers: we should not have a drop
[l] Job. 26, 8. Job. 37. Psalme. 135. Jer. 10 & 15. of raine, nor a blast of wind the more or the lesse for them. For [l] the Lord hath bound the waters in the clouds, and hath set bounds about the waters, untill the daie and night come to an end: yea it is God that raiseth the winds and stilleth them: and he saith to the
[m] Ose. 13. raine and snowe; Be upon the earth, and it falleth. The [m] wind of the Lord, and not the wind of witches, shall destroie the treasures of their plesant vessels, and drie up the fountaines; saith *Oseas*. Let
[n] Psa. 39, &c. us also learne and confesse with the Prophet *David*, that we [n] our selves are the causes of our afflictions; and not exclaime upon witches, when we should call upon God for mercie.

In epist. ad Jo. Wierum. The Imperiall lawe (saith *Brentius*) condemneth them to death that trouble and infect the aire: but I affirme (saith he) that it is neither in the power of witch not divell so to doo, but in God onelie. Though (besides *Bodin*, and all the popish writers in generall) it please *Danæus*, *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, *Erastus*, &c. to conclude
[o] Exod. 13. Isai. 66. Ps. 18, 11. 19. otherwise. The clouds [o] are called the pillers of Gods tents, Gods chariots, and his pavillions. And if it be so, what witch or divell can

make maisteries therof? S. *Augustine* saith, *Non est putandum istis transgressoribus angelis servire hanc rerum visibilium materiem, sed soli Deo:* We must not thinke that these visible things are at the commandement of the angels that fell, but are obedient to the onelie God. *August. 3. de sancta Trinit.*

Finallie, if witches could accomplish these things; what needed it seeme so strange to the people, when Christ by miracle [p] commanded both seas and winds, &c. For it is written; Who is this? for both wind and sea obeie him./ [p] Mar. 4, 41.

The second Chapter. *4.* 3.

The inconvenience growing by mens credulitie herein, with a reproofe of some churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceived opinion of witches omnipotencie, and a familiar example thereof.

BUT the world is now so bewitched and over-run with this fond error, that even where a man shuld seeke comfort and counsell, there shall hee be sent (in case of necessitie) from God to the divell; and from the Physician, to the coosening witch, who will not sticke to take upon hir, by wordes to heale the lame (which was proper onelie to Christ; and to them whom he assisted with his divine power) yea, with hir familiar & charmes she will take upon hir to cure the blind: though in the [a] tenth of S. *Johns* Gospell it be written, that the divell cannot open the eies of the blind. And they attaine such credit as I have heard (to my greefe) some of the ministerie affirme, that they have had in their parish at one instant, xvii. or xviii. witches: meaning such as could worke miracles supernaturallie. Whereby they manifested as well their infidelitie and ignorance, in conceiving Gods word; as their negligence and error in instructing their flocks. For they themselves might understand, and also teach their parishoners, that [b] God onelie worketh great woonders; and that it is he which sendeth such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect: according to the saieng of the Prophet *Haggai*,[c] I smote you with blasting and mildeaw, and with haile, in all the labours of your hands; and yet you turned not unto me, saith the Lord. And therefore saith the same Prophet in another place; [d] You have sowen much, and bring in little. And both in [e] *Joel* and [f] *Leviticus*, the like phrases and proofes are used and made. But more shalbe said of this hereafter. [a] Joh. 10, 21. [b] Psal. 72, & 136. Jeremie, 5. [c] Hag. 2, 28. [d] Idem. cap. 1, 6. [e] Joel. 1. [f] Leviti. 26.

S. *Paule* fore-sawe the blindnesse and obstinacie, both of these blind shepheards, and also of their scabbed sheepe, when he said;/ *5.*
[g] They will not suffer wholsome doctrine, but having their eares itching, shall get them a heape of teachers after their own lusts; and shall [g] 2 Tim. 4, 34.

turne their eares from the truth, and shall be given to fables. And
h 1 Tim. 4. 1 h in the latter time some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of errors, and doctrines of divels, which speake lies (as witches and conjurers doo) but cast thou awaie such prophane and old wives fables. In which sense Basil saith ; Who so giveth heed to inchanters, hearkeneth to a fabulous and frivolous thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe am not onelie *Oculatus testis*, but have examined the cause, and am to justifie the truth of my report : not bicause I would disgrace the ministers that are godlie, but to confirme my former assertion, that this absurd error is growne into the place, which should be able to expell all such ridiculous follie and impietie.

A storie of Margaret Simons, a supposed witch.

At the assises holden at *Rochester*, Anno 1581, one *Margaret Simons*,/ the wife of *John Simons*, of *Brenchlie* in *Kent*, was araigned for witchcraft, at the instigation and complaint of divers fond and malicious persons ; and speciallie by the meanes of one *John Ferrall* vicar of that parish : with whom I talked about that matter, and found him both fondlie assotted in the cause, and enviouslie bent towards hir : and (which is worse) as unable to make a good account of his faith, as shee whom he accused. That which he, for his part, laid to the poore womans charge, was this.

His sonne (being an ungratious boie, and prentise to one *Robert Scotchford* clothier, dwelling in that parish of *Brenchlie*) passed on a daie by hir house ; at whome by chance hir little dog barked. Which thing the boie taking in evill part, drewe his knife, & pursued him therewith even to hir doore : whom she rebuked with some such words as the boie disdained, & yet neverthelesse would not be persuaded to depart in a long time. At the last he returned to his maisters house, and within five or sixe daies fell sicke. Then was called to mind the fraie betwixt the dog and the boie : insomuch as the vicar (who thought himselfe so privileged, as he little mistrusted that God would visit his children with sicknes) did so calculate ; as he found, partlie through his owne judgement, and partlie (as he himselfe told/ me) by the relation of other witches, that his said sonne was by hir bewitched. Yea, he also told me, that this his sonne (being as it were past all cure) received perfect health at the hands of another witch.

6.

He proceeded yet further against hir, affirming, that alwaies in his parish church, when he desired to read most plainelie, his voice so failed him, as he could scant be heard at all. Which hee could impute, he said, to nothing else, but to hir inchantment. When I advertised the poore woman hereof, as being desirous to heare what she could saie for hir selfe ; she told me, that in verie deed his voice did much faile

him, speciallie when he strained himselfe to speake lowdest. How beit, she said that at all times his voice was hoarse and lowe : which thing I perceived to be true. But sir, said she, you shall understand, that this our vicar is diseased with such a kind of hoarsenesse, as divers of our neighbors in this parish, not long since, doubted that he had the French pox ; & in that respect utterly refused to communicate with him: untill such time as (being therunto injoined by M. D. *Lewen* the Ordinarie) he had brought frō *London* a certificat, under the hands of two physicians, that his hoarsenes proceeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificat he published in the church, in the presence of the whole congregation : and by this meanes hee was cured, or rather excused of the shame of his disease. And this I knowe to be true by the relation of divers honest men of that parish. And truelie, if one of the Jurie had not beene wiser than the other, she had beene condemned thereupon, and upon other as ridiculous matters as this. For the name of a witch is so odious, and hir power so feared among the common people, that if the honestest bodie living chance to be arraigned therupon, she shall hardlie escape condemnation./

The third Chapter.

7. 5.

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that mooveth men so commonlie to thinke, and witches themselves to beleeve that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations : and of coosening witches.

ONE sort of such as are said to bee witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles ; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists ; or such as knowe no religion : in whose drousie minds the divell hath goten a fine seat ; so as, what mischeefe, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie persuaded the same is doone by themselves ; inprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination hereof. They are leane and deformed, shewing melancholie in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, divelish ; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits ; so firme and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoever shall onelie have respect to the constancie of their words uttered, would easilie beleeve they were true indeed.

Cardan. de var. rerum.

These miserable wretches are so odious unto all their neighbors, and so feared, as few dare offend them, or denie them anie thing they aske : whereby they take upon them ; yea, and sometimes thinke, that they can doo such things as are beyond the abilitie of humane

nature. These go from house to house, and from doore to doore for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, pottage, or some such releefe ; without the which they could hardlie live : neither obtaining for their service and paines, nor by their art, nor yet at the divels hands (with whome they are said to make a perfect and visible bargaine) either beautie, monie, promotion, welth, worship, pleasure, honor, knowledge,
8. learning, or anie other benefit whatsoever. /

It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their expectation is answered or served, in those places where they beg or borrowe ; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbors reprooved. And further, in tract of time the witch waxeth odious and tedious to hir neighbors ; and they againe are despised and despited of hir : so as sometimes she cursseth one, and sometimes another ; and that from the maister of the house, his wife, children, cattell, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stie. Thus in processe of time they have all displeased hir, and she hath wished evill lucke unto them all ; perhaps with cursses and imprecations made in forme. Doubtlesse (at length) some of hir neighbors die, or fall sicke ; or some of their children are visited with diseases that vex them strangelie : as apoplexies, epilepsies, convulsions, hot fevers, wormes, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches. Yea and their opinions and conceits are / confirmed and maintained by unskilfull physicians : according to the common saieng ; *Inscitiæ pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and inchantment is the cloke of ignorance : whereas indeed evill humors, & not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their cattell perish, either by disease or mischance. Then they, upon whom such adversities fall, weighing the fame that goeth upon this woman (hir words, displeasure, and cursses meeting so justlie with their misfortune) doo not onelie conceive, but also are resolved, that all their mishaps are brought to passe by hir onelie meanes.

The witch on the other side exspecting hir neighbours mischances, and seeing things sometimes come to passe according to hir wishes, cursses, and incantations (for *Bodin* himselfe confesseth, that not above two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a Justice, by due examination of the circumstances is driven to see hir imprecations and desires, and hir neighbors harmes and losses to concurre, and as it were to take effect : and so confesseth that she (as a goddes) hath brought such things to passe. Wherein, not onelie she, but the accuser, and also the Justice are fowlie deceived and abused ; as being thorough hir confession and other circumstances persuaded (to the injurie of Gods glorie) that she
9 hath doone, or can doo that which / is proper onelie to God himselfe.

I. Bodin. li. 2. de dæmono : cap. 8.

Another sort of witches there are, which be absolutelie cooseners. These take upon them, either for glorie, fame, or gaine, to doo anie thing, which God or the divell can doo : either for foretelling of things to come, bewraieng of secrets, curing of maladies, or working of miracles. But of these I will talke more at large heereafter.

The fourth Chapter.

What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets.

ALTHOUGH it be quite against the haire, and contrarie to the divels will, contrarie to the witches oth, promise, and homage, and contrarie to all reason, that witches should helpe anie thing that is bewitched; but rather set forward their maisters businesse: yet we read *In malleo maleficarum*, of three sorts of witches; and the same is affirmed by all the writers heereupon, new and old. One sort (they say) can hurt and not helpe, the second can helpe and not hurt, the third can both helpe and hurt. And among the hurtfull witches he saith there is one sort more beastlie than any kind of beasts, saving woolves : for these usuallie devoure and eate yong children and infants of their owne kind. These be they (saith he) that raise haile, tempests, and hurtfull weather; as lightening, thunder, &c. These be they that procure barrennesse in man, woman, and beast. These can throwe children into waters, as they walke with their mothers, and / not be seene. 7. These can make horsses kicke, till they cast the riders. These can passe from place to place in the aire invisible. These can so alter the mind of judges, that they can have no power to hurt them. These can procure to themselves and to others, taciturnitie and insensibilitie in their torments. These can bring trembling to the hands, and strike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. These can manifest unto others, things hidden and lost, and foreshew / things 10. to come; and see them as though they were present. These can alter mens minds to inordinate love or hate. These can kill whom they list with lightening and thunder. These can take awaie mans courage, and the power of generation. These can make a woman miscarrie in childbirth, and destroie the child in the mothers wombe, without any sensible meanes either inwardlie or outwardlie applied. These can with their looks kill either man or beast.

Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæst. 1. cap. 2.

All these things are avowed by *James Sprenger* and *Henrie Institor In malleo maleficarum*, to be true, & confirmed by *Nider*, and the inquisitor *Cumanus;* and also by *Danæus*, *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, and multiplied by *Bodinus*, and frier *Bartholomæus Spineus*. But bicause I will in no wise abridge the authoritie of their power, you shall have

also the testimonies of manie other grave authors in this behalfe; as followeth.

*Ovid. lib. metamorphoseôn 7. Danæus in dialog. Psellus in operatione dæm. Virg. in Damo Hora. epod. 5. Tibul. de fascinat. lib. 1. eleg. 2. Ovid. epist 4. Lex. 12. Tabularum. Mal. Malef. Lucā. de bello civili. lib. 6. Virg. eclog. 8. Ovid. de remedio amoris. lib. 1. Hyperius. Erastus. Rich. Gal. in his horrible treatise. Hemingius. Bar. Spineus. Bryan Darcy Confessio Windesor. Virgil. Aeneid. 4. C. Manlius astrol. lib. 1.

*And first *Ovid* affirmeth, that they can raise and suppresse lightening and thunder, raine and haile, clouds and winds, tempests and earthquakes. Others doo write, that they can pull downe the moone and the starres. Some write that with wishing they can send needles into the livers of their enimies. Some that they can transferre corne in the blade from one place to another. Some, that they can cure diseases supernaturallie, flie in the aire, and danse with divels. Some write, that they can plaie the part of *Succubus*, and contract themselves to *Incubus;* and so yoong prophets are upon them begotten, &c. Som saie they can transubstantiate themselves and others, and take the forms and shapes of asses, woolves, ferrets, cowes, apes, horsses, dogs, &c. Some say they can keepe divels and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats.

They can raise spirits (as others affirme) drie up springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at awger holes, & saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and under the tempestuous seas. They can go invisible, and deprive men of their privities, and otherwise of the act and use of venerie. They can bring soules out of the graves. They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with looks kill lambes. But in this case a man may saie, that *Miranda canunt | sed non credenda Poetæ.* They can also bring to passe, that chearne as long as you list, your butter will not come; especiallie, if either the maids have eaten up the creame; or the goodwife have sold the butter before in the market. Whereof I have had some triall, although there may be true and naturall causes to hinder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a little sope or sugar into your chearne of creame, and there will never come anie butter, chearne as long as you list. But *M. Mal.* saith, that there is not so little a village, where manie women are not that / bewitch, infect, and kill kine, and drie up the milke: alledging for the strengthening of that assertion, the saieing of the Apostle, *Nunquid Deo cura est de bobus?* Dooth God take anie care of oxen?

11.

Mal. Malef. part. 2. quæst 1. cap. 14. 8. 1. Cor 9, 9.

The fift Chapter.

A confutation of the common conceived opinion of witches and witchcraft, and how detestable a sinne it is to repaire to them for counsell or helpe in time of affliction.

BUT whatsoever is reported or conceived of such maner of witchcrafts, I dare avow to be false and fabulous (coosinage, dotage, and poisoning excepted:) neither is there any mention made of these kind of witches in the Bible. If Christ had knowne them, he would not have pretermitted to invaie against their presumption, in taking upon them his office: as, to heale and cure diseases; and to worke such miraculous and supernaturall things, as whereby he himselfe was speciallie knowne, beleeved, and published to be God; his actions and cures consisting (in order and effect) according to the power by our witchmoongers imputed to witches. Howbeit, if there be any in these daies afflicted in such strange sort, as Christs cures and patients are described in the new testament to have beene: we flie from trusting in God to trusting in witches, who doo not onelie in their coosening art take on them the office of Christ in this behalfe; but use his verie phrase of speech to such idolaters, as com to seeke divine / assistance at their hands, saieng; Go thy waies, thy sonne or thy daughter, &c. shall doo well, and be whole. *12.* John. 5: 6. Mark. 5. 34.

It will not suffice to dissuade a witchmonger from his credulitie, that he seeth the sequele and event to fall out manie times contrarie to their assertion; but in such case (to his greater condemnation) he seeketh further to witches of greater fame. If all faile, he will rather thinke he came an houre too late; than that he went a mile too far. Trulie I for my part cannot perceive what is to go a whoring after strange gods, if this be not. He that looketh upon his neighbors wife, and lusteth after hir, hath committed adulterie. And truelie, he that in hart and by argument mainteineth the sacrifice of the masse to be propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, is an idolater; as also he that alloweth and commendeth creeping to the crosse, and such like idolatrous actions, although he bend not his corporall knees. To go to witches, &c. is idolatrie.

In like manner I say, he that attributeth to a witch, such divine power, as dulie and onelie apperteineth unto GOD (which all witchmongers doo) is in hart a blasphemer, an idolater, and full of grosse impietie, although he neither go nor send to hir for assistance. /

The sixt Chapter.

A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by invincible reasons and authorities, with dissuasions from such fond credulitie.

IF witches could doo anie such miraculous things, as these and other which are imputed to them, they might doo them againe and againe, at anie time or place, or at anie mans desire: for the divell is as strong at one time as at another, as busie by daie as by night, and readie enough to doo all mischeefe, and careth not whom he abuseth. And in so much as it is confessed, by the most part of witchmoongers themselves, that he knoweth not the cogitation of mans heart, he
13. should (me thinks) sometimes appeere / unto honest and credible persons, in such grosse and corporall forme, as it is said he dooth unto witches: which you shall never heare to be justified by one sufficient witnesse. For the divell indeed entreth into the mind, and that waie seeketh mans confusion.

The art alwaies presupposeth the power; so as, if they saie they can doo this or that, they must shew how and by what meanes they doo it; as neither the witches, nor the witchmoongers are able to doo. For to everie action is required the facultie and abilitie of the agent or dooer; the aptnes of the patient or subject; and a convenient and possible application. Now the witches are mortall, and their power dependeth upon the analogie and consonancie of their minds and bodies; but with their minds they can but will and understand; and with their bodies they can doo no more, but as the bounds and ends of terrene sense will suffer: and therefore their power extendeth not to doo such miracles, as surmounteth their owne sense, and the understanding of others which are wiser than they; so as here wanteth the vertue and power of the efficient. And in reason, there can be no more vertue in the thing caused, than in the cause, or that which proceedeth of or from the benefit of the cause. And we see, that ignorant and impotent women, or witches, are the causes of incantations and charmes; wherein we shall perceive there is none effect, if we will credit our owne experience and sense unabused, the rules of philosophie, or the word of God. For alas! What an unapt instrument is a toothles, old, impotent, and unweldie woman to flie in the aier? Truelie, the divell little needs such instruments to bring his purposes to passe.

Aristot. de anima. lib. 2. Acts. 8.

Why shuld not the divell be as readie to helpe a

It is strange, that we should suppose, that such persons can worke such feates: and it is more strange, that we will imagine that to be

possible to be doone by a witch, which to nature and sense is impossible; speciallie when our neighbours life dependeth upon our credulitie therein; and when we may see the defect of abilitie, which alwaies is an impediment both to the act, and also to the presumption thereof. And bicause there is nothing possible in lawe, that in nature is impossible; therefore the judge dooth not attend or regard what the accused man saith; or yet would/ doo: but what is prooved to have beene committed, and na/turallie falleth in mans power and will to doo. For the lawe saith, that To will a thing unpossible, is a signe of a mad man, or of a foole, upon whom no sentence or judgement taketh hold. Furthermore, what Jurie will condemne, or what Judge will give sentence or judgement against one for killing a man at *Berwicke*; when they themselves, and manie other sawe that man at *London*, that verie daie, wherein the murther was committed; yea though the partie confesse himself guiltie therein, and twentie witnesses depose the same? But in this case also I saie the judge is not to weigh their testimonie, which is weakened by lawe; and the judges authoritie is to supplie the imperfection of the case, and to mainteine the right and equitie of the same.

theefe reallie as a witch?

L. multum. l. si quis alteri, vel sibi. 10. *14.*

Seeing therefore that some other things might naturallie be the occasion and cause of such calamities as witches are supposed to bring; let not us that professe the Gospell and knowledge of Christ, be bewitched to beleeve that they doo such things, as are in nature impossible, and in sense and reason incredible. If they saie it is doone through the divels helpe, who can work miracles; whie doo not theeves bring their busines to passe miraculouslie, with whom the divell is as conversant as with the other? Such mischeefes as are imputed to witches, happen where no witches are; yea and continue when witches are hanged and burnt: whie then should we attribute such effect to that cause, which being taken awaie, happeneth neverthelesse?

An objection answered.

The seventh Chapter.

By what meanes the name of witches becommeth so famous, and how diverslie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions.

SURELIE the naturall power of man or woman cannot be so inlarged, as to doo anie thing beyond the power and vertue given and ingraffed by God. But it is the will and mind of man, which is vitiated and depraved by the divell: neither dooth God permit anie more, than that which the naturall order appointed by / him dooth require. Which naturall order is nothing else, but the ordinarie power of God, powred into everie creature, according to his state

Miracles are ceased. *15.*

and condition. But hereof more shall be said in the title of witches confessions. Howbeit you shall understand, that few or none are throughlie persuaded, resolved, or satisfied, that witches can indeed accomplish all these impossibilities : but some one is bewitched in one point, and some is coosened in another, untill in fine, all these impossibilities, and manie mo, are by severall persons affirmed to be true.

The opinions of people concerning witchcraft are diverse and inconstant.

And this I have also noted, that when anie one is coosened with a coosening toie of witchcraft, and maketh report thereof accordinglie verifieng a matter most impossible and false as it were upon his owne knowledge, as being overtaken with some kind of illusion or other (which illusions are right inchantments) even the selfe-same man will
11. deride the / like lie proceeding out of another mans mouth, as a fabulous matter unworthie of credit. It is also to be woondered, how men (that have seene some part of witches coosenages detected, and see also therein the impossibilitie of their owne presumptions, & the follie and falsehood of the witches confessions) will not suspect, but remaine unsatisfied, or rather obstinatelie defend the residue of witches supernaturall actions : like as when a juggler hath discovered the slight and illusion of his principall feats, one would fondlie continue to thinke, that his other petie juggling knacks of legierdemaine are done by the helpe of a familiar : and according to the follie of some papists, who seeing and confessing the popes absurd religion, in the erection and maintenance of idolatrie and superstition, speciallie in images, pardons, and relikes of saints, will yet persevere to thinke, that the rest of his doctrine and trumperie is holie and good.

Finallie, manie mainteine and crie out for the execution of witches, that particularlie beleeve never a whit of that which is imputed unto them ; if they be therein privatelie dealt withall, and substantiallie
16. opposed and tried in argument./

The eight Chapter.

Causes that moove as well witches themselves as others to thinke that they can worke impossibilities, with answers to certeine objections : where also their punishment by lawe is touched.

Card. de var. rerum. lib. 15. *cap.* 80.

CARDANUS writeth, that the cause of such credulitie consisteth in three points ; to wit, in the imagination of the melancholike, in the constancie of them that are corrupt therewith, and in the deceipt of the Judges ; who being inquisitors themselves against heretikes and witches, did both accuse and condemne them, having for their labour the spoile of their goods. So as these inquisitors added

manie fables hereunto, least they should seeme to have doone injurie to the poore wretches, in condemning and executing them for none offense. But sithens (saith he) the springing up of *Luthers* sect, these priests have tended more diligentlie upon the execution of them; bicause more wealth is to be caught from them: insomuch as now they deale so looselie with witches (through distrust of gaines) that all is seene to be malice, follie, or avarice that hath beene practised against them. And whosoever shall search into this cause, or read the cheefe writers hereupon, shall find his words true.

An objection answered.

It will be objected, that we here in *England* are not now directed by the popes lawes; and so by consequence our witches not troubled or convented by the inquisitors *Hæreticæ pravitatis.* I answer, that in times past here in *England*, as in other nations, this order of discipline hath beene in force and use; although now some part of old rigor be qualified by two severall statutes made in the fift of *Elizabeth*, and xxxiii of *Henrie* the eight. Nevertheles the estimation of the omnipotencie of their words and charmes seemeth in those statutes to be somewhat mainteined, as a matter hitherto generallie received; and not yet so looked into, as / that it is refuted and decided. 12. But how wiselie so ever the Parle/ment house hath dealt therin, or 17. how mercifullie soever the prince beholdeth the cause: if a poore old woman, supposed to be a witch, be by the civill or canon lawe convented; I doubt, some canon will be found in force, not onelie to give scope to the tormentor, but also to the hangman, to exercise their offices upon hir. And most certaine it is, that in what point soever anie of these extremities, which I shall rehearse unto you, be mitigated, it is thorough the goodnesse of the Queenes Majestie, and hir excellent magistrates placed among us. For as touching the opinion of our writers therein in our age; yea in our owne countrie, you shall see it doth not onlie agree with forren crueltie, but surmounteth it farre.

W. W. his booke, printed in Anno Dom. 1582.

If you read a foolish pamphlet dedicated to the lord *Darcy* by *W. W* 1582. you shall see that he affirmeth, that all those tortures are farre too light, and their rigor too mild; and that in that respect he impudentlie exclameth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when murtherers, & such malefactors be so used, which deserve not the hundreth part of their punishments. But if you will see more follie and lewdnes comprised in one lewd booke, I commend you to *Ri. Ga.* a *Windsor* man; who being a mad man hath written according to his frantike humor: the reading wherof may satisfie a wise man, how mad all these witchmoongers dealings be in this behalfe.

The ninth Chapter.

A conclusion of the first booke, wherein is fore-shewed the tyrannicall crueltie of witchmongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same.

AND bicause it may appeare unto the world what trecherous and faithlesse dealing, what extreame and intollerable tyrannie, what grosse and fond absurdities, what unnaturall & uncivil discourtisie, what cancred and spitefull malice, what outragious and barbarous crueltie, what lewd
18. and false packing, what cunning and craftie intercepting, what bald and peevish inter / pretations, what abhominable and divelish inventions, and what flat and plaine knaverie is practised against these old women; I will set downe the whole order of the inquisition, to the everlasting, inexcusable, and apparent shame of all witchmoongers. Neither will I insert anie private or doubtfull dealings of theirs; or such as they can either denie to be usuall, or justlie cavill at; but such as are published and renewed in all ages, since the commensement of poperie, established by lawes, practised by inquisitors, privileged by princes, commended by doctors,
[* ? beleeved.] confirmed by popes, councels, decrees, and canons; and finallie *be left of all witchmoongers; to wit, by such as attribute to old women, and such like creatures, the power of the Creator. I praie you therefore, though it be tedious & intollerable (as you would be heard in your miserable calamities) so heare with compassion, their accusations, examinations, matters given in evidence, confessions, presumptions, interrogatories, conjurations, cautions, crimes, tortures and condemnations, devised and practised usuallie against them./

¶ *The second Booke.*

19. 13.

The first Chapter.

What testimonies and witnesses are allowed to give evidence against reputed witches, by the report & allowance of the inquisitors themselves, and such as are speciall writers heerein.

EXCOMMUNICAT persons, partakers of the falt, infants, wicked servants, and runnawaies are to be admitted to beare witnesse against their dames in this mater of witchcraft: bicause (saith *Bodin* the champion of witch-moongers) none that be honest are able to detect them. Hereikes also and witches shall be received to accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finallie, the testimonie of all infamous persons in this case is good and allowed. Yea, one lewd person (saith *Bodin*) may be received to accuse and condemne a thousand suspected witches. And although by lawe, a capitall enimie may be challenged; yet *James Sprenger*, and *Henrie Institor*, (from whom *Bodin*, and all the writers that ever I have read, doo receive their light, authorities and arguments) saie (upon this point of lawe) that The poore frendlesse old woman must proove, that hir capitall enimie would have illed hir, and that hee hath both assalted & wounded hir; otherwise she pleadeth all in vaine. If the judge aske hir, whether she have anie capitall enimies; and she rehearse other, and forget hir accuser; or else answer that he was hir capitall enimie, but now she hopeth he is not so: such a one is nevertheles admitted for a witnes. And though by lawe, single witnesses are not admittable; yet if one depose she/ hath bewitched hir cow; another, hir sow; and the third, hir *20.* butter: these saith (saith *M. Mal.* and *Bodin*) are no single witnesses; bicause they agree that she is a witch.

Mal. Malef. quest. 5. pa. 3. I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 2, de dæmon.

Arch. in C. alle.accusatus. in §. lz. super. verba. I.Bod. lib. 4. cap. 1. de dæmon.

Mal. Malef quest. 56. pa. 3, & quæ. 5, part. 3.

Ibidem.

Que. 7. act 2.

[Redupl.]

The second Chapter.

The order of examination of witches by the inquistors.

WOMEN suspected to be witches, after their apprehension may not be suffered to go home, or to other places, to seek suerties: for then (saith *Bodin*) the people would be woorse willing to accuse them; for feare least at their returne home, they worke revenge upon them. In which respect *Bodin* commendeth much the *Scottish* custome and order in this behalfe: where (he saith) a hollowe peece of wood

The Scottish custõe of accusing a witch.

or a chest is placed in the church, into the which any bodie may freelie cast a little scroll of paper, wherein may be conteined the name of the witch, the time, place, and fact, &c. And the same chest being locked with / three severall locks, is opened everie fifteenth daie by three inquisitors or officers appointed for that purpose ; which keepe three severall kaies. And thus the accuser need not be knowne, nor shamed with the reproch of slander or malice to his poore neighbour.

Item, there must be great persuasions used to all men, women, and children, to accuse old women of witchcraft.

Item, there may alwaies be promised impunitie and favour to witches, that confesse and detect others ; and for the contrarie, there may be threatnings and violence practised and used.

Item, the little children of witches, which will not confesse, must be attached ; who (if they be craftilie handled saith *Bodin*) will confesse against their owne mothers.

Item, witches must be examined as suddenlie, and as unawares as is possible : the which will so amaze them, that they will confesse any thing, supposing the divell hath forsaken them ; wheras if they
21. should first be cõmitted to prison, the divell would tem/per with them, and informe them what to doo.

Item, the inquisitor, judge, or examiner, must begin with small matters first.

Item, they must be examined, whether their parents were witches or no : for witches (as these Doctors suppose) come by propagation.
I. Bod. lib. de dæmon. 4. cap. 4. L. parentes de testibus. And *Bodin* setteth downe this principle in witchcraft, to wit, *Si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia :* howbeit the lawe forbiddeth it, *Ob sanguinis reverentiam.*

Item, the examiner must looke stedfastlie upon their eies : for they cannot looke directlie upon a mans face (as *Bodin* affirmeth in one place, although in another he saith, that they kill and destroie both men and beasts with their lookes.)

Item, she must be examined of all accusations, presumptions, and faults, at one instant ; least sathan should afterwards dissuade hir from confession.

Item, a witch may not be put in prison alone, least the divell dissuade hir from confession, through promises of her indemnitie. For (saith *Bodin*) some that have beene in the gaole have prooved to flie awaie, as they were woont to doo when they met with *Diana* and *Minerva, &c.* : and so brake their owne necks against the stone walles.

Item, if anie denie hir owne confession made without torture, she

is neverthelesse by that confession to be condemned, as in anie other crime.

Item, the judges must seeme to put on a pittifull countenance and to mone them ; saieng, that It was not they, but the divell that committed the murther, and that he compelled them to doo it ; and must make them beleeve that they thinke them to be innocents.

Item, if they will confesse nothing but upon the racke or torture ; their apparell must be changed, and everie haire in their bodie must be shaven off with a sharpe razor.

Item, if they have charmes for taciturnitie, so as they feele not the common tortures, and therefore confesse nothing : then some sharpe instrument must be thrust betwixt everie naile of their fingers and toes : which (as / *Bodin* saith) was king *Childeberts* devise, and is to this daie of all others the most effectuall. For by meanes of that extreme paine, they will (saith he) confesse anie / thing.

15. K. Childeberts cruell devise.

22.

Item, *Paulus Grillandus*, being an old dooer in these matters, wisheth that when witches sleepe, and feele no paine upon the torture, *Domine labia mea aperies* should be said, and so (saith he) both the torments will be felt, and the truth will be uttered : *Et sic ars deluditur arte.*

P. Grillandus.

Item, *Bodin* saith, that at the time of examination, there should be a semblance of great a doo, to the terrifieing of the witch : and that a number of instruments, gieves, manacles, ropes, halters, fetters, &c. be prepared, brought foorth, and laid before the examinate : and also that some be procured to make a most horrible and lamentable crie, in the place of torture, as though he or she were upon the racke, or in the tormentors hands : so as the examinate may heare it whiles she is examined, before she hir selfe be brought into the prison ; and perhaps (saith he) she will by this meanes confesse the matter.

A subtill and divelish devise

Item, there must be subborned some craftie spie, that may seeme to be a prisoner with hir in the like case ; who perhaps may in conference undermine hir, and so bewraie and discover hir.

Item, if she will not yet confesse, she must be told that she is detected, and accused by other of hir companions ; although in truth there be no such matter : and so perhaps she will confesse, the rather to be revenged upon hir adversaries and accusers.

The third Chapter.

Matters of evidence against witches.

IF an old woman threaten or touch one being in health, who dieth shortlie after ; or else is infected with the leprosie, apoplexie, or anie other strange disease : it is (saith *Bodin* a permanent fact, and such an evidence,

as condemnation or death must insue, without further proofe; if anie bodie have mistrusted hir, or said before that she was a
23. witch. /

Item, if anie come in, or depart out of the chamber or house, the doores being shut; it is an apparent and sufficient evidence to a witches condemnation, without further triall: which thing *Bodin* never sawe. If he can shew me that feat, I will subscribe to his follie. For Christ after his resurrection used the same: not as a ridiculous toie, that everie witch might accomplish; but as a speciall miracle, to strengthen the faith of the elect.

Item, if a woman bewitch anie bodies eies, she is to be executed without further proofe.

Item, if anie inchant or bewitch mens beasts, or corne, or flie in the aire, or make a dog speake, or cut off anie mans members, and unite them againe to men or childrens bodies; it is sufficient proofe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and conjectures are sufficient proofes against
16. witches. /

Bar. Spineus, & I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Item, if three witnesses doo but saie, Such a woman is a witch; then is it a cleere case that she is to be executed with death. Which matter *Bodin* saith is not onelie certeine by the canon and civill lawes, but by the opinion of pope *Innocent*, the wisest pope (as he saith) that ever was.

Alexander. L. ubi numerus de testibus. I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Item, the complaint of anie one man of credit is sufficient to bring a poore woman to the racke or pullie.

Item, a condemned or infamous persons testimonie is good and allowable in matters of witchcraft.

Item, a witch is not to be delivered, though she endure all the tortures, and confesse nothing; as all other are in anie criminall cases.

Item, though in other cases the depositions of manie women at one instant are disabled, as insufficient in lawe; bicause of the imbecillitie and frailtie of their nature or sex: yet in this matter, one woman, though she be a partie, either accuser or accused, and be also infamous and impudent (for such are *Bodins* words) yea and alreadie condemned; she may neverthelesse serve to accuse and condemne a witch.

Item, a witnesse uncited, and offering himselfe in this case is to be heard, and in none other.

Item, a capitall enimie (if the enimitie be pretended to growe by
24. meanes of witchcraft) may object against a witch; and none / exception is to be had or made against him.

Par. in L.

Item, although the proofe of perjurie may put backe a witnesse in

all other causes ; yet in this, a perjured person is a good and lawfull witnesse. *post. legatum. 9. his, de iis quibus ut indig. Alex. cap. 72. L. 2. &c.*

Item, the proctors and advocats in this case are compelled to be witnesses against their clients, as in none other case they are to be constrained there unto.

Item, none can give evidence against witches, touching their assemblies, but witches onelie : bicause (as *Bodin* saith) none other can doo it. Howbeit, *Ri. Ga.* writeth, that he came to the God speed, and with his sword and buckler killed the divell ; or at the least he wounded him so sore, that he made him stinke of brimstone. In his foolish pamphlet of the execution of Windsor witches

Item, *Bodin* saith, that bicause this is an extraordinarie matter ; there must heerein be extraordinarie dealing : and all maner of waies are to be used, direct and indirect.

The fourth Chapter.

Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.

SOME witches confesse (saith *Bodin*) that are desirous to die ; not for glorie, but for despaire : bicause they are tormented in their life time. But these may not be spared (saith he) although the lawe dooth excuse them. *I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 3.* Is there anie probabilitie that such would continue witches? *Idem Ibid.*

The best and surest confession is at shrift, to hir ghostlie father.

Item, if she confesse manie things that are false, and one thing that may be true ; she is to be taken and executed upon that confession. / *Joan. An. ad speculat. tit. de litis contest. part. 2.* 17.

Item, she is not so guiltie that confesseth a falshood or lie, and denieth a truth ; as she that answereth by circumstance.

Item, an equivocall or doubtfull answer is taken for a confession against a witch. / *L. non alienum eodem. 25.*

Item, *Bodin* reporteth, that one confessed that he went out, or rather up into the aire, and was transported manie miles to the fairies danse, onelie bicause he would spie unto what place his wife went to hagging, and how she behaved hir selfe. Whereupon was much a doo among the inquisitors and lawyers, to discusse whether he should be executed with his wife or no. But it was concluded that he must die, bicause he bewraied not his wife : the which he forbare to doo, *Propter reverentiam honoris & familiæ.* *L. de ætat. 5. nihil eodem. &c. I. Bod. de dæmono lib. 4. cap. 3.*

Item, if a woman confesse freelie herein, before question be made ; and yet afterward denie it : she is neverthelesse to be burned.

Item, they affirme that this extremitie is herein used, bicause not one among a thousand witches is detected. And yet it is affirmed by *Sprenger*, in *M. Mal.* that there is not so little a parish, but there are manie witches knowne to be therein.

The fift Chapter.

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.

I. Bod. de dæmono. lib. 4 cap. 4.

IF anie womans child chance to die at hir hand, so as no bodie knoweth how ; it may not be thought or presumed that the mother killed it, except she be supposed a witch : and in that case it is otherwise, for she must upon that presumption be executed ; except she can proove the negative or contrarie.

Item, if the child of a woman that is suspected to be a witch, be lacking or gone from hir ; it is to be presumed, that she hath sacrificed it to the divell : except she can proove the negative or contrarie.

Item, though in other persons, certeine points of their confessions may be thought erronious, and imputed to error : yet (in witches
26. causes) all oversights, imperfections, and escapes must / be adjudged impious and malicious, and tend to hir confusion and condemnation.

Item, though a theefe be not said in lawe to be infamous in any other matter than in theft ; yet a witch defamed of witchcraft is said to be defiled with all maner of faults and infamies universallie, though she were not condemned ; but (as I said) defamed with the name of a witch. For rumors and reports are sufficient (saith *Bodin*) to condemne a witch.

I. Bod. de dæmono. lib. 4. cap. 4.

Item, if any man, woman, or child doo saie, that such a one is a witch ; it is a most vehement suspicion (saith *Bodin*) and sufficient to bring hir to the racke : though in all other cases it be directlie against lawe.

L. decurionè de pœnis. Panorm. & Felin. in C. veniens. 1. de testib. parsi causa. 15 4. Lib. 4. numero. 12. usq; a 18.

Item, in presumptions and suspicions against a witch, the common brute or voice of the people cannot erre.

Item, if a woman, when she is apprehended, crie out, or saie ; I am undoone ; Save my life ; I will tell you how the matter standeth, &c : she is thereupon most vehementlie to be suspected and condemned to die. /
18.

Item, though a conjurer be not to be condemned for curing the diseased by vertue of his art : yet must a witch die for the like case.

Item, the behaviour, looks, becks, and countenance of a woman, are sufficient signes, whereby to presume she is a witch : for alwais they looke downe to the ground, and dare not looke a man full in the face.

Item, if their parents were thought to be witches, then is it certeinlie to be presumed that they are so : but it is not so to be thought of whoores.

Item, it is a vehement presumption if she cannot weepe, at the

time of hir examination : and yet *Bodin* saith, that a witch may shed three drops out of hir right eie.

Item, it is not onelie a vehement suspicion, and presumption, but an evident proofe of a witch, if any man or beast die suddenlie where she hath beene seene latelie ; although hir witching stuffe be not found or espied.

Item, if any bodie use familiaritie or companie with a witch convicted ; it is a sufficient presumption against that person to be adjudged a witch. /

27.

Item, that evidence that may serve to bring in any other person to examination, may serve to bring a witch to her condemnation.

L. 5. de adult. §. gl. & Bart. c. venerabilis de electio. &c I. Bod. de dæmono. lib. 4. cap. 4.

Item, herein judgment must be pronounced & executed (as *Bodin* saith) without order, and not like to the orderlie proceeding and forme of judgement in other crimes.

Item, a witch may not be brought to the torture suddenlie, or before long examination, least she go awaie scotfree : for they feele no torments, and therefore care not for the same (as *Bodin* affirmeth.)

Item, little children may be had to the torture at the first dash ; but so may it not be doone with old women : as is aforesaid.

Idem Ibid.

Item, if she have anie privie marke under hir arme pokes, under hir haire, under hir lip, or in hir buttocke, or in hir privities : it is a presumption sufficient for the judge to proceed and give sentence of death upon hir.

The onlie pitie they shew to a poore woman in this case, is ; that though she be accused to have slaine anie bodie with her inchantments ; yet if she can bring foorth the partie alive, she shall not be put to death. Whereat I marvell, in as much as they can bring the divell in any bodies likenesse and representation.

Item, their lawe saith, that an uncerteine presumption is sufficient, when a certeine presumption faileth.

Cap. præterea cum glos. extra de test. Panormit. in C. vener. col. 2. eodem, &c.

The sixt Chapter.

Particular Interogatories used by the inquisitors against witches.

I NEEDE not staie to confute such parciall and horrible dealings, being so apparentlie impious, and full of tyrannie which except I should have so manifestlie detected, even with their owne writings and assertions, few or none would have beleeved. But for brevities sake I will passe over the same ; supposing that the ci / ting of such absurdities may stand for a suffici / ent confutation thereof. Now therefore I will proceed to a more particular order and maner of examinations, &c : used by the inquisitors, and allowed for the most part throughout all nations.

28. 19.

Mal. malef. super, interrog.

First the witch must be demanded, why she touched such a child, or such a cow, &c : and afterward the same child or cow fell sicke or lame, &c.

Item, why hir two kine give more milke than hir neighbors. And the note before mentioned is heere againe set downe, to be speciallie observed of all men : to wit ; that Though a witch cannot weepe, yet she may speake with a crieng voice. Which assertion of weeping is false, and contrarie to the saieng of *Seneca*, *Cato*, and manie others ; which affirme, that A woman weepeth when she meaneth most deceipt : and therefore saith *M. Mal.* she must be well looked unto, otherwise she will put spettle privilie upon hir cheeks, and seeme to weepe : which rule also *Bodin* saith is infallible. But alas that teares should be thought sufficient to excuse or condemne in so great a cause, and so weightie a triall ! I am sure that the woorst sort of the children of Israel wept bitterlie : yea, if there were any witches at all in Israel, they wept. For it is written, that all the children of Israel wept. Finallie, if there be any witches in hell, I am sure they weepe : for there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

Seneca in tragæd. Mal. malef. part. 3. *quæst* 15. *act.* 10.

Num. 11, 4. 1. Sam. 11, 4. 2. Sa. 15, 23. Mat. 8. & 13 & 22. & 24. & 25. Luke 3. &c.

But God knoweth, many an honest matrone cannot sometimes in the heavines of her heart shed teares ; the which oftentimes are more readie and common with craftie queanes and strumpets, than with sober women. For we read of two kinds of teares in a womans eie, the one of true greefe, the other of deceipt. And it is written, that *Dediscere flere fœminam est mendacium :* which argueth, that they lie which say, that wicked women cannot weepe. But let these tormentors take heed, that the teares in this case which runne downe the widowes cheeks, with their crie spoken of by Jesus Sirach, be not heard above. But lo what learned, godlie, and lawfull meanes these popish inquisitors have invented for the triall of true or false teares. /

Seneca in tragæd.

Eccl. 35, 15.

The seventh Chapter.

29.

The inquisitors triall of weeping by conjuration.

Triall of teares.

CONJURE thee by the amorous teares, which Jesus Christ our Saviour shed upon the crosse for the salvation of the world ; and by the most earnest and burning teares of his mother the most glorious virgine *Marie*, sprinkled upon his wounds late in the evening ; and by all the teares, which everie saint and elect vessell of God hath powred out heere in the world, and from whose eies he hath wiped awaie all teares ; that if thou be without fault, thou maist powre downe teares aboundantlie ; and if thou be guiltie, that thou weepe in no wise : In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holie ghost ; Amen. And note (saith he) that the more you conjure, the lesse she weepeth. /

Mal. Malef. quæ. 15, *fa.* 3.

20

The eight Chapter.

Certaine cautions against witches, and of their tortures to procure confession.

BUT to manifest their further follies, I will recite some of their cautions, which are published by the ancient inquisitors, for perpetuall lessons to their successors: as followeth. The first caution is that, which was last rehearsed concerning weeping; the which (say they) is an infallible note.

Secondlie, the judge must beware she touch no part of him, speciallie of his bare; and that he alwaies weare about his necke conjured salt, palme, herbes, and waxe halowed: which (say they) are not onelie approoved to be good by the witches confessions; but / also by the use of the Romish church, which halloweth them onelie for that purpose. *Ja. Sprenger. H. Institor. 30.*

Item, she must come to hir arreignement backward, to wit, with hir taile to the judges face, who must make manie crosses, at the time of hir approching to the barre. And least we should condemne that for superstition, they prevent us with a figure, and tell us, that the same superstition may not seeme superstitious unto us. But this resembleth the persuasion of a theefe, that dissuadeth his sonne from stealing; and neverthelesse telleth him that he may picke or cut a pursse, and rob by the high waie. *Mal. malef. pa. 3, quæ. 15.* *Prolepsis or Præoccupation.*

One other caution is, that she must be shaven, so as there remaine not one haire about hir: for sometimes they keepe secrets for taciturnitie, and for other purposes also in their haire, in their privities, and betweene their skinne and their flesh. For which cause I marvell they flea them not: for one of their witches would not burne, being in the middest of the flame, as *M. Mal.* reporteth; untill a charme written in a little scroll was espied to be hidden betweene hir skin and flesh, and taken awaie. And this is so gravelie and faithfullie set downe by the inquisitors themselves, that one may beleeve it if he list, though indeed it be a verie lie. The like lie citeth *Bodin*, of a witch that could not be strangled by the executioner, doo what he could. But it is most true, that the inquisitor *Cumanus* in one yeare did shave one and fourtie poore women, and burnt them all when he had done. *Mal. malef.* *John. Bod.* Anno. 1485 a knave inquisitor.

Another caution is, that at the time and place of torture, the hallowed things aforesaid, with the seaven words spoken on the crosse, be hanged about the witches necke; and the length of Christ in waxe be knit about hir bare naked bodie, with relikes of saints, &c. All which stuffe (saie they) will so worke within and upon them, as when they *Q. 16. de tempore & modo interrog.*

are racked and tortured, they can hardlie staie or hold themselves from confession. In which case I doubt not but that pope, which blasphemed Christ, and curssed his mother for a pecocke, and curssed God with great despights for a peece of porke, with lesse compulsion would have renounced the trinitie, and have worshipped the divell upon his knees./

Blasphemous pope Julie, of that name the third.

1.

Another caution is, that after she hath beene racked, and hath passed over all tortures devised for that purpose; and after that she hath beene compelled to drinke holie water, she be conveied / againe to the place of torture: and that in the middest of hir torments, hir accusations be read unto hir; and that the witnesses (if they will) be brought face to face unto hir: and finallie, that she be asked, whether for triall of hir innocencie she will have judgement, *Candentis ferri*, which is; To carrie a certeine weight of burning iron in hir bare hand. But that may not (saie they) in anie wise be granted. For both *M. Mal.* and *Bodin* also affirme, that manie things may be promised, but nothing need be performed: for whie, they have authoritie to promise, but no commission to performe the same.

31.

Mal. malef. par. 3, *quæ.* 16.

Another caution is, that the judge take heed, that when she once beginneth to confesse, he cut not off hir examination, but continue it night and daie. For many-times, whiles they go to dinner, she returneth to hir vomit.

Another caution is, that after the witch hath confessed the annoieing of men and beasts, she be asked how long she hath had *Incubus*, when she renounced the faith, and made the reall league, and what that league is, &c. And this is indeede the cheefe cause of all their incredible and impossible confessions: for upon the racke, when they have once begunne to lie, they will saie what the tormentor list.

The last caution is, that if she will not confesse, she be had to some strong castle or gaole. And after certeine daies, the gaolor must make hir beleeve he goeth foorth into some farre countrie: and then some of hir freends must come in to hir, and promise hir, that if she will confesse to them, they will suffer hir to escape out of prison: which they may well doo, the keeper being from home. And this waie (saith *M. Mal.*) hath served, when all other meanes have failed.

Mal. malef. par. 3, *quæ.* 16 *act.* 11.

And in this place it may not be omitted, that above all other times, they confesse upon fridaies. Now saith *James Sprenger*, and *Henrie Institor*, we must saie all, to wit: If she confesse nothing, she should be dismissed by lawe; and yet by order she may in no wise be bailed, but must be put into close prison, and there be talked withall by some craftie person (those are the words) and in the meane while there must be some eves-dropers with pen and inke behind the wall, to hearken and note what she confesseth: or else some of hir old

companions and acquain / tance may come in and talke with hir of old matters, and so by eves-droppers be also bewraied ; so as there shall be no end of torture before she have confessed what they will./ *32.* 22

The Ninth Chapter.

The fifteene crimes laid to the charge of witches, by witchmongers; speciallie by Bodin, in Dæmonomania.

THEY denie God, and all religion. 1

*Answere.** Then let them die therefore, or at the least be used like infidels, or apostataes. [* Rom.]

They cursse, blaspheme, and provoke God with all despite. 2

*Answere.** Then let them have the law expressed in *Levit.* 24. and *Deut.* 13. & 17.

They give their faith to the divell, and they worship and offer sacrifice unto him. 3

Ans. Let such also be judged by the same lawe.

They doo solemnelie vow and promise all their progenie unto the divell. 4

Ans. This promise proceedeth from an unsound mind, and is not to be regarded ; bicause they cannot performe it, neither will it be prooved true. Howbeit, if it be done by anie that is sound of mind, let the cursse of *Jeremie.* 32. 36. light upon them, to wit, the sword, famine and pestilence.

They sacrifice their owne children to the divell before baptisme, holding them up in the aire unto him, and then thrust a needle into their braines. 5

Ans. If this be true, I maintaine them not herein: but there is a lawe to judge them by. Howbeit, it is so contrarie to sense and nature, that it were follie to beleeve it ; either upon *Bodins* bare word, or else upon his presumptions ; speciallie when so small commoditie and so great danger and inconvenience insueth to the witches thereby.

They burne their children when they have sacrificed them. 6

Ans. Then let them have such punishment, as they that offered their children unto *Moloch : Levit.* 20. But these be meere / devises of witchmoongers and inquisitors, that with extreame tortures have wroong such confessions from them ; or else with false reports have beelied them ; or by flatterie & faire words and promises have woon it at their hands, at the length. *33.*

They sweare to the divell to bring as manie into that societie as they can. 7

Ans. This is false, and so prooved elsewhere.

8 They sweare by the name of the divell.

Ans. I never heard anie such oth, neither have we warrant to kill them that so doo sweare; though indeed it be verie lewd and impious.

9 They use incestuous adulterie with spirits.

Ans. This is a stale ridiculous lie, as is prooved apparentlie hereafter.

10 They boile infants (after they have murthered them unbaptised) untill their flesh be made potable.

23. *Ans.* This is untrue, incredible, and impossible./

11 They eate the flesh and drinke the bloud of men and children openlie.

Ans. Then are they kin to the *Anthropophagi* and *Canibals.* But I beleeve never an honest man in *England* nor in *France,* will affirme that he hath seene any of these persons, that are said to be witches, do so; if they shuld, I beleeve it would poison them.

12 They kill men with poison.

Ans. Let them be hanged for their labour.

13 They kill mens cattell.

Ans. Then let an action of trespasse be brought against them for so dooing.

14 They bewitch mens corne, and bring hunger and barrennes into the countrie; they ride and flie in the aire, bring stormes, make tempests, &c.

Ans. Then will I worship them as gods; for those be not the works of man, nor yet of witch: as I have elsewhere prooved at large.

15 They use venerie with a divell called *Incubus,* even when they lie in bed with their husbands, and have children by them, which become the best witches.

Ans. This is the last lie, verie ridiculous, and confuted by me else-

34 where. /

The tenth Chapter.

A refutation of the former surmised crimes patched togither by Bodin, and the onelie waie to escape the inquisitors hands.

IF more ridiculous or abhominable crimes could have beene invented, these poore women (whose cheefe fault is that they are scolds) should have beene charged with them.

In this libell you dooe see is conteined all that witches are charged with; and all that also, which anie witchmoonger surmiseth, or in malice imputeth unto witches power and practise.

Some of these crimes may not onelie be in the power and will of a witch, but may be accomplished by naturall meanes: and therefore by them the matter in question is not decided, to wit ; Whether a witch can worke woonders supernaturallie? For manie a knave and whore dooth more commonlie put in execution those lewd actions, than such as are called witches, and are hanged for their labour.

The question or matter in controversie: that is to say, the proposition or theme.

Some of these crimes also laid unto witches charge, are by me denied, and by them cannot be prooved to be true, or committed by any one witch. Othersome of these crimes likewise are so absurd, supernaturall, and impossible, that they are derided almost of all men, and as false, fond, and fabulous reports condemned : insomuch as the very witchmoongers themselves are ashamed to heare of them.

If part be untrue, why may not the residue be thought false? For all these things are laid to their charge at one instant, even by the greatest doctors and patrones of the sect of witchmongers, producing as manie proofs for witches supernaturall and impossible actions, as for the other. So as, if one part of their accusation be false, the other part deserveth no credit. If all be true that is alledged of their dooings, why should we beleeve in Christ, bicause of his miracles, when a witch dooth as great/ wonders as/ ever he did? 24. *35.*

But it will be said by some ; As for those absurd and popish writers, they are not in all their allegations, touching these matters, to be credited. But I assure you, that even all sorts of writers heerein (for the most part) the very doctors of the church to the schoolemen, protestants and papists, learned and unlearned, poets and historiographers, Jewes, Christians, or Gentiles agree in these impossible and ridiculous matters. Yea and these writers, out of whome I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authoritie of all writers in this matter. The reason is, bicause it was never throughlie looked into ; but everie fable credited ; and the word (Witch) named so often in scripture.

A generall error.

They that have seene further of the inquisitors orders and customes, saie also ; that There is no waie in the world for these poore women to escape the inquisitors hands, and so consequentlie burning : but to gild their hands with monie, wherby oftentimes they take pitie upon them, and deliver them, as sufficientlie purged. For they have authoritie to exchange the punishment of the bodie with the punishment of the pursse, applieng the same to the office of their inquisition: whereby they reape such profit, as a number of these seelie women paie them yeerelie pensions, to the end they may not be punished againe.

The onelie way for witches to avoid the inquisitors hands.

The eleventh Chapter.

The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading for a poore woman accused of witchcraft, and how he convinced the inquisitors.

CORNELIUS AGRIPPA saith, that while he was in *Italie*, manie inquisitors in the dutchie of *Millen* troubled divers most honest & noble matrones, privilie wringing much monie from them, untill their knaverie was detected. Further he saith, that being an advocate or councellor in the Commonwelth of *Maestright* in *Brabant*, he had sore
36. contention with an inquisitor, who through un / just accusations drew a poore woman of the countrie into his butcherie, and to an unfit place ; not so much to examine hir, as to torment hir. Whom when *C. Agrippa* had undertaken to defend, declaring that in the things doone, there was no proofe, no signe or token that could cause hir to be tormented ; the inquisitor stoutlie denieng it, said ; One thing there is, which is proofe and matter sufficient : for hir mother was in times past burned for a witch. Now when *Agrippa* replied, affirming that this article was impertinent, and ought to be refused by the judge, as being the deed of another ; alledging to the inquisitor, reasons and lawe for the same : he replied againe that this was true, bicause they used to sacrifice their children to the divell, as soone as they were borne ; and also bicause they usuallie conceived by spirits transformed into mans shape, and that thereby witchcraft was naturallie ingraffed
33. into this child, as a disease that commeth by inheritance. /

A bitter invective against a cruell inquisitor.

C. Agrippa replieng against the inquisitors follie & superstitious blindnesse, said ; O thou wicked preest ! Is this thy divinitie ? Doost thou use to drawe poore guiltlesse women to the racke by these forged devises ? Doost thou with such sentences judge others to be heretikes, thou being a more heretike than either *Faustus* or *Donatus ?* Be it as thou saiest, dooest thou not frustrate the grace of Gods ordinance ; namelie baptisme ? Are the words in baptisme spoken in vaine ? Or shall the divell remaine in the child, or it in the power of the divell, being there and then consecrated to Christ Jesus, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost ? And if thou defend their false opinions, which affirm, that spirits accompanieng with women, can ingender ; yet dotest thou more than anie of them, which never beleeved that anie of those divels, togither with their stolne seed, doo put part of that their seed or nature into the creature. But though indeed we be borne the children of the divell and damnation, yet in baptisme, through grace in Christ, sathan is cast out, and we are

made new creatures in the Lord, from whome none can be separated by another mans deed. The inquisitor being hereat offended, threatened the advocate to proceed against him, as a supporter of heretikes or witches; yet neverthelesse he ceased not to defend the seelie woman, and through the power of the lawe he delivered hir / *37.* from the clawes of the bloodie moonke, who with hir accusers, were condemned in a great summe of monie to the charter of the church of *Mentz*, and remained infamous after that time almost to all men.

But by the waie you must understand, that this was but a petie inquisitor, and had not so large a commission as *Cumanus*, *Sprenger*, and such other had; nor yet as the *Spanish* inquisitors at this daie have. For these will admit no advocats now unto the poore soules, except the tormentor or hangman may be called an advocate. You may read the summe of this inquisition in few words set out by M. *John Fox* in the Acts and monuments. For witches and heretikes are among the inquisitors of like reputation; saving that the extremitie is greater against witches, bicause through their simplicitie, they may the more boldlie tyrannize upon them, and triumph over them.

John Fox in the acts and monuments.

The twelfe Chapter.

What the feare of death and feeling of torments may force one to doo, and that it is no marvell though witches condemne themselves by their owne confessions so tyrannicallie extorted.

HE that readeth the ecclesiasticall histories, or remembreth the persecutions in Queene *Maries* time, shall find, that manie good men have fallen for feare of persecution, and returned unto the Lord againe. What marvell then, though a poore woman, such a one as is described else-where, & tormented as is declared in these latter leaves, be made to confesse such absurd and false impossibilities; when flesh and bloud is unable to endure such triall? Or how can she in the middest of such horrible tortures/ and torments, promise unto hir selfe constancie; or **34.** forbeare to confesse anie thing? Or what availeth it hir, to persevere in the deniall of such matters, as are laid to her charge unjustlie; when on the one side there is never anie end of hir torments; on the other side, / if she continue in hir assertion, they saie she hath *38.* charmes for taciturnitie or silence?

Peter the apostle renounced, curssed, and forsware his maister and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for feare of a wenches manaces; or rather at a question demanded by hir, wherein he was not so circumvented, as these poore witches are, which be not examined by girles, but by

Peters apostacie & renouncing of Christ.

cunning inquisitors, who having the spoile of their goods, and bringing with them into the place of judgement minds to maintaine their bloudie purpose, spare no maner of allurements, thretenings, nor torments, untill they have wroong out of them all that, which either maketh to their owne desire, or serveth to the others destruction.

Peter (I saie) in the presence of his Lord and maister Christ, who had instructed him in true knowledge manie yeares, being forewarned, not passing foure or five houres before, and having made a reall league and a faithfull promise to the contrarie, without anie other compulsion than (as hath beene said) by a question proposed by a girle, against his conscience, forsooke, thrise denied, and abandoned his said maister: and yet he was a man illuminated, and placed in dignitie aloft, and neerer to Christ by manie degrees, than the witch, whose fall could not be so great as *Peters;* bicause she never ascended halfe so manie steps. A pastors declination is much more abhominable that the going astraie of anie of his sheepe: as an ambassadors conspiracie is more odious than the falshood of a common person: or as a capteins treason is more mischeevous than a private soldiers mutinie. If you saie, *Peter* repented; I answer that the witch dooth so likewise sometimes, and I see not in that case, but mercie may be emploied upon hir. It were a mightie temptation to a seelie old woman, that a visible divell (being in shape so ugglie, as *Danæus* and others saie he is) should assalt hir in maner and forme as is supposed, or rather avowed; speciallie when there is promise made that none shall be tempted above their strength. The poore old witch is commonlie unlearned, unwarned, and unprovided of counsell and freendship, void of judgement and discretion to moderate hir life and communication, hir kind and gender more weake and fraile than the masculine, and much more subject to melancholie; hir bringing up and companie is so base, that nothing is to be / looked for in hir speciallie of these extraordinarie qualities; hir age also is commonlie such, as maketh her decrepite, which is a disease that mooveth them to these follies.

Danæus in dialog.

1 Cor. 10.

39.

Finallie, Christ did cleerelie remit *Peter*, though his offense were committed both against his divine and humane person: yea afterwards he did put him in trust to feed his sheepe, and shewed great countenance, freendship and love unto him. And therefore I see not, but we may shew compassion upon these poore soules; if they shew themselves sorrowfull for their misconceipts and wicked imaginations./

¶ *The third Booke.* *40.* 35.

The first Chapter.

The witches bargaine with the divell, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Danæus, Psellus, Erastus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartholomæus Spineus, &c.

THAT which in this matter of witchcraft hath abused so manie, and seemeth both so horrible and intollerable, is a plaine bargaine, that (they saie) is made betwixt the divell and the witch. And manie of great learning conceive it to be a matter of truth, and in their writings publish it accordinglie: the which (by Gods grace) shall be prooved as vaine and false as the rest.

The double bargane of witches with the divell.

The order of their bargaine or profession is double; the one solemne and publike; the other secret and private. That which is called solemne or publike, is where witches come togither at certeine assemblies, at the times prefixed, and doo not onelie see the divell in visible forme; but confer and talke familiarlie with him. In which conference the divell exhorteth them to observe their fidelitie unto him, promising them long life and prosperitie. Then the witches assembled, commend a new disciple (whom they call a novice) unto him: and if the divell find that yoong witch apt and forward in renunciation of christian faith, in despising anie of the seven sacraments, in treading upon crosses, in spetting at the time of the elevation, in breaking their fast on fasting daies, and fasting on sundaies; then the divell giveth foorth / his hand, and the novice joining *41.* hand in hand with him, promiseth to observe and keepe all the divels commandements.

Mal. malef. de modo professionis.

This done, the divell beginneth to be more bold with hir, telling hir plainlie, that all this will not serve his turne; and therefore requireth homage at hir hands: yea he also telleth hir, that she must grant him both hir bodie and soule to be tormented in everlasting fire: which she yeeldeth unto. Then he chargeth hir, to procure as manie men, women, and children also, as she can, to enter into this societie. Then he teacheth them to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the aire, and accomplish all their desires. So as, if there be anie children unbaptised, or not garded with the signe of the crosse, or orizons; then the witches may and doo catch them from their mothers sides in the night, or out of their cradles, or otherwise kill them with their cere-

monies ; and after buriall steale them out of their graves, and seeth them in a caldron, untill their flesh be made potable. Of the thickest whereof they make ointments, whereby they ride in the aire ; but the thinner potion they put into flaggons, whereof whosoever drinketh, observing certeine ceremonies, immediatlie becommeth a maister or
36. rather a mistresse in that practise and facultie./

The second Chapter.

The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquisitors and peevish witchmoongers) to the divell in person ; of their songs and danses, and namelie of La volta, and of other ceremonies, also of their excourses.

Homage of witches to the divell.

SOMETIMES their homage with their oth and bargaine is received for a certeine terme of yeares ; sometimes for ever. Sometimes it consisteth in the deniall of the whole faith, sometimes in part. The first is, when the soule is absolutelie yeelded to the divell and hell fier : the other is,
42. when they have but bargained [not] to / observe certeine ceremonies and statutes of the church ; as to conceale faults at shrift, to fast on sundaies, &c. And this is doone either by oth, protestation of words, or by obligation in writing, sometimes sealed with wax, sometimes signed with bloud, sometimes by kissing the divels bare buttocks ; as did a Doctor called *Edlin*, who as (*Bodin* saith) was burned for witchcraft.

Bar. Spineus, cap. 1. in novo Mal. malef.

You must also understand, that after they have delicatlie banketted with the divell and the ladie of the fairies ; and have eaten up a fat oxe, and emptied a butt of malmesie, and a binne of bread at some noble mans house, in the dead of the night, nothing is missed of all this in the morning. For the ladie *Sibylla*, *Minerva*, or *Diana* with a golden rod striketh the vessell & the binne, and they are fullie replenished againe. Yea, she causeth the bullocks bones to be brought and laid togither upon the hide, and lappeth the foure ends thereof togither, laieng her golden rod thereon ; and then riseth up the bullocke againe in his former estate and condition : and yet at their returne home they are like to starve for hunger ; as *Spineus* saith. And this must be an infallible rule, that everie fortnight, or at the least everie moneth, each witch must kill one child at the least for hir part.

Idem Ibid.

I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2, cap. 4.

And here some of *Monsieur Bodins* lies may be inserted, who saith that at these magicall assemblies, the witches never faile to danse ; and in their danse they sing these words ; Har har, divell divell, danse here, danse here, plaie here, plaie here, *Sabbath*, *sabbath*. And whiles they sing and danse, everie one hath a broome in hir hand,

and holdeth it up aloft. Item he saith, that these night-walking or rather night-dansing witches, brought out of *Italie* into *France*, that danse, which is called *La volta.*

A part of their league is, to scrape off the oile, which is received in extreame follie (unction I should have said). But if that be so dangerous, they which socke the corps had neede to take great care, that they rub not off the oile, which divers other waies may also be thrust out of the forehead; and then I perceive all the vertue thereof is gone, and farewell it. But I marvell how they take on to preserve the water powred on them in baptisme, which I take to be largelie of as great force as the other; and yet I thinke is commonlie wiped and washed off, within foure and twentie houres / after baptisme: but this agreeth with the residue / of their follie. *Mal. malef.* 37. *43.*

And this is to be noted, that the inquisitors affirme, that during the whole time of the witches excourse, the divell occupieth the roome and place of the witch, in so perfect a similitude, as hir husband in his bed, neither by feeling, speech, nor countenance can discerne hir from his wife. Yea the wife departeth out of her husbands armes insensiblie, and leaveth the divell in hir roome visiblie. Wherein their incredulitie is incredible, who will have a verie bodie in the feined plaie, and a phantasticall bodie in the true bed: and yet (forsooth) at the name of Jesus, or at the signe of the crosse, all these bodilie witches (they saie) vanish awaie. *Grillandus. de sort.* 10. *vol. tract.*

The third Chapter.

How witches are summoned to appeere before the divell, of their riding in the aire, of their accompts, of their conference with the divell, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell and sacrifices: according to Danæus, Psellus, &c.

HITHERTO, for the most part, are the verie words conteined in *M. Mal.* or *Bodin*, or rather in both; or else in the new *M. Mal.* or at the least-wise of some writer or other, that mainteineth the almightie power of witches. But *Danæus* saith, the divell oftentimes in the likenes of a sumner, meeteth them at markets and faires, and warneth them to appeere in their assemblies, at a certeine houre in the night, that he may understand whom they have slaine, and how they have profited. If they be lame, he saith the divell delivereth them a staffe, to conveie them thither invisiblie through the aire; and that then they fall a dansing and singing of bawdie songs, wherein he leadeth the danse himselfe. Which danse, and other conferencies being ended, he supplieth their wants of powders and *Danæus in dialog. cat.* 4.

roots to intoxicate withall; and giveth to everie novice a marke, either with his teeth or with his clawes, and so they kisse the divels bare
44. buttocks, and depart: / not forgetting every daie afterwards to offer to
Ide. Ibidem. him, dogs, cats, hens, or bloud of their owne. And all this dooth *Danæus* report as a troth, and as it were upon his owne knowledge.
Idem. in dialog. cap. 3. And yet else-where he saieth; In these matters they doo but dreame, and doo not those things indeed, which they confesse through their distemperature, growing of their melancholike humor: and therefore (saith he) these things, which they report of themselves, are but meere illusions.

Psellus addeth hereunto, that certeine magicall heretikes, to wit; the *Eutychians*, assemblie themselves everie good fridaie at night; and putting out the candles, doo commit incestuous adulterie, the father with the daughter, the sister with the brother, and the sonne with the mother; and the ninth moneth they returne and are delivered; and cutting their children in peeces, fill their pots with their bloud;
Card. lib. de var. rerum. 15. cap. 80. then burne they the carcases, and mingle the ashes therewith, and so preserve the same for magicall purposes. *Cardanus* writeth (though
38. in mine opinion not verie / probablie) that these excourses, dansings, &c: had their beginning from certeine heretikes called *Dulcini*, who devised those feasts of *Bacchus* which are named *Orgia*, whereunto these kind of people openlie assembled; and beginning with riot, ended with this follie. Which feasts being prohibited, they nevertheles hanted them secretlie; and when they could not doo so, then did they it in cogitation onelie, and even to this daie (saith he) there remaineth a certeine image or resemblance thereof among our melancholike women.

The fourth Chapter.

That there can no reall league be made with the divell the first author of the league, and the weake proofes of the adversaries for the same.

IF the league be untrue, as are the residue of their confessions, the witchmongers arguments fall to the ground: for all the writers herein hold this bargaine for certeine, good, and granted, and as their onelie
45. maxime. But surelie the / indentures, conteining those covenants, are sealed with butter; and the labels are but bables. What firme bargaine can be made betwixt a carnall bodie and a spirituall? Let any wise or honest man tell me, that either hath beene a partie, or a witnesse; and I will beleeve him. But by what authoritie, proofe, or
Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæ. 7. cap. 2. testimonie; and upon what ground all this geere standeth, if you read *M. Mal.* you shall find, to the shame of the reporters (who doo so

varie in their tales, and are at such contrarietie :) and to the reproch of the beleevers of such absurd lies.

Upon what ground this real league began to growe in credit.

For the beginning of the credit hereof, resteth upon the confession of a baggage yoong fellow condemned to be burnt for witchcraft; who said to the inquisitors, of likelihood to prolong his life, (if at leastwise the storie be true, which is taken out of *Nider;*) If I wist (quoth he) that I might obteine pardon, I would discover all that I knowe of witchcraft. The which condition being accepted, and pardon promiṣed (partlie in hope thereof, and partlie to be rid of his wife) he said as followeth.

The novice or yoong disciple goeth to some church, togither with the mistresse of that profession, upon a sundaie morning, before the conjuration of holie water, & there the said novice renounceth the faith, promiseth obedience in observing, or rather omitting of ceremonies in meetings, and such other follies; and finallie, that they doo homage to their yoong maister the divell, as they covenanted.

But this is notable in that storie, that this yoong witch, doubting that his wives examination would bewraie his knaverie, told the inquisitor; that in truth his wife was guiltie as well as he, but she will never, I am sure (quoth he) though she should be burned a thousand times, confesse any of these circumstances.

And this is in no wise to be forgotten, that notwithstanding his contrition, his confession, and his accusation of his owne wife (contrarie to the inquisitors / promise and oth) he and his wife were both 39. burned at a stake, being the first discoverers of this notable league, whereupon the fable of witchcraft is mainteined; and whereby such other confessions have beene from the like persons, since that time, extorted and augmented. /

The fift Chapter. 46.

Of the private league, a notable tale of Bodins concerning a French ladie, with a confutation.

The maner of witches private league with the divell.

THE maner of their private league is said to be, when the divell invisible, and sometimes visible, in the middest of the people talketh with them privatelie; promising, that if they will followe his counsell, he will supplie all their necessities, and make all their endevors prosperous: and so beginneth with small matters: whereunto they consent privilie, and come not into the fairies assemblie.

And in this case (mee thinks) the divell sometimes, in such externall or corporall shape, should meete with some that would not consent to his motions (except you will saie he knoweth their cogitations) and so

should be bewraied. They also (except they were idiots) would spie him, and forsake him for breach of covenants. But these bargaines, and these assemblies doo all the writers hereupon mainteine: and *Bodin* confirmeth them with a hundred and odd lies; among the number whereof I will (for diverse causes) recite one.

J. Bod. lib. 2. de dæmonomania. cap. 4.

There was (saith he) a noble Gentlewoman at *Lions*, that being in bed with a lover of hirs, suddenlie in the night arose up, and lighted a candle: which when she had done, she tooke a box of ointment, wherewith she annointed her bodie; and after a few words spoken, she was carried awaie. Hir bedfellow seeing the order hereof, lept out of his bed, tooke the candle in his hand, and sought for the ladie round about the chamber, and in everie corner thereof. But though he could not find hir, yet did he find hir box of ointment: and being desirous to know the vertue thereof, besmeered himselfe therewith, even as he perceived hir to have done before. And although he were not so superstitious, as to use anie words to helpe him forward in his busines, yet by the vertue of that ointment (saith *Bodin*) he was immediatlie conveied / to *Lorreine*, into the assemblie of witches. Which when he sawe, he was abashed, and said; In the name of God, what make I heere? And upon those words the whole assemblie vanished awaie, and left him there alone starke naked; and so was he faine to returne to *Lions*. But he had so good a conscience (for you may perceive by the first part of the historie, he was a verie honest man) that he accused his true lover for a witch, and caused hir to be burned. But as for his adulterie, neither *M. Mal.* nor *Bodin* doo once so much as speake in the dispraise thereof.

This agreeth not with their interpretation, that saie, this is onlie done by vertue of the legue; nor yet to them that referre it unto words: quoth nota.

47.

It appeareth throughout all *Bodins* booke, that he is sore offended with *Cornelius Agrippa*, and the rather (as I suppose) bicause the said *C. Agrippa* recanted that which *Bodin* mainteineth, who thinketh he could worke wonders by magicke, and speciallie by his blacke dog.

40.

It should seeme he / had prettie skill in the art of divination. For though he wrote before *Bodin* manie a yeare, yet uttereth he these words in his booke *De vanitate scientiarum:* A certeine French protonotarie (saith he) a lewd fellow and a coosener, hath written a certeine fable or miracle done at *Lions*, *&c.* What *Bodin* is, I knowe not, otherwise than by report; but I am certeine this his tale is a fond fable: and *Bodin* saith it was performed at *Lions*; and this man (as I understand) by profession is a civill lawier.

C. Agrippa. cap. 51.

The sixt Chapter.

A disproofe of their assemblies, and of their bargaine.

THAT the joining of hands with the divell, the kissing of his bare buttocks, and his scratching and biting of them, are absurd lies; everie one having the gift of reason may plainlie perceive: in so much as it is manifest unto us by the word of God, that a spirit hath no flesh, bones, nor sinewes, whereof hands, buttocks, claws, teeth, and lips doo consist. For admit that the constitution of a divels bodie (as *Tatian* and other affirme) consisteth in spirituall / congelations, as of fier and aire; yet it cannot be perceived of mortall creatures. What credible witnesse is there brought at anie time, of this their corporall, visible, and incredible bargaine; saving the confession of some person diseased both in bodie and mind, wilfullie made, or injuriouslie constrained? It is mervell that no penitent witch that forsaketh hir trade, confesseth not these things without compulsion. Mee thinketh their covenant made at baptisme with God, before good witnesses, sanctified with the word, confirmed with his promises, and established with his sacraments, should be of more force than that which they make with the divell, which no bodie seeth or knoweth. For God deceiveth none, with whom he bargaineth; neither dooth he mocke or disappoint them, although he danse not among them.

Tatianus 48. contra Græcos.

Their oth, to procure into their league and fellowship as manie as they can (whereby everie one witch, as *Bodin* affirmeth, augmenteth the number of fiftie) bewraieth greatlie their indirect dealing. Hereof I have made triall, as also of the residue of their coosening devices; and have beene with the best, or rather the woorst of them, to see what might be gathered out of their counsels; and have cunninglie treated with them thereabouts: and further, have sent certeine old persons to indent with them, to be admitted into their societie. But as well by their excuses and delaies, as by other circumstances, I have tried and found all their trade to be meere coosening.

The author speaketh upon due proofe and triall.

I praie you what bargaine have they made with the divell, that with their angrie lookes beewitch lambs, children, &c? Is it not confessed, that it is naturall, though it be a lie? What bargaine maketh the soothsaier, which hath his severall kinds of witchcraft and divination expressed in the scripture? Or is it not granted that they make none? How chanceth it that we heare not of this bargaine in the scriptures?/

49. 41.

The seventh Chapter.

A confutation of the objection concerning witches confessions.

IT is confessed (saie some by the waie of objection) even of these women themselves, that they doo these and such other horrible things, as deserveth death, with all extremitie, &c. Whereunto I answer, that whosoever consideratelie beholdeth their confessions, shall perceive all to be vaine, idle, false, inconstant, and of no weight; except their contempt and ignorance in religion: which is rather the fault of the negligent pastor, than of the simple woman.

Confession compulsorie; as by Hispanicall inquisition: Looke *Mal. malef. & Jo. Bodin.*

Confession persuasorie; as by flatterie: Looke *Bry. Darcie* against *Ursu. Kempe.*

First, if their confession be made by compulsion, of force or authoritie, or by persuasion, and under colour of freendship, it is not to be regarded; bicause the extremitie of threts and tortures provokes it; or the qualitie of faire words and allurements constraines it. If it be voluntarie, manie circumstances must be considered, to wit; whether she appeach not hir selfe to overthrow hir neighbour, which manie times happeneth through their cankered and malicious melancholike humor: then; whether in that same melancholike mood and frentike humor, she desire not the abridgment of hir owne daies. Which thing *Aristotle* saith dooth oftentimes happen unto persons subject to melancholike passions: and (as *Bodin* and *Sprenger* saie) to these old women called witches, which manie times (as they affirme) refuse to live; thretning the judges, that if they may not be burned, they will laie hands upon themselves, and so make them guiltie of their damnation.

John. Bod. Mal. Malef.

I my selfe have knowne, that where such a one could not prevaile, to be accepted as a sufficient witnesse against himselfe, he presentlie went and threw himselfe into a pond of water, where he was drowned. But the lawe saith; *Volenti mori non est habenda fides*, that is; His word is not to be credited that is desirous to/ die. Also sometimes (as else-where I have prooved) they confesse that whereof they were never guiltie; supposing that they did that which they did not, by meanes of certeine circumstances. And as they sometimes confesse impossibilities, as that they flie in the aire, transubstantiate themselves, raise tempests, transfer or remoove corne, &c: so doo they also (I saie) confesse voluntarilie, that which no man could proove, and that which no man would ghesse, nor yet beleeve, except he were as mad as they; so as they bring death wilfullie upon themselves: which argueth an unsound mind.

L. absent. de poenis. *50.* *L. 2. cum glos. de iis, qui ante sentent. mortui sunt, sibi necem consciscentes.*

If they confesse that, which hath beene indeed committed by them,

as poisoning, or anie other kind of murther, which falleth into the power of such persons to accomplish ; I stand not to defend their cause. Howbeit, I would wish that even in that case there be not too rash credit given, nor too hastie proceedings used against them: but that the causes, properties, and circumstances of everie thing be dulie considered, and diligentlie examined. For you shall understand, that as sometimes they confesse they have murthered their neighbours with a wish, sometimes with a word, sometimes with a looke, &c: so they confesse, that with/ the delivering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they have killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added thereunto, which naturallie could be noisome or hurtfull.

Absurdities in witches confessions.

42.

In like maner they confesse, that with a touch of their bare hand, they sometimes kill a man being in perfect health and strength of bodie ; when all his garments are betwixt their hand and his flesh.

But if this their confession be examined by divinitie, philosophie, physicke, lawe or conscience, it will be found false and insufficient. First, for that the working of miracles is ceased. Secondlie, no reason can be yeelded for a thing so farre beyond all reason. Thirdlie, no receipt can be of such efficacie, as when the same is touched with a bare hand, from whence the veines have passage through the bodie unto the hart, it should not annoie the poisoner ; and yet reteine vertue and force enough, to pearse through so manie garments and the verie flesh incurablie, to the place of death in another person. *Cui argumento* (saith *Bodin*) *nescio quid / responderi possit.* Fourthlie, no lawe will admit such a confession, as yeeldeth unto impossibilities, against the which there is never any lawe provided ; otherwise it would not serve a mans turne, to plead and proove that he was at *Berwicke* that daie, that he is accused to have doone a murther in *Canturburie* ; for it might be said he was conveied to *Berwicke*, and backe againe by inchantment. Fiftlie, he is not by conscience to be executed, which hath no sound mind nor perfect judgement. And yet forsooth we read, that one mother *Stile* did kill one *Saddocke* with a touch on the shoulder, for not keeping promise with hir for an old cloake, to make hir a safegard ; and that she was hanged for hir labour.

J. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 8. 51.

In a little pamphlet of the acts and hanging of foure witches, in anno. 1579.

The eight Chapter.

What follie it were for witches to enter into such desperate perill, and to endure such intollerable tortures for no gaine or commoditie, and how it comes to passe that witches are overthrowne by their confessions.

ALAS! if they were so subtill, as witchmongers make them to be, they would espie that it were meere follie for them, not onelie to make a bargaine with the divell to throw their soules into hell fire, but their bodies to the tortures of temporall fire and death, for the accomplishment of nothing that might benefit themselves at all: but they would at the leastwise indent with the divell, both to inrich them, and also to enoble them; and finallie to endue them with all worldlie felicitie and pleasure: which is furthest from them of all other. Yea, if they were sensible, they would saie to the divell; Whie should I hearken to you, when you will deceive me? Did you not promise my neighbour mother *Dutton* to save and rescue hir; and yet lo she is hanged? Surelie this would appose the divell verie sore. And it is a woonder, that none, from the beginning of the world, till this daie, hath made this and such like objections, whereto the divell
John Bod. 52. could never / make answer. But were it not more madnes for them to serve the divell, under these conditions; and yet to endure/
43. whippings with iron rods at the divels hands; which (as the witchmongers write) are so set on, that the print of the lashes remaine upon the witches bodie ever after, even so long as she hath a daie to live?

But these old women being daunted with authoritie, circumvented with guile, constrained by force, compelled by feare, induced by error, and deceived by ignorance, doo fall into such rash credulitie, and so are brought unto these absurd confessions. Whose error of mind and blindnes of will dependeth upon the disease and infirmitie of nature: and therefore their actions in that case are the more to be borne withall; bicause they, being destitute of reason, can have no consent.
L. si per errorem jurisd. omni cum inde. For, *Delictum sine consensu non potest committi, neque injuria sine animo injuriandi*; that is, There can be no sinne without consent, nor injurie committed without a mind to doo wrong.
C. sed hoc d. de publ. &c. Yet the lawe saith further, that A purpose reteined in mind, dooth nothing to the privat or publike hurt of anie man; and much more
Bal. in leg. &c. that an impossible purpose is unpunishable. *Sanæ mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; A sound mind willeth nothing but that which is possible.

The ninth Chapter.

How melancholie abuseth old women, and of the effects thereof by sundrie examples.

IF anie man advisedlie marke their words, actions, cogitations, and gestures, he shall perceive that melancholie abounding in their head, and occupieng their braine, hath deprived or rather depraved their judgements, and all their senses: I meane not of coosening witches, but of poore melancholike women, which are themselves deceived. For you shall understand, that the force which melancholie hath, and the effects that it worketh in the bodie of a man, or rather of a woman, are almost incredible. For as some of these melancholike persons imagine, they are witches/ and by witchcraft can worke woonders, and doo what they list : so doo other, troubled with this disease, imagine manie strange, incredible, and impossible things. Some, that they are monarchs and princes, and that all other men are their subjects : some, that they are brute beasts : some, that they be urinals or earthen pots, greatlie fearing to be broken: some, that everie one that meeteth them, will conveie them to the gallowes ; and yet in the end hang themselves. One thought, that *Atlas*, whome the poets feigne to hold up heaven with his shoulders, would be wearie, and let the skie fall upon him : another would spend a whole daie upon a stage, imagining that he both heard and saw interludes, and therewith made himselfe great sport. One *Theophilus* a physician, otherwise sound inough of mind (as it is said) imagined that he heard and sawe musicians continuallie plaieng on instruments, in a certeine place of his house. One *Bessus*, that had killed his father, was notablie detected ; by imagining that a swallowe upraided him therewith : so as he himselfe thereby revealed the murther. *53.*

But the notablest example heereof is, of one that was in great perplexi/tie, imagining that his nose was as big as a house ; insomuch as no freend nor physician could deliver him from this conceipt, nor yet either ease his greefe, or satisfie his fansie in that behalfe : till at the last, a physician more expert in this humor than the rest, used this devise following. First, when he was to come in at the chamber doore being wide open, he suddenlie staied and withdrew himselfe ; so as he would not in any wise approch neerer than the doore. The melancholike person musing heereat, asked him the cause why he so demeaned himselfe? Who answered him in this maner : Sir, your nose is so great, that I can hardlie enter into your chamber but I shall touch it, and consequentlie hurt it. Lo (quoth he) this is the man that must doo me good ; the residue of my freends flatter me, 44. Of one that through melancholie was induced to thinke that he had a nose as big as a house, &c.

and would hide mine infirmitie from me. Well (said the physician) I will cure you, but you must be content to indure a little paine in the dressing: which he promised patientlie to susteine, and conceived certeine hope of his recoverie. Then entred the physician into the chamber, creeping close by the walles, seeming to feare the touching
54. and hurting of his nose. Then did he blindfold him, which / being doone, he caught him by the nose with a paire of pinsors, and threw downe into a tub, which he had placed before his patient, a great quantitie of bloud, with manie peeces of bullocks livers, which he had conveied into the chamber, whilest the others eies were bound up, and then gave him libertie to see and behold the same. He having doone thus againe twoo or three times, the melancholike humor was so qualified, that the mans mind being satisfied, his greefe was eased, and his disease cured.

Thrasibulus, otherwise called *Thrasillus*, being sore oppressed with this melancholike humor, imagined, that all the ships, which arrived at port *Pyræus*, were his: insomuch as he would number them, and command the mariners to lanch, &c: triumphing at their safe returnes, and moorning for their misfortunes. The *Italian*, whom we called here in *England*, the Monarch, was possessed with the like spirit or conceipt. *Danæus* himselfe reporteth, that he sawe one, that affirmed constantlie that he was a cocke; and saith that through melancholie, such were alienated from themselves.

Danæus in dialog. cap. 3.

Now, if the fansie of a melancholike person may be occupied in causes which are both false and impossible; why should an old witch be thought free from such fantasies, who (as the learned philosophers and physicians saie) upon the stopping of their monethlie melancholike flux or issue of bloud, in their age must needs increase therein, as (through their weaknesse both of bodie and braine) the aptest persons to meete with such melancholike imaginations: with whome their imaginations remaine, even when their senses are gone. Which *Bodin* laboureth to disproove, therein shewing himselfe as good a physician, as else-where a divine.

J. Baptist. P. N. cap. 2. Card. de var. rerum. J. Wier. de prestigiis dæmonum, &c. Aristotle.

John. Bod.

But if they may imagine, that they can transforme their owne bodies, which neverthelesse remaineth in the former shape: how much more credible is it, that they may falselie suppose they can hurt and infeeble other mens bodies; or which is lesse, hinder the comming of butter? &c. But what is it that they will not imagine, and consequentlie confesse that they can doo; speciallie being so earnestlie
45. persuaded thereunto, so sorelie tor/mented, so craftilie examined, with such promises of favour, as wherby they imagine, that they shall ever after live in great credit & welth? &c.

55. If you read the executions doone upon witches, either in times/ past

in other countries, or latelie in this land; you shall see such impossibilities confessed, as none, having his right wits, will beleeve. Among other like false confessions, we read that there was a witch confessed at the time of hir death or execution, that she had raised all the tempests, and procured all the frosts and hard weather that happened in the winter 1565: and that manie grave and wise men beleeved hir. *Ant. Houin.*

The tenth Chapter.

That voluntarie confessions may be untrulie made, to the undooing of the confessors, and of the strange operation of melancholie, prooved by a familiar and late example.

BUT that it may appeere, that even voluntarie confession (in this case) may be untrulie made, though it tend to the destruction of the confessor; and that melancholie may moove imaginations to that effect: I will cite a notable instance concerning this matter, the parties themselves being yet alive, and dwelling in the parish of *Sellenge* in *Kent*, and the matter not long sithence in this sort performed.

A Kentish storie of a late accident.

One *Ade Davie*, the wife of *Simon Davie*, husbandman, being reputed a right honest bodie, and being of good parentage, grew suddenlie (as hir husband informed mee, and as it is well knowne in these parts) to be somewhat pensive and more sad than in times past. Which thing though it greeved him, yet he was loth to make it so appeere, as either his wife might be troubled or discontented therewith, or his neighbours informed thereof; least ill husbandrie should be laid to his charge (which in these quarters is much abhorred.) But when she grew from pensivenes, to some perturbation of mind; so as hir accustomed rest began in the night season to be withdrawne from hir, through sighing and secret lamentation; and that, not without teares, hee could not but demand the cause of hir conceipt and extraordina/rie moorning. But although at that time she covered the same, *56.* acknowledging nothing to be amisse with hir: soone after notwithstanding she fell downe before him on hir knees, desiring him to forgive hir, for she had greevouslie offended (as she said) both God & him. Hir poore husband being abashed at this hir behaviour, comforted hir, as he could; asking hir the cause of hir trouble & greefe: who told him, that she had, (contrarie to Gods lawe) & to the offense of all good christians, to the injurie of him, & speciallie to the losse of hir owne soule, bargained and given hir soule to the divell, to be delivered unto him within short space. Whereunto hir husband answered, saieng; Wife, be of good cheere, this thy bargaine is void and of none effect: for thou hast sold that which is none of

Note the christian comfort of the husbād to his wife.

thine to sell; sith it belongeth to Christ, who hath bought it, and deerelie paid for it, even with his bloud, which he shed upon the
46. crosse; so as the divell hath no interest in thee./ After this, with like submission, teares, and penitence, she said unto him; Oh husband, I have yet committed another fault, and doone you more injurie: for I have bewitched you and your children. Be content (quoth he) by the grace of God, Jesus Christ shall unwitch us: for none evill can happen to them that feare God.

And (as trulie as the Lord liveth) this was the tenor of his words unto me, which I knowe is true, as proceeding from unfeigned lips, and from one that feareth God. Now when the time approched that the divell should come, and take possession of the woman, according to his bargaine, he watched and praied earnestlie, and caused his wife to read psalmes and praiers for mercie at Gods hands: and suddenlie about midnight, there was a great rumbling beelowe under his chamber windowe, which amazed them exceedinglie. For they conceived, that the divell was beelowe, though he had no power to come up, bicause of their fervent praiers.

Confutation. He that noteth this womans first and second confession, freelie and voluntarilie made, how everie thing concurred that might serve to adde credit thereunto, and yeeld matter for hir condemnation, would not thinke, but that if *Bodin* were foreman of hir inquest, he would crie; Guiltie: & would hasten execution upon hir; who would have
57. said as much before any judge in/ the world, if she had beene examined; and have confessed no lesse, if she had beene arraigned therupon. But God knoweth, she was innocent of anie these crimes: howbeit she was brought lowe and pressed downe with the weight of this humor, so as both hir rest and sleepe were taken awaie from hir; & hir fansies troubled and disquieted with despaire, and such other cogitations as grew by occasion thereof. And yet I beleeve, if any mishap had insued to hir husband, or his children; few witchmongers would have judged otherwise, but that she had bewitched them. And she (for hir part) so constantlie persuaded hir selfe to be a witch, that she judged hir selfe worthie of death; insomuch as being reteined in hir chamber, she sawe not anie one carrieng a faggot to the fier, but she would saie it was to make a fier to burne hir for witcherie. But God knoweth she had bewitched none, neither insued there anie hurt unto anie, by hir imagination, but unto hir selfe.

A comicall catastrophe. And as for the rumbling, it was by occasion of a sheepe, which was flawed, and hoong by the wals, so as a dog came and devoured it; whereby grew the noise which I before mentioned: and she being now recovered, remaineth a right honest woman, far from such impietie, and ashamed of hir imaginations, which she perceiveth to have growne through melancholie.

The eleventh Chapter.

The strange and divers effects of melancholie, and how the same humor abounding in witches, or rather old women, filleth them full of mervellous imaginations, and that their confessions are not to be credited.

BUT in truth, this melancholike humor (as the best physicians affirme) is the cause of all their strange, impossible, and incredible confessions :/ which are so fond, that I woonder how anie man can be abused thereby. Howbeit, these affections, though they appeare in the mind of man, yet are they bred in the bodie, and proceed from this humor, which is the verie dregs of bloud, nourishing and feeding those places, from whence proceed feares, co/gitations, superstitions, fastings, labours, and such like.

H. Card. de var. rerum. cap. 8.
Jo. Wierus 47. *de præst. lib. 6. cap. 8.*
58.

This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some saie) foresight of things to come, and preserveth health, as being cold and drie : it maketh men subject to leanenesse, and to the quartane ague. They that are vexed therewith, are destroiers of themselves, stout to suffer injuries, fearefull to offer violence ; except the humor be hot. They learne strange toongs with small industrie (as *Aristotle* and others affirme.)

Aristotle de somnio.
H. Card. lib. 8 de var. rer.

If our witches phantasies were not corrupted, nor their wils confounded with this humor, they would not so voluntarilie and readilie confesse that which calleth their life in question ; whereof they could never otherwise be convicted. *J. Bodin* with his lawyers physicke reasoneth contrarilie ; as though melancholie were furthest of all from those old women, whom we call witches : deriding the most famous and noble physician *John Wier* for his opinion in that behalfe. But bicause I am no physician, I will set a physician to him ; namelie *Erastus*, who hath these words, to wit, that These witches, through their corrupt phantasie abounding with melancholike humors, by reason of their old age, doo dreame and imagine they hurt those things which they neither could nor doo hurt ; and so thinke they knowe an art, which they neither have learned nor yet understand.

Jo. Bod. contra Jo. Wierum.

But whie should there be more credit given to witches, when they saie they have made a reall bargaine with the divell, killed a cow, bewitched butter, infeebled a child, forespoken hir neighbour, &c : than when she confesseth that she transubstantiateth hir selfe, maketh it raine or haile, flieth in the aire, goeth invisible, transferreth corne in the grasse from one field to another? &c. If you thinke that in the one their confessions be sound, whie should you saie that they are corrupt in the other ; the confession of all these things being made at

one instant, and affirmed with like constancie, or rather audacitie? But you see the one to be impossible, and therefore you thinke thereby, that their confessions are vaine and false. The other you thinke may be doone, and see them confesse it, and therefore you conclude, *A posse ad esse*; as being persuaded it is so, bicause you thinke it may be so. But I saie, both with the divines, and philosophers, that that which is imagined of witchcraft, hath no truth of action; or being besides their ima/gination, the which (for the most part) is occupied in false causes. For whosoever desireth to bring to passe an impossible thing, hath a vaine, an idle, and a childish persuasion, bred by an unsound mind: for *Sanæ mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est;* The will of a sound mind, is the desire of a possible thing./

August. lib. de Trinit. 3. Idem. de civit. Dei. Clemens. recogn. 3. Iamblichus. Jo. Wierus. Cardanus. Pampia. &c.

59.

48.

The twelfe Chapter.

A confutation of witches confessions, especiallie concerning their league.

An objection.

The resolution.

BUT it is objected, that witches confesse they renounce the faith, and as their confession must be true (or else they would not make it:) so must their fault be worthie of death, or else they should not be executed. Whereunto I answer as before; that their confessions are extorted, or else proceed from an unsound mind. Yea I saie further, that we our selves, which are sound of mind, and yet seeke anie other waie of salvation than Christ Jesus, or breake his commandements, or walke not in his steps with a livelie faith, &c: doo not onlie renounce the faith, but God himselfe: and therefore they (in confessing that they forsake God, and imbrace sathan) doo that which we all should doo. As touching that horrible part of their confession, in the league which tendeth to the killing of their owne and others children, the seething of them, and the making of their potion or pottage, and the effects thereof; their good fridaies meeting, being the daie of their deliverance, their incests, with their returne at the end of nine moneths, when commonlie women be neither able to go that journie, nor to returne, &c; it is so horrible, unnaturall, unlikelie, and unpossible; that if I should behold such things with mine eies, I should rather thinke my selfe dreaming, dronken, or some waie deprived of my senses; than give credit to so horrible and filthie matters.

A forged miracle.

How hath the oile or pottage of a sodden child such vertue, as that a staffe annointed therewith, can carrie folke in the aire? Their potable liquor, which (they saie) maketh maisters of that fa/cultie, is it not ridiculous? And is it not, by the opinion of all philosophers,

60.

physicians, and divines, void of such vertue, as is imputed thereunto?

Their not fasting on fridaies, and their fasting on sundaies, their spetting at the time of elevation, their refusall of holie water, their despising of superstitious crosses, &c: which are all good steps to true christianitie, helpe me to confute the residue of their confessions.

The xiii. Chapter.

A confutation of witches confessions, concerning making of tempests and raine: of the naturall cause of raine, and that witches or divels have no power to doo such things.

AND to speake more generallie of all the impossible actions referred unto them, as also of their false confessions; I saie, that there is none which acknowledgeth God to be onlie omnipotent, and the onlie worker of all miracles, nor anie other indued with meane sense, but will denie that the elements are obedient to witches, and at their commandement; or that they may at their pleasure send raine, haile, tempests, thunder, lightening; when she being but an old doting woman, casteth a flint stone o/ver hir left shoulder, towards the west, or hurleth a little sea sand up into the element, or wetteth a broome sprig in water, and sprinkleth the same in the aire; or diggeth a pit in the earth, and putting water therein, stirreth it about with hir finger; or boileth hogs bristles, or laieth sticks acrosse upon a banke, where never a drop of water is; or burieth sage till it be rotten: all which things are confessed by witches, and affirmed by writers to be the meanes that witches use to moove extraordinarie tempests and raine, &c. 49. The waies that witches use to make raine, &c. *Nider. Mal. Malef. J. Bod. Frier Barth. Heming. Danæus, &c.*

We read in *M. Maleficarum*, that a little girle walking abroad with hir father in his land, heard him complaine of drought, wishing for raine, &c. Whie father (quoth the child) I can make it raine/ or haile, when and where I list? He asked where she learned it. She said, of hir mother, who forbad hir to tell anie bodie thereof. He asked hir how hir mother taught hir? She answered, that hir mother committed hir to a maister, who would at anie time doo anie thing for hir. Whie then (said he) make it raine but onlie in my field. And so she went to the streame, and threw up water in hir maisters name, and made it raine presentlie. And proceeding further with hir father, she made it haile in another field, at hir fathers request. Hereupon he accused his wife, and caused hir to be burned; and then he new christened his child againe: which circumstance is common among papists and witchmongers. And howsoever the first part hereof was *Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 12.* *61.*

prooved, there is no doubt but the latter part was throughlie executed. If they could indeed bring these things to passe at their pleasure, then might they also be impediments unto the course of all other naturall things, and ordinances appointed by God: as, to cause it to hold up, when it should raine ; and to make midnight, of high noone: and by those meanes (I saie) the divine power should beecome servile to the will of a witch, so as we could neither eat nor drinke but by their permission.

He that can lie, can steale; as he that can worke can plaie.

Me thinks *Seneca* might satisfie these credulous or rather idolatrous people, that runne a whorehunting, either in bodie or phansie, after these witches, beleeving all that is attributed unto them, to the derogation of Gods glorie. He saith, that the rude people, and our ignorant predecessors did beleeve, that raine and showers might be procured and staied by witches charmes and inchantments: of which kind of things that there can nothing be wrought, it is so manifest, that we need not go to anie philosophers schoole, to learne the confutation thereof.

Jere. 16, 22.

But *Jeremie*, by the word of God, dooth utterlie confound all that which may be devised for the maintenance of that foolish opinion, saieng ; Are there any among the gods of the gentiles, that sendeth raine, or giveth showers from heaven? Art not thou the selfe same our Lord God? We will trust in thee, for thou dooest and makest all these things. I may therefore with *Brentius* boldlie saie, that It is neither in the power of witches nor divels, to accomplish that matter ; but in God onelie. For when exhalations are drawne and

Dii gentium dæmonia, The gods of the gentiles are divels.

62. lifted up from out of the earth, by the power/ of the sunne, into the middle region of the aire, the coldnes thereof constreineth and thickeneth those vapours ; which being beecome clouds, are dissolved againe by the heate of the sunne, wherby raine or haile is ingendred ;

The naturall generation of haile and raine.

50. raine, if by the waie the drops be not frosen and made haile. These/ circumstances being considered with the course of the whole scripture, it can neither be in the power of witch or divell to procure raine, or faire weather

And whereas the storie of *Job* in this case is alledged against me (wherein a witch is not once named) I have particularlie answered it else-where. And therefore thus much onelie I say heere ; that Even there, where it pleased God (as *Calvine* saith) to set downe circumstances for the instruction of our grosse capacities, which are not able to conceive of spirituall communication, or heavenlie affaires ; the

Job 1, 11.

divell desireth God to stretch out his hand, and touch all that *Job* hath. And though he seemeth to grant sathans desire, yet God himselfe sent fire from heaven, &c. Where, it is to be gathered, that although God said, He is in thine hand : it was the Lords hand that

Ib. verse 16.

punished *Job*, and not the hand of the divell, who said not, Give me leave to plague him ; but, Laie thine hand upon him. And when *Job*

continued faithfull notwithstanding all his afflictions, in his children, bodie and goods ; the divell is said to come againe to God, and to saie as before, to wit : Now stretch out thine hand, and touch his bones and his flesh. Which argueth as well that he could not doo it, as that he himselfe did it not before. And be it here remembred, that *M. Mal.* and the residue of the witchmongers denie, that there were any witches in *Jobs* time. But see more hereof elsewhere.

Job 2, 5.

Mal. Malef. pa. 1, quæ. 2.

The xiiii. Chapter.

What would ensue, if witches confessions or wi[t]chmongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witchcraft, inchantments, &c.

IF it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that witchmongers report, or that fooles beleeve, we should never have butter in the chearne, nor cow in the close, nor corne in the field, nor faire weather abroad, nor health within doores. Or if that which is conteined in *M. Mal. Bodin*, &c : or in the pamphlets late set foorth in English, of witches executions, shuld be true in those things that witches are said to confesse, what creature could live in securitie ? Or what needed such preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe ? No prince should be able to reigne or live in the land. For (as *Danæus* saith) that one *Martine* a witch killed the emperour of *Germanie* with witchcraft : so would our witches (if they could) destroie all our magistrates. One old witch might overthrowe an armie roiall : and then what needed we any guns, or wild fire, or any other instruments of warre ? A witch might supplie all wants, and accomplish a princes will in this behalfe, even without charge or bloudshed of his people.

But these suppositiõs are false, *Ergo* the consequencies are not true.

If it be objected, that witches worke by the divell, and christian princes are not to deale that way ; I answer, that few princes disposed to battell would make conscience therin, speciallie such as take unjust wars in hand, using other helpes, devises, & engines as unlawfull and divelish as that ; in whose campe there is neither the rule of religion or christian order observed : insomuch as ravishments, murthers, blasphemies and / thefts are there most commonlie and freelie committed. So that the divell is more feared, and better served in their camps, than God almightie.

51.

Mal. Malef. J. Bodin. Bar. Spineus.

But admit that souldiers would be scrupulous herein, the pope hath authoritie to dispense therewith ; as in like case he hath / doone, by the testimonie of his owne authors and friends. Admit also, that throughout all christendome, warres were justly mainteined, and

64.

religion dulie observed in their camps ; yet would the Turke and other infidels cut our throtes, or at least one anothers throte, with the helpe of their witches ; for they would make no conscience thereof.

The xv. Chapter.

Examples of forren nations, who in their warres used the assistance of witches ; of eybiting witches in Ireland, of two archers that shot with familiars.

Witches in warres.

IN the warres between the kings of *Denmarke* and *Sueveland*, *1563.* the *Danes* doo write, that the king of *Sueveland* caried about with him in his campe, foure old witches, who with their charms so qualified the *Danes*, as they were thereby disabled to annoie their enimies: insomuch as, if they had taken in hand anie enterprise, they were so infeebled by those witches, as they could performe nothing. And although this could have no credit at the first, yet in the end, one of these witches was taken prisoner, and confessed the whole matter ; so as (saith he) the threds, the line, and the characters were found in the high waie and water plashes.

Eybiting witches.

The *Irishmen* addict themselves wonderfullie to the credit and practise hereof; insomuch as they affirme, that not onelie their children, but their cattell, are (as they call it) eybitten, when they fall suddenlie sicke, and terme one sort of their witches eybiters ; onelie in that respect : yea and they will not sticke to affirme, that they can rime either man or beast to death. Also the West *Indians* and *Muscovits* doo the like : and the *Hunnes* (as *Gregorie Turonensis* writeth) used the helpe of witches in time of war.

Pumher an archer.

I find another storie written in *M. Mal.* repeated by *Bodin* ; that one souldier called *Pumher*, dailie through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes three of the enimies, as they stood peeping over the walles of a castell besieged : so as in the end he killed them
65. all quite, saving one. The triall of the archers sinister / dealing, and a proofe thereof expressed, is ; for that he never lightly failed when he shot, and for that he killed them by three a daie ; and had shot three arrowes into a rood. This was he that shot at a pennie on his sonnes head, and made readie another arrow, to have slaine the duke *Remgrave* that commanded it. And doubtlesse, bicause of his singular dexteritie in shooting, he was reputed a witch, as dooing that which others could not doo, nor thinke to be in the power of man to doo : though indeed no miracle, no witchcraft, no impossibilitie nor
52. difficultie consisted therein./

But this latter storie I can requite with a familiar example. For at Towne *Malling* in kent, one of Q. *Maries* justices, upon the complaint of many wise men, and a few foolish boies, laid an archer by the heeles ; bicause he shot so neere the white at buts. For he was informed and persuaded, that the poore man plaied with a flie, otherwise called a divell or familiar. And bicause he was certified that the archer aforesaid shot better than the common shooting, which he before had heard of or seene, he conceived it could not be in Gods name, but by inchantment : whereby this archer (as he supposed by abusing the Queenes liege people) gained some one daie two or three shillings, to the detriment of the commonwealth, and to his owne inriching. And therefore the archer was severelie punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wise example of justice; but speciallie to the overthrowe of witchcraft. And now againe to our matter.

A skilfull archer punished by an unskilfull Justice.

The xvi. Chapter.

Authorities condemning the fantasticall confessions of witches, and how a popish doctor taketh upon him to disproove the same.

CERTEINE generall councels, by their decrees, have condemned the confessions and erronious credulitie of witches, to be vaine, fantasticall and fabulous. And even those, which are parcell of their league, wherupon our witchmongers doo so build, to wit; their night walkings and meetings with *Herodias*, and / the *Pagan* gods : at *66.* which time they should passe so farre in so little a space on cockhorsse; their transubstantiation, their eating of children, and their pulling of them from their mothers sides, their entring into mens houses, through chinks and little holes, where a flie can scarselie wring out, and the disquieting of the inhabitants, &c: all which are not onelie said by a generall councell to be meere fantasticall, and imaginations in dreames; but so affirmed by the ancient writers. The words of the councell are these ; It may not be omitted, that certeine wicked women following sathans provocations, being seduced by the illusion of divels, beleeve and professe, that in the night times they ride abroad with *Diana*, the goddesse of the *Pagans*, or else with *Herodias*, with an innumerable multitude, upon certeine beasts, and passe over manie countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and doo whatsoever those fairies or ladies command, &c. And it followeth even there; Let all ministers therefore in their severall cures, preach to Gods people, so as they may knowe all these things to be false, &c. It followeth in the same councell; Therefore, whosoever beleeveth that any creature may be either created by them, or else

Concil. Acquirens in decret. 26. quæ. 5. can. episcopi. August. de spiritu & anima cap. 8. Franc. Ponzivib. tract de lam. numero 49 Grillandus de sort. numero. 6.

changed into better or worsse, or be any way transformed into any other kind or likenes of any, but of the creator himselfe, is assuredlie an infidell, and woorsse than a *Pagan*.

And if this be credible, then all these their bargaines and assemblies, &c : are incredible, which are onelie ratified by certeine foolish and extorted confessions ; and by a fable of S. *Germane*, who watched the fairies or witches, being at a reere banket, and through his holinesse / staied them, till he sent to the houses of those neighbours, which seemed to be there, and found them all in bed ; and so tried, that these were divels in the likenesse of those women. Which if it were as true, as it is false, it might serve well to confute this their meeting and night-walking. For if the divels be onlie present in the likenesse of witches, then is that false, which is attributed to witches in this behalfe.

In histor. vel vita sancti Germani.

53.

But bicause the old hammar of *Sprenger* and *Institor*, in their old *Malleo Maleficarum*, was insufficient to knocke downe this councell ; a yoong beetle-head called Frier *Bartholomæus Spineus* hath made a new leaden beetle, to beate downe the councell, and to kill these old women. Wherein he counterfeiting / *Aesops* asse, claweth the pope with his heeles : affirming upon his credit, that the councell is false and erronious ; bicause the doctrine swarveth from the popish church, and is not authenticall but apocryphall ; saieng (though untrulie) that that councell was not called by the commandement and pleasure of the pope, nor ratified by his authoritie, which (saith he) is sufficient to disanull all councels. For surelie (saith this frier, which at this instant is a cheefe inquisitor) if the words of this councell were to be admitted, both I, and all my predecessors had published notorious lies, and committed manie injurious executions ; whereby the popes themselves also might justlie be detected of error, contrarie to the catholike beleefe in that behalfe. Marrie he saith, that although the words and direct sense of this councell be quite contrarie to truth and his opinion ; yet he will make an exposition thereof, that shall somewhat mitigate the lewdnes of the same ; and this he saith is not onlie allowable to doo, but also meritorious. Marke the mans words, and judge his meaning.

Novus Mal. Mal in quæ. de strigib. cap. 21. 22. 23, &c.

67.

Bar. Spineus. Mal. Malef. cap. 23. in quæ. de strigib.

The xvii. Chapter.

Witchmongers reasons, to proove that witches can worke wonders, Bodins tale of a Friseland preest transported, that imaginations, proceeding of melancholie doo cause illusions.

OLD *M. Maleficarum* also saith, that the councels and doctors were all deceived heerein, and alledging authoritie therfore, confuteth that opinion by a notable reason, called *Petitio principii*, or rather, *Ignotum per ignotius*, in this maner: They can put changlings in the place of other children; *Ergo* they can transferre and transforme themselves and others, &c: according to their confession in that behalfe. Item he saith, and *Bodin* justifieth it, that a preest in *Friseland* was corporallie transferred into a farre countrie, as witnessed another preest of *Oberdorf* his companion, who saw him aloft in the aire: *Ergo* saith *M. Mal.* they have all beene decei/ved hitherto, to the great impunitie of horrible witches. Wherein he opposeth his follie against God and his church, against the truth, and against all possibilitie. But surelie it is almost incredible, how imagination shall abuse such as are subject unto melancholie; so as they shall beleeve they see, heare, and doo that, which never was nor shall be; as is partlie declared, if you read *Galen De locis affectis*, and may more / plainelie appeere also if you read *Aristotle De somnio.*

Mal. Malef. pa. 1, cap. 3. Guli. Parisi.

68.

54.

And thereof S. *Augustine* saith well, that he is too much a foole and a blockhead, that supposeth those things to be doone indeed, and corporallie, which are by such persons phantasticallie imagined: which phantasticall illusions do as well agree and accord (as *Algerus* saith) with magicall deceipts, as the veritie accompanieth divine holinesse.

August. de spiritu & anima.

Lib. 1. cap. 7. de eucharist.

The xviii. Chapter.

That the confession of witches is insufficient in civill and common lawe to take awaie life. What the sounder divines, and decrees of councels determine in this case.

ALAS! what creature being sound in state of mind, would (without compulsion) make such maner of confessions as they do; or would, for a trifle, or nothing, make a perfect bargaine with the divell for hir soule, to be yeelded up unto his tortures and everlasting flames, and that within a verie short time; speciallie being through age most

It is not likelie they would so doo: *Ergo* a lie.

commonlie unlike to live one whole yeare? The terror of hell fire must needs be to them diverslie manifested, and much more terrible ; bicause of their weaknesse, nature, and kind, than to any other: as it would appeere, if a witch were but asked, Whether she would be contented to be hanged one yeare hence, upon condition hir displesure might be wreked upon hir enimie presentlie. As for theeves, & such other, they thinke not to go to hell fire; but are either persuaded there is no hell, or that
69. their crime deserveth it not, or else that they have time e/nough to repent : so as, no doubt, if they were perfectlie resolved heereof, they would never make such adventures. Neither doo I thinke, that for any summe of monie, they would make so direct a bargaine to go to hell fire. Now then I conclude, that confession in this behalf is insufficient to take awaie the life of any body ; or to atteine such credit, as to be beleeved without further proofe. For as *Augustine* and *Isidore*, with the rest of the sounder divines saie, that these prestigious things, which are wrought by witches are fantasticall : so doo the sounder decrees of councels and canons agree, that in that case, there is no place for criminall action. And the lawe saith, that The confession of such persons as are illuded, must needs be erronious, and therefore is not to be admitted : for, *Confessio debet tenere verum & possibile.* But these things are opposite both to lawe and nature, and therfore it followeth not; Bicause these witches confesse so, *Ergo* it is so. For the confession differeth from the act, or from the possibilitie of the act. And whatsoever is contrarie to nature faileth in his principles, and therefore is naturallie impossible.

August. de civit. Dei. Isidor. lib. (8. cap. 9.) Etymol. 26. quæ. 5. ca. nec mirum. Ponzivibius de lamiis, volum. 10. L. error, & L. cum post. c. de juris & facti ignor. ac in L. de ætat. §. item de interrog. actiõ. Per glos. Bal. & alios in L. 1. c. de confes. glos. nec. si de confes. in 6. § ad leg. Aquil L. Neracius. §. fin. Ut per Bald. & August. in L. I. c. de confess, &c. Extra. de presumpt. literas. Per Bald. in d. leg. &c. Extra. de test cum literis. Mal. Malef. pa. 3 quæst. 5. cap. 11.

The lawe also saith, *In criminalibus regulariter non statur soli confessioni rei*, In criminall cases or touching life, we must not absolutelie stand to the confession of the accused partie : but in these matters proofes must be brought more cleare than the light it selfe. And in this crime no bodie must be condemned upon presumptions. And where it is objected and urged, that Since God onelie knoweth the thoughts, therefore there is none other waie of proofe/ but by confession : It is answered thus in the lawe, to wit: Their confession in this case conteineth an outward act, and the same impossible both in lawe and nature, and also unlikelie to be true ; and therefore *Quod verisimile non est, attendi non debet.* So as, though their confessions may be worthie of punishment, as whereby they shew a will to commit such mischeefe, yet not worthie of credit, as that they have such power. For, *Si factum absit, soláque opinione laborent, é stultorum genere sunt* ; If they confesse a fact performed but in opinion, they are to be reputed
55.

among the number of fooles. Neither may any man be by lawe condemned for criminall causes, upon presumptions, nor yet by single witnesses : neither at the accusation of a capitall enimie, who indeed is not to be admitted to give evidence in this case ; though it please/ 70.
M. Mal. and *Bodin* to affirme the contrarie. But beyond all equitie, these inquisitors have shifts and devises enow, to plague and kill these poore soules : for (they say) their fault is greatest of all others ; bicause of their carnall copulation with the divell, and therefore they are to be punished as heretikes, foure maner of waies : to wit ; with excommunication, deprivation, losse of goods, and also with death.

Mal. malef. quæst. 14. *pa.* 1.

And indeede they find lawe, and provide meanes thereby to mainteine this their bloudie humor. For it is written in their popish canons, that As for these kind of heretikes, how much soever they repent and returne to the faith, they may not be reteined alive, or kept in perpetuall prison ; but be put to extreame death. Yea, *M. Mal.* writeth, that A witches sinne is the sinne against the Holie-ghost ; to wit, irremissible : yea further, that it is greater than the sinne of the angels that fell. In which respect I wonder, that *Moses* delivered not three tables to the children of Israell ; or at the leastwise, that he exhibited not commandements for it. It is not credible that the greatest should be included in the lesse, &c.

C. de malef. L. nullus. L nemo. & L. culpa. and affirmed by Mal. malef.

Mal. malef. quæst. 17.

But when these witchmongers are convinced in the objection concerning their confessions ; so as thereby their tyrannicall arguments cannot prevaile, to imbrue the magistrates hands in so much bloud as their appetite requireth : they fall to accusing them of other crimes, that the world might thinke they had some colour to mainteine their malicious furie against them.

The xix. Chapter.

Of foure capitall crimes objected against witches, all fullie answered and confuted as frivolous.

FIRST therefore they laie to their charge idolatrie. But alas without all reason : for such are properlie knowne to us to be idolaters, as doo externall worship to idols or strange gods. The furthest point that idolatrie can be stretched unto, is, that they, which are culpable therein, are such as hope for and seeke salvation at / the hands of idols, or of 71.
anie other than God ; or fix their whole mind and love upon anie creature, so as the power of God be neglected and contemned thereby. But witches nei/ther seeke nor beleeve to have 56.
salvation at the hands of divels, but by them they are onlie deceived; the instruments of their phantasie being corrupted, and

1. Idolatrie, confuted.

so infatuated, that they suppose, confesse, and saie they can doo that, which is as farre beyond their power and nature to doo, as to kill a man at *Yorke* before noone, when they have beene seene at *London* in that morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters, whose idolatrie is spirituall, and committed onelie in mind, should be punished by death ; then should everie covetous man, or other, that setteth his affection anie waie too much upon an earthlie creature, be executed, and yet perchance the witch might escape scotfree.

2. Apostasie, confuted.

Secondlie, apostasie is laid to their charge, whereby it is inferred, that they are worthie to die. But apostasie is, where anie of sound judgement forsake the gospell, learned and well knowne unto them ; and doo not onelie imbrace impietie and infidelitie ; but oppugne and resist the truth erstwhile by them professed. But alas these poore women go not about to defend anie impietie, but after good admonition repent.

3. Seducing of the people, confuted.

Thirdlie, they would have them executed for seducing the people. But God knoweth they have small store of Rhetorike or art to seduce ; except to tell a tale of Robin good-fellow be to deceive and seduce. Neither may their age or sex admit that opinion or accusation to be just : for they themselves are poore seduced soules. I for my part (as else-where I have said) have prooved this point to be false in most apparent sort.

4. Carnall copulation with Incubus, confuted.

Fourthlie, as touching the accusation, which all the writers use herein against them for their carnall copulation with *Incubus* : the follie of mens credulitie is as much to be woondered at and derided, as the others vaine and impossible confessions. For the divell is a spirit, and hath neither flesh nor bones, which were to be used in the performance of this action. And since he also lacketh all instruments, substance, and seed ingendred of bloud ; it were follie to staie overlong in the confutation of that, which is not in the nature of things. And yet must I saie somewhat heerein, bicause the opinion hereof is
72. so stronglie and universallie received, / and the fables hereupon so innumerable ; wherby *M. Mal. Bodin*, *Hemingius*, *Hyperius*, *Danæus*, *Erastus*, and others that take upon them to write heerein, are so abused, or rather seeke to abuse others ; as I woonder at their fond credulitie in this behalfe. For they affirme undoubtedlie, that the divell plaieth *Succubus* to the man, and carrieth from him the seed of generation, which he delivereth as *Incubus* to the woman, who manie times that waie is gotten with child ; which will verie naturallie (they saie) become a witch, and such a one they affirme *Merline* was.

How the divell plaieth Succubus and Incubus.

The xx. Chapter.

A request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie and bawdie matters (which of necessitie are heere to be inserted) to passe over eight chapters.

A peroration to the readers.

BUT in so much as I am driven (for the more manifest bewraieng and displaieng of this most filthie and horrible error) to staine my paper with / writing thereon 57. certeine of their beastlie and bawdie assertions and examples, whereby they confirme this their doctrine (being my selfe both ashamed, and loth once to thinke upon such filthinesse, although it be to the condemnation thereof) I must intreat you that are the readers hereof, whose chaste eares cannot well endure to heare of such abhominable lecheries, as are gathered out of the bookes of those witchmongers (although doctors of divinitie, and otherwise of great authoritie and estimation) to turne over a few leaves, wherein (I saie) I have like a groome thrust their bawdie stuffe (even that which I my selfe loath) as into a stinking corner: howbeit, none otherwise, I hope, but that the other parts of my writing shall remaine sweet, and this also covered as close as may be./

73. 85.

¶ *The fourth Booke.*

The first Chapter.

Of witchmongers opinions concerning evill spirits, how they frame themselves in more excellent sort than God made us.

Mal. malef. par. 2. cap. 4. quæst. 1.

IAMES SPRENGER and *Henrie Institor*, in *M. Mal.* agreing with *Bodin*, *Barth. Spineus*, *Danæus*, *Erastus*, *Hemingius*, and the rest, doo make a bawdie discourse ; labouring to proove by a foolish kind of philosophie, that evill spirits cannot onlie take earthlie forms and shapes of men ; but also counterfeit hearing, seeing, &c : and likewise, that they can eate and devoure meats, and also reteine, digest, and avoid the same : and finallie, use diverse kinds of activities, but speciallie excell in the use and art of venerie. For *M. Mal.* saith, that The eies and eares of the mind are farre more subtill than bodilie eies or carnall eares. Yea it is there affirmed, that as they take bodies, and the likenesse of members ; so they take minds and similitudes of their operations. But by the way, I would have them answer this question. Our minds and soules are spirituall things. If our corporall eares be stopped, what can they heare or conceive of anie externall wisedome? And truelie, a man of such a constitution of bodie, as they imagine of these spirits, which make themselves, &c : were of farre more excellent substance, &c : than the bodies of them that God made in paradise ; and so the divels workmanship should exceed the handie worke of God the father and creator of all things. /

If his bodilie eies were out, he would see but ilfavoredlie.

74.

The second Chapter.

Of bawdie Incubus and Succubus, and whether the action of venerie may be performed betweene witches and divels, and when witches first yeelded to Incubus.

Nider in fornicario. T. Brabant in lib. de apib.

HERETOFORE (they saie) *Incubus* was faine to ravish women against their will, untill Anno. 1400 : but now since that time witches consent willinglie to their desires : in so much as some one witch exerciseth that trade of lecherie with *Incubus* twentie or thirtie yeares togither ; as was confessed by fourtie and eight witches burned at *Ravenspurge*.

But what goodlie fellowes *Incubus* begetteth upon these witches, is prooved by *Thomas* of *Aquine*, *Bodin*, *M. Mal. Hyperius*, *&c.* *In. sen. dist. 4. art. 4.*

This is prooved first by the divels cunning, in discerning the difference of the seed which falleth from men. Secondlie, by his understanding of the aptnes of the women for the receipt of such seed. Thirdlie by his knowledge of the constellations, which are freendlie to such corporall effects. And lastlie, by the excellent complexion of such as the divell maketh choice of, to beget such notable personages upon, as are the/ causes of the greatnesse and excellencie of the child thus begotten. Gen. 6, 4. 59.

And to proove that such bawdie dooings betwixt the divell and witches is not fained, S. *Augustine* is alledged, who saith, that All superstitious arts had their beginning of the pestiferous societie betwixt the divell and man. Wherein he saith truelie ; for that in paradise, betwixt the divell and man, all wickednes was so contrived, that man ever since hath studied wicked arts : yea and the divell will be sure to be at the middle and at both ends of everie mischeefe. But that the divell ingendreth with a woman, in maner and forme as is supposed, and naturallie begetteth the wicked, neither is it true, nor *Augustines* meaning in this place. *Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1 August. de doctrina Christ.*

Howbeit *M. Mal.* proceedeth, affirming that All witches take/ their beginning from such filthie actions, wherein the divell, in likenes of a prettie wench, lieth prostitute as *Succubus* to the man, and reteining his nature and seede, conveieth it unto the witch, to whome he delivereth it as *Incubus*. Wherein also is refuted the opinion of them that hold a spirit to be unpalpable. *M. Mal.* saith, There can be rendred no infallible rule, though a probable distinction may be set downe, whether *Incubus* in the act of venerie doo alwaies powre seed out of his assumed bodie. And this is the distinction ; Either she is old and barren, or yoong and pregnant. If she be barren, then dooth *Incubus* use hir without decision of seed ; bicause such seed should serve for no purpose. And the divell avoideth superfluitie as much as he may ; and yet for hir pleasure and condemnation togither, he goeth to worke with hir. But by the waie, if the divell were so compendious, what should he need to use such circumstances, even in these verie actions, as to make these assemblies, conventicles, ceremonies, &c : when he hath alreadie bought their bodies, and bargained for their soules? Or what reason had he, to make them kill so manie infants, by whom he rather loseth than gaineth any thing ; bicause they are, so farre as either he or we knowe, in better case than we of riper yeares by reason of their innocencie ? Well, if she be not past children, then stealeth he seed awaie (as hath beene said) from 75. *Mal. malef. quæ. 1. par. 1.*

some wicked man being about that lecherous busines, and therewith getteth yoong witches upon the old.

And note, that they affirme that this businesse is better accomplished with seed thus gathered, than that which is shed in dremes, through superfluitie of humors : bicause that is gathered from the vertue of the seed generative. And if it be said that the seed will wax cold by the waie, and so lose his naturall heate, and consequentlie the vertue : *M. Mal. Danæus*, and the rest doo answere, that the divell can so carrie it, as no heate shall go from it, &c.

Mal. malef. par. 1. quæ. 1. Danæus in dialog. de sortiariis.

Furthermore, old witches are sworne to procure as manie yoong virgins for *Incubus* as they can, whereby in time they growe to be excellent bawds : but in this case the preest plaieth *Incubus*. For you shall find, that confession to a preest, and namelie this word *Benedicite*, driveth *Incubus* awaie, when *Ave Maries*, crosses, and all other charmes faile./

Ja. Sprenger in Mal. male.

60. 76.

The third Chapter.

Of the divels visible & invisible dealing with witches in the waie of lecherie.

BUT as touching the divels visible or invisible execution of lecherie, it is written, that to such witches, as before have made a visible legue with the preest, (the divell I should saie) there is no necessitie that *Incubus* should appeere invisible : marrie to the standers by hee is for the most part invisible. For proofe hereof *James Sprenger* and *Institor* affirme, that Manie times witches are seene in the fields, and woods, prostituting themselves uncovered and naked up to the navill, wagging and mooving their members in everie part, according to the disposition of one being about that act of concupiscence, and yet nothing seene of the beholders upon hir ; saving that after such a convenient time as is required about such a peece of worke, a blacke vapor of the length and bignesse of a man, hath beene seene as it were to depart from hir, and to ascend from that place. Nevertheless, manie times the husband seeth *Incubus* making him cuckhold, in the likenesse of a man, and sometimes striketh off his head with his sword : but bicause the bodie is nothing but aire, it closeth togither againe : so as, although the goodwife be some times hurt thereby ; yet she maketh him beleeve he is mad or possessed, & that he dooth he knoweth not what. For she hath more pleasure and delight (they say) with *Incubus* that waie, than with anie mortall man : whereby you may perceive that spirits are palpable. /

This was doone at Ravenspurge.

Mal. Malef.

The fourth Chapter. 77.

That the power of generation is both outwardlie and inwardlie impeached by witches, and of divers that had their genitals taken from them by witches, and by the same meanes againe restored.

THEY also affirme, that the vertue of generation is impeached by witches, both inwardlie, and outwardlie: for intrinsecallie they represse the courage, and they stop the passage of the mans seed, so as it may not descend to the vessels of generation: also they hurt extrinsecallie, with images, hearbs, &c. And to proove this true, you shall heare certeine stories out of *M. Mal.* worthie to be noted.

A yoong priest at *Mespurge* in the diocesse of *Constance* was bewitched, so as he had no power to occupie any other or mo women than one; and to be delivered out of that thraldom, sought to flie into another countrie, where he might use that preestlie occupation more freelie. But all in vaine; for evermore he was brought as far backward by night, as he went forward in the daie before; sometimes by land, sometimes in the aire, as though he flew. And if this be not true, I am sure that *James Sprenger* dooth lie. *Mal. Malef. cap. 6. quæ. 1. pa. 2.*

For the further confirmation of our beleefe in *Incubus*, *M. Mal.* citeth a storie of a notable matter executed at *Ravenspurge*, as true and as cleanlie/ as the rest. A yoong man lieng with a wench in that towne (saith he) was faine to leave his instruments of venerie behind him, by meanes of that prestigious art of witchcraft: so as in that place nothing could be seene or felt but his plaine bodie. This yoong man was willed by another witch, to go to hir whom he suspected, and by faire or fowle meanes to require hir helpe: who soone after meeting with hir, intreated hir faire, but that was in vaine; and therefore he caught hir by the throte, and with a towell strangled hir, saieng: Restore me my/ toole, or thou shalt die for it: so as she being swolne and blacke in the face, and through his boisterous handling readie to die, said; Let me go, and I will helpe thee. And whilest he was loosing the towell, she put hir hand into his codpeece, and touched the place; saieng; Now hast thou thy desire: and even at that instant he felt himselfe restored. 61. 78.

Item, a reverend father, for his life, holinesse, and knowledge notorious, being a frier of the order and companie of *Spire*, reported, that a yoong man at shrift made lamentable moane unto him for the like losse: but his gravitie suffered him not to beleeve lightlie any such reports, and therefore made the yoong man untrusse his codpeece point, and sawe the complaint to be true and just. Whereupon *Ja. Sprenger. in Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1.*

he advised or rather injoined the youth to go to the witch whome he suspected, and with flattering words to intreat hir, to be so good unto him, as to restore him his instrument : which by that meanes he obteined, and soone after returned to shew himselfe thankfull ; and told the holie father of his good successe in that behalfe : but he so beleeved him, as he would needs be *Oculatus testis*, and made him pull downe his breeches, and so was satisfied of the troth and certeintie thereof.

Mal. malef. cap. 7. par. 2. quæst. 1.

Another yoong man being in that verie taking, went to a witch for the restitution thereof, who brought him to a tree, where she shewed him a nest, and bad him clime up and take it. And being in the top of the tree, he tooke out a mightie great one, and shewed the same to hir, asking hir if he might not have the same. Naie (quoth she) that is our parish preests toole, but take anie other which thou wilt. And it is there affirmed, that some have found 20. and some 30. of them in one nest, being there preserved with provender, as it were at the racke and manger, with this note, wherein there is no contradiction (for all must be true that is written against witches) that

Note.

If a witch deprive one of his privities, it is done onlie by prestigious meanes, so as the senses are but illuded. Marie by the divell it is reallie taken awaie, and in like sort restored. These are no jestes, for they be written by them that were and are judges upon the lives and deaths of those persons. /

62. 79.

The fift Chapter.

Of bishop Sylvanus his leacherie opened and covered againe, how maides having yellow haire are most combred with Incubus, how maried men are bewitched to use other mens wives, and to refuse their own.

In vita Hieronym.

YOU shall read in the legend, how in the night time *Incubus* came to a ladies bed side, and made hot loove unto hir : whereat she being offended, cried out so lowd, that companie came and found him under hir bed in the likenesse of the holie bishop *Sylvanus*, which holie man was much defamed therebie, untill at the length this infamie was purged by the confession of a divell made at S. *Jeroms* toombe. Oh excellent peece of witchcraft or cousening wrought by *Sylvanus* ! Item, S. *Christine* would needes take unto hir another maides *Incubus*, and lie in hir roome : and the storie saith, that she was shrewdlie accloied. But she was a shrew indeed, that would needes change beds with hir fellow, that was troubled everie night with *Incubus*, and deale with him hir selfe. But here the inquisitors note maie not be for-

Saincts as holie and chaste as horsses & mares.

gotten, to wit: that Maides having yellow haire are most molested with this spirit. Also it is written in the Legend, of S. *Barnard*, that a pretie wench that had had the use of *Incubus* his bodie by the space of six or seven yeares in *Aquitania* (being beelike wearie of him for that he waxed old) would needes go to S. *Barnard* another while. But *Incubus* told hir, that if she would so forsake him, being so long hir true loover, he would be revenged upon hir, &c. But befall what would, she went to S. *Barnard*, who tooke hir his staffe, and bad her laie it in the bed besides hir. And indeed the divell fearing the bedstaffe, or that S. *Barnard* laie there himselfe, durst not approch into hir chamber that night: what he did afterwards, I am uncerteine. Marrie you may find other circumstances hereof, and manie other like bawdie lies in the golden Legend. But here againe we maie not forget the in/quisitors note, to wit; that manie are so bewitched that they cannot use their owne wives: but anie other bodies they maie well enough away withall. Which witchcraft is practised among manie bad husbands, for whom it were a good excuse to saie they were bewitched.

Maides having yellow haire.

Mal. Malef. 80. par. 2. quæ. 2. cap. 2.

The sixt Chapter.

How to procure the dissolving of bewitched love, also to enforce a man (how proper so ever he be) to love an old hag: and of a bawdie tricke of a priest in Gelderland.

THE priests saie, that the best cure for a woman thus molested, next to confession, is excommunication. But to procure the dissolving of bewitched and constrained love, the partie bewitched must make a jakes of the lovers shooe. And to enforce a man, how proper so ever he be, to love an old hag, she giveth unto him to eate (among other meates) hir owne doong: and this waie one old witch made three abbats of one house succes/sivelie to die for hir love as she hir selfe confessed, by the report of M. *Mal.* In *Gelderland* a priest persuaded a sicke woman that she was bewitched; and except he might sing a masse upon hir bellie, she could not be holpen. Whereunto she consented, and laie naked on the altar whilest he sang masse, to the satisfieng of his lust; but not to the *release of hir greefe.

63.

Of a bawdie priest in Gelderland.

[* ? releaſe.]

Other cures I will speake of in other places more civill. Howbeit, certeine miraculous cures, both full of bawderie and lies, must either have place here, or none at all./

81.

The seventh Chapter.

Of divers saincts and holie persons, which were exceeding bawdie and lecherous, and by certeine miraculous meanes became chaste.

In coll. patrum. CASSIANUS writeth, that S. *Syren* being of bodie verie lecherous, and of mind woonderfull religious, fasted and praied; to the end his bodie might be reduced miraculouslie to chastitie. At length came an angell unto him by night, and cut out of his flesh certeine kernels, which were the sparkes of concupiscence; so as afterwards he never had anie more motions of the flesh. It is also reported, that the abbat *Equicius* being naturallie as unchast as the other, fell to his beads so devoutlie for recoverie of honestie, that there came an angell unto him in an apparition, that seemed to geld him; and after that (forsooth) he was as chaste as though he had had never a stone in his breech; and before that time being a ruler over monkes, he became afterwards a governour over nunnes. Even as it is said *Helias* the holie monke gathered thirtie virgins into a monasterie, over whom he ruled and reigned by the space of two yeares, and grew so proud and hot in the codpeece, that he was faine to forsake his holie house, and flie to a desert, where he fasted and praied two daies, saieng; Lord quench my hot lecherous humors, or kill me. Whereupon in the night following, there came unto him three angels, and demanded of him why he forsooke his charge: but the holie man was ashamed to tell them. Howbeit they asked him further, saieng; Wilt thou returne to these damsels, if we free thee from all concupiscence? Yea (quoth he) with all my heart. And when they had sworne him solemnelie so to doo, they tooke him up, & gelded him; and one of them holding his hands, and another his feete, the third cut out his stones. But the storie saith it was not so ended, but in a vision. Which I beleeve, because within five daies he returned to his minions, who pitiouslie moorned for him all this/ while, and joyfullie embraced his sweete companie at his returne. The like storie dooth *Nider* write of *Thomas*, whome two angels cured of that lecherous disease; by putting about him a girdle, which they brought downe with them from heaven.

Gregor. lib. 1. dial. 2.

In vitis patrum. Heraclides in paradiso.

82.

Nider in fornicario.

The eight Chapter.

Certeine popish and magicall cures, for them that are bewitched in their privities.

FOR direct cure to such as are bewitched in the privie members, the first and speciall is confession : then follow in a row, holie water, and / those ceremoniall trumperies, 64. *Ave Maries*, and all maner of crossings ; which are all said to be wholesome, except the witchcraft be perpetuall, and in that case the wife maie have a divorse of course.

Item, the eating of a haggister or pie helpeth one bewitched in that member. *Aliter.*

Item, the smoke of the tooth of a dead man. *Aliter.*

Item, to annoint a mans bodie over with the gall of a crow. *Aliter.*

Item, to fill a quill with quicke silver, and laie the same under the cushine, where such a one sitteth, or else to put it under the threshold of the doore of the house or chamber where he dwelleth.

Item, to spet into your owne bosome, if you be so bewitched, is verie good. *Aliter.*

Item, to pisse through a wedding ring. If you would know who is hurt in his privities by witchcraft; and who otherwise is therein diseased, *Hostiensis* answereth : but so, as I am ashamed to english it : and therefore have here set downe his experiment in Latine ; *Quando virga nullatenùs movetur, & nunquam potuit cognoscere ; hoc est signum frigiditatis : sed quando movetur & erigitur, perficere autem non potest, est signum maleficii.* *Aliter.*

But Sir *Th. Moore* hath such a cure in this matter, as I am ashamed to write, either in Latine or English : for in filthie bawderie it passeth all the tales that ever I heard. But that is / rather a medicine to procure generation, than the cure of witchcraft, though it serve both turnes. S. Thomas Moores, medicinable receipt, &c. 83.

Item, when ones instrument of venerie is bewitched, certeine characters must be written in virgine parchment, celebrated and holied by a popish priest ; and thereon also must the 141. Psalme be written, and bound *Ad viri fascinati coxam.* *Aliter.*

Item, one *Katharine Loe* (having a husband not so readilie disposed that waie as she wished him to be) made a waxen image to the likenes of hir husbands bewitched member, and offered it up at S. *Anthonies* altar; so as, through the holinesse of the masse it might be sanctified, to be more couragious, and of better disposition and abilitie, &c. *Aliter.*

The ninth Chapter.

A strange cure doone to one that was molested with Incubus.

NOW being wearied with the rehearsall of so manie lecheries most horrible, and very filthie and fabulous actions and passions of witches, together with the spirit *Incubus*, I will end with a true storie taken out of *Jason Pratensis*, which though it be rude, yet is it not altogither so uncleane as the rest.

Jaso. Pratensis de cerebri morbo, ca. 16.

There came (saith he) of late a masse priest unto me, making pitious moane, and saieng, that if I holpt him not, he should be undoone, and utterlie overthrowne; so great was his infirmitie: for (saith he) I was woont to be faire and fat, and of an excellent complexion; and lo how I looke, being now a verie ghost consisting of skinne and bone, &c. What is the matter (quoth *Jason*?) I will shew you sir, said the priest. There commeth unto mee, almost
65. everie night, a certeine woman, unknowne unto me, and/ lieth so heavie upon my brest, that I cannot fetch my breath, neither have anie power to crie, neither doo my hands serve me to shoove hir awaie, nor my feete to go from hir. I smiled (quoth *Jason*) and told
84. him that he was vexed with a disease called *In/cubus*, or the mare; and the residue was phantasie and vaine imagination. Naie (said the priest) it cannot be so: for by our blessed ladie, I tell you nothing but that with waking I saw with mine eies, and felt with mine hands. I see hir when she commeth upon me, and strive to repell hir; but I am so infeebled that I cannot: and for remedie I have runne about from place to place, but no helpe that I could get. At length I went to an old frier that was counted an od fellow; and thought to have had help at his hands, but the divell a whit had I of him; saving that for remedie he willed me to praie to God; whome I am sure I wearied with my tedious praiers long before. Then went I unto an old woman (quoth the priest) who was said to be a cunning witch: and she willed me, that the next morning, about the dawning of the daie, I should pisse, and immediatlie should cover the pispot, or stop it with my right netherstocke, and before night the witch should come to visit me. And although (quoth he) the respect of mine orders somewhat terrified me from the execution of hir advise; yet my necessities diverse waies, and speciallie my paines moved me to make triall of hir words. And by the masse (quoth the priest) hir prophesie fell out as sure as a club. For a witch came to my house, and complained of a greefe in hir bladder, and that she could not pisse. But I could neither by faire nor fowle meanes obteine at

The priest is opinionative in the error of his phantasie.

hir hands, that she would leave molesting me by night; but she keepeth hir old custome, determining by these filthie meanes to dispatch me. I could hardlie (saith *Jason*) reclaime him from this mad humor; but by that time he had beene with me three or foure times, he began to comfort himselfe, and at last perceiving it, he acknowledged his disease, and recovered the same./

The priest recovered.

The tenth Chapter. *85.*

A confutation of all the former follies touching Incubus, which by examples and proofes of like stuffe is shewed to be flat knaverie, wherein the carnall copulation with spirits is overthrowne.

THUS are lecheries covered with the cloke of *Incubus* and witchcraft, contrarie to nature and veritie: and with these fables is mainteined an opinion, that men have beene begotten without carnall copulation (as *Hyperius* and others write that *Merlin* was, An. 440.) speciallie to excuse and mainteine the knaveries and lecheries of idle priests and bawdie monkes; and to cover the shame of their lovers and concubines.

Merlin begotten of Incubus.

And alas, when great learned men have beene so abused, with the imagination of *Incubus* his carnall societie with women, misconstruing the scriptures, to wit, the place in *Genesis* 6. to the seducing of manie others; it is the lesse woonder, that this error hath passed so generallie among the common people./ **66.**

But to use few words herein, I hope you understand that they affirme and saie, that *Incubus* is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c: and that he neither dooth eate nor drinke. In deede your grandams maides were woont to set a boll of milke before him and his cousine Robin good-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight: and you have also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or good-wife of the house, having compassion of his nakednes, laid anie clothes for him, beesides his messe of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee. For in that case he saith; What have we here? Hemton hamten, here will I never more tread nor stampen.

But to proceed in this confutation. Where there is no meate eaten, there can be no seed which thereof is ingendred: although it be granted, that Robin could both eate and drinke, as being a/ cousening idle frier, or some such roge, that wanted nothing either belonging to lecherie or knaverie, &c. Item, where the genitall members want, there can be no lust of the flesh: neither dooth nature give anie desire of generation, where there is no propagation or succession required.

Quia humor spermaticus ex succo alimentari provenit. *86.*

And as spirits cannot be greeved with hunger, so can they not be inflamed with lustes. And if men should live ever, what needed succession or heires? For that is but an ordinance of God, to supplie the place, the number, the world, the time, and speciallie to accomplish his will. But the power of generation consisteth not onlie in members, but chieflie of vitall spirits, and of the hart: which spirits are never in such a bodie as *Incubus* hath, being but a bodie assumed, as they themselves saie. And yet the most part of writers herein affirme, that it is a palpable and visible bodie; though all be phansies and fables that are written hereupon.

Ad facultatem generandi tam interna quàm externa organa requiruntur.

The eleventh Chapter.

That Incubus is a naturall disease, with remedies for the same, besides magicall cures herewithall expressed.

What Incubus is, & who be most troubled therwith.

BUT in truth, this *Incubus* is a bodilie disease (as hath beene said) although it extend unto the trouble of the mind: which of some is called The mare, oppressing manie in their sleepe so sore, as they are not able to call for helpe, or stir themselves under the burthen of that heavie humor, which is ingendred of a thicke vapor proceeding from the cruditie and rawnesse in the stomach: which ascending up into the head oppresseth the braine, in so much as manie are much infeebled therebie, as being nightlie haunted therewith. They are most troubled with this disease, that being subject thereunto, lie right upward: so as, to turne and lie on the one side, is present remedie. Likewise, if anie heare the groning of the partie, speake unto him, so as he wake him, he is presentlie releeved. Howbeit, there are magicall cures for it, as for example./ 87.

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,
He walkt by daie, so did he by night: | 67.
Untill such time as he hir found,
He hir beat and he hir bound,
Untill hir troth she to him plight,
She would not come to hir that night.* [? *him.* MS.]

Whereas S. *George* our ladies knight, was named three times S. *George.*

Item, hang a stone over the afflicted persons bed, which stone hath naturallie such a hole in it, as wherein a string may be put through it, and so be hanged over the diseased or bewitched partie; be it man, woman, or horsse.

M. malefic. Item, you shall read in *M. Malefic.* that excommunication is verie

notable, and better than any charme for this purpose. There are also other verses and charmes for this disease devised, which is the common cloke for the ignorance of bad physicians. But *Leonard Fuchsius* in his first booke, and 31. chapter, dooth not onelie describe this disease, and the causes of it; but also setteth downe verie learnedlie the cure thereof, to the utter confusion of the witchmongers follie in this behalfe. *Hyperius* being much bewitched and blinded in this matter of witchcraft, hoovering about the interpretation of *Genesis 6.* from whence the opinion of *Incubus* and *Succubus* is extorted, *Viderunt filii Dei filias hominum, quòd elegantes essent, acceperunt sibi in uxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant, &c:* seemeth to mainteine upon heare-saie, that absurd opinion; and yet in the end is driven to conclude thus, to wit: Of the evill spirits *Incubus* and *Succubus* there can be no firme reason or proofe brought out of scriptures, using these verie words; *Hæc ut probabilia dicta sunto, quandoquidem scripturarum præsidio hac in causa destituimur.* As if he should saie, Take this as spoken probablie; to wit, by humane reason, bicause we are destitute of scriptures to mainteine the goodnesse of the cause.

par. 2. quæ. 2. cap. 1. col, 2.

Leon. Fuchsius de curandi ratione.

Tertullian and *Sulpicius Severus* doo interpret *Filios Dei* in that place to be angels, or evill spirits, and to have beene enamored with the beautie of those wenches; and finallie, begat giants by / them. Which is throughlie confuted by *Chrysostome, Hom.* 22. in *Gen*: but speciallie by the circumstance of the text.

Tertull. in libro de habitu muliebri. Sulp. Sever. in epitome hist. 88. sacr.

The twelfe Chapter.

The censure of G. Chaucer, upon the knaverie of Incubus.

NOW will I (after all this long discourse of abhominable cloked knaveries) here conclude with certeine of *G. Chaucers* verses, who as he smelt out the absurdities of poperie, so found he the priests knaverie in this matter of *Incubus*, and (as the time would suffer him) he derided their follie and falshood in this wise:

* *For now the great charitie and praiers*
Of limitors and other holie friers,
That searchen everie land and everie streame
As thicke as motes in the sunne beame,/
Blissing halles, kitchens, chambers & bowers,
Cities, borroghes, castels and hie towers,
Thropes, barnes, shepens, and dairies,
This maketh that there beene now no fairies;

Geffr. Chau. in the beginning of the wife of Baths tale.

68.

[* *Ital.*]

For there as woont to walken was an elfe,
There walketh now the limitor himselfe,
In undermeales, and in mornings,
And saith his mattens and his holie things
As he goeth in his limitatiowne,
Women may go safelie up and downe,
In everie bush, and under everie tree,
*There nis none other *Incubus but hee, &c.*| |

[* Text J.]

¶ *The fift Booke.* 89. 69.

The first Chapter.

Of transformations, ridiculous examples brought by the adversaries for the confirmation of their foolish doctrine.

NOW that I may with the verie absurdities, conteined in their owne authors, and even in their principall doctors and last writers, confound them that mainteine the transubstantiations of witches; I will shew you certeine proper stuffe, which *Bodin* (their cheefe champion of this age) hath gathered out of *M. Mal.* and others, whereby he laboureth to establish this impossible, incredible, and supernaturall, or rather unnaturall doctrine of transubstantiation. *J. Bod. lib. 2. de dæmon. cap. 6.*

First, as touching the divell (*Bodin* saith) that he dooth most properlie and commonlie transforme himselfe into a gote, confirming that opinion by the 33. and 34. of *Esaie*: where there is no one title* sounding to anie such purpose. Howbeit, he sometimes alloweth the divell the shape of a blacke Moore, and as he saith he used to appeare to *Mawd Cruse*, *Kate Darey*, and *Jone Harviller*. But I mervell, whether the divell createth himselfe, when he appeareth in the likenesse of a man; or whether God createth him, when the divell wisheth it. As for witches, he saith they speciallie transubstantiate themselves into wolves, and them whom they bewitch into asses: though else-where he differ somewhat herein / from himselfe. But though he affirme, that it may be naturallie brought to passe, that a girle shall become a boie; and that anie female may be turned into the male: yet he saith the same hath no affinitie with *Lycanthropia*; wherein he saith also, that men are wholie transformed, and citeth infinite examples hereof. J. Bodin abuseth scripture to proove a lie. [* = tittle.] *90.* *Pudendis tunc primùm crumpentibus.*

First, that one *Garner* in the shape of a woolfe killed a girle of the age of twelve yeares, and did eat up hir armes and legges, and carried the rest home to his wife. Item, that *Peter Burget*, and *Michael Werdon*, having turned themselves with an ointment into woolves, killed, and finallie did eate up an infinite number of people. Which lie *Wierus* dooth sufficientlie confute. But untill you see and read that, consider whether *Peter* could eate rawe flesh without surfetting, speciallie flesh of his owne kind. Item, that there was an arrowe shot into a woolves thigh, who afterwards being turned into his *Jo. Wier. lib. 6. de mag. ca. 12.*

former shape of a man, was found in his bed, with the arrowe in his thigh, which the archer that shot it knew verie well. Item, that another being *Lycanthropus* in the forme of a woolfe, had his woolves feet cut off, and in a moment he became a man without hands or feete.

*J. Bodinus mendaciorum *heluo.* [*Text *helüo.*]

He accuseth also one of the mightiest princes in christendome, even of late daies, to be one of those kind of witches (so as he could, when he list, turne himselfe to a woolfe) affirming that he was espied and oftentimes seene to performe that villanie; bicause he would be counted the king of all witches. He saith that this transubstantiation
70. is most common in *Greece*,/ and through out all *Asia*, as merchant strangers have reported to him. For *Anno Domini.* 1542, when *Sultan Solimon* reigned, there was such force and multitude of these kind of woolves in *Constantinople*, that the emperour drave togither in one flocke 150. of them, which departed out of the citie in the presence of all the people.

A warme season to swim in.

To persuade us the more throughlie heerein, he saith, that in *Livonia*, yearelie (about the end of December) a certeine knave or divell warneth all the witches in the countrie to come to a certeine place: if they faile, the divell commeth and whippeth them with an iron rod; so as the print of his lashes remaine upon their bodies for ever. The capteine witch leadeth the waie through a / great poole of water: manie millians of witches swim after. They are no sooner passed through that water, but they are all transformed into woolves, and flie upon and devoure both men, women, cattell, &c. After twelve daies they returne through the same water, and so receive humane shape againe.

I mervell that they forsake not the divell, who punisheth them so sore: ywis they get not so much at his hands. *91.*

Item, that there was one *Bajanus* a *Jew*, being the sonne of *Simeon*, which could, when he list, turne himselfe into a woolfe; and by that meanes could escape the force and danger of a whole armie of men. Which thing (saith *Bodin*) is woonderfull: but yet (saith he) it is much more marvelous, that men will not beleeve it. For manie poets affirme it; yea, and if you looke well into the matter (saith he) you shall find it easie to doo. Item, he saith, that as naturall woolves persecute beasts; so doo these magicall woolves devoure men, women, and children. And yet God saith to the people (I trowe) and not to the cattell of Israell; If you observe not my commandements, I will send among you the beasts of the feeld, which shall devoure both you and your cattell. Item, I will send the teeth of beasts upon you. Where is *Bodins* distinction now become? He never saith, I will send witches in the likenes of wolves, &c: to devoure you or your cattell. Nevertheles, *Bodin* saith it is a cleare case: for the matter was disputed upon before pope *Leo* the seventh, and by him all these matters

Leviti. 16. [26,22]

Deut. 32. [v. 24]

were judged possible : and at that time (saith he) were the transformations of *Lucian* and *Apuleius* made canonicall.

Furthermore he saith, that through this art they are so cunning that no man can apprehend them, but when they are a sleepe. Item, he nameth another witch, that (as *M. Mal.* saith) could not be caught, bicause he would transforme himselfe into a mouse, and runne into everie little hole, till at length he was killed comming out of the hole of a jamme in a windowe : which indeed is as possible, as a camell to go through a needels eie. Item, he saith, that diverse witches at *Vernon* turned themselves into cats, and both committed and received much hurt. But at *Argentine* there was a wonderfull matter done, by three witches of great wealth, who transforming themselves into three cats, assalted a faggot-maker : who having hurt them all with a faggot sticke, was like to have beene put to death. But he was miraculouslie delivered, and they worthilie punished ; as the storie saith, from whence/ *Bodin* had it.

Stasus a witch could not be apprehended, and why ?

J. Bodin. Mal. malef.

John. Bodin. Mal. malef. Barth. Spin. &c.

Mal. malef. part. 3.

92.

After a great manie other such beastlie fables, he inveieth against such physicians, as saie that *Lycanthropia* is a disease, and not a transformation. Item, he mainteineth, as sacred and true, all *Homers* fables of *Circes* and/ *Ulyffes* his companions : inveieng against *Chrysostome*, who rightlie interpreteth **Ho*mers meaning to be, that *Ulyffes* his people were by the harlot *Circes* made in their brutish maners to resemble swine.

An error about Lycanthropia.

71.

[*Sic.]

But least some poets fables might be thought lies (whereby the witchmongers arguments should quaile) he mainteineth for true the most part of *Ovids Metamorphôsis*, and the greatest absurdities and impossibilities in all that booke: marie he thinketh some one tale therein may be fained. Finallie, he confirmeth all these toies by the storie of *Nabuchadnez-zar*. And bicause (saith he) *Nabuchadnez-zar* continued seven yeres in the shape of a beast, therefore may witches remaine so long in the forme of a beast ; having in all the meane time, the shape, haire, voice, strength, agilitie, swiftnes, food and excrements of beasts, and yet reserve the minds and soules of women or men. Howbeit, *S. Augustine* (whether to confute or confirme that opinion judge you) saith ; *Non est credendum, humanum corpus dæmonum arte vel potestate in bestialia lineamenta converti posse :* We may not beleeve that a mans bodie may be altered into the lineaments of a beast by the divels art or power. Item, *Bodin* saith, that the reason whie witches are most commonlie turned into woolves, is ; bicause they usuallie eate children, as woolves eate cattell. Item, that the cause whie other are truelie turned into asses, is ; for that such have beene desirous to understand the secrets of witches. Whie witches are turned into cats, he

August. lib. 8 *de civit. Dei. cap.* 18.
Idem. lib. de spiritu & anima, cap. 26.

alledgeth no reason, and therefore (to helpe him foorth with that
Ironia. paraphrase) I saie, that witches are curst queanes, and manie times scratch one another, or their neighbours by the faces ; and therefore perchance are turned into cats. But I have put twentie of these witchmongers to silence with this one question ; to wit, Whether a witch that can turne a woman into a cat, &c : can also turne a cat into a woman ?/

93.

The second Chapter.

Absurd reasons brought by Bodin, and such others, for confirmation of transformations.

THESE Examples and reasons might put us in doubt, that everie asse, woolfe, or cat that we see, were a man, a woman, or a child. I marvell that no man useth this distinction in the definition of a man. But to what end should one dispute against these creations and recreations ; when *Bodin* washeth away all our arguments with one word, confessing that none can create any thing but God ; acknowledging also the force of the canons, and imbracing the opinions of such divines, as write against him in this behalfe ? Yea he dooth now (contrarie to himselfe elsewhere) affirme, that the divell cannot alter his forme. And
J. Bod. lib. 2. de mag. dæmon. cap. 6. lo, this is his distinction, *Non essentialis forma* (*id est ratio*) *sed figura solùm permutatur :* The essentiall forme (to wit, reason) is not changed, but the shape or figure. And thereby he prooveth it easie enough to create men or beasts with life, so as they remaine without reason. Howbeit, I thinke it is an easier matter, to turne *Bodins* reason into the reason of an asse, than his bodie into the shape of a
Gen. 19, 24. & 26. & 27. 72. sheepe : which he saith is an easie matter ; bicause *Lots* / wife was turned into a stone by the divell. Whereby he sheweth his grosse ignorance. As though God that commanded *Lot* upon paine of death not to looke backe, who also destroied the citie of *Sodome* at that instant, had not also turned hir into a salt stone. And as though all this while God had beene the divels drudge, to go about this businesse all the night before, and when a miracle should be wrought, the divell must be faine to doo it himselfe.

J. Bod lib. de dæmon. 2. cap. 20. M. Mal. pa. 1. quæ. 9. Item, he affirmeth, that these kind of transfigurations are more common with them in the west parts of the world, than with us here in the east. Howbeit, this note is given withall ; that that is ment of the second persons, and not of the first : to wit, of the bewitched, and
94. not of the witches. For they can trans/forme themselves in everie
John. Bodin. lib. de dæmon. 2. cap. 1. part of the world, whether it be east, west, north, or south. Marrie he saith, that spirits and divels vex men most in the north countries, as

Norway, Finland, &c: and in the westerne ilands, as in the west *India:* but among the heathen speciallie, and wheresoever Christ is not preached. And that is true, though not in so foolish, grosse, and corporall a sense as *Bodin* taketh it. One notable instance of a witches cunning in this behalfe touched by *Bodin* in the chapter aforesaid, I thought good in this place to repeat: he taketh it out of *M. Mal.* which tale was delivered to *Sprenger* by a knight of the Rhods, being of the order of S. *Jones* at *Jerusalem*; and it followeth thus.

Mal. maleſic. par. 2. quæ. 2. cap. 4.

The third Chapter.

Of a man turned into an asse, and returned againe into a man by one of Bodins witches: S. Augustines opinion thereof.

IT happened in the city of *Salamin*, in the kingdome of *Cyprus* (wherein is a good haven) that a ship loaden with merchandize staied there for a short space. In the meane time many of the souldiers and mariners went to shoare, to provide fresh victuals. Among which number, a certaine English man, being a sturdie yoong fellowe, went to a womans house, a little waie out of the citie, and not farre from the sea side, to see whether she had anie egs to sell. Who perceiving him to be a lustie yoong fellowe, a stranger, and farre from his countrie (so as upon the losse of him there would be the lesse misse or inquirie) she considered with hir selfe how to destroie him; and willed him to staie there awhile, whilest she went to fetch a few egs for him. But she tarried long, so as the yoong man called unto hir, desiring hir to make hast: for he told hir that the tide would be spent, and by that meanes his ship would be gone, and leave him behind. Howbeit, after some detracting of time, she brought him a few egs, willing him to returne to hir, if his ship were gone when he came. The young fel/lowe returned towards his ship: but before he went aboord, hee would needs eate an eg or twaine to satisfie his hunger, and within short space he became dumb and out of his wits (as he afterwards said.) When he would have entred into the ship, the mariners beat him backe with a cudgell, saieng; What a murren lacks the asse? Whi/ther the divell will this asse? The asse or yoong man (I cannot tell by which name I should terme him) being many times repelled, and understanding their words that called him asse, considering that he could speake never a word, and yet could understand everie bodie; he thought that he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore, when by no meanes he could get into the boate, but was driven to tarrie and see hir departure; being also beaten from place

What the divel shuld the witch meane to make chois of the English man?

95.

A strange metamorphôsis, of bodie, but not of mind.

73.

to place, as an asse: he remembred the witches words, and the words of his owne fellowes that called him asse, and returned to the witches house, in whose service hee remained by the space of three yeares, dooing nothing with his hands all that while, but carried such burthens as she laied on his backe; having onelie this comfort, that although he were reputed an asse among strangers and beasts, yet that both this witch, and all other witches knew him to be a man.

After three yeares were passed over, in a morning betimes he went to towne before his dame; who upon some occasion (of like to make water) staied a little behind. In the meane time being neere to a church, he heard a little saccaring bell ring to the elevation of a morrowe masse, and not daring to go into the church, least he should have beene beaten and driven out with cudgels, in great devotion he fell downe in the churchyard, upon the knees of his hinder legs, and did lift his forefeet over his head, as the preest doth hold the sacrament at the elevation. Which prodigious sight when certeine merchants of *Genua* espied, and with woonder beheld; anon commeth the witch with a cudgell in hir hand, beating foorth the asse. And bicause (as it hath beene said) such kinds of witchcrafts are verie usuall in those parts; the merchants aforesaid made such meanes, as both the asse and the witch were attached by the judge. And she being examined and set upon the racke, confessed the whole matter, and promised, that if she might have libertie to go home, she would restore him to his old/ shape: and being dismissed, she did accordinglie. So as notwithstanding they apprehended hir againe, and burned hir: and the yoong man returned into his countrie with a joifull and merrie hart.

Note the devotion of the asse.

96.

Upon the advantage of this storie *M. Mal. Bodin*, and the residue of the witchmongers triumph; and speciallie bicause S. *Augustine* subscribeth thereunto; or at the least to the verie like. Which I must confesse I find too common in his books, insomuch as I judge them rather to be foisted in by some fond papist or witchmonger, than so learned a mans dooings. The best is, that he himselfe is no eie-witnesse to any of those his tales; but speaketh onelie by report; wherein he uttereth these words: to wit, that It were a point of great incivilitie, &c: to discredit so manie and so certeine reports. And in that respect he justifieth the corporall transfigurations of *Ulysses* his mates, throgh the witchcraft of *Circes:* and that foolish fable of *Præstantius* his father, who (he saith) did eate provender and haie among other horsses, being himselfe turned into an horsse. Yea he verifieth the starkest lie that ever was invented, of the two alewives that used to transforme all their ghests into horsses, and to sell them awaie at markets and faires. And therefore I saie with *Cardanus*,

August. lib. 18. *de civi. Dei. cap.* 17 & 18.

At the alps in Arcadia.

that how much *Augustin* saith he hath seen with his eies, so much I am / content to beleeve. Howbeit S. *Augustin* concludeth against *Bodin*. For he affirmeth these transubstantiations to be but fantasticall, and that they are not according to the veritie, but according to the appearance. And yet I cannot allow of such appearances made by witches, or yet by divels: for I find no such power given by God to any creature. And I would wit of S. *Augustine*, where they became, whom *Bodins* transformed woolves devoured. But

Card. de Var. rerum. lib. 15 cap. 80. **74.** *August. Lib. 18. de civit. Dei.*

——————————ô quàm
Credula mens hominis, & erectæ fabulis aures!

* *Good Lord! how light of credit is*
the waveriug mind of man!
How unto tales and lies his eares
attentive all they can?/

[*Rom.] *Englished by Abraham Fleming.*

Generall councels, and the popes canons, which *Bodin* so regardeth, doo condemne and pronounce his opinions in this behalfe to be absurd; and the residue of the witchmongers, with himselfe in the number, to be woorsse than infidels. And these are the verie words of the canons, which else-where I have more largelie repeated; Whosoever beleeveth, that anie creature can be made or changed into better or woorsse, or transformed into anie other shape, or into anie other similitude, by anie other than by God himselfe the creator of all things, without all doubt is an infidell, and woorsse than a pagan. And therewithall this reason is rendered, to wit: bicause they attribute that to a creature, which onelie belongeth to God the creator of all things.

97.

Canon. 26. quæ. 5. episcopi ex con. acquir. &c.

The fourth Chapter.

A summarie of the former fable, with a refutation thereof, after due examination of the same.

CONCERNING the veritie or probabilitie of this enterlude, betwixt *Bodin*, *M. Mal.* the witch, the asse, the masse, the merchants, the inquisitors, the tormentors, &c: First I woonder at the miracle of transubstantiation: Secondlie at the impudencie of *Bodin* and *James Sprenger*, for affirming so grosse a lie, devised beelike by the knight of the *Rhodes*, to make a foole of *Sprenger*, and an asse of *Bodin:* Thirdlie, that the asse had no more wit than to kneele downe and hold up his forefeete to a peece of starch or flowre, which neither would, nor could, nor did helpe him: Fourthlie, that the masse could not reforme that which the witch transformed: Fiftlie, that the merchants, the inquisitors, and the tormentors, could not either severallie or jointlie doo it, but referre the matter to the witches courtesie and good pleasure.

His shape was in the woods: where else should it be?

But where was the yoong mans owne shape all these three yeares, wherein he was made an asse? It is a certeine and a generall rule, that two substantiall formes cannot be in one subject *Simul & semel*, both at once: which is confessed by themselves. The/ forme of the beast occupied some/ place in the aire, and so I thinke should the forme of a man doo also. For to bring the bodie of a man, without feeling, into such a thin airie nature, as that it can neither be seene nor felt, it may well be unlikelie, but it is verie impossible: for the aire is inconstant, and continueth not in one place. So as this airie creature would soone be carried into another region: as else-where I have largelie prooved. But indeed our bodies are visible, sensitive, and passive, and are indued with manie other excellent properties, which all the divels in hell are not able to alter: neither can one haire of our head perish, or fall awaie, or be transformed, without the speciall providence of God almightie.

98. 75. *Mal. malef. par.* 1. *quæ.* 2.

In my discourse of spirits and divels, being the 17 booke of this volume.

But to proceed unto the probabilitie of this storie. What lucke was it, that this yoong fellow of *England*, landing so latelie in those parts, and that old woman of *Cyprus*, being both of so base a condition, should both understand one anothers communication; *England* and *Cyprus* being so manie hundred miles distant, and their languages so farre differing? I am sure in these daies, wherein trafficke is more used, and learning in more price; few yong or old mariners in this realme can either speake or understand the language spoken at *Salamin* in *Cyprus*, which is a kind of *Greeke*; and as few old women there can speake our language. But *Bodin* will saie; You heare, that at the inquisitors commandement, and through the tormentors correction, she promised to restore him to his owne shape: and so she did, as being thereunto compelled. I answer, that as the whole storie is an impious fable; so this assertion is false, and disagreeable to their owne doctrine, which mainteineth, that the witch dooth nothing but by the permission and leave of God. For if she could doo or undoo such a thing at hir owne pleasure, or at the commandement of the inquisitors, or for feare of the tormentors, or for love of the partie, or for remorse of conscience: then is it not either by the extraordinarie leave, nor yet by the like direction of God; except you will make him a confederate with old witches. I for my part woonder most, how they can turne and tosse a mans bodie so, and make it smaller and greater, to wit, like a mowse, or like an asse, &c: and the man all this while to feele no paine. And I am not alone in this maze: for *Danæus* a special mainteiner of their fol/lies saith, that although *Augustine* and *Apuleius* doo write verie crediblie of these matters; yet will he never beleeve, that witches can change men into other formes; as asses, apes, woolves, beares, mice, &c.

Dan. in dialog. cap. 3.

99. *August. lib. de civit. Dei. cap.* 17. 18.

The fift Chapter.

That the bodie of a man cannot be turned into the bodie of a beast by a witch, is prooved by strong reasons, scriptures, and authorities.

BUT was this man an asse all this while? Or was this asse a man? *Bodin* saith (his reason onelie reserved) he was trulie transubstantiated into an asse; so as there must be no part of a man, but reason remaining in this asse. And yet *Hermes Trismegistus* thinketh he hath good authoritie and reason to saie; *Aliud corpus quàm humanum non capere animam humanam*; *nec|fas esse in corpus animæ ratione carentis animam rationalem corruere*; that is; An humane soule cannot receive anie other than an humane bodie, nor yet canne light into a bodie that wanteth reason of mind. But S. *James* saith; the bodie without the spirit is dead. And surelie, when the soule is departed from the bodie, the life of man is dissolved: and therefore *Paule* wished to be dissolved, when he would have beene with Christ. The bodie of man is subject to divers kinds of agues, sicknesses, and infirmities, whereunto an asses bodie is not inclined: and mans bodie must be fed with bread, &c: and not with hay. *Bodins* asseheaded man must either eate haie, or nothing: as appeareth in the storie. Mans bodie also is subject unto death, and hath his daies numbred. If this fellowe had died in the meane time, as his houre might have beene come, for anie thing the divels, the witch, or *Bodin* knew; I mervell then what would have become of this asse, or how the witch could have restored him to shape, or whether he should have risen at the daie of judgement in an asses bodie and shape. For *Paule* saith, that that verie bodie which is sowne and buried a naturall bodie, is raised/ a spirituall bodie. The life of Jesus is made manifest in our mortall flesh, and not in the flesh of an asse.

Hermes Trismeg in suo Periandro. 76.

Jam. 2, 26.

Phili. 1, 23.

1 Cor. 15. 44. *100.*

God hath endued everie man and everie thing with his proper nature, substance, forme, qualities, and gifts, and directeth their waies. As for the waies of an asse, he taketh no such care: howbeit, they have also their properties and substance severall to themselves. For there is one flesh (saith *Paule*) of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, another of birds. And therefore it is absolutelie against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should flie like a bird, or swim like a fish, or creepe like a worme, or become an asse in shape: insomuch as if God would give me leave, I cannot doo it; for it were contrarie to his owne order and decree, and to the constitution of anie bodie which he hath made. Yea the spirits them-

1. Cor. 15, 39.

Psal. 119.

selves have their lawes and limits prescribed, beyond the which they cannot passe one haires breadth; otherwise God should be contrarie to himselfe: which is farre from him. Neither is Gods omnipotencie hereby qualified, but the divels impotencie manifested, who hath none other power, but that which God from the beginning hath appointed unto him, consonant to his nature and substance. He may well be restreined from his power and will, but beyond the same he cannot passe, as being Gods minister, no further but in that which he hath from the beginning enabled him to doo: which is, that he being a spirit, may with Gods leave and ordinance viciat and corrupt the spirit and will of man : wherein he is verie diligent.

What a beastlie assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his owne similitude and likenes, should be by a witch turned into a beast? What an impietie is it to affirme, that an asses bodie is the temple of the Holy-ghost? Or an asse to be the child of God, and God to be his father ; as it is said of man? Which *Paule* to the *Corinthians* so divinelie confuteth, who saith, that Our bodies are the members of Christ. In the which we are to glorifie God: for the bodie is for the Lord, and the Lord is for the bodie. Surelie he meaneth not for an asses bodie, as by this time I hope appeareth: in such wise as *Bodin* may go hide him for / shame; especiallie when he shall understand, that even into these our bodies, which God hath framed after his owne like/nesse, he hath also brethed that spirit, which *Bodin* saith is now remaining within an asses bodie, which God hath so subjected in such servilitie under the foote of man; Of whom God is so mindfull, that he hath made him little lower than angels, yea than himselfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship, and made him to have dominion over the workes of his hands, as having put all things under his feete, all sheepe and oxen, yea woolves, asses, and all other beasts of the field, the foules of the aire, the fishes of the sea, &c. *Bodins* poet, *Ovid*, whose *Metamorphôsis* make so much for him, saith to the overthrow of this phantasticall imagination :

1. Cor. 6, 19
verse. 15, &c
verse. 2.
verse. 13.

77.

101.

Psalm. 8.
verses 5, 6, 7, 8.

Os homini sublime dedit, cœlúmque videre
Jussit, & erectos ad sydera tollere vultus.

The effect of which verses is this ;

[*Rom.]

* *The Lord did set mans face so hie,*
That he the heavens might behold,
And looke up to the starrie skie,
To see his woonders manifold.

Now, if a witch or a divell can so alter the shape of a man, as contrarilie to make him looke downe to hell, like a beast ; Gods works should not onelie be defaced and disgraced, but his ordinance should be woonderfullie altered, and thereby confounded.

The sixt Chapter.

The witchmongers objections, concerning Nabuchadnez-zar answered, and their errour concerning Lycanthropia confuted.

MALLEUS MALEFICARUM, *Bodin*, and manie other of them that mainteine witchcraft, triumph upon the storie of *Nabuchadnez-zar*; as though *Circes* had transformed him with hir sorceries into an oxe, as she did others into swine, &c. I answer, that he was neither in bodie nor shape transformed at all, accor/ding to their grosse imagination; as appeareth both by the plaine words of the text, and also by the opinions of the best interpretors thereof: but that he was, for his beastlie government and conditions, throwne out of his kingdome and banished for a time, and driven to hide himselfe in the wildernesse, there in exile to lead his life in beastlie sort, among beasts of the field, and fowles of the aire (for by the waie I tell you it appeareth by the text, that he was rather turned into the shape of a fowle than of a beast) untill he rejecting his beastlie conditions, was upon his repentance and amendment called home, and restored unto his kingdome. Howbeit, this (by their confession) was neither divels nor witches dooing; but a miracle wrought by God, whom alone I acknowledge to be able to bring to passe such workes at his pleasure. Wherein I would know what our witchmongers have gained./

Their groundworke is as sure as to hold a quick eele by the taile. *102.*

Dan. 4.

78.

I am not ignorant that some write, that after the death of *Nabuchadnez-zar*, his sonne **Eilumorodath* gave his bodie to the ravens to be devoured, least afterwards his father should arise from death, who of a beast became a man againe. But this tale is meeter to have place in the *Cabalisticall* art, to wit: among unwritten verities than here. To conclude, I saie that the transformations, which these witchmongers doo so rave and rage upon, is (as all the learned sort of physicians affirme) a disease proceeding partlie from melancholie, wherebie manie suppose themselves to be woolves, or such ravening beasts. For *Lycanthropia* is of the ancient physicians called *Lupina melancholia*, or *Lupina insania*. *J. Wierus* declareth verie learnedlie, the cause, the circumstance, and the cure of this disease. I have written the more herein; bicause hereby great princes and potentates, as well as poore women and innocents, have beene defamed and accounted among the number of witches./

Cor. Agrip. de vanit. scient. cap. 44.

[* tr. of *Euil*]

Paul. Aegin. li. 3. *c.* 16. *Aetius. lib.* 6. *cap.* 11. *J. Wier. de præst. dæm. lib.* 4. *cap.* 23.

103.

The seventh Chapter.

A speciall objection answered concerning transportations, with the consent of diverse writers thereupon.

FOR the maintenance of witches transportations, they object the words of the Gospell, where the divell is said to take up Christ, and to set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and on a mountaine, &c. Which if he had doone in maner and forme as they suppose, it followeth not therefore that witches could doo the like; nor yet that the divell would doo it for them at their pleasure; for they know not their thoughts, neither can otherwise communicate with them. But I answer, that if it were so grosselie to be understood, as they imagine it, yet should it make nothing to their purpose. For I hope they will not saie, that Christ had made anie ointments, or entred into anie league with the divell, and by vertue thereof was transported from out of the wildernes, unto the top of the temple of Jerusalem; or that the divell could have maisteries over his bodie, whose soule he could never laie hold upon; especiallie when he might (with a becke of his finger) have called unto him, and have had the assistance of manie legions of angels. Neither (as I thinke) will they presume to make Christ partaker of the divels purpose and sinne in that behalfe. If they saie; This was an action wrought by the speciall providence of God, and by his appointment, that the scripture might be fulfilled: then what gaine our witch-mongers by this place? First, for that they maie not produce a particular example to prove so generall an argument. And againe, if it were by Gods speciall providence and appointment; then why should it not be doone by the hand of God, as it was in the storie of *Job*? Or if it were Gods speciall purpose and pleasure, that there should be so extraordinarie a matter brought to passe by the hand of the divell; could not God have given to the wicked angell extraordinarie power, and cloathed him with extraordinarie shape; where/by he might be made an instrument able to accomplish that matter, as he did to his angell that carried *Abacuck* to *Daniell*, and to them that he sent to destroie *Sodome*? But you shall understand, that / this was doone in a vision, and not in veritie of action. So as they have a verie cold pull of this place, which is the speciall peece of scripture alledged of them for their transportations.

Matth. 4, 8. Luk. 3, 9.

Answer to the former objection.

Matt. 26, 53.

Job. 1, 11. Job. 2, 5.

104.

79.

J. Calvine in harmon. Evang. in Matth. 4. & Luk. 4.

Heare therefore what *Calvine* saith in his commentarie upon that place, in these words; The question is, whether Christ were carried aloft indeed, or whether it were but in a vision? Manie affirme verie

obstinatlie, that his bodie was trulie and reallie as they saie taken up : bicause they thinke it too great an indignitie for Christ to be made subject to sathans illusions. But this objection is easilie washed awaie. For it is no absurditie to grant all this to be wrought through Gods permission, or Christes voluntarie subjection : so long as we yeeld not to thinke that he suffered these temptations inwardlie, that is to saie, in mind or soule. And that which is afterwards set downe by the Evangelist, where the divell shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glorie of the same, and that to be doone (as it is said in *Luke*) in the twinkling of an eie, dooth more agree with a vision than with a reall action. So farre are the verie words of *Calvine*. Which differ not one syllable nor five words from that which I had written herein, before I looked for his opinion in the matter. And this I hope will be sufficient to overthrow the assertions of them that laie the ground of their transportations and flieng in the aire hereupon.

He that will saie, that these words ; to wit, that Christ was taken up, &c : can hardlie be applied to a vision, let him turne to the prophesie of *Ezechiell*, and see the selfe-same words used in a vision : saving that where Christ is said to be taken up by the divell, *Ezechiell* is taken up, and lifted up, and carried by the spirit of God, and yet in a vision. But they have lesse reason that build upon this sandie rocke, the supernaturall frame of transubstantiation ; as almost all our witching writers doo. For *Sprenger* & *Institor* saie, that the divell in the likenesse of a falcon caught him up. *Danæus* saith, it was in the similitude of a man ; others saie, of an angell painted with wings ; others, invisiblie : *Ergo* the di/vell can take (saie they) what shape he list. But though some may cavill upon the divels transforming of himselfe ; yet, that either divell or witch can transforme or transubstantiat others, there is no tittle nor colour in the scriptures to helpe them. If there were authoritie for it, and that it were past all peradventure, lo, what an easie matter it is to resubstantiate an asse into a man. For *Bodin* saith upon the word of *Apuleius*, that if the asse eate new roses, anise, or baie leaves out of spring water, it will presentlie returne him into a man. Which thing *Sprenger* saith maie be doone, by washing the asse in faire water : yea he sheweth an instance, where, by drinking of water an asse was turned into a man.

Ezec. 3, 12. and 14.

Mal. malef. *105.*

J. Bod. lib. de dæm. 3. cap. 5.

In Mal. mal.

The eight Chapter.

The witchmongers objection concerning the historie of Job answered.

THESE witchmongers, for lacke of better arguments, doo manie times object *Job* against me ; although there be never a word in that storie, which either maketh for them, or against me : in so much as there is not/ the
80. name of a witch mentioned in the whole booke. But (I praie you) what witchmonger now seeing one so afflicted as *Job*, would not saie he were bewitched, as *Job* never saith? [a]For first there came a messenger unto him, and said ; Thy oxen were plowing, and thy asses were feeding in their places, [b]and the *Sabeans* came violentlie and tooke them ; yea they have slaine thy servants with the edge of the sword ; but I onelie am escaped to tell thee. [c]And whilest he was yet speaking, another came, and said ; The fier of God is fallen from the heaven, & hath burnt up thy sheepe and thy servants, and devoured them ; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. [d]And while he was yet speaking, another came, and said ; The *Chaldæans* set out their bands, and fell upon thy camels, and have taken them, and have
106. slaine thy servants with the edge of the sword ; but I onelie am/ escaped alone to tell thee. [e]And whilest he was yet speaking, came another, and said ; Thy sonnes and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their elder brothers house, [f]and behold there came a great wind from beyond the wildernesse, and smote the foure corners of the house, which fell upon thy children, and they are dead ; and I onlie am escaped alone to tell thee. [g]Besides all this, he was smitten with biles, from the sole of his foote to the crowne of his head. If anie man in these daies called *Job* should be by the appointment or hand of God thus handled, as this *Job* was ; I warrant you that all the old women in the countrie would be called *Coram nobis :* warrants would be sent out on everie side, publike and private inquirie made what old women latelie resorted to *Jobs* house, or to anie of those places, where these misfortunes fell. If anie poore old woman had chanced within two or three moneths to have borrowed a curtsie of *seasing, or to have fetcht from thence a pot of milke, or had she required some almes, and not obteined it at *Jobs* hand ; there had beene argument enough to have brought hir to confusion : and to be more certeine to have the right witch apprehended, figures must have beene cast, the sive and sheares must have beene set on worke; yea rather than the witch should escape, a conjuror must have earned a little monie, a circle must have beene made, and a divell raised to

[a] Job. 1, 14.
[b] verse, 15.
[c] verse, 16.
[d] verse, 17.
[e] verse, 18.
[f] verse, 19.
[g] Ibid. ca. 2. vers. 7.
[* ? searsing]

tell the truth : mother *Bungie* must have been gon unto, and after she had learned hir name, whom *Job* most suspected, she would have confirmed the suspicion with artificiall accusations : in the end, some woman or other must have beene hanged for it. But as *Job* said ; *Dominus dedit :* so said he not ; *Diabolus vel Lamia sed Dominus abstulit.* Which agreeth with the tenor of the text, where it is written, that the divell at everie of *Jobs* afflictions desired God to laie his hand upon him. Insomuch as *Job* imputed no part of his calamitie unto divels, witches, nor yet unto conjurors, or their inchantments ; as we have learned now to doo. Neither sinned he, or did God any wrong, when he laid it to his charge : but we dishonour God greatlie, when we attribute either the power or proprietie of God the creator unto a creature.

J. Calvin in Job. cap. 1. 21.

**Calvine* saith ; We derogate much from Gods glorie and omnipotencie, when we saie he dooth but give sathan leave to doo it : which is (saith he) to mocke Gods justice ; and so fond an asser/tion, that if asses could speake, they would speake more wiselie than so. For a temporall judge saith not to /the hangman ; I give thee leave to hang this offender, but commandeth him to doo it. But the mainteiners of witches omnipotencie, saie ; Doo you not see how reallie and palpablie the divell tempted and plagued *Job* ? I answer first, that there is no corporall or visible divell named nor seene in any part of that circumstance ; secondlie, that it was the hand of God that did it ; thirdlie, that as there is no communitie betweene the person of a witch, and the person of a divell, so was there not any conference or practise betwixt them in this case.

**J. Calvin. in Job, cap.* 2. *Sermon.* 8. *Muscul. in loc. comm.* 107. *Idem, ibidem.* 81.

And as touching the communication betwixt God and the divell, behold what *Calvine* saith, writing or rather preaching of purpose upon that place, wherupon they thinke they have so great advantage; When sathan is said to appeere before God, it is not doone in some place certeine, but the scripture speaketh so to applie it selfe to our rudenes. Certeinlie the divell in this and such like cases is an instrument to worke Gods will, and not his owne : and therefore it is an ignorant and an ungodlie saieng (as *Calvine* judgeth it) to affirme, that God dooth but permit and suffer the divell. For if sathan were so at his owne libertie (saith he) we should be overwhelmed at a sudden. And doubtlesse, if he had power to hurt the bodie, there were no waie to resist : for he would come invisiblie upon us, and knocke us on the heads ; yea hee would watch the best and dispatch them, whilest they were about some wicked act. If they saie ; God commandeth him, no bodie impugneth them : but that God should give him leave, I saie with *Calvine*, that the divell is not in such favour with God, as to obteine any such request at his hands.

J. Calvine in his sermon upon Job.

And wheras by our witchmongers opinions and arguments, the witch procureth the divell, and the divell asketh leave of God to plague whom the witch is disposed : there is not (as I have said) any such corporall communication betweene the divell and a witch, as witchmongers imagine. Neither is God mooved at all at sathans sute, who hath no such favour or grace with him, as to obteine any thing at his hands.

J. Calvine in Job. cap. 1. *sermon.* 5.

But *M. Mal.* and his friends denie, that there were any witches in *Jobs* time : yea the witchmongers are content to saie, that/ there were none found to exercise this art in Christs time, from his birth to his death, even by the space of thirtie three yeares. If there had beene anie (saie they) they should have beene there spoken of. As touching the authoritie of the booke of *Job*, there is no question but that it is verie canonicall and authentike. Howbeit, manie writers, both of the Jewes and others, are of opinion, that *Moses* was the author of this booke ; and that he did set it as a looking glasse before the people : to the intent the children of *Abraham* (of whose race he himselfe came) might knowe, that God shewed favour to others that were not of the same line, and be ashamed of their wickednesse : seeing an uncircumcised Painime had so well demeaned himselfe. Upon which argument *Calvine* (though he had written upon the same) saith, that Forsomuch as it is uncerteine, whether it were *Res gesta* or *Exempli gratia*, we must leave it in suspense. Nevertheles (saith he) let us take that which is out of all doubt ; namelie, that the Holy-ghost hath indited the booke, to the end that the Jewes should knowe that God hath had a people alwaies to serve him throughout the world, even of such as were no/ Jewes, nor segregated from other nations.

Mal. malef. pa. 1. *quæst.* 1. *Idem part.* 1. *quæst.* 4. *108.*

Note what is said touching the booke of Job.

82.

Howbeit, I for my part denie not the veritie of the storie ; though indeed I must confesse, that I thinke there was no such corporall enterlude betweene God, the divell, and *Job*, as they imagine : neither anie such reall presence and communication as the witchmongers conceive and mainteine ; who are so grosse herein, that they doo not onlie beleeve, but publish so palpable absurdities concerning such reall actions betwixt the divell and man, as a wise man would be ashamed to read, but much more to credit : as that S. *Dunstan* lead the divell about the house by the nose with a paire of pinsors or tongs, and made him rore so lowd, as the place roong thereof, &c : with a thousand the like fables, without which neither the art of poperie nor of witchcraft could stand. But you may see more of this matter else-where, where in few words (which I thought good here to omit, least I should seeme to use too manie repetitions) I answer effectuallie to their cavils about this place./

In legenda aurea.

The ninth Chapter. *109.*

What severall sorts of witches are mentioned in the scriptures, and how the word witch is there applied.

BUT what sorts of witches so ever *M. Mal.* or *Bodin* saie there are; *Moses* spake onlie of foure kinds of impious couseners or witches (whereof our witchmongers old women which danse with the fairies, &c; are none.) The first were *Præstigiatores Pharaonis*, which (as all divines, both Hebrues and others conclude) were but couseners and jugglers, deceiving the kings eies with illusions and sleights; and making false things to appeare as true: which nevertheles our witches cannot doo. The second is *Mecasapha*, which is she that destroieth with poison. The third are such as use sundrie kinds of divinations, and hereunto perteine these words, *Kasam*, *Onen*, *Ob*, *Idoni*. The fourth is *Habar*, to wit: when magicians, or rather such, as would be reputed cunning therein, mumble certeine secret words, wherin is thought to be great efficacie.

1. Præstigiatores Pharaonis.

2. Mecasapha.

3. Kasam. Onen. Ob. Idoni.

4. Habar.

These are all couseners and abusers of the people in their severall kinds. But bicause they are all termed of our translators by the name of witches in the Bible: therefore the lies of *M. Mal.* and *Bodin*, and all our old wives tales are applied unto these names, and easilie beleeved of the common people, who have never hitherto beene instructed in the understanding of these words. In which respect, I will (by Gods grace) shew you (concerning the signification of them) the opinion of the most learned in our age; speciallie of *Johannes Wierus*; who though hee himselfe were singularlie learned in the toongs, yet for his satisfaction and full resolution in the same, he sent for the judgement of *Andræas Massius*, the most famous *Hebrician* in the world, and had it in such sense and order, as I meane to set downe unto you. And yet I give you this note by the waie, that witchcraft or inchantment is diverslie taken in the scriptures; somtimes nothing tending to such end as it is commonlie thought to doo. For in 1 *Sa|muell*, 15, 23. it is all one with rebellion. *Jesabell* for hir idolatrous life / is called a witch. Also in the new testament, even S. *Paule* saith the *Galathians* are bewitched, bicause they were seduced and lead from the true understanding of the scriptures.

[or *Masius*]

Note.

110.

1. Sa. 15, 23.

2. Re. 9, 22. **83.**

Gal. 3, 1.

Item sometimes it is taken in good part; as the magicians that came to worship and offer to Christ: and also where *Daniell* is said to be an inchanter, yea a principall inchanter: which title being given him in divers places of that storie, he never seemeth to refuse or dislike;

Matth. 2, 1.

Daniel. 4.

but rather intreateth for the pardon and qualification of the rigor towards other inchanters, which were meere couseners indeed : as appeareth in the second chapter of *Daniell*, where you may see that the king espied their fetches.

Dan. 2, 8.

Actes. 19.

Sometimes such are called conjurors, as being but roges, and lewd people, would use the name of Jesus to worke miracles, whereby, though they being faithlesse could worke nothing ; yet is their practise condemned by the name of conjuration. Sometimes jugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they are called sorcerers, that impugne the gospell of Christ, and seduce others with violent persuasions. Sometimes a murtherer with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by the verie signification of their names ; as *Elimas*, which signifieth a sorcerer. Sometimes bicause they studie curious and vaine arts. Sometimes it is taken for woonding or greeving of the hart. Yea the verie word *Magus*, which is Latine for a magician, is translated a witch ; and yet it was hertofore alwaies taken in the good part. And at this daie it is indifferent to saie in the English toong ; She is a witch ; or, She is a wise woman.

Gen. 4, 18.
Exod. 7, 13, &c.
Acts 13.
Exod. 22, &c.
Acts. 13.
Acts. 19.
Canticles of Salomon. cap. 4. verse. 9.

Sometimes observers of dreames, sometimes soothsaiers, sometimes the observers of the flieng of foules, of the meeting of todes, the falling of salt, &c : are called witches. Sometimes he or she is called a witch, that take upon them either for gaine or glorie, to doo miracles ; and yet can doo nothing. Sometimes they are called witches in common speech, that are old, lame, curst, or melancholike, as a nickname. But as for our old women, that are said to hurt children with their eies, or lambs with their lookes, or that pull downe the moone out of heaven, or make so foolish a bargaine, or doo such homage to the divell ; you shall not read in the bible of any such witches, or of any such actions imputed to them.//

Deut. 18, 2.
Jerem. 27.
Acts. 8.

¶ *The sixt Booke.* *III.* 84.

The first Chapter.

The exposition of this Hebrue word Chasaph, wherein is answered the objection conteined in Exodus 22. to wit: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live, and of Simon Magus. Acts. 8.

CHASAPH, being an Hebrue word, is Latined *Veneficium*, and is in English, poisoning, or witchcraft; if you will so have it. The Hebrue sentence written in *Exodus*, 22. is by the 70. interpretors translated thus into Greeke, Φάρμακοὺς οὐκ ἐπιζεώσετε, which in Latine is, *Veneficos (sive) veneficas non retinebitis in vita*, in English, You shall not suffer anie poisoners, or (as it is translated) witches to live. The which sentence *Josephus* an Hebrue borne, and a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreteth in this wise; Let none of the children of Israel have any poison that is deadlie, or prepared to anie hurtfull use. If anie be apprehended with such stuffe, let him be put to death, and suffer that which he ment to doo to them, for whom he prepared it. The *Rabbins* exposition agree heerewithall. *Lex Cornelia* differeth not from this sense, to wit, that he must suffer death, which either maketh, selleth, or hath anie poison, to the intent to kill anie man. This word is found in these places following: *Exodus.* 22, 18. *Deut.* 18, 10. 2. *Sam.* 9, 22. *Dan.* 2, 2. *2. Chr.* 33, 6. *Esay.* 47, 9, 12. *Malach*, 3, 5. *Jerem.* 27, 9. *Mich.* 5, 2. *Nah.* 3, 4. *bis.* Howbeit, in all our English / trans- *112.* lations, *Chasaph* is translated, witchcraft.

Joseph. in Judæorum antiquitat.

And bicause I will avoid prolixitie and contention both at once, I will admit that *Veneficæ* were such witches, as with their poisons did much hurt among the children of Israell; and I will not denie that there remaine such untill this daie, bewitching men, and making them beleeve, that by vertue of words, and certeine ceremonies, they bring to passe such mischeefes, and intoxications, as they indeed accomplish by poisons. And this abuse in cousenage of people, together with the taking of Gods name in vaine, in manie places of the scripture is reprooved, especiallie by the name of witchcraft, even where no poisons are. According to the sense which S. *Paule* useth to the *Galathians* in these words, where he sheweth plainelie, that the true signification of witchcraft is cousenage; O ye foolish *Gala-* Gal. 3, 1.

thians (saith he) who hath bewitched you? to wit, cousened or abused you, making you beleeve a thing which is neither so nor so. Whereby he meaneth not to aske of them, who have with charmes, &c: or with poisons deprived them of their health, life, cattell, or children, &c: but who hath abused or cousened them, to make them beleeve lies.

Job. 15, 12. This phrase is also used by *Job.* 15. But that we may be throughlie resolved of the true meaning of this phrase used by *Paule*, *Gal.* 3. let us examine the description of a notable witch called *Simon*

Acts. 8, 9. *Magus*, made by S. *Luke*; There was (saith he) in the citie of

85. *Samaria*, a certeine man called *Simon*,/ which used witchcraft, and bewitched the people of *Samaria*, saieng that he himself was some great man. I demand, in what other thing here do we see anie witchcraft, than that he abused the people, making them beleeve he could worke miracles, whereas in truth he could doo no such thing; as manifestlie may appeare in the 13. and 19. verses of the same chapter: where he wondered at the miracles wrought by the apostles, and would have purchased with monie the power of the Holy-ghost to worke wonders.

Acts. 8, 11. It will be said, the people had reason to beleeve him, bicause it is written, that he of long time had bewitched them with sorceries. But let the bewitched *Galathians* be a warning both to the bewitched *Samaritans*, and to all other that are cousened or bewitched through false doctrine, or legierdemaine; least while they attend to such

113. fables and lies, they be brought into ignorance,/ and so in time be led with them awaie from God. And finallie, let us all abandon such witches and couseners, as with *Simon Magus* set themselves in the place of God, boasting that they can doo miracles, expound dreames, foretell things to come, raise the dead, &c: which are the workes of

1. Reg. 8, 39. Matth. 9. 4. 12. 25. 22. Acts. 1, 24. & 15, 8. Rom. 8, 27. Mark. 2. Luk. 6, 17. & 11. & 9. Joh. 1 & 2. & 6. & 13. Apoc. 2. &. 3. Luk. 11, 29. the Holy-ghost, who onlie searcheth the heart and reines, and onelie worketh great wonders, which are now staied and accomplished in Christ, in whome who so stedfastlie beleeveth shall not need to be by such meanes resolved or confirmed in his doctrine and gospell. And as for the unfaithfull, they shall have none other miracle shewed unto them, but the signe of *Jonas* the prophet.

Eccl. 34, 5. Eccl. 34, 8. Levi. 19, 31. And therefore I saie, whatsoever they be that with *Simon Magus* take upon them to worke such wonders, by soothsaieng, sorcerie, or witchcraft, are but liers, deceivers, and couseners, according to *Syrachs* saieng; Sorcerie, witchcraft, soothsaieng, and dreames, are but vanitie, and the lawe shalbe fulfilled without such lies. God commanded the people, that they should not regard them that wrought with spirits, nor soothsaiers: for the estimation that was attributed unto them, offended God.

The second Chapter.

The place of Deuteronomie expounded, wherin are recited all kind of witches; also their opinions confuted, which hold that they can worke such miracles as are imputed unto them.

THE greatest and most common objection is, that if there were not some, which could worke such miraculous or supernaturall feats, by themselves, or by their divels, it should not have beene said; Let none be found among you, that maketh his sonne or his daughter to go through the fier, or that useth witchcraft, or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the flieng of fowles, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or that counselleth with spirits, or a soothsaier, or that asketh counsell of the dead, or (as some translate it) / that raiseth the dead. But as there is no one place *114.* in the scripture that saith they can worke miracles, so it shalbe easie to proove, that these were all couseners, everie one abusing the people in his/severall kind; and are accurssed of God. Not that they can 86. doo all such things indeed, as there is expressed; but for that they take upon them to be the mightie power of God, and to doo that which is the onelie worke of him, seducing the people, and blaspheming the name of God, who will not give his glorie to anie creature, being himselfe the king of glorie and omnipotencie.

Deut. 18. 10. 11.

Esay. 42, 8. Ps. 24. 8. 10.

First I aske, what miracle was wrought by their passing through the fier? Trulie it cannot be prooved that anie effect followed; but that the people were bewitched, to suppose their sinnes to be purged thereby; as the *Spaniards* thinke of scourging and whipping themselves. So as Gods power was imputed to that action, and so forbidden as an idolatrous sorcerie. What woonders worketh the regarder of times? What other divell dealeth he withall, than with the spirit of superstition? Doth he not deceive himselfe and others, and therefore is worthilie condemned for a witch? What spirit useth he, which marketh the flieng of fowles? Nevertheles, he is here condemned as a practiser of witchcraft; bicause he couseneth the people, and taketh upon him to be a prophet; impiouslie referring Gods certeine ordinances to the flittering fethers and uncerteine waies of a bird. The like effects produceth sorcerie, charming, consultation with spirits, soothsaieng, and consulting with the dead: in everie of the which Gods power is obscured, his glorie defaced, and his commandement infringed.

And to proove that these soothsaiers and witches are but lieng mates and couseners; note these words pronounced by God himselfe,

Deut. 18, 14

even in the selfe same place to the children of Israell : Although the Gentiles suffered themselves to be abused, so as they gave eare to these sorcerers, &c : he would not suffer them so, but would raise them a prophet, who should speake the truth. As if he should saie ; The other are but lieng and cousening mates, deceitfull and undermining merchants, whose abuses I will make knowne to my people. And that everie one maie be resolved herein, let the last sentence of this precept be well weighed ; to wit, Let none be found among you,

115. that asketh counsell of (or rai/seth the dead.)

Sap. 3, 1.
Luk. 16, 23.

First you know the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and resting with *Lazarus* in *Abrahams* bosome, doo sleepe in Jesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raised, till the heavens

Job. 14, 12.
Psal. 88, 10.
Deut. 18, 11.
Luk. 16. 29. 31.

be no more : according to this of *David* ; Wilt thou shew woonders among the dead? Nay, the Lord saith, The living shall not be taught by the dead, but by the living. As for the unrighteous, they are in hell, where is no redemption ; neither is there anie passage

Luk. 16, 22.

from heaven to earth, but by God and his angels. As touching the

Joh. 5, 21.

resurrection and restauration of the bodie, read *John.* 5. and you shall manifestlie see, that it is the onelie worke of the father, who hath given the power therof to the sonne, and to none other, &c. *Dominus*

Ose. 6.

percutit, & ipse medetur : Ego occidam, & ego vivefaciam. And in

Acts. 17. 25. 28.
Tim. 6, 13.

manie other places it is written, that God giveth life and beeing to all. Although *Plato*, with his maister *Socrates*, the cheefe pillers of these vanities, say, that one *Pamphilus* was called up out of hel, who when he cam among the people, told manie incredible tales concerning

87. infernall actions. But herein I take up the proverbe ;/ *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed major amica veritas.*

So as this last precept, or last part thereof, extending to that which neither can be done by witch nor divell, maie well expound the other parts and points therof. For it is not ment hereby, that they can doo such things indeed ; but that they make men beleeve they doo them, and thereby cousen the people, and take upon them the office of God, and therewithall also blaspheme his holie name, and take it in vaine ; as by the words of charmes and conjurations doo appeare, which you shall see, if you looke into these words, *Habar* and *Idoni.*

In like manner I saie you may see, that by the prohibition of divinations by augurie, and of soothsaiengs, &c, who are witches, and can indeed doo nothing but lie and cousen the people, the lawe of God condemneth them not, for that they can worke miracles, but bicause

26. *quæ.* 7. *non. obser. fact.* 1398. *act.* 17. *August. de spirit. & anima. cap.* 28.

they saie they can doo that which perteineth to God, and for cousenage, &c. Concerning other points of witchcraft conteined therein, and bicause some cannot otherwise be satisfied, I will alledge under one sentence, the decretals, the mind of S. *Augustine*, the councell

Aurelian, and the determination of/ *Paris*, to wit: Who so observeth, *116.*
or giveth heed unto soothsaiengs, divinations, witchcraft, &c, or doth give credit to anie such, he renounceth christianitie, and shalbe counted a pagane, & an enemie to God; yea and he erreth both in faith and philosophie. And the reason is therewithall expressed in the canon, to wit; Bicause hereby is attributed to a creature, that which perteineth to God onelie and alone. So as, under this one sentence (Thou shalt not suffer a poisoner or a witch to live) is forbidden both murther and witchcraft; the murther consisting in poison; the witchcraft in cousenage or blasphemie.

The third Chapter.

That women have used poisoning in all ages more than men, and of the inconvenience of poisoning.

YEt women in all ages have beene counted most apt to conceive witchcraft, and the divels speciall instruments therin, and the onelie or cheefe practisers therof: so also it appeareth, that they have been the first inventers, and the greatest practisers of poisoning, and more naturallie addicted and given thereunto than men: according to the saieng of *Quintilian*; *Latrocinium faciliùs in viro, veneficium in fœmina credam.* From whom *Plinie* differeth nothing in opinion, when he saith, *Scientiam fœminarum in veneficiis prævalere.* To be short, *Augustine*, *Livie*, *Valerius*, *Diodorus*, and manie other agree, that women were the first inventers and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the rest of their cunning, in what estimation it was had, may appeare by these verses of *Horace*, wherein he doth not onelie declare the vanitie of witchcraft, but also expoundeth the other words, wherewithall we are now in hand. *Plin. lib. 25. cap. 2.*

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentáq; Thessala rides: //

These dreames and terrors magicall, *117.* 88.
these miracles and witches,
Night-walking sprites, or Thessal bugs,
esteeme them not twoo rushes.

Here *Horace* (you see) contemneth as ridiculous, all our witches cunning: marrie herein he comprehendeth not their poisoning art, which hereby he onelie seemed to thinke hurtfull. *Pythagoras* and *Democritus* give us the names of a great manie magicall hearbs and stones, whereof now, both the vertue, and the things themselves also are unknowne: as *Marmaritin*, whereby spirits might be raised:

Archimedon, which would make one bewraie in his sleepe, all the secrets in his heart: *Adincantida*, *Calicia*, *Mevais*, *Chirocineta*, *&c*: which had all their severall vertues, or rather poisons. But all these now are worne out of knowledge: marrie in their steed we have hogs turd and chervill, as the onelie thing whereby our witches worke miracles.

Trulie this poisoning art called *Veneficium*, of all others is most abhominable; as whereby murthers maie be committed, where no suspicion maie be gathered, nor anie resistance can be made; the strong cannot avoid the weake, the wise cannot prevent the foolish, the godlie cannot be preserved from the hands of the wicked; children maie hereby kill their parents, the servant the maister, the wife hir husband, so privilie, so inevitablie, and so incurablie, that of all other it hath beene thought the most odious kind of murther; according to the saieng of *Ovid*:

Ovid. metamorph. lib. 1.

——————non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non socer à genero, fratrum quóq; gratia rara est:
Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti,
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercæ,
Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos. /

Englished by Abraham Fleming. *118.*

——The travelling ghest opprest
Dooth stand in danger of his host,
the host eke of his ghest:
The father of his sonne in lawe,
yea rare is seene to rest
Twixt brethren love and amitie,
and kindnesse void of strife;
The husband seekes the goodwifes death,
and his againe the wife.
Ungentle stepdames grizlie poi-
son temper and doo give:
The sonne too soone dooth aske how long
his father is to live.

The monke that poisoned king *John*, was a right *Veneficus*; to wit, both a witch and a murtherer: for he killed the king with poison, [Misp. 86] 89. and / persuaded the people with lies, that he had doone a good and a meritorious act: and doubtlesse, manie were so bewitched, as they thought he did verie well therein. *Antonius Sabellicus* writeth of a horrible poisoning murther, committed by women at *Rome*, where were executed (after due conviction) 170. women at one time; besides 20. women of that consort, who were poisoned with that poison which they had prepared for others. /

Aeneid. 4. lib 4.

The fourth Chapter. *119.*

Of divers poisoning practises, otherwise called veneficia, committed in Italie, Genua, Millen, Wittenberge, also how they were discovered and executed.

ANOTHER practise, not unlike to that mentioned in the former chapter, was doone in *Cassalis* at *Salassia* in *Italie*, Anno 1536. where 40. *Veneficæ* or witches being of one confederacie, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, besmeering with an ointment and a pouder, the posts and doores of mens houses; so as thereby whole families were poisoned: and of that stuffe they had prepared above 40. crocks for that purpose. Herewithall they conveied inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and onelie sonne of one *Necus* (as lightlie none died in the house but the maisters and their children) which was much noted; and therewithall that one *Androgina* haunted the houses, speciallie of them that died: and she being suspected, apprehended, and examined, confessed the fact, conspiracie, and circumstance, as hath beene shewed. The like villanie was afterwards practised at *Genua*, and execution was doone upon the offenders. At *Millen* there was another like attempt that tooke none effect. This art consisteth as well in poisoning of cattell as of men: and that which is doone by poisons unto cattell, towards their destruction, is as commonlie attributed to witches charms as the other. And I doubt not, but some that would be thought cunning in incantations, and to doo miracles, have experience in this behalf. For it is written by divers authors, that if wolves doong be hidden in the mangers, racks, or else in the hedges about the pastures, where cattell go (through the antipathie of the nature of the woolfe and other cattell) all the beasts that savour the same doo not onlie forbeare to eate, but run about as though they were mad, or (as they say) bewitched.

Veneficæ in Italie.

Veneficæ in Genua & Millen.

But *Wierus* telleth a notable storie of a *Veneficus*, or destroier/ of cattell, which I thought meete heere to repeat. There was (saith he) in the dukedome of *Wittingberge*, not farre from *Tubing*, a butcher, anno 1564. that bargained with the towne for all their hides which were of sterven cattell, called in these parts *Morts*. He with poison privilie killed in great numbers, their bullocks, sheepe, swine, &c: and by his bargaine of the hides and tallowe he grew infinitlie rich. And at last being suspected, was examined, confessed the matter and maner thereof, and was put to death with hot tongs, wherewith his flesh was pulled from his bones. We for / our parts would have killed 90. five poore women, before we would suspect one rich butcher.

120.

Of a butcher a right veneficall which [? witch.]

The fift Chapter.

A great objection answered concerning this kind of witchcraft called Veneficium.

IT is objected, that if *Veneficium* were comprehended under the title of manslaughter, it had beene a vaine repetition, and a disordered course undertaken by *Moses*, to set foorth a lawe against *Veneficas* severallie. But it might suffice to answer any reasonable christian, that such was the pleasure of the Holie-ghost, to institute a particular article herof, as of a thing more odious, wicked and dangerous, than any other kind of murther. But he that shall read the lawe of *Moses*, or the testament of Christ himselfe, shall find this kind of repetition and reiteration of the law most common. For as it is written *Exod.* 22, 21. Thou shalt not greeve nor afflict a stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of
Levit. 19, 33. *Aegypt*: so are the same words found repeated in *Levit.* 19, 33. Polling and shaving of heads and beards is forbidden in *Deut.* 27. which was before prohibited in 22. It is written in *Exodus* the 20. Thou shalt not steale: and it is repeated in *Leviticus* 19. and in *Deut.* 5. Murther is generallie forbidden in *Exod.* 20. and likewise in 22. and repeated in *Num.* 35. But the aptest example is, that magicke is
121. forbidden in three severall places, to wit, once/ in *Levit.* 19. and twise in *Levit.* 20. For the which a man might as well cavill with the Holie-ghost as for the other.

The sixt Chapter.

In what kind of confections that witchcraft, which is called Veneficium, consisteth: of love cups, and the same confuted by poets.

AS touching this kind of witchcraft, the principall part thereof consisteth in certeine confections prepared by lewd people to procure love; which indeed are meere poisons, bereaving some of the benefit of the braine, and so of the sense and understanding of the mind. And from some it taketh awaie life, & that is more common than the other. These be called *Philtra*, or *Pocula amatoria*, or *Venenosa pocula*, or *Hippomanes*; which bad and blind physicians rather practise, than witches or conjurers, &c. But of what value these bables are, towards the end why they are provided, may appeere by the opinions of poets themselves, from whence was derived the estimation of that stuffe.

And first you shall heare what *Ovid* saith, who wrote of the verie art of love, and that so cunninglie and feelinglie, that he is reputed the speciall doctor in that science :

Fallitur Æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes, *Ovid. lib. 2. de arte amandi.*
Dátq; quod à teneri fronte revellit equi.
Non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herbæ,|
Mistáq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis. 91.
Phasias Æsonidem, Circe tenuisset Ulyssem,
Si modò servari carmine posset amor :
Nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis,
Philtra nocent animis, vímq; furoris habent.|

Who so dooth run to Hæmon arts, *122.*
I dub him for a dolt, *Englished by Abraham Fleming.*
And giveth that which he dooth plucke
from forhead of a colt :
Medeas herbs will not procure
that love shall lasting live,
Nor steeped poison mixed with ma-
gicke charms the same can give.
The witch Medea had full fast
held Jason for hir owne,
So had the grand witch Circe too
Ulysses, if alone
With charms mainteind & kept might be
the love of twaine in one.
No slibbersawces given to maids, Philtra, slibbersawces to procure love.
to make them pale and wan,
Will helpe : such slibbersawces marre
the minds of maid and man,
And have in them a furious force
of phrensie now and than.

Viderit Aemoniæ si quis mala pabula terræ, *Ovid. lib. de remedio amoris. 1.*
Et magicas artes posse juvare putat.

If any thinke that evill herbs *Ab. Fleming.*
in Hæmon land which be,
Or witchcraft able is to helpe,
let him make proofe and see.

These verses precedent doo shew, that *Ovid* knew that those/ beggerlie sorceries might rather kill one, or make him starke mad, *123* than doo him good towards the atteinement of his pleasure or love;

and therefore he giveth this counsell to them that are amorous in such hot maner, that either they must enjoy their love, or else needs die; saieng:

Sit procul omne nefas, ut ameris amabilis esto :

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Farre off be all unlawfull meanes
thou amiable bee,
Loving I meane, that she with love
may quite the love of thee.|

92.

The seventh Chapter.

It is proved by more credible writers, that love cups rather ingender death through venome, than love by art: and with what toies they destroie cattell, and procure love.

BUT bicause there is no hold nor trust to these poets, who saie and unsaie, dallieng with these causes; so as indeed the wise may perceive they have them in derision: let us see what other graver authors speake hereof. *Eusebius Cæsariensis* writeth, that the poet *Lucretius* was killed with one of those lovers poisoned cups. *Hierome* reporteth that one *Livia* herewith killed hir husband, whome she too much hated; and *Lucilla* killed hirs, whome she too much loved. *Calisthenes* killed *Lucius Lucullus* the emperor with a love pot, as *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* saie. *Plinie* & *Josephus* report, that *Cæsonia* killed hir husband *Caligula Amatorio poculo* with a lovers cup, which was indeed starke poison. *Aristotle* saith, that all which is beleeved touching the efficacie of these matters, is lies and old wives tales. He that will read more arguments and histories concerning these poisons, let him looke in *J. Wier De Veneficiis.* |

Hieronym. in Ruff. Plin. lib. 25. cap. 3. Joseph lib. 11. de Judæorum antiquit. Aristot. lib. 8. de natura animal. cap. 24. Jo. Wier. de venef. cap. 40.

Toies to mocke apes. 124. The toies, which are said to procure love, and are exhibited in their poison looving cups, are these: the haire growing in the nethermost part of a woolves taile, a woolves yard, a little fish called *Remora*, the braine of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizzard: the bone of a greene frog, the flesh thereof being consumed with pismers or ants; the left bone whereof ingendereth (as they saie) love; the bone on the right side, hate. Also it is said, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about with ants, whereof some will swim, and some will sinke: those that sinke, being hanged up in a white linnen cloth, ingender love, but if a man be touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is thereof, with yoong swalowes, whereof one brood or nest being taken and buried in a crocke under the ground,

till they be starved up; they that be found open mouthed, serve to engender love; they whose mouthes are shut, serve to procure hate. Besides these, manie other follies there be to this purpose proposed to the simple; as namelie, the garments of the dead, candels that burne before a dead corps, and needels wherwith dead bodies are sowne or sockt into their sheetes: and diverse other things, which for the reverence of the reader, and in respect of the uncleane speach to be used in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read *Dioscorides*, or diverse other learned physicians) you maie see at large. In the meane while, he that desireth to see more experiments concerning this matter, let him read *Leonardus Vairus de fascino*, now this present yeare 1583. newlie published; wherein (with an incestuous mouth) he affirmeth directlie, that Christ and his apostles were *Venefici*; verie fondlie prosecuting that argument, and with as much popish follie as may be; labouring to proove it lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, &c. / /

Dioscorid. de materia medicin.

L. Vairus de fascin. lib. 2. cap. 11. prope finem.

The eight Chapter. *125.* 93.

John Bodin triumphing against John Wier is overtaken with false Greeke & false interpretation thereof.

MONSIEUR BODIN triumpheth over doctor *Wier* herein, pronouncing a heavie sentence upon him; bicause he referreth this word to poison. But he reigneth or rather rideth over him, much more for speaking false Greeke; affirming that he calleth *Venefícos* Φαρμακένσνς, which is as true as the rest of his reports and fables of witches miracles conteined in his bookes of divelish devises. For in truth he hath no such word, but saith they are called Φαρμακένεις, whereas he should have said Φαρμακεῖς, the true accent being omitted, and ἔν being interposed, which should have beene left out. Which is nothing to the substance of the matter, but must needs be the Printers fault.

J. Bodin.

But *Bodin* reasoneth in this wise, Φαρμακεῖς is sometimes put for *Magos* or *Præstigiatores*: *Ergo* in the translation of the *Septuaginta*, it is so to be taken. Wherein he manifesteth his bad Logicke, more than the others ill Greeke. For it is well knowne to the learned in this toong, that the usuall and proper signification of this word, with all his derivations and compounds doo signifie *Venefícos*, Poisoners by medicine. Which when it is most usuall and proper, why should the translators take it in a signification lesse usuall, and nothing proper. Thus therefore he reasoneth and concludeth with his new found Logicke, and old fond Greeke; Some-

times it signifieth so, though unproperlie, or rather metaphoricallie; *Ergo* in that place it is so to be taken, when another fitter word might have beene used. Which argument being vaine, agreeth well with his other vaine actions. The *Septuaginta* had beene verie destitute of words, if no proper word could have beene found for this purpose. But where they have occasion to speake of witchcraft in their translations, they use *Magian*, *Maggagian*, &c: and therfore belike they see some difference betwixt them and the other, and knew some cause that mooved them to use the word Φαρμακεία, *Veneficium*. ||

¶ *The seventh Booke.* *126.* 94.

The first Chapter.

Of the Hebrue word Ob, what it signifieth where it is found, of Pythonisses called Ventriloquæ, who they be, and what their practises are, experience and examples thereof shewed.

THIS word *Ob*, is translated *Pytho*, or *Pythonicus spiritus*: *Deutre.* 18. *Isaie.* 19. 1. *Sam.* 28. 2. *Reg.* 23. &c: somtime, though unproperlie, *Magus* as 2. *Sam.* 33. But *Ob* signifieth most properlie a bottle, and is used in this place, bicause the *Pythonists* spake hollowe; as in the bottome of their bellies, whereby they are aptlie in Latine called *Ventriloqui:* of which sort was *Elizabeth Barton*, the holie maid of *Kent*, &c. These are such as take upon them to give oracles, to tell where things lost are become, and finallie to appeach others of mischeefs, which they themselves most commonlie have brought to passe: whereby many times they overthrowe the good fame of honest women, and of such others of their neighbors, with whome they are displeased. For triall hereof, letting passe a hundred cousenages that I could recite at this time, I will begin with a true storie of a wench, practising hir diabolicall witchcraft, and ventriloquie An. 1574. at *Westwell* in *Kent*, within six miles where I dwell, taken and noted by twoo ministers and preachers of Gods word, foure substantiall yeomen, and three women of good fame & reputation, whose names are after written./

The holie maid of Kent a ventriloqua.

Mildred, the base daughter of *Alice Norrington*, and now servant to *William Sponer* of *Westwell* in the countie of *Kent*, being of the age of seventeene yeares, was possessed with sathan in the night and daie aforesaid. About two of the clocke in the afternoone of the same day, there came to the same *Sponers* house *Roger Newman* minister of *Westwell*, *John Brainford* minister of *Kenington*, with others, whose names are underwritten, who made their praiers unto God, to assist them in that needfull case; and then commanded sathan in the name of the eternall God, and of his sonne Jesus Christ, to speake with such a voice as they might understand, and to declare from whence he came. But he would not speake, but rored and cried mightilie. And though we did command him manie times, in the name of God, and of his sonne Jesus Christ, and in his

An. Domi. 1574. Octob. 13. *127.*

Confer this storie with the woman of Endor, 1. Sam. 28. and see whether the same might not be accomplished by this devise.

mightie power to speake ; yet he would not : untill he had gon through all his delaies, as roring, crieng, striving, and gnashing of teeth ; and otherwhile with mowing, and other terrible countenances, and was so strong in the maid, that foure men could scarse hold hir downe. And this continued by the space almost of two houres. So sometimes we charged him earnestlie to speake ; and againe praieng unto GOD that he would assist us, at the last he spake, but verie strangelie ; and that was thus ; He comes, he comes : and that oftentimes he repeated ; and He goes, he goes. And then we/
95. charged him to tell us who sent him. And he said ; I laie in her waie like a log, and I made hir runne like fier, but I could not hurt hir. And whie so, said we? Bicause God kept hir, said he. When camest thou to her, said we? To night in her bed, said he. Then we charged him as before, to tell what he was, and who sent him, and what his name was. At the first he said, The divell, the divell. Then we charged him as before. Then he rored and cried as before, and spake terrible words ; I will kill hir, I will kill hir ; I will teare hir in peeces, I will teare hir in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt hir. He said, I will kill you all. We said, Thou shalt hurt none of us all. Then we charged him as before. Then he said, You will give me no rest. Wee said, Thou shalt have none here, for thou must have no rest within the servants of God : but tell us in the name of God what thou art, and who sent thee. Then he said he would teare hir in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt hir. Then/
128. he said againe he would kill us all. We said againe, Thou shalt hurt none of us all, for we are the servants of God. And we charged him as before. And he said againe, Will you give me no rest? We said, Thou shalt have none here, neither shalt thou rest in hir, for thou hast no right in hir, sith Jesus Christ hath redeemed hir with his bloud, and she belongeth to him ; and therefore tell us thy name, and who sent thee? He said his name was sathan. We said, Who sent thee? He said, Old *Alice*, old *Alice*. Which old *Alice*, said we? Old *Alice*, said he. Where dwelleth she, said we? In *Westwell* streete, said he. We said, How long hast thou beene with hir? These twentie yeares, said he. We asked him where she did keepe him? In two bottels, said he. Where be they, said we? In the backside of hir house, said he. In what place, said we? Under the wall, said he. Where is the other? In *Kenington*. In what place, said we? In the ground, said he. Then we asked him, what she did give him. He said, hir will, hir will. What did shee bid thee doo, said we? He said, Kill hir maid. Wherefore did she bid thee kill hir, said we? Bicause she did not love hir, said he. We said ; How long is it ago, since she sent thee to hir? More than a yeare, said he.

Where was that, said we? At hir masters, said he. Which masters, said we? At hir master *Brainfords* at *Kenington*, said he. How oft wert thou there, said we? Manie times, said he. Where first, said we? In the garden, said he: Where the second time? In the hall: Where the third time? In hir bed: Where the fourth time? In the field: Where the fift time? In the court: Where the sixt time? In the water, where I cast hir into the mote: Where the seventh time. In hir bed. We asked him againe, where else? He said, in *Westwell*. Where there, said we? In the vicarige, said he. Where there? In the loft. How camest thou to hir, said we? In the likenesse of two birds, said he. Who sent thee to that place, said we? Old *Alice*, said he. What other spirits were with thee there, said we? My servant, said he. What is his name, said we? He said, little divell. What is thy name, said we? Sathan, said he. What dooth old *Alice* call thee, said we? Partener, said he. What dooth she give thee, said we? Hir will, said he. How manie hast thou killed for hir, said we? Three, said he. Who are they, said we? A man and his child, said/ he. What were their names, said we? The childs name was/ *Edward*, said he: what more than *Edward*, said we? *Edward Ager*, said he. What was the mans name, said we? *Richard*, said he. What more, said we? *Richard Ager*, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said we? At *Dig* at *Dig*, said he. This *Richard Ager* of *Dig*, was a Gentleman of xl. pounds land by the yeare, a verie honest man, but would often saie he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else hast thou killed for hir, said we? *Woltons* wife said he. Where did she dwell? In *Westwell* said he. What else hast thou doone for hir said we? What she would have me, said he. What is that said we? To fetch hir meat, drinke, and corne, said he. Where hadst thou it, said we? In everie house, said he. Name the houses, said we? At *Petmans*, at *Farmes*, at *Millens*, at *Fullers*, and in everie house. After this we commanded sathan in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from hir, and never to trouble hir anie more, nor anie man else. Then he said he would go, he would go: but he went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more words. Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maid, He is gone, Lord have mercie upon me, for he would have killed me. And then we kneeled downe and gave God thanks with the maiden; praieng that God would keepe hir from sathans power, and assist hir with his grace. And noting this in a peece of paper, we departed. Sathans voice did differ much from the maids voice, and all that he spake, was in his owne name. *Subscribed thus*:

96. [Mispr. 99] *129.*

[* Rom.]

Witnesses to this, that heard and* *sawe this whole matter, as followeth:*

Roger Newman, vicar of Westwell.	*John Tailor.*
John Brainford, vicar of Kennington.	*Thomas Frenchborns wife.*
Thomas Tailor.	*William Spooner.*
Henrie Tailors wife.	*John Frenchborne, and his wife.*

170

The second Chapter.

How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whome she was examined; and that all hir diabolicall speach was but ventriloquie and plaine cousenage, which is prooved by hir owne confession.

Matt. 24, 44. 2. Thes. 2, 9. **97.**

IT is written, that in the latter daies there shalbe shewed strange illusions, &c: in so much as (if it were possible) the verie elect shal/be deceived: howbeit, S. *Paule* saith, they shalbe lieng and false woonders. Neverthelesse, this sentence, and such like, have beene often laid in my dish, and are urged by diverse writers, to approve the miraculous working of witches, whereof I will treat more largelie in another place. Howbeit, by the waie I must confesse, that I take that sentence to be spoken of Antichrist, to wit: the pope, who miraculouslie, contrarie to nature, philosophie, and all divinitie, being of birth and calling base, in learning grosse; in valure, beautie, or activitie most commonlie a verie lubber, hath placed himselfe in the most loftie and delicate seate, putting almost all christian princes heads, not onelie under his girdle, but under his foote, &c.

Surelie, the tragedie of this *Pythonist* is not inferior to a thousand stories, which will hardlie be blotted out of the memorie and credit either of the common people, or else of the learned. How hardlie will this storie suffer discredit, having testimonie of such authoritie? How could mother *Alice* escape condemnation and hanging, being arreigned upon this evidence; when a poore woman hath beene cast away, upon a cousening oracle, or rather a false lie, devised by *Feats* the juggler, through the malicious instigation of some of hir adversaries?

The ventriloqua of Westwell discovered.

But how cunninglie soever this last cited certificat be penned, or what shew soever it carrieth of truth and plaine dealing, there may be found conteined therein matter enough to detect the cousening knaverie therof. And yet diverse have been deepelie deceived there-

with, and can hardlie be removed from the cre/dit thereof, and without great disdaine cannot endure to heare the reproofe thereof. And know you this by the waie, that heretofore Robin goodfellow, and Hob gobblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided and contemned, and as plainlie perceived, as the illusion and knaverie of Robin goodfellow. And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits, with their transformation, &c: have no reason to denie Robin goodfellow, upon whom there hath gone as manie and as credible tales, as upon witches; saving that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits by the name of Robin goodfellow, as they have termed divinors, soothsaiers, poisoners, and couseners by the name of witches. *131.*

But to make short worke with the confutation of this bastardlie queanes enterprise, & cousenage; you shall understand, that upon the brute of hir divinitie and miraculous transes, she was convented before M. *Thomas Wotton* of *Bocton Malherbe*, a man of great worship and wisedome, and for deciding and ordering of matters in this commonwealth, of rare and singular dexteritie; through whose discreet handling of the matter, with the assistance & aid of M. *George Darrell* esquire, being also a right good and discreet Justice of the same limit, the fraud was found, the coosenage confessed, and she received condigne punishment. Neither was hir confession woone, according to the forme of the Spanish inquisition; to wit, through extremitie of tortures, nor yet by guile or flatterie, nor by presumptions; but through wise and perfect triall of everie circumstance the illusion was manifestlie disclosed: not so (I say) as / witches are commonlie convinced and condemned; to wit, through malicious accusations, by ghesses, presumptions, and extorted confessions, contrarie to sense and possibilitie, and for such actions as they can shew no triall nor example before the wise, either by direct or indirect meanes; but after due triall she shewed hir feats, illusions, and transes, with the residue of all hir miraculous works, in the presence of divers gentlemen and gentlewomen of great worship and credit, at *Bocton Malherbe*, in the house of the aforesaid M. *Wotton*. Now compare this wench with the witch of *Endor*, & you shall see that both the cousenages may be doone by one art./

The Pythonist of westwell convicted by hir owne confession.

98.

132.

The third Chapter.

Bodins stuffe concerning the Pythonist of Endor, with a true storie of a counterfeit Dutchman.

J. Bodin. lib. de dæmon. 3. cap. 2.

UPON the like tales dooth *Bodin* build his doctrine, calling them *Atheists* that will not beleeve him, adding to this kind of witchcraft, the miraculous works of diverse maidens, that would spue pins, clowts, &c: as one *Agnes Brigs*, and *Rachell Pinder* of London did, till the miracles were detected, and they set to open penance. Others he citeth of that sort, the which were bound by divels with garters, or some such like stuffe to posts, &c: with knots that could not be undone, which is an *Aegyptians* juggling or cousening feat. And of such foolish lies joined with bawdie tales, his whole booke consisteth: wherein I warrant you there are no fewer than twoo hundreth fables, and as manie impossibilities. And as these two wenches, with the maiden of *Westwell*, were detected of cousenage; so likewise a Dutchman at *Maidstone* long after he had accomplished such knaveries, to the astonishment of a great number of good men, was revealed to be a cousening knave; although his miracles were imprinted and published at *London*: anno 1572. with this title before the booke, as followeth.

¶ A verie wonderfull and strange miracle *of God, shewed upon a Dutchman of the age of* 23. yeares, which was possessed of ten divels, *and was by Gods mightie providence dis-*possessed of them againe, the 27. *of Januarie last past*, 1572.

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133. UNTO this the Maior of *Maidstone*, with diverse of his brethren subscribed, chieflie by the persuasion/ of *Nicasius Vander Schuere*,
99. the mi/nister of the Dutch church there, *John Stikelbow*, whome (as it is there said) God made the instrument to cast out the divels, and foure other credible persons of the Dutch church. The historie is so strange, & so cunninglie performed, that had not his knaverie afterwards brought him into suspicion, he should have gone awaie unsuspected of this fraud. A great manie other such miracles have beene latelie printed, whereof diverse have beene bewraied: all the residue doubtles, if triall had beene made, would have beene found like unto these. But some are more finelie handled than othersome. Some

have more advantage by the simplicitie of the audience, some by the majestie and countenance of the confederates; as namelie, that cousening of the holie maid of *Kent*. Some escape utterlie unsuspected, some are prevented by death; so as that waie their examination is untaken. Some are weakelie examined: but the most part are so reverenced, as they which suspect them, are rather called to their answers, than the others.

The fourth Chapter.

Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythonist, and how men of all sorts have been deceived, and that even the apostles have mistaken the nature of spirits, with an unanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.

WITH this kind of witchcraft, *Apollo* and his oracles abused and cousened the whole world: which idoll was so famous, that I need not stand long in the description thereof. The princes and monarchs of the earth reposed no small confidence therein: the preests, which lived thereupon, were so cunning, as they also overtooke almost all the godlie and learned men of that age, partlie with their doubtfull answers; as that which was made unto *Pyrrhus*, in these words, *Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse*, and to *Crœsus* his ambassadours in these words, *Si Crœsus arma Persis inferat, magnum imperium evertat*; and otherwise thus, *Crœsus Halin | penetrans, magnam subvertet opum vim:* or *134.* thus, *Crœsus perdet Halin, trangressus plurima regna, &c:* partlie through confederacie, whereby they knew mens errands yer they came, and partlie by cunning, as promising victorie upon the sacrificing of some person of such account, as victorie should rather be neglected, than the murther accomplished. And if it were, yet should there be such conditions annexed thereunto, as alwaies remained unto them a starting hole, and matter enough to cavill upon; as that the partie sacrificed must be a virgin, no bastard, &c. Furthermore, of two things onelie proposed, and where yea or naie onelie dooth answer the question, it is an even laie, that an idiot shall conjecture right. So as, if things fell out contrarie, the fault was alwaies in the interpretor, and not in the oracle or the prophet. But what mervell, (I saie) though the multitude and common people have beene abused herein; since lawiers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers, divines, generall councels, and princes have with great negligence and ignorance been deceived and seduced hereby, as swallowing up and de/vouring an inveterate opinion, received of their elders, without due **100.** examination of the circumstance?

The amphibologies of oracles.

The subtiltie of oracles.

Howbeit, the godlie and learned fathers (as it appeereth) have alwaies had a speciall care and respect, that they attributed not unto God such divelish devises; but referred them to him, who indeed is the inventer and author thereof, though not the personall executioner, in maner and forme as they supposed: so as the matter of faith was not thereby by them impeached. But who can assure himselfe not to
John. 20, 9. be deceived in matters concerning spirits, when the apostles themselves were so far from knowing them, as even after the resurrection of Christ, having heard him preach and expound the scriptures, all his life time, they shewed themselves not onelie ignorant therein, but also to have misconceived thereof? Did not the apostle *Thomas* thinke that Christ himselfe had beene a spirit; until Christ told him plainelie, that a spirit was no such creature, as had flesh and bones, the which (he said) *Thomas* might see to be in him? And for the further certifieng and satisfieng of his mind, he commended unto him his hands to be seene, and his sides to be felt. *Thomas*, if the answer be true that some make hereunto, to wit: that spirits take
135. formes and / shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might have answered Christ, and remaining unsatisfied might have said; Oh sir, what do you tell me that spirits have no flesh and bones? Why they can take shapes and formes, and so perchance have you doone. Which argument all the witchmongers in the world shall never be able to answere.

Some of them that mainteine the creation, the transformation, the transportation, and transubstantiation of witches, object that spirits are not palpable, though visible, and answer the place by me before cited: so as the feeling and not the seeing should satisfie *Thomas.* But he that shall well weigh the text and the circumstances thereof, shall perceive, that the fault of *Thomas* his incredulitie was secondlie bewraied, and condemned, in that he would not trust his owne eies, nor the view taken by his fellow apostles, who might have beene thought too credulous in this case, if spirits could take shapes at their pleasure.
John. 20, 29. Jesus saith to him; Bicause thou hast seene (and not, bicause thou hast felt) thou beleevest. Item he saith; Blessed are they that beleeve and see not (and not, they that beleeve and feele not.) Whereby he noteth that our corporall eies may discerne betwixt a spirit and a naturall bodie; reprooving him, bicause he so much relied upon his externall senses, in cases where faith should have prevailed; & here, in a matter of faith revealed in the word, would not credit the miracle which was exhibited unto him in most naturall and sensible sort.

Erast. fol. 62. Howbeit, *Erastus* saith, and so dooth *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, *Danæus*, *M. Mal. Bodin*, *&c.* that evill spirits eate, drinke, and keepe

companie with men, and that they can take palpable formes of bodies, producing examples thereof, to wit: *Spectrum Germanicum seu Augustanum*, and the angell whose feet *Lot* washed; as though bicause God can indue his messengers with bodies at his pleasure, therefore the divell and everie spirit can doo the like. How the eleven apostles were in this case deceived, appeareth in *Luke.* 24. and in *Mark.* 16. as also in *Matth.* 14. where the apostles and / disciples were all deceived, taking Christ to be a spirit, when he walked on the sea. And why might they not be deceived herein, as well as in that they thought Christ had spoken of a temporall kingdome, when he preached of the kingdome of hea/ven? Which thing they also much misconceived; as likewise when he did bid them beware of the leven of the Pharisies, they understood that he spake of materiall bread.

Luk. 24, 37. Mark. 16, 14. Mat. 14, 16. **101.**

Matth. 20. *136.*

Matt. 16, 11.

The fift Chapter.

Why Apollo was called Pytho whereof those witches were called Pythonists: Gregorie his letter to the divell.

BUT to returne to our oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, who was called *Pytho*, for that *Apollo* slue a serpent so called, whereof the *Pythonists* take their name: I praie you consider well of this tale, which I will trulie rehearse out of the ecclesiasticall historie, written by *Eusebius*, wherein you shall see the absurditie of the opinion, the cousenage of these oraclers, and the deceived mind or vaine opinion of so great a doctor bewraied and deciphered altogither as followeth.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 25.

Gregorie Neocæsariensis in his jornie and waie to passe over the *Alpes*, came to the temple of *Apollo*: where *Apollos* priest living richlie upon the revenues and benefit proceeding from that idoll, did give great intertainement unto *Gregorie*, and made him good cheare. But after *Gregorie* was gone, *Apollo* waxed dumbe, so as the priests gaines decaied: for the idoll growing into contempt, the pilgrimage ceased. The spirit taking compassion upon the priests case, and upon his greefe of mind in this behalfe, appeared unto him, and told him flatlie, that his late ghest *Gregorie* was the cause of all his miserie. For (saith the divell) he hath banished me, so that I cannot returne without a speciall licence or pasport from him. It was no need to bid the priest make hast, for immediatlie he tooke post horsses, and galloped after *Gregorie*, till at length he overtooke him, and then expostulated with him for this discourtesie profered in recompense of his good cheare; and said, that if he would not be so good unto him, as to write his letter to the divell in his behalfe, he should be utterlie/

137. undone. To be short, his importunitie was such, that he obtained *Gregorie* his letter to the divell, who wrote unto him in maner and forme following, word for word: *Permitto tibi redire in locum tuum, & agere quæ consuevisti*; which is in English; I am content thou returne into thy place, and doo as thou wast woont. Immediatlie upon the receipt of this letter, the idoll spake as before. And here is to be noted, that as well in this, as in the execution of all their other oracles and cousenages, the answers were never given *Ex tempore*, or in that daie wherein the question was demanded, because forsooth they expected a vision (as they said) to be given the night following, whereby the cousenage might the more easilie be wrought./

Note the cousenage of oracles.

102. The sixt Chapter.

Apollo, who was called Pytho, compared to the Rood of grace: Gregories letter to the divell confuted.

WHAT need manie words to confute this fable? For if *Gregorie* had beene an honest man, he would never have willinglie permitted, that the people should have beene further cousened with such a lieng spirit: or if he had beene halfe so holie as *Eusebius* maketh him, he would not have consented or yeelded to so lewd a request of the priest, nor have written such an impious letter, no not though good might have come thereof. And therefore as well by the impossibilitie and follie conteined therein, as of the impietie (whereof I dare excuse *Gregorie*) you maie perceive it to be a lie. Me thinks they which still mainteine that the divell made answer in the idoll of *Apollo*, &c: maie have sufficient persuasion to revoke their erronious opinions: in that it appeareth in record, that such men as were skilfull in augurie, did take upon them to give oracles at *Delphos*, in the place of *Apollo*: of which number *Tisanius* the sonne of *Antiochus* was one. But vaine is the answer of idols. Our Rood of grace, with the helpe of little S. *Rumball*, was not *138.* inferior to the idoll of *Apollo*: for these could / not onlie worke externall miracles, but manifest the internall thoughts of the hart, I beleeve with more livelie shew, both of humanitie and also of divinitie, than the other. As if you read M. *Lamberts* booke of the perambulation of *Kent*, it shall partlie appeare. But if you talke with them that have beene beholders thereof, you will be satisfied herein. And yet in the blind time of poperie, no man might (under paine of damnation) nor without danger of death, suspect the fraud. Naie, what papists will yet confesse they were idols, though the wiers that made their eies gogle, the pins that fastened them to the postes to

Zach. 10.

W. Lambert in titulo Boxley.

make them seeme heavie, were seene and burnt together with the images themselves, the knaverie of the priests bewraied, and everie circumstance thereof detected and manifested?

The seventh Chapter.

How diverse great clarkes and good authors have beene abused in this matter of spirits through false reports, and by meanes of their credulitie have published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle and the scriptures.

PLUTARCH, *Livie*, and *Valerius Maximus*, with manie other grave authors, being abused with falfe reports, write that in times past beasts spake, and that images could have spoken and wept, and did let fall drops of blood, yea and could walk from place to place: which they/ saie was 103.
doone by procuration of spirits. But I rather thinke with *Aristotle*, that it was brought to passe *Hominum & sacerdotum deceptionibus*, to wit: by the cousening art of craftie knaves and priests. And therefore let us follow *Esaies* advise, who saith; When they shall saie unto Esai. 8, 19.
you, Enquire of them that have a spirit of divination, and at the soothsaiers, which whisper and mumble in your eares to deceive you, &c: enquire at your owne God, &c. And so let us doo. And here you see they are such as runne into corners, and cousen the people with lies, &c. For if they could doo as they saie, they could not aptlie be called liers, / neither need they go into corners to whisper, &c. *139.*

The eight Chapter.

Of the witch of Endor, and whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel truelie, or by deceipt: the opinion of some divines hereupon.

THE woman of *Endor* is comprised under this word *Ob*: for she is called *Pythonissa*. It is written in 2. *Sam. cap.* 2. Sam. 28.
28. that she raised up *Samuel* from death, and the other words of the text are stronglie placed, to inforce his verie resurrection. The mind and opinion of Jesus Syrach evidentlie appeareth to be, that *Samuel* in person was raised out from his grave, as if you read *Eccl.* 46. 19, 20. you shall plainlie perceive. Howbeit he disputeth not there, whether the storie be true or false, but onlie citeth certaine verses of the 1. booke of *Samuel cap.* 18. simplie, according to the letter, persuading maners and the imitation

of our vertuous predecessors, and repeating the examples of diverse excellent men; namelie of *Samuel*: even as the text it selfe urgeth the matter, according to the deceived mind and imagination of *Saule*, and his servants. And therefore in truth, *Sirach* spake there according to the opinion of *Saule*, which so supposed, otherwise it is neither heresie nor treason to saie he was deceived.

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it advisedlie, shall see that *Samuel* was not raised from the dead; but that it was an illusion or cousenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which *Chrysostome* saith; Soules are in a certeine place expecting judgement, and cannot remove from thence. Neither is it Gods will, that the living should be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approved by the example of *Lazarus* and *Dives*: where it appeareth according to *Deut.* 18. that he will not have the living taught by the dead, but will have us sticke to his word, wherein his will and testament is declared. In deed / *Lyra* and *Dionysius* incline greatlie to the letter. And *Lyra* saith, that as when *Balaam* would have raised a divell, God interposed himselfe: so did he in this case bring up *Samuell*, when the witch would have raised hir divell. Which is a probable interpretation. But yet they dare not stand to that opinion, least they should impeach S. *Augustines* credit, who (they confesse) remained in judgement and opinion (without contradiction of the church) / that *Samuell* was not raised. For he saith directlie, that *Samuell* himselfe was not called up. And indeed, if he were raised, it was either willinglie, or perforce: if it were willinglie, his sinne had beene equall with the witches.

Sap 3. Ps. 92. & 97. *Chrysost. homilia. 21. in Matth.*

Luke. 16.

140.

August. lib. quæ. vet. et novi testam. quæst. 27. Item, part. 2. cap. 26. Item, quæ. 5. nec mirum ad Simplician. lib. 2. 93 ad Dulcitium. quæ. 6. Item. lib. 2. de doct. chri. **104.**

And *Peter Martyr* (me thinks) saith more to the purpose, in these words, to wit: This must have beene doone by Gods good will, or perforce of art magicke: it could not be doone by his good will, bicause he forbad it; nor by art, bicause witches have no power over the godlie. Where it is answered by some, that the commandement was onlie to prohibit the Jewes to aske counsell of the dead, and so no fault in *Samuell* to give counsell. We may as well excuse our neighbours wife, for consenting to our filthie desires, bicause it is onlie written in the decalog; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbours wife. But indeed *Samuell* was directlie forbidden to answer *Saule* before he died: and therefore it was not likelie that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to doo it.

Deut. 18, Exodus. 20.

The ninth Chapter.

That Samuel was not raised indeed, and how Bodin and all papists dote herein, and that soules cannot be raised by witchcraft.

FURTHERMORE, it is not likelie that God would answer *Saule* by dead *Samuell*, when he would not answer him by living *Samuell*: and most unlikelie of all, that God would answer him by a divell, that denied to doo it by a prophet. That he was not brought up perforce, the whole course of the scripture witnesseth, and/ prooveth ; as also our owne reason may *141.* give us to understand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect enjoy or possesse in *Abrahams* bosome, if they were to be plucked from thence at a witches call and commandement? But so should the divell have power in heaven, where he is unworthie to have anie place himselfe, and therefore unmeete to command others.

Manie other of the fathers are flatlie against the raising up of *Samuell*: namelie, *Tertullian* in his booke *De anima*, *Justine Martyr In explicatione, quæ.* 25. *Rabanus In epistolis ad Bonas. Abat*, *Origen In historia de Bileamo, &c.* Some other dote exceedinglie herein, as namelie *Bodin*, and all the papists in generall: also *Rabbi Sedias Haias*, & also all the Hebrues, saving *R. David Kimhi*, which is the best writer of all the *Rabbins*: though never a good of them all. But *Bodin*, in maintenance therof, falleth into manie absurdities, prooving *J. Bod. lib. de dæm. 2. cap. 3.* by the small faults that *Saule* had committed, that he was an elect: for the greatest matter (saith he) laid unto his charge, is the reserving of the *Amalekits* cattell, &c. He was an elect, &c: confirming his *1. Samu. 28.* opinion with manie ridiculous fables, & with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserve damnation ; for *Paule* would not *1. Cor. 5.* have the incestuous man punished too sore, that his soule might be *J. Martyr in colloquio cum Tripho-ne Judæo.* saved. *Justine Martyr* in another place was not onlie deceived in the actuall raising up of *Samuels* soule, but affirmed that all the soules of the prophets and just men are subject to the power of witches./ And **105.** yet were the Heathen much more fond herein, who (as *Lactantius* *Lact. lib. 7. cap. 13.* affirmeth) boasted that they could call up the soules of the dead, and yet did thinke that their soules died with their bodies. Whereby is to be seene, how alwaies the world hath beene abused in the matters of witchcraft & conjuration. The Necromancers affirme, that the spirit of anie man may be called up, or recalled (as they terme it) before one yeare be past after their departure from the bodie. Which *C. Agrippa* in his booke *De occulta philosophia* saith, may be doone

by certeine naturall forces and bonds. And therefore corpses in times past were accompanied and watched with lights, sprinkled with holie water, perfumed with incense, and purged with praier all the while they were above ground : otherwise the serpent (as the Maisters of the Hebrues saie) would devoure them, as the food appointed to him
142. by God : *Gen.* 3. alled/ging also this place ; We shall not all sleepe, but we shall be changed, bicause manie shall remaine for perpetuall meate to the serpent : whereupon riseth the contention betweene him
Jud, vers. 9. and *Michaell*, concerning the bodie of *Moses* ; wherein scripture is alledged. I confesse that *Augustine*, and the residue of the doctors, that denie the raising of *Samuell*, conclude, that the divell was fetcht up in his likenesse : from whose opinions (with reverence) I hope I may dissent.

The tenth Chapter.

That neither the divell nor Samuell was raised, but that it was a meere cousenage, according to the guise of our Pythonists.

AGAINE, if the divell appeared, and not *Samuell* : whie is it said in *Eccle.* that he slept? for the divell neither sleepeth nor dieth. But in truth we may gather, that it was neither the divell in person, nor *Samuell* : but a circumstance is here described, according to the deceived opinion and imagination of *Saule.* Howbeit *Augustine* saith, that both these sides may easilie be defended. But we shall not need to fetch an exposition so farre off : for indeed (me thinkes) it is *Longè petita* ; nor to descend so lowe as hell, to fetch up a divell to expound this
Pompanacius lib. de incant. cap. 2. place. For it is ridiculous (as *Pompanacius* saith) to leave manifest things, and such as by naturall reason may be prooved, to seeke unknowne things, which by no likeliehood can be conceived, nor tried by anie rule of reason. But in so much as we have libertie by S. *Augustines* rule, in such places of scripture as seeme to conteine either contrarietie or absurditie, to varie from the letter, and to make a godlie construction agreeable to the word ; let us confesse that *Samuell* was not raised (for that were repugnant to the word) and see whether this illusion may not be contrived by the art and cunning of the woman, without anie of these supernaturall devices : for I could
143. cite a hundred papisticall and cousening practises, as/ difficult as this, and as cleanlie handled. And it is to be surelie thought, if it had beene a divell, the text would have noted it in some place of the storie: as it dooth not. But *Bodin* helpeth me exceedinglie in this point,
106. wherein he for/saketh (he saith) *Augustine*, *Tertullian*, and *D. Kimhi*

himselfe, who saie it was the divell that was raised up : which (saith *Bodin*) could not be ; for that in the same communication betweene *Saule* and *Samuell*, the name of *Jehovah* is five times repeated, of which name the divell cannot abide the hearing. *J. Bod. lib. de dæm. 2. cap. 3.*

The eleventh Chapter.

The objection of the witchmongers concerning this place fullie answered, and what circumstances are to be considered for the understanding of this storie, which is plainelie opened from the beginning of the 28. *chap. of the* 1. *Samuel, to the* 12. *verse.*

WHERE such a supernaturall miracle is wrought, no doubt it is a testimonie of truth ; as *Peter Martyr* affirmeth. And in this case it should have beene a witnesse of lies : for (saith he) a matter of such weight cannot be attributed unto the divell, but it is the mightie power of God that dooth accomplish it. And if it laie in a witches power to call up a divell, yet it lieth not in a witches power to worke such miracles : for God will not give his power and glorie to anie creature. To understand this place, we must diligentlie examine the circumstance thereof. It was well knowne that *Saule*, before he resorted to the witch, was in despaire of the mercies and goodnes of God ; partlie for that *Samuell* told him long before, that he should be overthrowne, and *David* should have his place ; and partlie bicause God before had refused to answer him, either by *Samuell* when he lived, or by anie other prophet, or by *Urim* or *Thumim*, &c. And if you desire to see this matter discussed, turne to the first of *Samuell*, the 28. chapter, and conferre my words therewith./ *P. Martyr in comment. in Sam. 28. verse. 9.* Isai. 42. 1. Sam. 28.

Saule seeing the host of the *Philistines* come upon him (which thing could not be unknown to all the people) fainted, bicause he sawe their strength, and his owne weaknesse, and speciallie that he was forsaken : so as being now straught of mind, desperate, and a verie foole, he goeth to certeine of his servants, that sawe in what taking he was, and asked them for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by that there dwelt one at *Endor*. By the waie you shall understand, that both *Saule* and his servants ment such a one as could by hir spirit raise up *Samuell*, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you see they were deceived, though it were true, that she tooke upon hir so to doo. To what use then served hir familiar spirit, which you conceive she had, bicause *Saules* servants said so? Surelie, as they were deceived and abused in part, so doubtlesse were they in the rest. For to what purpose (I saie) should hir familiar serve, *144.* 1. Sam. 28, 7. S. Cicilies familiar.

if not for such intents as they reported, and she undertooke? I thinke you will grant that *Saules* men never sawe hir familiar: for I never heard any yet of credit saie, that he was so much in the witches favour, as to see hir divell; although indeed we read among the popish trumperie, that S. *Cicilie* had an angell to hir familiar, and that she could shew him to whom she would, and that she might aske and have what
107. she or hir/ friend list: as appeareth in the lesson read in the popish church on saint *Cicilies* daie. Well, I perceive the woman of *Endors* spirit was a counterfeit, and kept belike in hir closet at *Endor*, or in the bottle, with mother *Alices* divell at *Westwell*, and are now bewraied and fled togither to *Limbo patrum*, &c. And though *Saule* were bewitched and blinded in the matter; yet doubtlesse a wise man wold have perchance espied her knaverie. Me thinks *Saule*
D. Burcot. Feats. was brought to this witch, much after the maner that doctor *Burcot* was brought to *Feats*, who sold maister Doctor a familiar, wherby he thought to have wrought miracles, or rather to have gained good store of monie. This fellowe by the name of *Feats* was a jugler, by the name of *Hilles* a witch or conjurer, everie waie a cousener: his qualities and feats were to me and manie other well knowne and detected. And yet the opinion conceived of him was most strange and woonderfull; even with such and in such cases, as it greeveth me to thinke of; speciallie bicause his knaverie and
145. cou/senage reached to the shedding of innocent bloud. But now
1. Sam. 28, 8 forsooth *Saule* covereth himselfe with a net; and bicause he would not be knowne, he put on other garments. But to bring that matter
1. Sa 10, 23. to passe, he must have beene cut shorter by the head and shoulders, for by so much he was higher than any of the people. And therfore whatsoever face the craftie quene did set upon it, she knew him well enough. And for further proofe thereof, you may understand, that the princes of the Jewes were much conversant with the people. And
Ibidem. it appeereth manifestlie, that *Saule* dwelt verie neere to *Endor*, so as she should the rather knowe him; for in the evening he went from his lodging unto hir house: neither should it seeme that she was gone to bed when he came. But bicause that may be uncerteine, you may see in the processe of the text, that in a peece of the night he went from his house to hirs, and with much adoo intreated her to consent to his request. She finished hir conjuration, so as both *Saules* part, the witches part, and also *Samuels* part was plaied: and after the solemnization therof, a calfe was killed, a batch of bread baked, and a supper made readie and eaten up; and after all this, he went home the same night: and had need so to doo, for he had some businesse the next daie. By these and manie other circumstances it may bee gathered, that she dissembled, in saieng she knew him not,

and consequentlie counterfaited, and made a foole of him in all the rest.

It appeereth there, that he, with a couple of his men, went to hir by night, and said ; Conjecture unto me by thy familiar spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee. The godlie learned knowe that this was not in the power of the witch of *Endor*, but in the God of heaven onelie to accomplish. Howbeit, *Saule* was bewitched so to suppose : and yet is he more simple that will be overtaken with the devises of our old witches, which are produced to resemble hir. And why should we thinke, that GOD would rather permit the witch to raise *Samuel*, than that *Dives* could obteine *Lazarus* to come out of *Abrahams* bosome, upon more likelie and more reasonable conditions? Well now dooth this strumpet (according to the guise of our cousening witches and conjurers) make the matter strange unto *Saule*, saieng that he came to take hir in a snare, &c./ But witches seldome make/ this objection, saving when they mistrust that he which commeth to them will espie their jugling : for otherwise, where the witchmonger is simple and easie to be abused, the witch will be as easie to be intreated, and nothing dangerous of hir cunning ; as you see this witch was soone persuaded (notwithstanding that objection) bicause she perceived and sawe that *Saule* was affraid and out of his wits. And therfore she said unto him ; Whom shall I raise up? As though she could have brought unto him *Abraham*, *Isaac*, or *Jacob* ; who cannot heare us, therefore cannot rise at our call. For it is written ; Looke thou downe from heaven and behold us, &c : as for *Abraham* he is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not.

Ibidem.

1. Sam. 28,9. **108.** *146.*

1. Sa. 28. 12.

Isa. 63, 15. 16

The twelfe Chapter.

The 12. 13. *&* 14. *verses of* 1. *Samuel* 28. *expounded : wherin is shewed that Saule was cousened and abused by the witch, and that Samuel was not raised, is prooved by the witches owne talke.*

THE manner and circumstance of their communication, or of hir conjuration, is not verbatim set downe and expressed in the text ; but the effect thereof breeflie touched : yet will I shew you the common order of their conjuration, and speciallie of hirs at this time used. When *Saule* had told hir, that he would have *Samuel* brought up to him, she departed from his presence into hir closet, where doubtles she had hir familiar ; to wit, some lewd craftie preest, and made *Saule* stand at the doore like a foole (as it were with his finger in a hole) to heare the cousening answers, but not to see the cousening handling thereof.

The maner of the witch of Endors cousening of Saule.

and the couterfetting of the matter. And so goeth she to worke, using ordinarie words of conjuration, of which there are sundrie varieties and formes (whereof I shall have occasion to repeat some in another place) as you see the juglers (which be inferior conjurors) speake
147. certeine strange words of course to lead awaie the eie from espi/eng the maner of their conveiance, whilest they may induce the mind to conceive and suppose that he dealeth with spirits ; saieng, *Hay, fortune furie, nunq; credo, passe, passe, when come you sirra.* So belike after many such words spoken, she saith to hir selfe ; Lo now the matter is brought to passe, for I see woonderfull things. So as
1. Sa. 28, 13. *Saule* hearing these words, longed to knowe all, and asked hir what she sawe. Whereby you may know that *Saule* sawe nothing, but stood without like a mome, whilest she plaied hir part in hir closet :
1. Sa. 28, 21. as may most evidentlie appeere by the 21. verse of this chapter where it is said ; Then the woman came out unto *Saule.* Howbeit, a little before she cunninglie counterfaited that she sawe *Samuel,* and thereby knewe it was *Saule* that was come unto hir. Whereby all the world may perceive the cousening, and hir dissimulation. For by that which hath beene before said, it must needs be that she knew him. And (I praie you) why should she not have suspected aswell him to be *Saule* before, when in expresse words he required hir to bring unto him *Samuel,* as now, when *Samuel* appeered unto hir ? /
1. Sa. 28, 4. 109. Well, to the question before proposed by *Saule,* she answereth and lieth, that she saw angels or gods ascending up out of the earth. Then proceedeth she with her inchanting phrases and words of course : so as thereby *Saule* gathereth and supposeth that she hath raised a man. For otherwise his question dependeth not upon any thing before spoken. For when she hath said ; I sawe angels ascending, &c : the next word he saith is ; What fashion is he of? Which (I saie) hangeth not upon hir last expressed words. And to this she answered not directlie, that it was *Samuel* ; but that it was an old man lapped in a mantell : as though she knew not him that was the most notorious man in Israell, that had beene her neighbour by the space of manie yeeres, and upon whom (while he lived) everie eie was fixed, and whom also she knew within lesse than a quarter of an houre before, as by whose meanes also she came acquainted with
1. Sa. 28, 12. *Saule.* Read the text and see.

But she describeth his personage, and the apparell which he did usuallie weare when he lived : which if they were both buried togither, were consumed and rotten, or devoured with wormes before
148. that time. Belike he had a new mantell made him in hea/ven : and yet they saie Tailors are skantie there, for that their consciences are so large here. In this countrie, men give awaie their garments when

they die : if *Samuel* had so doone, hee could not have borrowed it againe ; for of likliehood it would have beene worne out in that space, except the donee had beene a better husband than I: for the testator was dead (as it is supposed) two yeares before.

The xiii. Chapter.

The residue of 1. *Sam.* 28. *expounded: wherin is declared how cunninglie this witch brought Saule resolutelie to beleeve that she raised Samuel, what words are used to colour the cousenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.*

NOW commeth in *Samuel* to plaie his part : but I am persuaded it was performed in the person of the witch hir selfe, or of hir confederate. He saith to *Saule* ; Why has thou disquieted me, to bring me up? As though without guile or packing it had beene *Samuel* himselfe. *Saule* answered that he was in great distresse : for the *Philistines* made warre upon him. Whereby the witch, or hir confederate priest might easilie conjecture that his heart failed, and direct the oracle or prophesie accordinglie : especiallie understanding by his present talke, and also by former prophesies and dooings that were past, that God had forsaken him, and that his people were declining from him. For when *Jonathan* (a little before) overthrew the *Philistines*, being thirtie thousand chariots and six thousand horssemen ; *Saule* could not assemble above six hundred souldiers.

1. Sa. 28, 15.

Ibidem.

1. Sam. 13, 5.

1. Sa. 13, 15.

Then said *Samuel* (which some suppose was sathan, and as I thinke was the witch, with a confederate ; for what need so farre fetches, as to fetch a divell supernaturallie out of hell, when the illusion may be here by natu/rall meanes deciphered ? And if you note the words well, you shall perceive the phrase not to come out/ of a spirituall mouth of a divell, but from a lieng corporall toong of a cousener, that careth neither for God nor the divell, frō whence issueth such advise and communication, as greatlie disagreeth from sathans nature and purpose. For thus (I saie) the said *Samuel* speaketh : Wherefore dooest thou aske me, seeing the Lord is gone from thee, and is thine enemie? Even the Lord hath doon unto him as he spake by mine hand: for the Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and give it to thy neighbour *David*, bicause thou obeiedst not the voice of the Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a divell, but of a cousener, which knew before what *Samuel* had prophesied concerning *Saules* destruction. For it is the divels condition, to allure the people unto wickednes, and not in this sort to

110.

149.

1. Sam. 28. 16. 17.

1. Sa. 15, 28.

admonish, warne, and rebuke them for evill. And the popish writers confes, that the divell would have beene gone at the first naming of God. If it bee said, that it was at Gods speciall commandement and will, that *Samuel* or the divell should be raised, to propound this admonition, to the profit of all posteritie: I answer, that then he would rather have doone it by some of his living prophets, and that sathan had not beene so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the witch (I would saie *Samuel*) into the veine of prophe-
1. Sa 28, 17. 18. sieng, and speaketh to *Saule* on this wise; The Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and give it to thy neighbor *David*, bicause thou obeiedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierse wrath upon the *Amalekites*: therefore hath the Lord doone this
19. unto thee this daie. Moreover, the Lord will deliver thee into the hands of the *Philistines*, and to morrowe shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall give the host of Israel into the hands of the *Philistines*. What could *Samuel* have said more?

Me thinks the divell would have used another order, encouraging *Saule* rather than rebuking him for his evill. The divell is craftier than to leave such an admonition to all posterities, as should be prejudiciall unto his kingdome, and also be void of all impietie. But so divine a sentence maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to the advancement of hir gaines. Howbeit, concerning the veritie of this prophesie, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the battell were fought the next daie; secondlie, whether all
150. his sonnes were kil/led with him; item, whether they went to heaven or hell togither, as being with *Samuel*, they must be in heaven, and being with sathan, they must be in hell. But although everie part of this prophesie were false, as that all his sonnes were not slaine (*Ishbosheth* living and reigning in Israel two yeares after *Saules* death) and that the battell was not on the morrow, and that wicked *Saule*, after
2. Reg. 4. that he had killed himselfe, was not with good *Samuel*; yet this witch did give a shrewd gesse to the sequele. Which whether it were true or false, perteins not to my purpose; and therfore I will omit it. But as touching the opinion of them that saie it was the divell, bicause that such things came to passe; I would faine knowe of them where they learne that divels foreknow things to come. If they saie he gesseth onelie upon probabilities, the witch may also doo the like.
Canon. 26. quæst. cap. 5. nec mirum. But here I may not forget the decrees, which conclude, that *Samuel* appeered not unto *Saule*; but that the historiographer set foorth/
111. *Saules* mind and *Samuels* estate, and certeine things which were said & seene, omitting whether they were true or false: and further, that it were a great offense for a man to beleeve the bare words of the storie. And if this exposition like you not, I can easilie frame my

selfe to the opinion of some of great learning, expounding this place, and that with great probabilitie, in this sort; to wit, that this *Pythonist* being *Ventriloqua*; that is, Speaking as it were from the bottome of hir bellie, did cast hir selfe into a transe, and so abused *Saule*, answering to *Saule* in *Samuels* name, in hir counterfeit hollow voice: as the wench of *Westwell* spake, whose historie I have rehearsed before at large, in pag. 127 and this is right *Ventriloquie.*/

Right Ventriloquie.

The xiiii. Chapter. *151.*

Opinions of some learned men, that Samuel was indeed raised, not by the witches art or power, but by the speciall miracle of God, that there are no such visions in these our daies, & that our witches cannot doo the like.

AIAS and *Sadaias* write, that when the woman sawe the miracle indeed, and more than she looked for, or was woont to doo; she began to crie out, that this was a vision indeed, and a true one, not doone by hir art, but by the power of God. Which exposition is far more probable than our late writers judgements hereupon, and agreeth with the exposition of diverse good divines. *Gelasius* saith, it was the verie spirit of *Samuel*: and where he suffered himself to be worshipped, it was but in civill salutation and courtesie; and that God did interpose *Samuel*, as he did *Elias* to the messenger of *Ochosias*, when he sent to *Belzebub* the god of *Acharon*. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are set up in this point: for the papists saie, that it cannot be a divell, bicause Jehovah is thrise or five times named in the storie. Upon this peece of scripture arguments are daielie devised, to proove and mainteine the miraculous actions of witchcraft, and the raising of the dead by conjurations. And yet if it were true, that *Samuel* himselfe were raised, or the divell in his likenesse; and that the witch of *Endor* by hir art and cunning did it, &c: it maketh rather to the disproofe than to the proofe of our witches, which can neither do that kind of miracle, or any other, in any such place or companie, where their jugling and cousenage may be seen and laid open. And I challenge them all (even upon the adventure of my life) to shew one peece of a miracle, such as Christ did trulie, or such as they suppose this witch did diabolicallie, be it not with art nor confederacie, whereby some colour thereof may be made; neither are there any such visions in these daies shewed.

J. Bodin & L. vairus differ herein.

A bold, discreet, and faithfull challenge

Heretofore God did send his visible angels to men: but now/ we heare not of such apparitions, neither are they necessarie. Indeed it *152*

pleased God heretofore, by the hand of *Moses* and his prophets, and speciallie by his sonne Christ and his apostles, to worke great
112. miracles, for the establish/ing of the faith: but now whatsoever is necessarie for our salvation, is conteined in the word of God: our faith is alredie confirmed, and our church established by miracles; so as now to seeke for them, is a point of infidelitie. Which the papists (if you note it) are greatlie touched withall, as in their lieng legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are knaveries most commonlie, and speciallie of priests, whereof I could cite a thousand. If you read the storie of Bell and the dragon, you shall find a cousening miracle of some antiquitie. If you will see newer devises, read *Wierus*, *Cardanus*, *Baleus*, and speciallie *Lavaterns*,* *&c.* There have beene some *walking spirits in these parts so conjured not long since, as afterwards they little delighted to make anie more apparitions.

[* *ns* read *us.*]

* At Canturburie by Rich. Lee esquire, & others, anno. 1573. At Rie by maister Gaymor & others, anno. 1577.

The xv. Chapter.

Of vaine apparitions, how people have beene brought to feare bugges, which is partlie reformed by preaching of the gospell, the true effect of Christes miracles.

BUT certeinlie, some one knave in a white sheete hath cousened and abused manie thousands that waie; speciallie when Robin good-fellow kept such a coile in the countrie. But you shall understand, that these bugs speciallie are spied and feared of sicke folke, children, women, and cowards, which through weaknesse of mind and bodie, are shaken with vaine dreames and continuall feare. The *Scythians*, being a stout and a warlike nation (as divers writers report) never see anie vaine sights or spirits. It is a common saieng; A lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maids have so terrified us with an ouglie divell having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in/ his breech, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie Bough: and they have so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, kit with the cansticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changlings, *Incubus*, Robin good-fellowe, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob gobblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes: in so much as some never feare the divell, but in a darke night; and then a polled sheepe is a perillous beast, and

J. Wier. lib. 3 cap. 8. Theodor. Bizantius. Lavat. de spect. & lemurib.

Cardan. de var. rerum Peucer. &c. *153.*

manie times is taken for our fathers soule, speciallie in a churchyard, where a right hardie man heretofore scant durst passe by night, but his haire would stand upright. For right grave writers report, that spirits most often and speciallie take the shape of women appearing to monks, &c : and of beasts, dogs, swine, horsses, gotes, cats, haires ; of fowles, as crowes, night owles, and shreeke owles; but they delight most in the likenes of snakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, this wretched and cowardlie infidelitie, since the preaching of the gospell, is in part forgotten : and doubtles, the rest of those illusions will in short time/ (by Gods grace) be detected and vanish awaie. 113.

Lavat. de spect.

Divers writers report, that in *Germanie*, since *Luthers* time, spirits and divels have not personallie appeared, as in times past they were woont to doo. This argument is taken in hand of the ancient fathers, to proove the determination and ceasing of oracles. For in times past (saith *Athanasius*) divels in vaine shapes did intricate men with their illusions, hiding themselves in waters, stones, woods, &c. But now that the word of GOD hath appeared, those sights, spirits, and mockeries of images are ceased. Truelie, if all such oracles, as that of *Apollo*, &c (before the comming of Christ) had beene true, and doone according to the report, which hath beene brought through divers ages, and from farre countries unto us, without preestlie fraud or guile, so as the spirits of prophesie, and working of miracles, had beene inserted into an idoll, as hath beene supposed: yet we christians may conceive, that Christs cõming was not so fruteles and pre/judiciall in this point unto us, as to take awaie his spirit of prophesie and divination from out of the mouth of his elect people, and good prophets, giving no answers of anie thing to come by them, nor by *Urim* nor *Thumim*, as he was woont, &c. And yet to leave the divell in the mouth of a witch, or an idoll to prophesie or worke miracles, &c: to the hinderance of his glorious gospell, to the discountenance of his church, and to the furtherance of infidelitie and false religion, whereas the working of miracles was the onelie, or at least the most speciall meanes that mooved men to beleeve in Christ: as appeareth in sundrie places of the gospell, and speciallie in *John*, where it is written, that a great multitude followed him, bicause they sawe his miracles which he did, &c. Naie, is it not written, that Jesus was approoved by God among the Jewes, with miracles, wonders and signes, &c ? And yet, if we conferre the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that are imputed to witches ; witches miracles shall appeare more common, and nothing inferior unto his.

Car. de var. rerum. J. Wier. de præst. dæmon. &c.

Athanas. de humanitate verbi.

154.

The true end of miracles.

John 2.

Act. 2. 2 John. 5.

The xvi. Chapter.

Witches miracles compared to Christs, that God is the creator of all things, of Apollo, and of his names and portraiture.

An ironicall collation.

IF this witch of *Endor* had performed that, which manie conceive of the matter, it might have beene compared with the raising up of *Lazarus.* I praie you, is not the converting of water into milke, as hard a matter as the turning of water into wine? And yet, as you may read in the gospell, that Christ did the one, as his first miracle; so may you read in *M. Mal.* and in *Bodin*, that witches can easilie doo the other: yea, and that which is a great deale more, of water they can make butter. But to avoid all cavils, and least there should appeare more matter in Christs miracle, than the others, you shall find in *M. Mal.* that they can change water into wine: and what is it to attribute to/ a creature, the power and worke of the creator, if this be not? Christ saith, *Opera quæ ego facio nemo potest facere.* Creation of substance was never granted to man nor angell; *Ergo* neither to / witch nor divell: for God is the onlie giver of life and being, and by him all things are made, visible and invisible.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 14.

155.

Acts. 17. Tim. 6, 13. Col. 1, 16. *Athanas. symbol.*

114.

Finallie, this woman of *Endor* is in the scripture called *Pythonissa*: whereby it may appeare that she was but a verie cousener. For *Pytho* himselfe, whereof *Pythonissa* is derived, was a counterfet. And the originall storie of *Apollo*, who was called *Pytho*, bicause he killed a serpent of that name, is but a poeticall fable. For the poets saie he was the god of musicke, physicke, poetrie, and shooting. In heaven he is called *Sol*, in earth *Liber pater*, in hell *Apollo.* He florisheth alwaies with perpetuall youth, and therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an oracle-giver: and the preests that attended thereon at *Delphos* were couseners, and called *Pythonists* of *Pytho*, as papists of *Papa*; and afterwards all women that used that trade, were named *Pythonissæ*, as was this woman of *Endor.*

Apollo Pytho uncased.

But bicause it concerneth this matter, I will breefelie note the opinions of divers learned men, and certeine other proofes, which I find in the scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, prophesies and oracles.//

¶ *The eight booke.* *156.* 115.

The first Chapter.

That miracles are ceased.

ALTHOUGH in times past, it pleased God, extraordinarilie to shew miracles amongest his people, for the strengthening of their faith in the Messias; and againe at his comming to confirme their faith by his wonderfull dooings, and his speciall graces and gifts bestowed by him upon the apostles, &c: yet we ordinarilie read in the scriptures, that it is the Lord that worketh great wonders. Yea *David* saith, that among the dead (as in this case of *Samuel*) God himselfe sheweth no wonders. I find also that God will not give his glorie and power to a creature. *Nichodemus* being a Pharisie could saie, that no man could do such miracles as Christ did, except God were with him, according to the saieng of the prophet to those gods and idols, which tooke on them the power of God; Doo either good or ill if you can, &c. So as the prophet knew and taught thereby, that none but God could worke miracles. Infinite places for this purpose might be brought out of the scripture, which for brevitie I omit and overslip.

Psal. 136. 4. Psal. 72. 18. Psal. 88. 10.

Isai. 42. John 3, 2. Ibid. 7, 16. *In annotat. in Johan.* 3.

Isai. 45.

S. *Augustine*, among other reasons, whereby he prooveth the ceasing of miracles, saith; Now blind flesh dooth not open the eies of the blind by the miracle of God, but the eies of our hart are opened by the word of God. Now is not our dead carcase raised any more up by miracle, but our dead bodies be still in the grave,/ and our soules are raised to life by Christ. Now the eares of the *157.* deafe are not opened by miracle, but they which had their eares shut before, have them now opened to their salvation. The miraculous healing of the sicke, by annointing, spoken of by S. *James*, is objected by manie, speciallie by the papists, for the maintenance of their sacrament of extreame unction: which is apishlie and vainelie used in the Romish church, as though that miraculous gift had continuance till this daie: wherein you shall see what *Calvine* speaketh in his institutions. The grace of healing (saith he) spoken of by S. *James*, is vanished awaie, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would have shewed onelie for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the gospell mervellous for ever. Why (saith he) doo not these (meaning miraclemongers) appoint some *Siloah* to swim in, whereinto at certeine ordinarie recourses of times sicke folke maie

August. de verbis Dom. secundum Matth. sermone. 18.

James. 5, 14.

J. Calvin. Institut. lib. 4. *cap.* 19. *sect.* 18.

Idem. ibid. sect. 19. Isai. 9. 7.

plunge themselves? Why doo they not lie a long upon the dead,
Acts. 20, 10. bicause *Paule* raised up a dead child by that meanes? Verelie (saith
Idem. ibid. nempe J. Calvine. he) *James* in the miracle to annoint, spake for that time, whiles the church still enjoied such blessings of God. Item, he saith, that the Lord is present with his in all ages; and so often as need is, he helpeth their sicknesses, no lesse than in old time. But he dooth not so utter his manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles, as by the hands of the apostles, bicause the gift was but for a time. *Calvine* even there concludeth thus; They saie such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saith naie. And see how they agree among themselves. *Danæus* saith, that neither witch nor divell can worke
116. miracles. *Giles Alley* saith directlie, / that witches worke miracles. *Calvine* saith they are all ceased. All witchmongers saie they continue. But some affirme, that popish miracles are vanished and gone awaie: howbeit witches miracles remaine in full force. So as S. *Loy* is out of credit for a horsseleach, Maister *T.* and mother *Bungie* remaine in estimation for prophets: naie Hobgoblin and Robin goodfellow are contemned among yoong children, and mother *Alice* and mother *Bungie* are feared among old fooles. The estimation of these continue, bicause the matter hath not beene called in question: the credit of the other decaieth, bicause the matter hath beene looked into. Whereof I saie no more, but that S. *Anthonies* blisse will helpe/
158. your pig, whensoever mother *Bungie* dooth hurt it with hir cursse.
Prov. 51. And therefore we are warned by the word of God, in anie wise not to feare their cursses. But let all the witchmongers, and speciallie the miraclemongers in the world answer me to this supposition; Put case that a woman of credit, or else a woman-witch should saie unto them, that she is a true prophet of the Lord, and that he revealeth those secret mysteries unto hir, whereby she detecteth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and that by him she worketh miracles, and prophesieth, &c: I thinke they must either yeeld, or
H. Card. de miracul. confesse that miracles are ceased. But such things (saith *Cardane*)

as seeme miraculous, are cheeflie doone by deceipt, legier-
demaine, or confederacie; or else they maie
be doone, and yet seeme unpossible,
or else things are said to be
done, and never were
nor can be
doone.

The second Chapter.

That the gift of prophesie is ceased.

THAT witches, nor the woman of *Endor*, nor yet hir familiar or divell can tell what is to come, may plainelie appeare by the words of the prophet, who saith ; Shew what things are to come, and we will saie you are gods indeed. Isai. 41. According to that which *Salomon* saith ; Who can tell a man what shall happen him under the sunne? Marrie that can I (saith the witch of *Endor* to *Saule*.) 1. Sam. 28. But I will rather beleeve *Paule* and *Peter*, which saie, that prophesie is the gift of God, and no worldlie thing. Rom. 12. 1. Cor. 12. 1. Pet. 1. Then a cousening queane, that taketh upon hir to doo all things, and can doo nothing but beguile men : up steppeth also mother *Bungie*, and she can tell you where your horsse or your asse is bestowed, or anie thing that you have lost is become, as *Samuell* could ; and what you have doone in all your age past, as Christ did to the woman of *Sichar* at *Jacobs* well ; yea and what your errand is, John. 4. before you speake, as *Elizæus* did. [*del.* the full stop]

Peter Martyr saith, that onelie God and man knoweth the/ heart of man, and therefore, that the divell must be secluded, alledging these places ; *Solus Deus est scrutator cordium*, Onelie God is the searcher of hearts. And, *Nemo scit quæ sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo*, None knoweth the things of man, but the spirit of man which is within him. And *Salomon* saith, *Tu solus nosti cogitationes hominum*, Thou onelie knowest the thoughts of men. And *Jeremie* saith in the person of God, *Ego Deus scrutans corda & renes*, I am God searching hearts and reines. Also *Matthew* saith of Christ, *Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*, And Jesus seeing their thoughts, who in scripture is called the searcher and knower/ of the thoughts in the heart : as appeareth in *Acts*, 1. & 15. *Rom.* 8. *Matth.* 9. 12. & 22. *Marke.* 2. *Luke.* 6, & 7. & 11. *John.* 1. 2. 6. & 13. *Apoc.* 2. & 3. and in other places infinite. *159.* *P. Martyr. loc. com. 9. sect. 17.* **117.**

The same *Peter Martyr* also saith, that the divell maie suspect, but not know our thoughts : for if he should know our thoughts, he should understand our faith ; which if he did, he would never assalt us with one temptation. Indeed we read that *Samuel* could tell where things lost were straied, &c : but we see that gift also ceased by the comming of Christ, according to the saieng of *Paule* ; At sundrie times, and in diverse maners God spake in the old times by our fathers the prophets, in these last daies he hath spoken unto us by his sonne, &c. Hebr. 1, 8. & 2. And therefore I saie that gift of prophesie, where- *P. Martyr. in loc. comm.*

with God in times past endued his people, is also ceased, and counterfeits and couseners are come in their places, according to this saieng
2. Pet. 2. 1. of *Peter* : There were false prophets among the people, even as there shalbe false teachers among you, &c. And thinke not that so notable a gift should be taken from the beloved and elect people of God, and committed to mother *Bungie*, and such like of hir profession.

The words of the prophet *Zacharie* are plaine, touching the ceasing
Zach. 13. both of the good and bad prophet, to wit : I will cause the prophets and uncleane spirits to depart out of the land, and when anie shall yet prophesie, his parents shall saie to him ; Thou shalt not live, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord : and his parents shall
J. Chrysost. in evang. Johan. hom. 18. *Pet. Blest. epist.* 49. thrust him through when he prophesieth, &c. No, no : the foretelling of things to come, is the onelie worke of God, who disposeth all things sweetlie, of whose counsell there hath never yet beene anie man.
160. And to know our labours, the times / and moments God hath placed in his owne power. Also *Phavorinus* saith, that if these cold prophets or oraclers tell thee prosperitie, and deceive thee, thou art made a miser through vaine expectation : if they tell thee of adversitie, &c : and lie, thou art made a miser through vaine feare. And therefore I saie, we maie as well looke to heare prophesies at the tabernacle, in the bush, of the cherubin, among the clouds, from the angels, within the arke, or out of the flame, &c: as to expect an oracle of a prophet in these daies.

But put the case, that one in our common wealth should step up and saie he were a prophet (as manie frentike persons doo) who would beleeve him, or not thinke rather that he were a lewd person ?
Canon. de malef. & mathemat. See the statutes *Elizab.* 5. whether there be not lawes made against them, condemning their arrogancie and cousenage : see also the canon lawes to the same effect.

The third Chapter.

That Oracles are ceased.

Thucidid. lib. 2. *Cicer. de divin. lib.* 2. TOUCHING oracles, which for the most part were idols of silver, gold, wood, stones, &c : within whose bodies some saie uncleane spirites hid themselves, and gave answers : as some others saie, that exhalations rising out of the ground, inspire their minds, whereby their priests gave out oracles ; so as spirits and winds rose up out of that soile, and indued those men/
118. with the gift of prophesie of things to come, though in truth they were all devises to cousen the people, and for the profit of preests, who received the idols answers over night, and delivered them backe to the idolaters the next morning : you shall understand, that although

it had beene so as it is supposed; yet by the reasons and proofes before rehearsed, they should now cease: and whatsoever hath affinitie with such miraculous actions, as witchcraft, conjuration, &c: is knocked on the head, and nailed on the crosse with Christ, who hath broken the power of divels, and satisfied Gods justice, who also hath troden them under his feete, & subdued them, &c. At *161.* whose comming the prophet *Zacharie* saith, that the Lord will cut Zach. 13, 2. the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be no more remembered; and he will then cause the prophets and uncleane spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written; I will cut off thine Mich. 5, 12. inchanters out of thine hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsaiers. And indeed the gospell of Christ hath so laid open their knaverie, &c: that since the preaching thereof, their combes are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if ever these prophesies came to take effect, it must be upon the cōming of Christ, whereat you see the divels were troubled and fainted, when they met him, saieng, or rather exclaming upon him on this wise; *Fili Dei cur venisti nos cruciare ante tempus?* O thou sonne of God, whie commest thou to molest us (or confound us) before our time appointed? Which he indeed prevented, and now remaineth he our defender and keeper from his clawes. So as now you see here is no roome left for such ghests.

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that have beene as much deceived as your selves in this matter: and yet are driven to confesse, that GOD hath constituted his sonne to beat downe the power of divels, and to satisfie Gods justice, and to heale our wound received by the fall of *Adam*, according to Gods promise in *Genesis.* Gen. 3. 3. The seed of the woman shall tread downe the serpent, or the divell. *Eusebius* (in his fift booke *De prædicatione Evangelii*, the *Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 1.* title whereof is this, that the power of divels is taken awaie by the comming of Christ) saith; All answers made by divels, all soothsaiengs and divinations of men are gon and vanished awaie. Item he citeth *Porphyrie* in his booke against christian religion, wherein *Idem. Ibid.* these words are rehearsed; It is no mervell, though the plague be so *Porphyr. in lib. contra christ. relig.* hot in this citie: for ever since Jesus hath beene worshipped, we can obteine nothing that good is at the hands of our gods. And of this defection and ceasing of oracles writeth *Cicero* long before, and that *Cic. de divin. lib. 2.* to have happened also before his time. Howbeit, *Chrysostome* *S. Chrysost. de laud. Paul. hom 4.* living long since *Cicero*, saith, that *Apollo* was forced to grant, that so long as anie relike of a martyr was held to his nose, he could not make anie answer or oracle. So as one may perceive, that the heathen were wiser in this behalfe than manie christians, who in times past were called *Oppugnatores incantamentorum*, as the English *162.*

princes are called *Defensores fidei*. *Plutarch* calleth *Bœotia* (as we call bablers) by the name of manie words, bicause of the multitude of oracles there, which now (saith he) are like to a spring or fountaine which is dried up. If anie one remained, I would ride five
119. hundred miles to see it: but in the whole world/ there is not one to be seene at this houre ; popish cousenages excepted.

Porphyr. writeth verses in *Apollos* name, of the death of *Apollo*: cited by *J. Bod. fol.* 6.

But *Plutarch* saith, that the cause of this defection of oracles, was the divels death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortall, saieng they died for verie age; and that the divining preests were blowne up with a whirlewind, and soonke with an earthquake. Others imputed it to the site or the place of the planets, which when they passed over them, carried awaie that art with them, and by revolution may returne, &c. *Eusebius* also citeth out of him the storie of *Pan*, which bicause it is to this purpose, I will insert the same ; and since it mentioneth the divels death, you may beleeve it if you list: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserved alive to punish the wicked, and such as impute unto those idols the power of almightie God.

The fourth Chapter.

A tale written by manie grave authors, and beleeved by manie wise men of the divels death. An other storie written by papists, and beleeved of all catholikes, approoving the divels honestie, conscience, and courtesie.

[* read *Epi*]

PLUTARCH saith, that his countriman **Epotherses* told him, that as he passed by sea into *Italie*, manie passengers being in his bote, in an evening, when they were about the ilands *Echinadæ*, the wind quite ceased: and the ship driving with the tide, was brought at last to *Paxe*. And whilest some slept, and others quaft, and othersome were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddenlie a voice was heard calling, *Thamus* ; in such sort as everie man marvelled. This

Thamus having little to doo, thought to plaie with his companie, whom he might easilie overtake with such a jest.

163. *Thamus* was a pilot,/ borne in *Aegypt*, unknowne to manie that were in the ship. Wherefore being twise called, he answered nothing; but the third time he answered : and the other with a lowder voice commanded him, that when he came to *Palodes*, he should tell them that the great God *Pan* was departed. Whereat everie one was astonied (as *Epitherses* affirmed.) And being in consultation what were best to doo, *Thamus* concluded, that if the wind were hie, they must passe by with silence; but if the weather were calme, he must utter that

which he had heard. But when they came to *Palodes*, and the wether calme, *Thamus* looking out toward the land, cried alowd, that the great god *Pan* was deceased: and immediatlie there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of people, as it were with great woonder and admiration. And bicause there were manie in the ship, they said the fame thereof was speedilie brought to *Rome*, and *Thamus* sent for by *Tiberius* the Emperour, who gave such credit thereto, that he diligentlie inquired and asked, who that *Pan* was. The learned men about him supposed, that *Pan* was he who was the sonne of *Mercurie* and *Penelope*, &c. *Eusebius* saith, that this chanced in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, when Christ expelled all divels, &c.

Paulus Marsus, in his notes upon *Ovids Fasti*, saith, that this voice was/ heard out of *Paxe*, that verie night that Christ suffered, in the yeare of *Tiberius* the nineteenth. Surelie, this was a merrie jest devised by *Thamus*, who with some confederate thought to make sport with the passengers, who were some asleepe, and some droonke, and some other at plaie, &c: whiles the first voice was used. And at the second voice, to wit, when he should deliver his message, he being an old pilot, knew where some noise was usuall, by meanes of some eccho in the sea, and thought he would (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his devise, if the wether prooved calme. Whereby may appeare, that he would in other cases of tempests, &c: rather attend to more serious busines, than to that ridiculous matter. For whie else should he not doo his errand in rough wether, as well as in calme? Or what need he tell the divell thereof, when the divell told it him before, and with much more expedition could have done the errand himselfe?

120.

A detection of Thamus his knaverie.

* But you shall read in the Legend a fable, an oracle I would/ saie, more authentike. For many will say that this was a prophane storie, and not so canonicall as those which are verefied by the popes authoritie: and thus it is written. A woman in hir travell sent hir sister to *Diana*, which was the divell in an idoll (as all those oracles are said to be) and willed hir to make hir praiers, or rather a request, to knowe of hir safe deliverie: which thing she did. But the divell answered; Why praiest thou to me? I cannot helpe thee, but go praie to *Andrew* the apostle, and he may helpe thy sister, &c. Lo, this was not onelie a gentle, but a godlie divell, pittieng the womans case, who revealing his owne disabilitie, enabled S. *Andrew* more. I knowe some protestants will saie, that the divell, to mainteine idolatrie, &c: referred the maid to S. *Andrew*. But what answer will the papists make, who thinke it great pietie to praie unto saints, and so by consequence honest courtesie in the divell, to send hir to S. *Andrew*, who wold not faile to serve hir turne, &c.

164.

**Legend. aur. in vita sancti Andreæ. fol.* 39.

A gentle and a godlie divell.

The fift Chapter.

The judgments of the ancient fathers touching oracles, and their abolishment, and that they be now transferred from Delphos to Rome.

THE opinions of the fathers, that oracles are ceased by the cõming of Christ, you shall find in these places following, to wit: *Justinus In dialogis adversus Judæos, Athanasius De humanitate verbi, Augustine De civitate Dei, Eusebius Lib. 7. cap. 6,* Item *lib. 5. cap. 1. 8. Rupertus In Joan. lib. 10. 12. Plutarch De abolitione oraculorum, Plinie lib. 30. natural. historiæ.* Finallie, *Athanasius* concludes, that in times past there were oracles in *Delphos, Bœotia, Lycia,* and other places: but now since Christ is preached to all men, this madnesse is ceased. So as you see, that whatsoever estimation in times past, the ancient fathers conceived (by heeresaie) of those miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c: they themselves refuse now, not onelie to beare witnesse of; but also affirme, that ever / since Christs comming their mouthes have beene stopped. /

Athanas. de human. verbi. fol. 55 & 64

165.

121. For the ceasing of the knaveries and cousening devises of preests, I see no authoritie of scripture or ancient father, but rather the contrarie; to wit, that there shall be strange illusions shewed by them, even till the end. And truelie, whosoever knoweth and noteth the order and devises of and in popish pilgrimages, shall see both the oracles & their conclusions remaining, and as it were transferred from *Delphos* to *Rome*, where that adulterous generation continuallie seeketh a signe, though they have *Moses* & the prophets, yea even Christ & his apostles also, &c.

The sixt Chapter.

Where and wherein couseners, witches, and preests were woont to give oracles, and to worke their feats.

THESE cousening oracles, or rather oraclers used (I saie) to exercise their feats and to doo their miracles most commonly in maids, in beasts, in images, in dens, in cloisters, in darke holes, in trees, in churches or churchyards, &c: where preests, moonks, and friers had laid their plots, and made their confederacies aforehand, to beguile the world, to gaine monie, and to adde credit to their profession. This practise began

in the okes of *Dodona*, in the which was a wood, the trees thereof (they saie) could speake. And this was doone by a knave in a hollowe tree, that seemed sound unto the simple people. This wood was in *Molossus* a part of *Greece*, called *Epyrus*, and it was named *Dodonas* oracles. There were manie oracles in *Aegypt*; namelie, of *Hercules*, of *Apollo*, of *Minerva*, of *Diana*, of *Mars*, of *Jupiter*, and of the oxe *Apys*, who was the sonne of *Jupiter*, but his image was worshipped in the likenesse of an oxe. *Latona*, who was the mother of *Apollo*, was an oracle in the citie of *Bute*. The preests of *Apollo*, who alwaies counterfaited furie and madnesse, gave oracles in the temple called *Clarius*, within the citie of *Colophon* in *Greece*. At *Thebes* in *Bœotia* and also in *Læbadia*, *Trophonius* was the cheefe oracle. At *Memphis* a cow, at *Corinth* an oxe called *Mineus*, in *Arsinoe* a crocodile, in *Athens* a prophet called *Amphiaraus*, who / indeed *166.* died at *Thebes*, where they saie the earth opened, & swallowed him up quicke. At *Delphos* was the great temple of *Apollo*, where divels gave oracles by maides (as some saie) though indeed it was doone by preests. It was built upon *Parnassus* hill in *Greece*. And the defenders of oracles saie, that even as rivers oftentimes are diverted to another course; so likewise the spirit, which inspired the cheefe prophets, may for a time be silent, and revive againe by revolution.

Strabo Geog. lib 16. *J. Wier. li.* 1. *de præs. dæm. cap.* 12.

Demetrius saith, that the spirits, which attended on oracles, waxed wearie of the peoples curiositie and importunitie, and for shame forsooke the temple. But as *one that of late hath written against prophesies saith; It is no marvell, that when the familiars that speake in trunks were repelled from their harbour for feare of discoverie, the blocks almightie lost their senses. For these are all gone now, and their knaverie is espied; so as they can no longer abuse the world with such bables. But whereas / these great doctors **122.** suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was the comming of Christ; if they meane that the divell died, so soone as he was borne, or that then he gave over his occupation: they are deceived. For the popish church hath made a continuall practise hereof, partlie for their owne private profit, lucre, and gaine; and partly to be had in estimation of the world, and in admiration among the simple. But indeed, men that have learned Christ, and beene conversant in his word, have discovered and shaken off the vanitie and abhomination heereof. But if those doctors had lived till this daie, they would have said and written, that oracles had ceased, or rather beene driven out of *England* in the time of K. *Henrie* the eight, and of Queene *Elizabeth* his daughter; who have doone so much in that behalfe, as at this houre they are not onlie all gone, but forgotten here in this

* H. Haw. in his defensative against prophesies.

In whose daies oracles ceased in England

English nation, where they swarmed as thicke as they did in *Bœotia*, or in any other place in the world. But the credit they had, depended not upon their desart, but upon the credulitie of others. Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this matter, with the opinion and saieng of the prophet ; Vaine is the answer of idols. For they have eies and see not, eares and heare not, mouthes and speake not, &c: and let them shew what is to come, and I will saie they are gods indeed.//

Zach. 10.
Isai. 44.

¶ *The ninth Booke.* *167.* 123.

The first Chapter.

The Hebrue word Kasam expounded, and how farre a Christian may conjecture of things to come.

KASAM (as *John Wierus* upon his owne knowledge affirmeth, and upon the word of *Andræas Masius* reporteth) differeth little in signification from the former word *Ob*: betokening *Vaticinari*, which is, To prophesie, and is most commonlie taken in evill part; as in *Deut.* 18. *Jerem.* 27. &c: howbeit, sometime in good part, as in *Esaie* 3. verse. 2. To foretell things to come upon probable conjectures, so as therein we reach no further than becommeth humane capacitie, is not (in mine opinion) unlawfull, but rather a commendable manifestation of wisedome and judgment, the good gifts and notable blessings of GOD, for the which we ought to be thankfull; as also to yeeld due honour and praise unto him, for the noble order which he hath appointed in nature: praieng him to lighten our hearts with the beames of his wisedome, that we may more and more profit in the true knowledge of the workemanship of his hands. But some are so nise, that they condemne generallie all sorts of divinations, denieng those things that in nature have manifest causes, and are so framed, as they forshew things to come, and in that shew admonish us of things after to insue, exhibiting signes of unknowne and future matters to be judged upon, by the order, lawe, and course of nature / proposed unto us by God. *168.*

J. Wier. lib. de præst. dæmon.

All divinations are not condemnable.

And some on the other side are so bewitched with follie, as they attribute to creatures that estimation, which rightlie and truelie apperteineth to God the creator of all things; affirming that the publike and private destinies of all humane matters, and whatsoever a man would knowe of things come or gone, is manifested to us in the heavens: so as by the starres and planets all things might be knowne. These would also, that nothing should be taken in hand or gone about, without the favourable aspect of the planets. By which, and other the like devises they deprave and prophane the ancient and commendable observations of our forfathers: as did *Colebrasus*, who taught, that all mans life was governed by the seven planets; and yet a christian, and condemned for heresie. But let us so farre foorth imbrace and allow this philosophie and prophesieng, as the word of God giveth us leave, and commendeth the same unto us. /

Colebrasus erronious & impious opinion.

124.

The second Chapter.

Proofes by the old and new testament, that certaine observations of the weather are lawfull.

WHEN God by his word and wisedome had made the heavens, and placed the starres in the firmament, he said ; Let them be for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and yeares. When he created the rainebowe in the clouds, he said it should be for a signe and token unto us. Which we find true, not onelie of the floud past, but also of shewers to come. And therefore according to Jesus *Sirachs* advise, let us behold it, and praise him that made it. The prophet *David* saith ; The heavens declare the glorie of God, and the firmament sheweth his handie worke : daie unto daie uttereth the same, and night unto night teacheth knowledge. It is also written that by the commandement of the holie one the starres are placed, and continue in their order, & faile not in their watch. It should appeare, that Christ himselfe did not altogither neglect the course & order of the heavens, in that he said; *169.* When you see a/ cloud rise out of the west, streight waie you saie a shewer commeth : and so it is. And when you see the southwind blowe ; you saie it will be hot, and so it commeth to passe. Againe, when it is evening, you saie faire* weather, for the skie is red: and in the morning you saie, to daie shalbe a tempest, for the skie is red and lowring. Wherein as he noteth that these things doo trulie come to passe, according to ancient observation, and to the rule astronomicall : so doth he also by other words following admonish us, that in attending too much to those obsevations, we neglect not speciallie to follow our christian vocation.

Psalm. 13. Jerem. 54. Gen. 1. Ezech. 1. Gen. 9.

Ecclus. 43. Ps. 19. & 50.

Ecclus. 43. Baruch. 3.

Luk. 12, 24.

[* *Mispr.* saire.]

Matt. 16. 2, 3.

The physician is commended unto us, and allowed in the scriptures: but so to put trust in him, as to neglect & distrust God, is severelie forbidden and reproved. Surelie it is most necessarie for us to know and observe diverse rules astrologicall ; otherwise we could not with oportunitie dispatch our ordinarie affaires. And yet *Lactantius* condemneth and recounteth it among the number of witchcrafts : from whose censure *Calvine* doth not much varie. The poore husbandman perceiveth that the increase of the moone maketh plants and living creatures frutefull : so as in the full moone they are in best strength, decaieng in the wane, and in the conjunction doo utterlie wither and vade. Which when by observation, use and practise they have once learned, they distribute their businesse accordinglie ; as their times and seasons to sowe, to plant, to proine, to let their cattell bloud, to cut, &c./

Lactant. contra astrologos.

Peucer. de astrol. pag. 383.

The third Chapter.

125.

That certeine observations are indifferent, certeine ridiculous, and certeine impious, whence that cunning is derived of Apollo, and of Aruspices.

I KNOW not whether to disallow or discommend the curious observation used by our elders, who conjectured upon nativities : so as, if *Saturne* and *Mercurie* were opposite in anie brute signe, a man then borne should be dumbe or stammer much ; whereas it is dailie seene, that children naturallie imitate their parents/ conditions in that behalfe. Also they *170.* have noted, that one borne in the spring of the moone, shalbe healthie ; in that time of the wane, when the moone is utterlie decaied, the child then borne cannot live ; and in the conjunction, it cannot long continue.

The ridiculous art of nativitie-casting.

But I am sure the opinion of *Julius Maternus* is most impious, who writeth, that he which is borne when *Saturne* is in *Leone*, shall live long, and after his death shall go to heaven presentlie. And so is this of *Albumazar*, who saith, that whosoever praieth to God, when the moone is in *Capite draconis*, shalbe heard, and obteine his praier. Furthermore, to plaie the cold prophet, as to recount it good or bad lucke, when salt or wine falleth on the table, or is shed, &c : or to prognosticate that ghests approch to your house, upon the chattering of pies or haggisters, wherof there can be yeelded no probable reason, is altogither vanitie and superstition : as hereafter shalbe more largelie shewed. But to make simple people beleeve, that a man or woman can foretell good or evill fortune, is meere witchcraft or cousenage. For God is the onlie searcher of the heart, and delivereth not his counsell to so lewd reprobates. I know diverse writers affirme, that witches foretell things, as prompted by a reall divell; and that he againe learneth it out of the prophesies written in the scriptures, and by other nimble sleights, wherein he passeth anie other creature earthlie ; and that the same divell, or some of his fellowes runnes or flies as farre as *Rochester*, to mother *Bungie* ; or to *Canturburie* to M. *T* ; or to *Delphos*, to *Apollo* ; or to *Aesculapius*, in *Pargamo* ; or to some other idoll or witch, and there by waie of oracle answers all questions, through his understanding of the prophesies conteined in the old testament, especiallie in *Daniel* and *Esaie* : whereby the divell knew of the translation of the monarchie from *Babylon* to *Græcia*, &c. But either they have learned this of some oracle or witch ; or else I know not where the divell they find it.

Julius Maternus his most impious opinion.

Bodinus. Danæus. Erastus. Hemingius. Mal. malef. Thom. Aquinas, &c.

Marrie certeine it is, that herein they shew themselves to be witches and fond divinors : for they find no such thing written in Gods word.

Of the idoll called *Apollo*, I have somewhat alreadie spoken in the former title of *Ob* or *Pytho* ; and some occasion I shall have to speake thereof hereafter : and therfore at this time it shall suffice to tell you, that the credit gained thereunto, was by the craft / *171.* and cunning of the priests, which tended thereupon ; who with their 126. counterfeit miracles so/ bewitched the people, as they thought such vertue to have beene conteined in the bodies of those idols, as God hath not promised to anie of his angels, or elect people. For it is said, that if *Apollo* were in a chafe, he would sweat : if he had remorse to the afflicted, and could not help them, he would shed teares, which I beleeve might have beene wiped awaie with that handkerchiefe, that wiped and dried the Rood of graces face, being in like perplexities. Even as another sort of witching priests called *Aruspices*, prophesied victorie to *Alexander*, bicause an eagle lighted on his head : which eagle might (I beleeve) be cooped or caged with *Mahomets* dove, that picked peason out of his eare.

Apollos passions.

The fourth Chapter.

The predictions of soothsaiers and lewd priests, the prognostications of astronomers and physicians allowable, divine prophesies holie and good.

THE cousening tricks of oracling priests and monkes, are and have beene speciallie most abhominable. The superstitious observations of sensles augurors and soothsaiers (contrarie to philosophie, and without authoritie of scripture) are verie ungodlie and ridiculous. Howbeit, I reject not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the conjectures or forewarnings of physicians, nor yet the interpretations of philosophers ; although in respect of the divine prophesies conteined in holie scriptures, they are not to be weighed or regarded. For the end of these and the other is not onlie farre differing ; but whereas these conteine onlie the word and will of God, with the other are mingled most horrible lies and cousenages. For though there may be many of them learned and godlie, yet lurke there in corners of the same profession, a great number of counterfets and couseners. *J. Bodin* putteth this difference betweene divine prophets and inchantors ;/ to wit, the one saith alwaies true, the others words (proceeding from the divell) are alwaies false ; or for one truth they tell a hundred lies. And then

What prophesies allowable.

J. Bod. lib. de dæm. lib 1. *caf.* 4. *172.*

why maie not everie witch be thought as cunning as *Apollo*? And why not everie counterfet cousener as good a witch as mother *Bungie*? For it is ods, but they will hit the truth once in a hundred divinations as well as the best.

The fift Chapter.

The diversitie of true prophets, of Urim, and of the propheticall use of the twelve precious stones conteined therein, of the divine voice called Eccho.

IT should appeare, that even of holie prophets there were diverse sorts. For *David* and *Salomon*, although in their psalmes and parables are conteined most excellent mysteries, and notable allegories: yet they were not indued with that degree of prophesie, that *Elie* and *Elisha* were, &c./ For as often as it is said, that God spake to *David* or *Salomon*, it is meant to be done by the prophets. For *Nathan* or *Gad* were the messengers and prophets to reveale Gods will to *David*. And *Ahiam* the *Silonite* was sent from God to *Salomon*. Item, the spirit of prophesie, which *Elias* had, was doubled upon *Elisha*. Also some prophets prophesied all their lives, some had but one vision, and some had more, according to Gods pleasure; yea some prophesied unto the people of such things as came not to passe, and that was where Gods wrath was pacified by repentance. But these prophets were alwaies reputed among the people to be wise and godlie; whereas the heathen prophets were evermore knowne and said to be mad and foolish: as it is written both of the prophets of *Sibylla*, and also of *Apollo*; and at this daie also in the *Indies*, &c.

Diverse degrees of prophesie. 127.

2. Reg. 2.

But that anie of these extraordinarie gifts remaine at this daie, *Bodin*, nor anie witchmonger in the world shall never be able to proove: though he in his booke of divelish madnesse would make men beleeve it. For these were miraculouslie mainteined/ by God among the Jewes, who were instructed by them of all such things as should come to passe; or else informed by *Urim*: so as the preests by the brightnes of the twelve pretious stones conteined therein, could prognosticate or expound anie thing. Which brightnes and vertue ceased (as *Josephus* reporteth) two hundred yeares before he was borne. So as since that time, no answers were yelded thereby of Gods will and pleasure. Nevertheles, the Hebrues write, that there hath beene ever since that time, a divine voice heard among them, which in Latine is called *Filia vocis*, in Greeke ἦχώ, in English The daughter of speech.

J. Bodin. 173.

Joseph. de antiquit.

Josue filius Levi. lib. Pirkeaboth.

The sixt Chapter.

Of prophesies conditionall: whereof the prophesies in the old testament doo intreate, and by whom they were published; witchmongers aunswers to the objections against witches supernaturall actions.

CHRIST and his apostles prophesied of the calamities and afflictions, which shall greeve and disturbe the church of God in this life: also of the last daie, and of the signes and tokens that shall be shewed before that daie: and finallie of all things, which are requisite for us to foreknowe. Howbeit, such is the mercie of God, that all prophesies, threatnings, plagues, and punishments are annexed to conditions of repentance: as on the other side, corporall blessings are tied under the condition of the crosse and castigation. So as by them the mysteries of our salvation being discovered unto us, we are not to seeke new signes and miracles; but to attend to the doctrine of the apostles, who preached Christ exhibited and crucified for our sinnes, his resurrection, ascension, and thereby the redemption of as manie as beleeve, &c.

Phophesies conditionall.

The prophesies in the old testament treat of the continuance, the governement, and the difference of estates: of the distinction of the foure monarchies, of their order, decaie, and instauration;/ of the changes and/ ruines of the kingdomes of *Juda*, *Israel*, *Aegypt*, *Persia*, *Græcia*, *&c*: and speciallie of the comming of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and how he should be borne of a virgine, and where, of his tribe, passion, resurrection, &c. These prophesies were published by Gods speciall and peculiar prophets, endued with his particular and excellent gifts, according to his promise; I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren, I will put my words in his mouth, &c. Which though it were speciallie spoken of Christ, yet was it also spoken of those particular prophets, which were placed among them by God to declare his will; which were also figures of Christ the prophet himselfe. Now, if prophesie be an extraordinarie gift of God, and a thing peculiar to himselfe, as without whose speciall assistance no creature can be a prophet, or shew what is to come; whie should we beleeve, that those lewd persons can performe by divinations and miracles that which is not in humane but in divine power to accomplish?

174. 128. The subject of the prophesies of the old testament.

Howbeit, when I denie that witches can ride in the aire, and the miraculous circumstance thereof: by and by it is objected unto me, that *Enoch* and *Elie* were rapt into heaven bodilie; and that *Abacuke*

2. Reg. 2. 13.

was carried in the aire, to feed *Daniel*: and so falselie oppose a divels or a witches power against the vertue of the Holy-ghost. If I deride the poets opinions, saieng, that witches cannot *Cœlo deducere lunam*, fetch the moone from heaven, &c: they tell me that at *Joshuas* battell the sunne staied, and at the passion of Christ there was palpable darknes. If I denie their cunning in the exposition of dreames, advising them to remember *Jeremies* counsell, not to followe or credit the expositors of dreames; they hit me in the teeth with *Daniel* and *Joseph*: for that the one of them expounded *Pharao* the *Persian* kings, the other *Nabuchadnez-zar* the *Aegyptian* kings dreame. If I saie with *Salomon*, that the dead knowe nothing, and that the dead knowe us not, neither are remooveable out of *Abrahams* bosome, &c: they produce the storie of *Samuel*: wherein, I saie, they set the power of a creature as high as the creator. If I saie, that these witches cannot transubstantiate themselves, nor others into beasts, &c. they cite the storie of *Nabuchadnez-zar*; as though indeed he were made a materiall beast, and that also by witch-/craft; and strengthen that their assertion with the fables of *Circe* and *Ulysses* his companions, &c.

Eccles. 9, 5.

1. Sam. 28.

175.

The seventh Chapter.

What were the miracles expressed in the old testament, and what are they in the new testament: and that we are not now to looke for anie more miracles.

THE miracles expressed in the old testament were manie, but the end of them all was one, though they were divers and differing in shew: as where the sacrifices of *Moses*, *Elias*, and *Salomon*, being abundantlie wet were burnt with fier from heaven, &c. The varietie of toongs at the building of *Babylon*, *Isaachs* birth of *Sarah* being by nature past children,/ the passage through the red sea, *Daniels* foretelling of the foure monarchies, in the fourth whereof he apparantlie foresheweth the comming of the Lord. All these, and manie other, which are expressed in the old testament, were mercifull instructions and notable miracles to strengthen the faith of Gods people in their Messias. If you had gone to *Delphos*, *Apollo* would have made you beleeve with his amphibologicall answers, that he could have foretold you all these things.

Gen. 11, 6.
Gen. 21.
Dan. 11. 129.

The miracles wrought by Christ were the raising up of the dead (which manie would impute to the woman of *Endor*, and also to our witches and conjurors) the restoring of the lame to lims, the blind to

A summe of Christs miracles.

sight, the dumbe to speach, and finallie the healing of all diseases ; which manie beleeve our witches can doo ; yea, and as they themselves will take it upon them. As for casting out of divels (which was another kind of miracles usuall with Christ) witches and conjurors are said to be as good thereat as ever he was : and yet, if you will beleeve Christs words, it cannot be so. For he saith ; Everie
Matt. 12. 25. kingdome divided against it selfe, shall be brought to naught, &c. If sathan cast out sathan, he is divided, &c : and his kingdome shall not endure, &c./

176. *Peters* chaines fell off in prison, so did *Richard Gallisies* fetters at *Windsor* : marrie the prison doores opened not to *Richard*, as they did to *Peter*. *Helias* by speciall grace obtained raine, our witches can make it raine, when they list, &c. But sithens Christ did these miracles, and manie more, and all to confirme his truth, and strengthen our faith, and finallie for the conversion of the people (as appeareth in *John*. 6. 7, and 12 : in so much as he vehementlie reprooved such,
Luk. 10, 13. as upon the sight of them would not beleeve, saieng ; Wo be to thee *Chorazin*, wo be to thee *Bethsaida*. If the miracles had beene doone in *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which have beene doone in you, they had a great while ago repented, &c. Let us settle and acquiet our faith in Christ, and beleeving all his wonderous works, let us reject these old wives fables, as lieng vanities : whereof you may find in the golden legend, *M. Mal.* and speciallie in *Bodin* miraculous stuffe, enough to checke all the miracles expressed in the old and new testament ; which are of more credit with manie bewitched people, than the true miracles of Christ himselfe. Insomuch as they stand in more awe of the manacies of a witch, than of all the threatnings and cursses pronounced by God, and expressed in his word. And thus much touching the word *Kasam.*//

¶ *The tenth Booke.* *177.* 130.

The first Chapter.

The interpretation of this Hebrue word Onen, of the vanitie of dreames, and divinations thereupon.

ONEN differeth not much from *Kasam*, but that it is extended to the interpretation of dreames. And as for dreames, whatsoever credit is attributed unto them, proceedeth of follie: and they are fooles that trust in them, for whie they have deceived many. In which respect the Prophet giveth us good warning, not to followe nor hearken to the expositors of dreames, for they come through the multitude of busines. And therefore those witches, that make men beleeve they can prophesie upon dreames, as knowing the interpretation of them, and either for monie or glorie abuse men & women therby, are meere couseners, and worthie of great punishment: as are such witchmongers, as beleeving them, attribute unto them such divine power as onelie belongeth to God: as appeereth in *Jeremie* the Prophet./

Eccles. 24.

Jerem. 27. Eccle. 5.

Jerem. 23. 25. 26. 27. Read the words.

The second Chapter. *178.*

Of divine, naturall, and casuall dreames, with their differing causes and effects.

MACROBIUS recounteth five differences of images, or rather imaginations exhibited unto them that sleepe, which for the most part doo signifie somewhat in admonition. There be also many subdivisions made hereof, which I thinke needlesse to reherse. In *Jasper Peucer* they are to be seene, with the causes and occasions of dreames. There were woont to be delivered from God himselfe or his angels, certeine dreames and visions unto the prophets and holie fathers: according to the saieng of *Joel*; I will powre my spirit upon all flesh, your yoong men shall dreame dreames, and your old men shall see visions. These kind of dreames (I say) were the admonishments and forewarnings of God to his people: as that of *Joseph*, to abide with *Marie* his wife, after she was conceived by the Holie-ghost, as also to conveie our Saviour Christ into *Aegypt*, &c: the interpretation whereof are the peculiar gifts of God, which *Joseph* the patriarch, and *Daniel* the prophet had most speciallie.

Peucer in divinat. ex somniis.

Joel. 2.

Matth. 1. 20.

Matth. 2, 13.

Gen. 39. & 40. & 41. Dani. 2.

As for physicall conjectures upon dreames, the scriptures *improove [* ? reproove]

them not : for by them the physicians manie times doo understand the state of their patients bodies. For some of them come by meanes of choler, flegme, melancholie, or bloud ; and some by love, surfet, hunger, thirst, &c. *Gallen* and *Boetius* were said to deale with
131. divels, bicause they/ told so justlie their patients dreames, or rather by their dreames their speciall diseases. Howbeit, physicall dreames are naturall, and the cause of them dwelleth in the nature of man. For they are the inward actions of the mind in the spirits of the braine, whilest the bodie is occupied with sleepe : for as touching the mind it selfe, it never sleepeth. These dreames varie, according to the difference of humors and vapors. There are also casuall
Eccles. 5. *179.* dreames, which (as *Salomon* saith)/ come through the multitude of businesse. For as a looking glasse sheweth the image or figure thereunto opposite : so in dreames, the phantasie & imagination informes the understanding of such things as haunt the outward sense. Whereupon the poet saith :

Somnia ne cures, nam mens humana quod optat,
Dum vigilat sperans, per somnum cernit id ipsum :

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Regard no dreames, for why the mind
Of that in sleepe a view dooth take,
Which it dooth wish and hope to find,
At such time as it is awake.

The third Chapter.

The opinion of divers old writers touching dreames, and how they varie in noting the causes thereof.

A dissonancie in opinions about dreames.

SYNESIUS, *Themistius*, *Democritus*, and others grounding themselves upon examples that chance hath sometimes verified, persuade men, that nothing is dreamed in vaine : affirming that the hevenlie influencies doo bring foorth divers formes in corporall matters ; and of the same influencies, visions and dreames are printed in the fantasticall power, which is instrumentall, with a celestiall disposition meete to bring foorth some effect, especiallie in sleepe, when the mind (being free from bodilie cares) may more liberallie receive the heavenlie influencies, wherby many things are knowne to them sleeping in dreames, which they that wake cannot see. *Plato* attributeth them to the formes and ingendred knowledges of the soule ; *Avicen* to the last intelligence that moveth the moone, through the light that lighteneth the fantasie in sleepe ; *Aristotle* to the phantasticall sense ; *Averroës* to the imaginative ; *Albert* to the influence of superior bodies.//

The fourth Chapter.

180. 132.

Against interpretors of dreames, of the ordinarie cause of dreames, Hemingius his opinion of diabolicall dreames, the interpretation of dreames ceased.

THERE are bookes carried about concerning this matter, under the name of *Abraham*, who (as *Philo In lib. gigantum* saith) was the first inventor of the exposition of dreames: and so likewise of *Salomon* and *Daniel.* But *Cicero In lib. de divinatione* confuteth the vanitie and follie of them that give credit to dreames. And as for the interpretors of dreames, as they knowe not before the dreame, nor yet after, any certeintie; yet when any thing afterwards happeneth, then they applie the dreame to that which hath chanced.

Certeinlie men never lightlie faile to dreame by night, of that which they meditate by daie: and by daie they see divers and sundrie things, and conceive them severallie in their minds. Then those mixed conceits being laid up in the closset of the memorie, strive togither; which, bicause the phantasie cannot discerne nor discusse, some certeine thing gathered of manie conceits is bred and contrived in one togither. And therefore in mine opinion, it is time vainelie emploied, to studie about the interpretation of dreames. He that list to see the follie and vanitie thereof, maie read a vaine treatise, set out by *Thomas Hill* Londoner, 1568.

The pleasant art of the interpretation of dreames. *N. Hemin. in admonitionib. de superstitionib. magicis vitādis.*

Lastlie, there are diabolicall dreames, which *Nicolaus Hemingius* divideth into three sortes. The first is, when the divell immediatlie of himselfe (he meaneth corporallie) offereth anie matter of dreame. Secondlie, when the divell sheweth revelations to them that have made request unto him therefore. Thirdlie, when magicians by art bring to passe, that other men dreame what they will. Assuredlie these, and so all the rest (as they maie be used) are verie magicall and divelish dreames. For although we maie receive comfort of mind by those, which are called divine/ dreames, and health of bodie *181.* through physicall dreames: yet if we take upon us to use the office of God in the revelation or rather the interpretation of them; or if we attribute unto them miraculous effects (now when we see the gifts of prophesie, and of interpretation of dreames, and also the operation of miracles are ceased, which were speciall and peculiar gifts of God, to confirme the truth of the word, and to establish his people in the faith of the Messias, who is now exhibited unto us both in the testament, and also in the bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ) we are bewitched,

The end & use of prophesie, interpretatiō of dreames, operation of miracles, &c.

and both abuse and offend the majestie of God, and also seduce, delude and cousen all such as by our persuasion, and their owne light beleefe, give us credit.

133.

The fift Chapter.

That neither witches, nor anie other, can either by words or hearbs, thrust into the mind of a sleeping man, what cogitations or dreames they list; and whence magicall dreames come.

Seeke for such stuffe in my booke of Hartumim.

I GRANT there maie be hearbs and stones found and knowne to the physicians, which maie procure dreames; and other hearbs and stones, &c: to make one bewraie all the secrets of his mind, when his bodie sleepeth, or at least wise to procure speech in sleepe. But that witches or magicians have power by words, herbs, or imprecations to thrust into the mind or conscience of man, what it shall please them, by vertue of their charmes, hearbs, stones, or familiars, &c: according to the opinion of *Hemingius*, I denie: though therewithall I confesse, that the divell both by daie and also by night, travelleth to seduce man, and to lead him from God; yea and that no waie more than this, where he placeth himselfe as God in the minds of them that are so credulous, to attribute unto him, or unto witches, that which is onlie in the office, nature, and power of God to accomplish.

Dan. 2.

Doth not *Daniel* the prophet saie, even in this case; It is the/

182. Lord onelie that knoweth such secrets, as in the exposition of dreames is required? And doth not *Joseph* repeat those verie words to *Pharaos* officers, who consulted with him therein? Examples of divine dreames you maie find a great number in the scripture, such (I meane) as it pleased God to reveale his pleasure by. Of physicall dreames we maie both read in authors, and see in our owne experience dailie, or rather nightly. Such dreams also as are casuall, they are likewise usuall, and come (as hath beene said) through the multitude of affaires and businesse. Those which in these daies are called magicall or diabolicall dreames, maie rather be called melancholicall. For out of that blacke vapor in sleepe, through dreames, appeareth (as *Aristotle* saith) some horrible thing; and as it were the image of an ouglie divell: sometimes also other terrible visions, imaginations, counsels, and practises. As where we read of a certeine man, that dreamed there appeared one unto him that required him to throwe himselfe into a deepe pit, and that he should reape great benefit thereby at Gods hands. So as the miserable wretch giving credit thereunto, performed the matter, and killed himselfe.

Gen. 11, 8. Gen. 37, & 11. Isai. 11. Dan. 2.

Aristot. de somnio.

Now I confesse, that the interpretation or execution of that dreame was indeed diabolicall : but the dreame was casuall, derived from the heavie and blacke humor of melancholie./

The sixt Chapter. 134.

How men have beene bewitched, cousened or abused by dreames to dig and search for monie.

HOW manie have beene bewitched with dreames, and thereby made to consume themselves with digging and searching for monie, &c : whereof they, or some other have drempt? I my selfe could manifest, as having knowne how wise men have beene that waie abused by verie simple persons, even where no dreame hath beene met withall, but waking dreames. And this hath beene used heretofore, as one of the finest cousening feates : in so much/ as there is a verie formall art thereof devised, with manie excellent superstitions and ceremonies thereunto belonging, which I will set downe as breeflie as maie be. Albeit that here in *England*, this proverbe hath beene current ; to wit, Dreames proove contrarie : according to the answer of the priests boy to his master, who told his said boy that he drempt he kissed his taile : Yea maister (saith he) but dreames proove contrarie, you must kisse mine.

Such would be imbarked in the ship of fooles.

183.

An english proverbe.

The seventh Chapter.

The art and order to be used in digging for monie, revealed by dreames, how to procure pleasant dreames, of morning and midnight dreames.

THERE must be made upon a hazell wand three crosses, and certeine words both blasphemous and impious must be said over it, and hereunto must be added certeine characters, & barbarous names. And whilest the treasure is a digging, there must be read the psalmes, *De profundis*, *Missa*, *Misereatur nostri*, *Requiem*, *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos à malo, Amen. A porta inferi credo videre bona, &c. Expectate Dominum, Requiem æternam.* And then a certeine praier. And if the time of digging be neglected, the divell will carie all the treasure awaie. See other more absolute conjurations for this purpose, in the word *Iidoni* following.

Note this superstitious dotage.

You shall find in *Johannes Baptista Neapolitanus*, diverse receipts by hearbes and potions, to procure pleasant or fearefull dreames ; and perfumes also to that effect : who affirmeth, that dreames in the dead of

J. Bap. Neap. in natural. mag. lib. 2. cap. 26. fol. 83. & 84.

the night are commonlie preposterous and monstrous; and in the morning when the grosse humors be spent, there happen more pleasant and certeine dreames, the bloud being more pure than at other times: the reason whereof is there expressed.//

184. 135. The eight Chapter.

Sundrie receipts and ointments, made and used for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects: an instance therof reported and credited by some that are learned.

IT shall not be amisse here in this place to repeate an ointment greatlie to this purpose, rehearsed by the foresaid *John Bapt. Neap.* wherein although he maie be overtaken and cousened by an old witch, and made not onelie to beleeve, but also to report a false tale; yet bicause it greatlie overthroweth the opinion of *M. Mal. Bodin*, and such other, as write so absolutelie in maintenance of witches transportations, I will set downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

Confections or receipts for the miraculous transportation of witches.

R. The fat of yoong children, and seeth it with water in a brasen vessell, reserving the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they laie up and keepe, untill occasion serveth to use it. They put hereunto *Eleoselinum*, *Aconitum*, *Frondes populeas*, and Soote.

Another receipt to the same purpose.

R. *Sium*, *acarum vulgare*, *pentaphyllon*, the bloud of a flittermouse, *solanum somniferum*, *&* *oleum*. They stampe all these togither, and then they rubbe all parts of their bodies exceedinglie, till they looke red, and be verie hot, so as the pores may be opened, and their flesh soluble and loose. They joine herewithall either fat, or oile in steed thereof, that the force of the ointment maie the rather pearse inwardly, and so be more effectuall. By this means (saith he) in a moone light night they seeme to be carried in the aire, to feasting, singing, dansing, kissing, culling, and other acts of venerie, with such youthes as they love and desire most: for the force (saith he) of their imagination is so vehement, that almost all that part of the braine, wherein the memorie consisteth, is full of such conceipts.

185. And whereas they are naturallie prone/ to beleeve anie thing; so doo they receive such impressions and stedfast imaginations into their minds, as even their spirits are altered thereby; not thinking upon anie thing else, either by daie or by night. And this helpeth them forward in their imaginations, that their usuall food is none other commonlie but beets, rootes, nuts, beanes, peaze, &c.

Now (saith he) when I considered throughlie hereof, remaining doubtfull of the matter, there fell into my hands a witch, who of hir owne accord did promise me to fetch me an errand out of hand from farre countries, and willed all them, whome I had brought to witnesse the matter, to depart out of the chamber. And when she had undressed hir selfe, and froted hir bodie with certeine ointments (which action we beheld through a chinke or little hole of the doore) she fell downe thorough the force of those soporiferous or sleepie ointments into a most sound and heavie sleepe: so as we did breake open the doore, and did beate hir exceedinglie; but/ the force of hir sleepe was such, as it tooke awaie from hir the sense of feeling: and we departed for a time. Now when hir strength and powers were wearie and decaied, shee awooke of hir owne accord, and began to speake manie vaine and doting words, affirming that she had passed over both seas and mountaines; delivering to us manie untrue and false reports: we earnestlie denied them, she impudentlie affirmed them. This (saith he) will not so come to passe with everie one, but onlie with old women that are melancholike, whose nature is extreame cold, and their evaporation small; and they both perceive and remember what they see in that case and taking of theirs.

Vetule, quas à strigis similitudine, striges vocant, quæq; noctu puerulorum sanguinem in cunis cubantium exsorbent.

136.

The ninth Chapter.

A confutation of the former follies, as well concerning ointments, dreames, &c. as also of the assemblie of witches, and of their consultations and bankets at sundrie places, and all in dreames.

BUT if it be true that S. *Augustine* saith, and manie other writers, that witches nightwalkings are but phantasies and dreames: then all the reportes of their bargaine, transporting, and mee/tings with *Diana*, *Minerva*, &c: are but fables; and then do they lie that mainteine those actions to be doone in deed and veritie, which in truth are doone no waie. It were marvell on the one side (if those things happened in dreames, which neverthelesse the witches affirme to be otherwise) that when those witches awake, they neither consider nor remember that they were in a dreame. It were marvell that their ointments, by the physicians opinions having no force at all to that effect, as they confesse which are inquisitors, should have such operation. It were marvell that their ointments cannot be found anie where, saving onelie in the inquisitors bookes. It were marvell, that when a stranger is annointed therewith, they have sometimes, and yet not alwaies, the like operation as with witches; which all the inquisitors confesse.

186.

Barthol. Spinæus, q. de strigib. c. 31.

Bar. Spin. qu. de strigib. c. 30.

But to this last, frier *Bartholomæus* saith, that the witches themselves, before they annoint themselves, do heare in the night time a great noise of minstrels, which flie over them, with the ladie of the fairies, and then they addresse themselves to their journie. But then I marvell againe, that no bodie else heareth nor seeth this troope of minstrels, especiallie riding in a moone light night. It is marvell that they that thinke this to be but in a dreame, can be persuaded that all the rest is anie other than dreames. It is marvell that in dreames, witches of old acquaintance meet so just togither, and conclude upon murthers, and receive ointments, roots, powders, &c : (as witchmongers report they doo, and as they make the witches confesse) and yet lie at home fast asleepe. It is marvell that such preparation is made for them (as *Sprenger*, *Bartholomew*, and *Bodin* report) as well in noble mens houses, as in alehouses ; and that they come in dreames, and eate up their meate : and the alewife speciallie is not wearied with them for non paiment of their score,/ or false paiment ; to wit, with imaginarie monie, which they saie is not substantiall, and that they talke not afterwards about the reckoning, and so discover the matter. And it is most marvell of all, that the hostesse, &c: dooth not sit among them, and take part of their good cheere. For so it is, that if any part of these their meetings and league be true, it is as true and as certeinlie prooved and confessed, that at some alehouse, or sometime at some Gen/tlemans house, there is continuall preparation made monethlie for this assemblie : as appeereth in S. *Germans* storie.

New matter & worthie to be marvelled at.

137.

187.

Legend. aur. in vita S. Germani.

The tenth Chapter.

That most part of prophesies in the old testament were revealed in dreames, that we are not now to looke for such revelations, of some who have drempt of that which hath come to passe, that dreames proove contrarie, Nabuchadnez-zars rule to knowe a true expositor of dreames.

IT is held and mainteined by divers, and gathered out of the 12. of *Numbers*, that all which was written or spoken by the prophets, among the children of Israel (*Moses* excepted) was propounded to them by dreames. And indeed it is manifest, that manie things, which are thought by the unlearned to have beene reallie finished, have beene onlie performed by dreams and visions. As where *Salomon* required of God the gift of wisdome : that was (I say) in a dreame ; and also where he received promise of the continuance of the kingdome of Israel in his line. So

1. Re. 3, 5. 15.

1. Reg. 9.

was *Esais* vision in the 6. of his prophesie : as also that of *Ezechiel* the 12. Finallie, where *Jeremie* was commanded to hide his girdle in the clift of a rocke at the river *Euphrates* in *Babylon* ; and that after certeine daies, it did there putrifie, it must needs be in a dreame ; for *Jeremie* was never (or at leastwise not then) at *Babylon*. We that are christians must not now slumber and dreame, but watch and praie, and meditate upon our salvation in Christ both daie and night. And if we expect revelations in our dreames, now, when Christ is come, we shall deceive our selves : for in him are fulfilled all dreames and prophesies. Howbeit, *Bodin* holdeth that dreames and visions continue till this daie, in as miraculous maner as ever they did.

Isai. 6. Ezech. 12. Jerem. 13.

J. Bodin. lib. de dæmon. 1. cap. 5.

If you read *Artemidorus*, you shall read manie stories of such as drempt of things that afterwards cam to passe. But he might have cited a thousand for one that fell out contrarie : for as for / such dreamers among the Jews themselves, as had not extraordinarie visions miraculouslie exhibited unto them by God, they were counted couseners, as may appeere by these words of the prophet *Zacharie* ; Surelie the idols have spoken vanitie, and the soothsaiers have seene a lie, and the dreamers have told a vaine thing. According to *Salomons* saieng ; In the multitude of dreames and vanities are manie words. It appeereth in *Jeremie* 23. that the false prophets, whilest they illuded the people with lies, counterfetting the true prophets, used to crie out ; Dreames, dreames ; We have dreamed a dreame, &c. Finallie, *Nabuchadnez-zar* teacheth all men to knowe a true expositor of dreames ; to wit, such a one as hath his revelation from GOD. For he can (as *Daniel* did) repeate your dreame before you discover it : which thing if anie expounder of dreames can doo at this daie, I will beleeve him.//

188.

Zach. 10, 2.

Eccles. 5, 6. Jerem. 23.

Daniel. 2.

189. 138.

¶ *The eleventh booke.*

The first Chapter.

The Hebrue word Nahas expounded, of the art of augurie, who invented it, how slovenlie a science it is: the multitude of sacrifices and sacrificers of the heathen, and the causes therof.

NAHAS, is To observe the flieng of birds, & comprehendeth all such other observations, where men do ghesse upon uncerteine toies. It is found in *Deut.* 18. and in 2. *Chron.* 33. and else-where. Of this art of augurie *Tyresias* the king of the *Thebans* is said to be the first inventor: but *Tages* first published the discipline thereof, being but a little boie; as *Cicero* reporteth out of the bookes of the *Hetruscans* themselves. Some points of this art are more high and profound than some others, and yet are they more homelie and slovenlie than the rest; as namelie, the divination upon the entrailes of beasts, which the Gentiles in their sacrifices speciallie observed. Insomuch as *Marcus Varro*, seeing the absurditie thereof, said that these gods were not onlie idle, but verie slovens, that used so to hide their secrets and counsels in the guts and bowels of beasts.

The slovenlie art of augurie.

How vainlie, absurdlie, and superstitiouslie the heathen used this kind of divination in their sacrifices, is manifested by their actions & ceremonies in that behalfe practised, as well in times past, as at this houre. The *Aegyptians* had 666. severall sorts and kinds of
190. sacrifices; the *Romans* had almost as manie; the *Græcians* had not so few as they; the *Persians* and the *Medes* were not behind them; the *Indies* and other nations have at this instant their sacrifices full of varietie, and more full of barbarous impietie. For in sundrie places, these offer sacrifices to the divell, hoping thereby to moove him to lenitie: yea, these commonlie sacrifice such of their enimies, as they have taken in warre: as we read that the Gentiles in ancient time did offer sacrifice, to appease the wrath and indignation of their feigned gods.

The second Chapter.

Of the Jewes sacrifice to Moloch, a discourse thereupon, and of Purgatorie.

THE *Jewes* used one kind of diabolical sacrifice, never taught them by *Moses*, namelie, to offer their children to *Moloch*, making their sonnes and their daughters to runne through the fire ; supposing such grace and efficacie to have beene in that action, as other witches affirme to be in charmes and words. And therfore among other points of witchcraft, this is speciallie and namelie forbidden by *Moses*. We read of no more miracles wrought hereby, than by any other kind of witchcraft in the old or new testament expressed. It was no ceremonie appointed by God,/ no figure of Christ : perhaps it might be a sacrament or rather a figure of purgatorie, the which place was not remembred by *Moses*. Neither was there anie sacrifice appointed by the lawe for the releefe of the Israelites soules that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt should not have beene omitted, if any such place of purgatorie had beene then, as the Pope hath latelie devised for his private and speciall lucre. This sacrificing to *Moloch* (as some affirme) was usuall among the Gentiles, from whence the Jewes brought it into Israel : and there (of likeliehood) the *Eutichists* learned the abhomination in that behalfe./

2. Re. 23, 10
2. Chr. 33.
Jerem. 7.

Deut. 18, 10
Levi. 18, 21.
Id. cap. 20. 2.

An invincible argument against purgatorie. 139.

The third Chapter. 191.

The Canibals crueltie, of popish sacrifices exceeding in tyrannie the Jewes or Gentiles.

THE incivilitie and cruell sacrifices of popish preests do yet exceed both the Jew and the Gentile : for these take upon them to sacrifice Christ himselfe. And to make their tyrannie the more apparent, they are not contented to have killed him once, but dailie and hourelie torment him with new deaths ; yea they are not ashamed to sweare, that with their carnall hands they teare his humane substance, breaking it into small gobbets ; and with their externall teeth chew his flesh and bones, contrarie to divine or humane nature ; and contrarie to the prophesie, which saith ; There shall not a bone of him be broken. Finallie, in the end of their sacrifice (as they say) they eate him up rawe, and swallow downe into their guts everie member and parcell of him :

Against the papists abhominable and blasphemous sacrifice of the masse.

Psal. 34, 20.

and last of all, that they conveie him into the place where they bestowe the residue of all that which they have devoured that daie. And this same barbarous impietie exceedeth the crueltie of all others: for all the Gentiles consumed their sacrifices with fier, which they thought to be holie.

The fourth Chapter.

The superstition of the heathen about the element of fier, and how it grew in such reverence among them, of their corruptions, and that they had some inkling of the godlie fathers dooings in that behalfe.

AS touching the element of fier, & the superstition therof about those businesses, you shall understand, that manie superstitious people and nations have received, reverenced, & reserved fier, as the most holy thing among their sacri-
192. fices: insomuch (I saie) as they have worshipped it among their gods, calling it *Orimasda* (to wit) holie fier, and divine light. The Greekes called it ἑσίαν, the Romans *Vesta*, which is, The fier of the Lord. Surelie they had heard of the fier that came downe from heaven, and consumed the oblations of the fathers; and they understood it to be God himselfe. For there came to the heathen, the bare names of things, from the doctrine of the godlie fathers and
140. patriarchs, and those so obscured with fables, and corrupted with lies, so overwhelmed with superstitions, and disguised with ceremonies, that it is hard to judge from whence they came. Some cause thereof (I suppose) was partlie the translations of governements, whereby one nation learned follie of another; and partlie blind devotion, without knowledge of Gods word: but speciallie the want of grace, which they sought not for, according to Gods commandement and will. And that the Gentiles had some inkling of the godlie fathers dooings, may diverslie appeare. Doo not the *Muscovits* and **Indian* prophets at this daie, like apes, imitate *Esaie?* Bicause he went naked certeine yeares, they forsooth counterfet madnes, and drinke potions for that purpose; thinking that whatsoever they saie in their madnes, will certeinelie come to passe. But hereof is more largelie discoursed before in the word *Kasam.*

* The Gymnosophists of India their apish imitation of Esaie.

The fift Chapter.

Of the Romane sacrifices: of the estimation they had of augurie, of the lawe of the twelve tables.

THE *Romans*, even after they were growne to great civilitie, and enjoied a most flourishing state and commonwealth, would sometimes sacrifice themselves, sometimes their children, sometimes their friends, &c: consuming the same with fier, which they thought holie. Such estimation (I saie) was attributed to this art of divination upon the entrails of beasts, &c: at *Rome*, as the cheefe princes themselves exercised the same; namelie,/ *Romulus*, *Fabius Maximus*, *&c*: in so much as *193.* there was a decree made there, by the whole senate, that six of the cheefe magistrats sonnes should from time to time be put foorth, to learne the mysterie of these arts of augurie and divination, at *Hetruria*, where the cunning and knowledge thereof most abounded. When they came home well informed and instructed in this art, their estimation and dignitie was such, as they were accounted, reputed, and taken to be the interpretors of the gods, or rather betweene the gods and them. No high preest, nor anie other great officer was elected, but these did either absolutelie nominate them, or else did exhibit the names of two, whereof the senate must choose the one.

The lawe of the twelve tables.

In their ancient lawes were written these words: *Prodigia & portenta ad Hetruscos aruspices (si senatus jusserit) deferunto, Hetruriæq; principes disciplinam discunto. Quibus divis decreverunt, procuranto, iisdem fulgura & ostenta pianto, auspicia servanto, auguri parento:* the effect of which words is this; Let all prodigious and portentous matters be carried to the soothsaiers of *Hetruria*, at the will and commandement of the senat; and let the yoong princes be sent to *Hetruria*, there to learne that discipline, or to be instructed in that art and knowledge. Let there be alwaies some solicitor, to learne with what gods they have decreed or determined their matters, and let sacrifices be made unto them in times of lightening, or at anie strange or supernaturall shew. Let all such conjecturing tokens be observed; whatsoever the soothsaier commandeth, let it be religiouslie obeied./

141.

The sixt Chapter.

Colleges of augurors, their office, their number, the signification of augurie, that the practisers of that art were couseners, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparrell, their superstition.

194. ROMULUS erected three colleges or centuries of those kinds of soothsaiers, which onelie (and none other) should have authoritie to expound the minds and admonishments of the gods. Afterwards that/ number was augmented to five, and after that to nine : for they must needs be od. In the end, they increased so fast, that they were feine to make a decree for staie from the further proceeding in those erections : like to our statute of *Mortmaine*. Howbeit, *Silla* (contrarie to all orders and constitutions before made) increased that number to foure and twentie.

Magna charta. Hen. 3. 36. 7 Ed. 1. 15. Ri. 2. 5.

And though *Augurium* be most properlie that divination, which is gathered by birds ; yet bicause this word *Nahas* comprehendeth all other kinds of divination, as *Extispicium*, *aruspicium*, *&c :* which is as well the ghessing upon the entrailes of beasts, as divers other waies : omitting physiognomie and palmestrie, and such like, for the tediousnes and follie thereof ; I will speake a little of such arts, as were above measure regarded of our elders : neither mind I to discover the whole circumstance, but to refute the vanitie thereof, and speciallie of the professors of them, which are and alwaies have beene cousening arts, and in them conteined both speciall and severall kinds of witchcrafts. For the maisters of these faculties have ever taken upon them to occupie the place and name of God ; blasphemouslie ascribing unto themselves his omnipotent power, to foretell, &c : whereas, in truth, they could or can doo nothing, but make a shew of that which is not.

A manifest discoverie of augurors cousenage.

One matter, to bewraie their cousening, is ; that they could never worke nor foreshew anie thing to the poore or inferior sort of people : for portentous shewes (saie they) alwaies concerned great estates. Such matters as touched the baser sort, were inferior causes ; which the superstition of the people themselves would not neglect to learne. Howbeit, the professors of this art descended not so lowe, as to communicate with them : for they were preests (which in all ages and nations have beene jollie fellowes) whose office was, to tell what should come to passe, either touching good lucke, or bad fortune ; to expound the minds, admonitions, warnings and threat-

nings of the gods, to foreshew calamities, &c : which might be (by their sacrifices and common contrition) remooved and qualified. And before their entrance into that action, they had manie observations, which they executed verie superstitiouslie ; pretending that everie bird and beast, &c, should be sent from the gods as foreshewes of somewhat. And/ therefore first they used to choose a cleare daie, and *195.* faire wether to doo their busines in : for the which their place was certeinelie assigned, as well in *Rome* as in *Hetruria*, wherein they observed everie quarter of the element, which waie to looke, and which way to stand, &c./ Their apparell was verie preestlike, of **142.** fashion altered from all others, speciallie at the time of their praiers, wherein they might not omit a word nor a syllable : in respect whereof one read the service, and all the residue repeated it after him, in the maner of a procession.

The seventh Chapter.

The times and seasons to exercise augurie, the maner and order thereof, of the ceremonies thereunto belonging.

NO lesse regard was there had of the times of their practise in that ministerie : for they must beginne at midnight, and end at noone, not travelling therein in the decaie of the day, but in the increase of the same ; neither in the sixt or seventh houre of the daie, nor yet after the moneth of August ; bicause then yoong birds flie about, and are diseased, and unperfect, mounting their fethers, and flieng out of the countrie : so as no certeine ghesse is to be made of the gods purposes by them at those seasons. But in their due times they standing with a bowed wand in their hand, their face toward the east, &c : in the top of an high tower, the weather being cleare, watch for birds, noting from whence they came, and whether they flie, and in what sort they wag their wings, &c./

Note the superstitious ceremonies of augurors.

The eight Chapter. *196.*

Upon what signes and tokens augurors did prognosticate, observations touching the inward and outward parts of beasts, with notes of beasts behaviour in the slaughterhouse.

THESE kind of witches, whom we have now in hand, did also prognosticate good or bad lucke, according to the soundnes or imperfection of the entrailes of beasts ; or according to the superfluities or infirmities of nature ; or according to the abundance of humors unnecessarie, appearing in the inward parts and bowels of the beasts sacrificed. For as touch-

Observations in the art augurificall.

ing the outward parts, it was alwaies provided and foreseene, that they should be without blemish. And yet there were manie tokens and notes to be taken of the externall actions of those beasts, at the time of sacrifice: as if they would not quietlie be brought to the place of execution, but must be forceablie hailed; or if they brake loose; or if by hap, cunning, or strength they withstood the first blowe; or if after the butchers blowe, they leaped up, rored, stood fast; or being fallen, kicked, or would not quietlie die, or bled not well; or if anie ill newes had beene heard, or anie ill sight seene at the time of slaughter or sacrifice: which were all significations of ill lucke and unhappie successe. On the other side, if the slaughterman performed his office well, so as the beast had beene well chosen, not infected, but whole and sound, and in the end faire killed; all had beene safe: for then the gods smiled./

143

The ninth Chapter.

A confutation of augurie, Plato his reverend opinion thereof, of contrarie events, and false predictions.

BUT what credit is to be attributed to such toies and chances, which grow not of nature, but are gathered by the superstition of the interpretors? As for birds, who is so ignorant that conceiveth not, that/ one flieth one waie, another another waie, about their privat necessities? And yet are the other divinations more vaine and foolish. Howbeit, *Plato* thinketh a commonwealth cannot stand without this art, and numbereth it among the liberall sciences. These fellowes promised *Pompeie*, *Cassius*, and *Cæsar*, that none of them should die before they were old, and that in their owne houses, and in great honor; and yet they all died cleane contrarilie. Howbeit doubtles, the heathen in this point were not so much to be blamed, as the sacrificing papists: for they were directed hereunto without the knowledge of Gods promises; neither knew they the end why such ceremonies and sacrifices were instituted; but onelie understood by an uncerteine and slender report, that God was woont to send good or ill successe to the children of Israell, and to the old patriarchs and fathers, upon his acceptance or disallowance of their sacrifices and oblations. But men in all ages have beene so desirous to know the effect of their purposes, the sequele of things to come, and to see the end of their feare and hope; that a seelie witch, which had learned anie thing in the art of cousenage, may make a great manie jollie fooles.

197.

Plato in Phædro, in Timeo, in lib. de Republ.

Wherein the papists are more blame worthie than the heathen.

The tenth Chapter.

The cousening art of sortilege or lotarie, practised especiallie by Aegyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots, of Pythagoras his lot, &c.

THE counterfeit *Aegyptians*, which were indeed cousening vagabonds, practising the art called *Sortilegium*, had no small credit among the multitude: howbeit, their divinations were as was their fast and loose, and as the witches cures and hurtes, & as the soothsaiers answers, and as the conjurors raisings up of spirits, and as *Apollos* or the Rood of graces oracles, and as the jugglers knacks of legierdemaine, and as the papists exorcismes, and as the witches charmes, and as the counterfeit visions, and as the couseners knaveries. Hereupon it was said; *Non inve|niatur inter vos menahas*, that is *Sortilegus*, which were like to these Aegyptian couseners. As for other lots, they were used, and that lawfullie; as appeareth by *Jonas* and others that were holie men, and as may be seene among all commonwelths, for the deciding of diverse controversies, &c: wherein thy neighbour is not misused, nor God anie waie offended. But in truth I thinke, bicause of the cousenage that so easilie may be used herein,/ God forbad it in the commonwealth of the Jewes, though in the good use thereof it was allowed in matters of great weight; as appeareth both in the old and new testament; and that as well in doubtfull cases and distributions, as in elections and inheritances, and pacification of variances. I omit to speake anie thing of the lots comprised in verses, concerning the lucke ensuing, either of *Virgil*, *Homer*, or anie other, wherein fortune is gathered by the sudden turning unto them: bicause it is a childish and ridiculous toie, and like unto childrens plaie at *Primus secundus*, or the game called The philosophers table: but herein I will referre you to the bable it selfe, or else to *Bodin*, or to some such sober writer thereupon; of whome there is no want.

Sortilege or lotshare.

198.

144.

Levit. 16. Num. 33. & 36. Josu. 14. 1. Chron. 24 & 26. Prover. 18. Jonas. 1. Acts. 1.

There is a lot also called *Pythagoras* lot, which (some saie) *Aristotle* beleeved: and that is, where the characters of letters have certeine proper numbers; whereby they divine (through the proper names of men) so as the numbers of each letters being gathered in a summe, and put togither, give victorie to them whose summe is the greater; whether the question be of warre, life, matrimonie, victorie, &c: even as the unequall number of vowels in proper names portendeth lacke of sight, halting, &c: which the godfathers and godmothers might easilie prevent, if the case stood so.

Of Pythagoras lot.

The eleventh Chapter.

Of the Cabalisticall art, consisting of traditions and unwritten verities learned without booke, and of the division thereof.

HERE is place also for the Cabalisticall art, consisting of unwritten verities, which the Jewes doo beleeve and brag that God himselfe gave to *Moses* in the mount
199. *Sinai*; and afterwards was taught/ onelie with livelie voice, by degrees of succession, without writing, untill the time of *Esdras*: even as the scholers of *Archippus* did use wit and memorie in steed of bookes. They divide this in twaine; the one expoundeth with philosophicall reason the secrets of the lawe and the bible, wherein (they saie) that *Salomon* was verie cunning; bicause it is written in the Hebrew stories, that he disputed from the Cedar of *Libanus*, even to the Hisop, and also of birds, beasts, &c. The other is as it were a symbolicall divinitie of the highest contemplation, of the divine and angelike vertues, of holie names and signes; wherein the letters, numbers, figures, things and armes, the prickes over the letters, the lines, the points, and the accents doo all signifie verie profound things and great secrets. By these arts the Atheists suppose *Moses* wrote all his miracles, and that hereby they have power over angels and divels, as also to doo miracles: yea and that hereby all the miracles that either anie of the prophets, or Christ himselfe wrought, were accomplished.

The art Cabalisticall divided.

But *C. Agrippa* having searched to the bottome of this art, saith it is nothing but superstition and follie. Otherwise you maie be sure Christ would not have hidden it from his church. For this cause the
145. Jewes/ were so skilfull in the names of God. But there is none other name in heaven or earth, in which we might be saved, but Jesus: neither is that meant by his bare name, but by his vertue and goodnes towards us. These Cabalists doo further brag, that they are able hereby, not onelie to find out and know the unspeakeable mysteries of God; but also the secrets which are above scripture; whereby also they take upon them to prophesie, and to worke miracles: yea hereby they can make what they list to be scripture; as *Valeria Proba* did picke certeine verses out of *Virgil* alluding them to Christ. And therefore these their revolutions are nothing but allegoricall games, which idle men busied in letters, points, and numbers (which the Hebrew toong easilie suffereth) devise, to delude and cousen the simple and ignorant. And this they call Alphabetarie or Arythmanticall divinitie, which Christ shewed to his apostles onelie, and which

C. Agrippa lib. de vanit. scient.

The blasphemie of the Cabalists.

Paule saith he speaketh but among perfect men; and being high mysteries are not to be committed unto writing, and so made popular. There is no man that readeth anie thing of / this *Cabalisticall* art, but must needs think upon the popes cunning practises in this behalfe, who hath *In scrinio pectoris*, not onelie the exposition of all lawes, both divine and humane, but also authoritie to adde thereunto, or to drawe backe therefrom at his pleasure: and this may he lawfullie doo even with the scriptures, either by addition or substraction, after his owne pontificall liking. As for example: he hath added the Apocrypha (whereunto he might as well have joined S. *Augustines* works, or the course of the civill lawe, &c:) Againe, he hath diminished from the decalog or ten commandements, not one or two words, but a whole precept, namelie the second, which it hath pleased him to dash out with his pen: and trulie he might as well by the same authoritie have rased out of the testament S. *Markes* gospell.

200.

In concil. Trident.

[C. of Trent 1550]

The twelfe Chapter.

When, how, and in what sort sacrifices were first ordained, and how they were prophaned, and how the pope corrupteth the sacraments of Christ.

AT the first God manifested to our father *Adam*, by the prohibition of the apple, that he would have man live under a lawe, in obedience and submission; and not to wander like a beast without order or discipline. And after man had transgressed, and deserved thereby Gods heavie displeasure; yet his mercie prevailed; and taking compassion upon man, he promised the Messias, who should be borne of a woman, and breake the serpents head: declaring by evident testimonies, that his pleasure was that man should be restored to favour and grace, through Christ: and binding the minds of men to this promise, and to be fixed upon their Messias, established figures and ceremonies wherewith to nourish their faith, and confirmed the same with miracles, prohibiting and excluding all mans devises in that behalfe. And upon his promise renewed, he injoined (I say) and erected a new forme of worship, whereby/ he would have his promises constantlie beheld, faithfullie beleeved, and reverentlie regarded. He or/deined six sorts of divine sacrifices; three propitiatorie, not as meriting remission of sinnes, but as figures of Christs propitiation: the other three were of thanksgiving. These sacrifices were full of ceremonies, they were powdered with consecrated salt, and kindled

Gen. 2. 17.

Gen. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 15.

Levit. 12. 3. &c.

146.

201.

with fier, which was preserved in the tabernacle of the Lord : which fier (some thinke) was sent downe from heaven. GOD himselfe commanded these rites and ceremonies to our forefathers, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, &c : promising therein both the amplification of their families, and also their Messias. But in tract of time (I saie) wantonnesse, negligence, and contempt, through the instigation of the divell, abolished this institution of GOD : so as in the end, God himselfe was forgotten among them, and they became pagans & heathens, devising their owne waies, untill everie countrie had devised and erected both new sacrifices, and also new gods particular unto themselves. Whose example the pope followeth, in prophaning of Christs sacraments, disguising them with his devises and superstitious ceremonies ; contriving and comprehending therein the follie of all nations : the which bicause little children doo now perceive and scorne, I will passe over ; and returne to the Gentiles, whome I cannot excuse of cousenage, superstition, nor yet of vanitie in this behalfe. For if God suffered false prophets among the children of Israell, being Gods peculiar people, and hypocrits in the church of Christ ; no marvell if there were such people amongst the heathen, which neither professed nor knew him.

A gird at the pope for his sawcinesse in Gods matters.

The xiii. Chapter.

Of the objects whereupon the augurors used to prognosticate, with certeine cautions and notes.

THE Gentiles, which treat of this matter, repeat an innumerable multitude of objects, whereupon they prognosticate good or bad lucke. And a great matter is made of neezing, wherein the number of neezings & the time therof is greatlie noted ; the tingling in the finger, the elbowe, the toe, the knee, &c : are singular notes also to be observed in this art ; though speciallie heerin are marked the flieng of fowles, and meeting of beasts ; with this generall caution, that the object or matter whereon men divine, must be sudden and unlooked for : which regard, children and some old fooles have to the gathering primrose, true loves, and foure leaved grasse ; Item the person unto whome such an object offereth it selfe unawares ; Item the intention of the divinor, whereby the object which is met, is referred to augurie ; Item the houre in which the object is without foreknowledge upon the sudden met withall ; and so foorth.

202.

Plinie reporteth that griphes flie alwaies to the place of slaughter,

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 10. *cap.* 6.

two or three daies before the battell is fought ; which was seene and tried at the battell of *Troie* : and in respect thereof, the griph was allowed to/ be the cheefe bird of augurie. But among the innumerable number of the portentous beasts, fowles, serpents, and other creatures, the tode is the most excellent object, whose ouglie deformitie signifieth sweete and amiable fortune : in respect whereof some superstitious witches preserve todes for their familiars. And some one of good credit (whome I could name) having convented the witches themselves, hath starved diverse of their divels, which they kept in boxes in the likenesse of todes.

147. *Arist. in auguriis.*

Plutarch Chironæus saith, that the place and site of the signes that we receive by augurie, are speciallie to be noted : for if we receive them on the left side, good lucke ; if on the right side, ill lucke insueth : bicause terrene and mortall things are opposite & contrarie to divine and heavenlie things ; for that which the gods deliver with the right hand, falleth to our left side ; and so contrariwise.

Plutarch doteth by his leave, for all his learning.

The xiiii. Chapter.

The division of augurie, persons admittable into the colleges of augurie, of their superstition.

THE latter divinors in these mysteries, have divided their soothsaiengs into twelve superstitions : as *Augustinus Niphus* termeth them. The first is prosperitie ; the second, ill lucke, as when one goeth/ out of his house, and seeth an unluckie beast lieng on the right side of his waie ; the third is destinie ; the fourth is fortune ; the fift is ill hap, as when an infortunate beast feedeth on the right side of your waie ; the sixt is utilitie ; the seventh is hurt ; the eight is called a cautell, as when a beast followeth one, and staieth at any side, not passing beyond him, which is a signe of good lucke ; the ninth is infelicitie, and that is contrarie to the eight, as when the beast passeth before one ; the tenth is perfection ; the eleventh is imperfection ; the twelfe is conclusiin.* Thus farre he.

Aug. Niphus de auguriis, lib. 1. *203.*

[* *read*,—sion]

Among the *Romans* none could be received into the college of augurors that had a bile, or had beene bitten with a dog, &c : and at the times of their exercise, even at noone daies, they lighted candels. From whence the papists conveie unto their church, those points of infidelitie. Finallie, their observations were so infinite and ridiculous, that there flew not a sparkle out of the fier, but it betokened somewhat.

Who were not admittable into the college of augurors among the Romans.

The xv. Chapter.

Of the common peoples fond and superstitious collections and observations.

O vaine follie and foolish vanitie !

EMONGST us there be manie women, and effeminat men (marie papists alwaies, as by their superstition may appeere) that make great divinations upon the shedding of salt, wine, &c : and for the observation of daies, and houres use as great *withcraft as in anie thing. For if one/ chance to take a fall from a horsse, either in a slipperie or stumbling waie, he will note the daie and houre, and count that time unluckch* for a journie. Otherwise, he that receiveth a mischance, wil consider whether he met not a cat, or a hare, when he went first out of hfr* doores in the morning ; or stumbled not at the threshhold at his going out ; or put not on his shirt the wrong side outwards ; or his left shoo on his right foote, which *Augustus Cæsar* reputed for the woorst lucke that might befall. But above all other nations (as *Martinus de Arles* wit/nesseth) the *Spaniards* are most superstitious herein ; & of *Spaine*, the people of the province of *Lusitania* is the most fond. For one will saie ; I had a dreame to night, or a crowe croked upon my house, or an owle flew by me and screeched (which augurie *Lucius Silla* tooke of his death) or a cocke crew contrarie to his houre. Another saith ; The moone is at the prime ; another, that the sun rose in a cloud and looked pale, or a starre shot and shined in the aire, or a strange cat came into the house, or a hen fell from the top of the house.

148. [* *read*, witch—]

[* *read*,—kie]

[* *read*, his]

Martin. de Arles in tract. de superst. contra malefícta. 204.

Appian. de bello civili.

[* read,—*ficia*.]

Many will go to bed againe, if they neeze before their shooes be on their feet ; some will hold fast their left thombe in their right hand when they hickot ; or else will hold their chinne with their right hand whiles a gospell is soong. It is thought verie ill lucke of some, that a child, or anie other living creature, should passe betweene two friends as they walke togither ; for they say it portendeth a division of freendship. Among the papists themselves, if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a frier or a preest ; they thought it so ill lucke, as they would couple up their hounds, and go home, being in despaire of any further sport that daie. Marrie if they had used venerie with a begger, they should win all the monie they plaied for that daie at dice. The like follie is to be imputed unto them, that observe (as true or probable) old verses, wherein can be no reasonable cause of such effects ; which are brought to passe onlie by Gods power, and at his pleasure. Of this sort be these that follow :

Augurificall toies.

Vincenti festo si sol radiet memor esto,
Remember on S. Vincents daie,
If that the sunne his beames displaie.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni,
If Paule th'apostles daie be cleare,
It dooth foreshew a luckie yeare.

By Ab. Fleming.

Si sol splendescat Maria purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quàm fuit ante, ||
If Maries purifieng daie,
Be cleare and bright with sunnie raie,
Then frost and cold shalbe much more,
After the feast than was before.

205. **149.** *By Ab. Fleming.*

Serò rubens cœlum cras indicat esse serenum,
Si manè rubescit, ventus vel pluvia crescit.
The skie being red at evening,
Foreshewes a faire and cleare morning;
But if the morning riseth red,
Of wind or raine we shalbe sped.

By Ab. Fleming.

Some sticke a needle or a buckle into a certeine tree, neere to the cathedrall church of S. *Christopher*, or of some other saint; hoping thereby to be delivered that yeare from the headach. Item maids forsooth hang some of their haire before the image of S. *Urbane*, bicause they would have the rest of their haire grow long and be yellow. Item, women with child runne to church, and tie their girdles or shoo latchets about a bell, and strike upon the same thrise, thinking that the sound thereof hasteth their good deliverie. But sithence these things beginne to touch the vanities and superstitions of incantations, I will referre you thither, where you shall see of that stuffe abundance; beginning at the word *Habar*.

Seeke more hereof in the word Habar.

The xvi. Chapter.

How old writers varie about the matter, the maner and the meanes, whereby things augurificall are mooved.

THEOPHRASTUS and *Themistius* affirme, that whatsoever happeneth unto man suddenlie and by chance, commeth from the providence of God. So as *Themistius* gathereth, that men in that respect/ prophesie, when they *206.* speake what commeth in their braine, upon the sudden; though not knowing or understanding what they saie. And that seeing God hath

Averroes. 12. metaphysic.

a care for us, it agreeth with reason (as *Theophrastus* saith) that he shew us by some meane whatsoever shall happen. For with *Pythagoras* he concludeth, that all foreshewes and auguries are the voices and words of God, by the which he foretelleth man the good or evill that shall beetide.

Trismegistus affirmeth, that all augurificall things are mooved by divels; *Porphyrie* saith by gods, or rather good angels: according to the opinion of *Plotinus* and *Iamblichus*. Some other affirme they are mooved by the moone wandering through the twelve signes of the Zodiake: bicause the moone hath dominion in all sudden matters. The *Aegyptian* astronomers hold, that the moone ordereth not those portentous matters, but *Stella errans*, a wandering starre, &c./

150.

The xvii. Chapter.

How ridiculous an art augurie is, how Cato mocked it, Aristotles reason against it, fond collections of augurors, who allowed, and who disallowed it.

The fond art of augurie convinced.

VERELIE all these observations being neither grounded on Gods word, nor physicall or philosophicall reason, are vanities, superstitions, lies, and meere witchcraft; as whereby the world hath long time beene, and is still abused and cousened. It is written; *Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta, &c:* It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his owne power. The most godlie men and the wisest philosophers have given no credit hereunto. S. *Augustine* saith; *Qui his divinationibus credit, sciat se fidem christianam & baptismum prævaricasse, & paganum Deiq; inimicum esse.* One told *Cato*, that a rat had carried awaie and eaten his hose, which the partie said was a woonderfull signe. Naie (said *Cato*) I thinke not so; but if the hose had eaten the rat, that had beene a wonderfull

Acts. 1, 7.

207. token indeed. When/ *Nonius* told *Cicero* that they should have good successe in battell, bicause seven eagles were taken in *Pompeies* campe, he answered thus; No doubt it will be even so, if that we chance to fight with pies. In the like case also he answered *Labienus*, who prophesied like successe by such divinations, saieng, that through the hope of such toies, *Pompeie* lost all his pavillions not long before.

What wiseman would thinke, that God would commit his counsell to a dawe, an owle, a swine, or a tode; or that he would hide his secret purposes in the doong and bowels of beasts? *Aristotle* thus reasoneth; Augurie or divinations are neither the causes nor effects

Arist. de somno.

of things to come; *Ergo*, they doo not thereby foretell things trulie, but by chance. As if I dreame that my freend will come to my house, and he commeth indeed: yet neither dreame nor imagination is more the cause of my freends comming, than the chattering of a pie.

When *Hanibal* overthrew *Marcus Marcellus*, the beast sacrificed wanted a peece of his hart; therefore forsooth *Marius*, when he sacrificed at Utica, and the beast lacked his liver, he must needs have the like successe. These are their collections, and as vaine, as if they said that the building of *Tenderden* steeple was the cause of *Goodwine sands*, or the decaie of *Sandwich* haven. *S. Augustine* saith, that these observations are most superstitious. But we read in the fourth psalme, a sentence which might dissuade anie christian from this follie and impietie; O ye sonnes of men, how long will you turne my glorie into shame, loving vanitie, and seeking lies? The like is read in manie other places of scripture.

August. lib. de doct. chri. 2. cap. 2.
Psal. 4, 2.

Of such as allow this follie, I can commend *Plinie* best, who saith, that the operation of these auguries is as we take them. For if we take them in good part, they are signes of good lucke; if we take them in ill part, ill lucke/ followeth; if we neglect them, and wey them not, they doo neither good nor harme. *Thomas* of *Aquine* reasoneth in this wise; The starres, whose course is certeine, have greater affinitie and communitie with mans actions, than auguries; and yet our dooings are neither directed nor proceed from the starres. Which thing also *Ptolome* witnesseth, saieng; *Sapiens dominabitur astris*, A wiseman overruleth the starres./

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 28. cap. 2.
Tho Aquin. lib. de sortib. 151.

The 18. Chapter. 208

Fond distinctions of the heathen writers, concerning augurie.

THE heathen made a distinction betweene divine, naturall, and casuall auguries. Divine auguries were such, as men were made beleeve were done miraculouslie, as when dogs spake; as at the expulsion of *Tarquinius* out of his kingdome; or when trees spake, as before the death of *Cæsar*; or when horsses spake, as did a horsse, whose name was *Zanthus*. Manie learned christians confesse, that such things as may indeed have divine cause, may be called divine auguries; or rather forewarnings of God, and tokens either of his blessings or discontentation: as the starre was a token of a safe passage to the magicians that sought Christ; so was the cockcrowing an augurie to *Peter* for his conversion. And manie such other divinations or auguries (if it be lawfull so to terme them) are in the scriptures to be found.

C. Epidius. Homer. Iliad. 19.

The 19. Chapter.

Of naturall and casuall augurie, the one allowed, and the other disallowed.

NATURALL augurie is a physicall or philosophicall observation; bicause humane and naturall reason may be yeelded for such events: as if one heare the cocke crow manie times together, a man may ghesse that raine will followe shortlie; as by the crieng of rooks, and by their extraordinarie using of their wings in their flight, bicause through a naturall instinct, provoked by the impression of the heavenlie bodies, they
209. are mooved to know the/ times, according to the disposition of the weather, as it is necessarie for their natures. And therefore *Jeremie* saith; *Milvus in cælo cognovit tempus suum.* The physician may argue a strength towards in his patient, when he heareth him neeze twise, which is a naturall cause to judge by, and conjecture upon. But sure it is meere casuall, and also verie foolish and incredible, that by two neezings, a man should be sure of good lucke or successe in his businesse; or by meeting of a tode, a man should escape a danger, or atchieve an enterprise, &c./

152.

The xx. Chapter.

A confutation of casuall augurie which is meere witchcraft, and upon what uncertaintie those divinations are grounded.

WHAT imagination worketh in man or woman, many leaves would not comprehend; for as the qualities thereof are strange, and almost incredible, so would the discourse thereof be long and tedious, wherof I had occasion to speake elsewhere. But the power of our imagination extendeth not to beasts, nor reacheth to birds, and therefore perteineth not hereunto. Neither can the chance for the right or left side be good or bad lucke in it selfe. Why should any occurrent or augurie be good? Bicause it commeth out of that part of the heavens, where the good or beneficiall stars are placed? By that reason, all things should be good and happie that live on that side; but we see the contrarie experience, and as commonlie as that.

The vanitie of casuall augurie.

The like absurditie and error is in them that credit those divinations; bicause the starres, over the ninth house have dominion at the time of augurie. If it should betoken good lucke, joy or gladnesse, to heare a noise in the house, when the moone is in *Aries*: and contrari-

wise, if it be a signe of ill lucke, sorrowe, or greefe for a beast to come into the house, the moone being in the same signe : here might be found a fowle error and contrarietie./ And forsomuch as both may happen at once, the rule must needs be false and ridiculous. And if there were any certeine rules or notes to be gathered in these divinations ; the abuse therein is such, as the word of God must needs be verefied therein ; to wit, I will destroie the tokens of soothsaiers, and make them that conjecture, fooles. *210.* Isai. 44. 25.

The xxi. Chapter.

That figure-casters are witches, the uncerteintie of their art, and of their contradictions, Cornelius Agrippas sentence against judiciall astrologie.

THESE casters of figures may bee numbred among the cousening witches, whose practise is above their reach, their purpose to gaine, their knowledge stolne from poets, their art uncerteine & full of vanitie, more plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other follie. And thereupon many other trifling vanities are rooted and grounded ; as physiognomie, palmestrie, interpreting of dreames, monsters, auguries, &c : the professors whereof confesse this to be the necessarie key to open the knowledge of all their secrets. For these fellowes erect a figure of the heavens, by the exposition whereof (togither with the conjectures of similitudes and signes) they seeke to find out the meaning of the significators, attributing to them the ends of all things, contrarie to truth, reason, and divinitie : their rules being so inconstant, that few writers agree in/ the verie principles therof. For the *Rabbins*, the old and new writers, and the verie best philosophers dissent in the cheefe grounds thereof, differing in the proprietie of the houses, whereout they wring the foretelling of things to come, contending even about the number of spheres, being not yet resolved how to erect the beginnings and endes of the houses : for *Ptolomie* maketh them after one sort, *Campanus* after another, &c. The vaine and trifling trickes of figure-casters. **153.**

And as *Alpetragus* thinketh, that there be in the heavens / diverse movings as yet to men unknowne, so doo others affirme (not without probabilitie) that there maie be starres and bodies, to whome these movings maie accord, which cannot be seene, either through their exceeding highnes, or that hitherto are not tried with anie observation of the art. The true motion of *Mars* is not yet perceived, neither is it possible to find out the true entring of the sunne into the equinoctiall points. It is not denied, that the astronomers them- *211.* *Johan. Montiregius in epistola ad Blanchimē:*

& Gulielmus de sancto Clodoald. Rabbi Levi. C. Agrip. in lib. de vanit. scient. Archelaus. Cassander. Eudoxus, &c.

selves have received their light, and their verie art from poets, without whose fables the twelve signes and the northerlie and southerlie figures had never ascended into heaven. And yet (as *C. Agrippa* saith) astrologers doo live, cousen men, and gaine by these fables; whiles the poets, which are the inventors of them, doo live in beggerie.

The verie skilfullest mathematicians confesse, that it is unpossible to find out anie certeine thing concerning the knowledge of judgements, as well for the innumerable causes which worke togither with the heavens, being all togither, and one with the other to be considered: as also bicause influencies doo not constraine but incline. For manie ordinarie and extraordinarie occasions doo interrupt them; as education, custome, place, honestie, birth, bloud, sickness, health, strength, weakenes, meate, drinke, libertie of mind, learning, &c. And they that have written the rules of judgement, and agree neerest therein, being of equall authoritie and learning, publish so contrarie opinions upon one thing, that it is unpossible for an astrologian to pronounce a certeintie upon so variable opinions; & otherwise, upon so uncerteine reports no man is able to judge herein. So as (according to *Ptolomie)* the foreknowledge of things to come by the starres, dependeth as well upon the affections of the mind, as upon the observation of the planets, proceeding rather from chance than art, as whereby they deceive others, and are deceived themselves also./

212.

The xxii Chapter.

The subtiltie of astrologers to mainteine the credit of their art, why they remaine in credit, certeine impieties conteined in astrologers assertions.

Astrologers prognostications are like the answers of oracles.

IF you marke the cunning ones, you shall see them speake darkelie of things to come, devising by artificiall subtiltie, doubtfull prognostications, easilie to be applied to everie thing, time, prince, and nation: and if anie thing come to passe according to their divinations, they fortifie their old prognostications with new reasons. Nevertheles, in the multitude/ and varietie of starres, yea even in the verie middest of them, they find out some places in a good aspect, and some in an ill; and take occasion hereupon to saie what they list, promising unto some men honor, long life, wealth, victorie, children, marriage, freends, offices; & finallie everlasting felicitie. But if with anie they be discontent, they saie the starres be not favourable to them, and threaten them with hanging, drowning, beggerie, sickenes, misfortune, &c. And if one of these prognostica-

154.

tions fall out right, then they triumph above measure. If the prognosticators be found to forge and lie alwaies (without such fortune as the blind man had in killing the crow) they will excuse the matter, saieng, that *Sapiens dominatur astris*, wheras (according to *Agrippas* words) neither the wiseman ruleth the starres, nor the starres the wiseman, but God ruleth them both. *Corn. Tacitus* saith, that they are a people disloiall to princes, deceiving them that beleeve them. And *Varro* saith, that the vanitie of all superstitions floweth out of the bosome of astrologie. And if our life & fortune depend not on the starres, then it is to be granted, that the astrologers seeke where nothing is to be found. But we are so fond, mistrustfull & credulous, that we feare more the fables of Robin good fellow ; astrologers, & witches, & beleeve more the things that are not, than the things that are. And the more unpossible a thing is, the more we stand in feare thereof; and the lesse likelie to be true, the more/ we beleeve it. *213.* And if we were not such, I thinke with *Cornelius Agrippa*, that these divinors, astrologers, conjurors, and cousenors would die for hunger.

And our foolish light beleefe, forgetting things past, neglecting things present, and verie hastie to know things to come, doth so comfort and mainteine these cousenors ; that whereas in other men, for making one lie, the faith of him that speaketh is so much mistrusted, that all the residue being true is not regarded. Contrariwise, in these cousenages among our divinors, one truth spoken by hap giveth such credit to all their lies, that ever after we beleeve whatsoever they saie ; how incredible, impossible or false soever it be. Sir *Thomas Moore* saith, they know not who are in their owne chambers, neither who maketh themselves cuckoldes that take upon them all this cunning, knowledge, and great foresight. But to enlarge their credit, or rather to manifest their impudencie, they saie the gift of prophesie, the force of religion, the secrets of conscience, the power of divels, the vertue of miracles, the efficacie of praiers, the state of the life to come, &c : doth onlie depend upon the starres, and is given and knowne by them alone. For they saie, that when the signe of *Gemini* is ascended, and *Saturne* and *Mercurie* be joined in *Aquarie*, in the ninth house of the heavens, there is a prophet borne : and therefore that Christ had so manie vertues, bicause he had in that place *Saturne* and *Gemini*. Yea these Astrologers doo not sticke to saie, that the starres distribute all sortes of religions: wherein *Jupiter* is the especiall patrone, who being joined with *Saturne*, maketh the religion of the Jewes; with *Mercurie*, of the Christians; with the Moone, of Antichristianitie. Yea they affirme that the faith of everie man maie be knowne to them as well as to God. And that Christ himselfe did use the election of houres in his miracles; so as the Jewes could not hurt

S. Thomas Moores frumpe at judiciall astrologers.

Astrologicall blasphemies

[* *read*, he.] him whilest he went to *Jerusalem*, and therefore that *the said to his disciples that forbad him to go; Are there not twelve houres in the daie?//

Joh 11. 8. & 9.

214. 155.

The xxiii. Chapter.

Who have power to drive awaie divels with their onelie presence, who shall receive of God whatsoever they aske in praier, who shall obteine everlasting life by meanes of constellations, as nativitie-casters affirme.

THEY saie also, that he which hath *Mars* happilie placed in the ninth house of the heavens, shall have power to drive awaie divels with his onelie presence from them that be possessed. And he that shall praie to God, when he findeth the Moone and *Jupiter* joined with the dragons head in the middest of the heavens, shall obteine whatsoever he asketh: and that *Jupiter* and *Saturne* doo give blessednes of the life to come. But if anie in his nativitie shall have *Saturne* happilie placed in *Leone*, his soule shall have everlasting life. And hereunto subscribe *Peter de Appona*, *Roger Bacon*, *Guido Bonatus*, *Arnold de villa nova*, and the Cardinall of *Alia*. Furthermore, the providence of God is denied, and the miracles of Christ are diminished, when these powers of the heavens and their influencies are in such sort advanced. *Moses*, *Esaie*, *Job* and *Jeremie*, seeme to dislike and reject it: and at *Rome* in times past it was banished, and by *Justinian* condemmed under paine of death. Finallie, *Seneca* derideth these soothsaieng witches in this sort; Amongst the *Cleones* (saith he) there was a custome, that the χαλαζοφύλακες (which were gazers in the aier, watching when a storme of haile should fall) when they sawe by anie cloud that the shower was imminent and at hand; the use was (I saie) bicause of the hurt which it might doo to their vines, &c: diligentlie to warne the people thereof; who used not to provide clokes or anie such defense against it, but provided sacrifices; the rich, cockes and white lambes; the poore would spoile themselves by cutting their thombes; as though (saith he) that little bloud could ascend up to the cloudes, and doo anie good there for their releefe in this/ matter.

The follie of our genethliaks, or nativiti-casters.

Senec. lib. de quæst. natural. 4.

215.

Hilarius Pirkmair in arte apodemica.

And here by the waie, I will impart unto you a *Venetian* superstition, of great antiquitie, and at this daie (for ought I can read to the contrarie) in use. It is written, that everie yeere ordinarilie upon ascension daie, the Duke of *Venice*, accompanied with the States, goeth with great solemnitie unto the sea, and after certeine ceremonies ended, casteth thereinto a gold ring of great value and estimation for

a pacificatorie oblation : wherewithall their predecessors supposed that the wrath of the sea was asswaged. By this action, as a late writer saith, they doo *Desponsare sibi mare*, that is, espouse the sea unto themselves, &c.

Joannes Garropius in Venet. & Hyperb. Zach. 10. 1. verse 2.

Let us therefore, according to the prophets advise, aske raine
of the Lord in the houres of the latter time, and he shall
send white cloudes, and give us raine &c : for surelie,
the idols (as the same prophet saith) have spoken
vanitie, the soothsaiers have seene a lie, and
the dreamers have told a vaine thing.
They comfort in vaine, and therefore
they went awaie like sheepe, &c.
If anie sheepebiter or witch-
monger will follow them,
they shall go alone
for me.//

216. 156.

¶ *The twelfe Booke.*

The first Chapter.

The Hebrue word Habar expounded, where also the supposed secret force of charmes and inchantments is shewed, and the efficacie of words is diverse waies declared.

THIS Hebrue word *Habar*, being in Greeke *Epathin*, and in Latine *Incantare*, is in English, To inchant, or (if you had rather have it so) to bewitch. In these inchantments, certeine wordes, verses, or charmes, &c: are secretlie uttered, wherein there is thought to be miraculous efficacie. There is great varietie hereof: but whether it be by charmes, voices, images, characters, stones, plants, metals, herbes, &c: there must herewithall a speciall forme of words be alwaies used, either divine, diabolicall, insensible, or papisticall, whereupon all the vertue of the worke is supposed to depend. This word is speciallie used in the 58. psalme, which place though it be taken up for mine adversaries strongest argument against me; yet me thinkes it maketh so with me, as they can never be able to answer it. For there it plainelie appeareth, that the adder heareth not the voice of the charmer, charme he never so cunninglie: contrarie to the poets fabling,

Psal. 58.

Psal. 58. 4. 5.

Virgil. in Damone. By Ab. Fleming. *217.*

Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis./
The coldish snake in medowes greene,
With charmes is burst in peeces cleene.

But hereof more shall be said hereafter in due place.

I grant that words sometimes have singular vertue and efficacie, either in persuasion or disuasion, as also diverse other waies; so as thereby some are converted from the waie of perdition, to the estate of salvation: and so contrariwise, according to the saieng of *Solomon*; Death and life are in the instrument of the toong: but even therein God worketh all in all, as well in framing the heart of the one, as in directing the toong of the other: as appeareth in manie places of the holie scriptures.

Prover. 18.
Chron. 30.
Psal. 10.
Psal. 51.
Psal. 139
Jerem. 32.
Isai. 6.
Isai. 50.
Exod. 7. 8. 9.
Prov. 16.

The second Chapter.

What is forbidden in scriptures concerning witchcraft, of the operation of words, the superstition of the Cabalists and papists, who createth substances, to imitate God in some cases is presumption, words of sanctification.

THAT which is forbidden in the scriptures touching inchantment or witch craft, is not the wonderfull working with words. For where / words have had miraculous 157.
operation, there hath beene alwaies the speciall providence, power and grace of God uttered to the strengthening of the faith of Gods people, and to the furtherance of the gospell : as when Acts. 5.
the apostle with a word slue *Ananias* and *Saphira.* But the prophanation of Gods name, the seducing, abusing, and cousening of the people, and mans presumption is hereby prohibited, as whereby manie take upon them after the recitall of such names, as God in the scripture seemeth to appropriate to himselfe, to foreshew things to come, to worke miracles, to detect fellonies, &c : as the Cabalists in times past tooke upon them, by the ten names of God, and his angels, expressed / in the scriptures, to worke woonders : and as the papists *218.*
at this daie by the like names, by crosses, by gospels hanged about their necks, by masses, by exorcismes, by holie water, and a thousand consecrated or rather execrated things, promise unto themselves and others, both health of bodie and soule.

But as herein we are not to imitate the papists, so in such things, as are the peculiar actions of God, we ought not to take upon us to Jonas. 1.
counterfet, or resemble him, which with his word created all things. For we, neither all the conjurors, Cabalists, papists, soothsaiers, inchanters, witches, nor charmers in the world, neither anie other humane or yet diabolicall cunning can adde anie such strength to Gods workmanship, as to make anie thing anew, or else to exchange one thing into another. New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herein, doubtles neither the illusions of divels, nor the cunning of witches, can bring anie such thing truelie to passe. For by the sound of the words nothing commeth, nothing goeth, otherwise than God in nature hath ordeined to be doone by ordinarie speech, or else by his speciall ordinance. Indeed words of sanctification are necessarie and commendable, according to S. *Paules* rule ; Let your meat be sanctified with the word of God, and by praier. But sanctification dooth not here signifie either change of substance of the

Words of sanctification, and wherein they consist.

meate, or the adding of anie new strength thereunto ; but it is sanctified, in that it is received with thanksgiving and praier ; that our bodies may be refreshed, and our soule thereby made the apter to glorifie God.

The third Chapter.

What effect and offense witches charmes bring, how unapt witches are, and how unlikelie to worke those things which they are thought to doo, what would followe if those things were true which are laid to their charge.

THE words and other the illusions of witches, charmers, and conjurors, though they be not such in operation and effect, as they are commonlie taken to be :
219 yet they are offensive to the majestie/ and name of God, obscuring the truth of divinitie, & also of philosophie. For if God onlie give life & being to all creatures, who can put any
158. such ver/tue or livelie feeling into a body of gold, silver, bread, or wax, as is imagined? If either preests, divels, or witches could so doo, the divine power shuld be checked & outfaced by magicall cunning, & Gods creatures made servile to a witches pleasure. What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches? & yet they are women that never went to schoole in their lives, nor had any teachers: and therefore without art or learning; poore, and therefore not able to make any provision of metal or stones, &c : whereby to bring to passe strange matters, by naturall magicke ; old and stiffe, and therefore not nimble handed to deceive your eie with legierdemaine; heavie, and commonlie lame, and therefore unapt to flie in the aire, or to danse with the fairies; sad, melancholike, sullen, and miserable, and therefore it should be unto them (*Invita Minerva*) to banket or danse with *Minerva*; or yet with *Herodias*, as the common opinion of all writers heerein is. On the other side, we see they are so malicious and spitefull, that if they by themselves, or by their divels, could trouble the elements, we should never have faire weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattell, they would spare none ; but would destroy and kill whole countries and housholds. If they could transfer corne (as is affirmed) from their neighbors field into their owne, none of them would be poore, none other should be rich. If they could transforme themselves and others (as it is most constantlie affirmed) oh what a number of apes and owles should there be of us! If *Incubus* could beget *Merlins* among us, we should have a jollie manie of cold prophets./

An ample description of women commonlie called witches.

The fourth Chapter.

220.

Why God forbad the practise of witchcraft, the absurditie of the lawe of the twelve tables, whereupon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their woonderous works.

THOUGH it be apparent, that the Holie-ghost forbiddeth this art, bicause of the abuse of the name of God, and the cousenage comprehended therein: yet I confesse, the customes and lawes almost of all nations doo declare, that all these miraculous works, before by me cited, and many other things more woonderfull, were attributed to the power of witches. The which lawes, with the executions and judicials thereupon, and the witches confessions, have beguiled almost the whole world. What absurdities concerning witchcraft, are written in the law of the twelve tables, which was the highest and most ancient law of the *Romans*? Whereupon the strongest argument of witches omnipotent power is framed; as that the wisedome of such lawgivers could not be abused. Whereof (me thinks) might be made a more strong argument on our side; to wit, If the cheefe and principall lawes of the world be in this case ridiculous, vaine, false, incredible, yea and contrarie to Gods lawe; the residue of the lawes and arguments to that effect, are to be suspected. If that argument should hold, it might proove all the popish lawes against protestants, & the hea/thenish princes lawes against christians, to be good and in force: for it is like they would not have made them, except they had beene good. Were it not (thinke you) a strange proclamation, that no man (upon paine of death) should pull the moone out of heaven? And yet verie many of the most learned witchmongers make their arguments upon weaker grounds; as namelie in this forme and maner; We find in poets, that witches wrought such and such miracles; *Ergo* they can accomplish and doo this or that wonder. The words of the lawe are these;/ *Qui fruges incantasset pœnas dato, Néve alienam segetem pellexeris excantando, neq; incantando, Ne agrum defruganto:* the sense wherof in English is this; Let him be executed that bewitcheth corne, Transferre not other mens corne into thy ground by inchantment, Take heede thou inchant not at all neither make thy neighbors field barren: he that dooth these things shall die, &c.

A common and universall error.

159.

J. Bodinus.
Danæus.
Hyperius.
Heming.
*Bar. Spineus**
Mal. Malef.

* *Spinæus.*

221.

The fift Chapter.

An instance of one arreigned upon the lawe of the twelve tables, whereby the said lawe is proved ridiculous, of two witches that could doo woonders.

A notable purgation of C. F. C. convented for a witch.

ALTHOUGH among us, we thinke them bewitched that wax suddenlie poore, and not them that growe hastilie rich; yet at *Rome* you shall understand, that (as *Plinie* reporteth) upon these articles one *C. Furius Cressus* was convented before *Spurius Albinus*; for that he being but a little while free, and delivered from bondage, occupieng onelie tillage; grew rich on the sudden, as having good crops: so as it was suspected that he transferred his neighbors corne into his fields. None intercession, no delaie, none excuse, no deniall would serve, neither in jest nor derision, nor yet through sober or honest meanes: but he was assigned a peremptorie daie, to answer for life. And therefore fearing the sentence of condemnation, which was to be given there, by the voice and verdict of three men (as we heere are tried by twelve) made his appearance at the daie assigned, and brought with him his ploughs and harrowes, spades and shovels, and other instruments of husbandrie, his oxen, horsses, and working bullocks, his servants, and also his daughter, which was a sturdie wench and a good huswife, and also (as *Piso* reporteth) well trimmed up in apparell, and said to the whole bench in this wise; Lo heere my lords I make mine appearance, according to my promise and your pleasures, presenting unto you my charmes and witchcrafts, which have so inriched me. As for the labour, sweat,
222. wat/ching, care, and diligence, which I have used in this behalfe, I cannot shew you them at this time. And by this meanes he was dismissed by the consent of that court, who otherwise (as it was thought) should hardly have escaped the sentence of condemnation, and punishment of death.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 5.

[* moushoall]

It is constantlie affirmed in *M. Mal.* that *Stafus* used alwaies to hide himselfe in a *monshoall, and had a disciple called *Hoppo*, who made *Stadlin* a maister witch, and could all when they list invisiblie transferre the third part of their neighbours doong, hay, corne, &c: into
160. theire owne ground, make/ haile, tempests, and flouds, with thunder and lightning; and kill children, cattell, &c: reveale things hidden, and many other tricks, when and where they list. But these two shifted not so well with the inquisitors, as the other with the *Romane* and heathen judges. Howbeit, *Stafus* was too hard for them all:

for none of all the lawiers nor inquisitors could bring him to appeere before them, if it be true that witchmongers write in these matters.

The sixt Chapter.

Lawes provided for the punishment of such witches as worke miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certeine popish lawes published against them.

THERE are other lawes of other nations made to this incredible effect: as *Lex Salicarum* provideth punishment for them that flie in the aire from place to place, and meete at their nightlie assemblies, and brave bankets, carrieng with them plate, and such stuffe, &c: even as we should make a lawe to hang him that should take a church in his hand at *Dover*, and throwe it to *Callice*. And bicause in this case also popish lawes shall be seene to be as foolish and lewd as any other whatsoever, and speciallie as tyrannous as that which is most cruell: you shall heare what trim new lawes the church of *Rome* hath latelie devised. These are therefore the words of pope *Innocent* the eight to the inquisitors/ of *Almanie*, and of pope *Julius* the second, sent to the inquisitors of *Bergomen*. It is come to our eares, that manie lewd persons, of both kinds, as well male as female, using the companie of the divels *Incubus* and *Succubus*, with incantations, charmes, conjurations, &c: doo destroie, &c: the births of women with child, the yoong of all cattell, the corne of the feeld, the grapes of the vines, the frute of the trees: Item, men, women, and all kind of cattell and beasts of the feeld: and with their said inchantments, &c: doo utterlie extinguish, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, ortchards, medowes, pastures, grasse, greene corne, and ripe corne, and all other podware: yea men and women themselves are by their imprecations so afflicted with externall and inward paines and diseases, that men cannot beeget, nor women bring foorth anie children, nor yet accomplish the dutie of wedlocke, denieng the faith which they in baptisme professed, to the destruction of their owne soules, &c. Our pleasure therefore is, that all impediments that maie hinder the inquisitors office, be utterlie removed from among the people, least this blot of heresie proceed to poison and defile them that be yet innocent. And therefore we doo ordeine, by vertue of the apostolicall authoritie, that our inquisitors of high *Almanie*, maie execute the office of inquisition by all tortures and afflictions, in all places, and upon all persons, what and where-

Punishmēt of impossibilities.

223.

A wise lawe of pope Innocent and Julie, were it not that they wanted wit when they made it.

soever, as well in everie place and diocesse, as upon anie person; and that as freelie, as though they were named, expressed, or cited in this our commission./

161.

The seventh Chapter.

Poetical authorities commonlie alleaged by witchmongers, for the proofe of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernaturall power.

HERE have I place and oportunitie, to discover the whole art of witchcraft; even all their charmes, periapts, characters, amulets, praiers, blessings, curssings, hurtings, helpings, knaveries, cousenages, &c. But first I will shew what authorities are produced to defend and mainteine the
224. same, and that in serious sort,/ by *Bodin*, *Spinæus*, *Hemingius*, *Vairus*, *Danæus*, *Hyperius*: *M. Mal.* and the rest.

Virg. eclog. 8.

[* *mutavit*]

Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam,
Carminibus Circe socios mut avit Ulyssis,*
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis:

Inchantments plucke out of the skie,
The moone, though she be plaste on hie:
Dame Circes with hir charmes so fine,
Ulysses mates did turne to swine:
The snake with charmes is burst in twaine,
In medowes, where she dooth remaine.

Againe out of the same poet they cite further matter.

Virg. eclog. 8.

Has herbas, atq́; hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena,
Ipsa dedit Mæris: nascuntur plurima Ponto.
His ego sæpè lupam fieri, & se condere sylvis,
Mærim sæpe animas imis exire sepulchris,
Atq́; satas aliò vidi traducere messes.

These herbs did Meris give to me,
And poisons pluckt at Pontus,
For there they growe and multiplie,
And doo not so amongst us.
With these she made hir selfe become,
A wolfe, and hid hir in the wood,
She fetcht up soules out of their toome,
Remooving corne from where it stood.

Furthermore out of Ovid they alledge these folowing.

Ovid. fast. 6.

Nocte volant, puerósq; petunt nutricis egentes,
Et vitiant cunis corpora capta suis :
Carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris,
Et plenumpotu sanguine gutur habent :* 162.

[* *plenum potu*]

To children they doo flie by night,
And catch them while their nursses sleepe,
And spoile their little bodies quite, 225.
And home they beare them in their beake.

Againe out of Virgill in forme following.

Virg. Aene. 4.

Hinc mihi Massylæ gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulásq; draconi
Quæ dabat, & sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
Spargens humida mella, soporiferúmq; papaver.
Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,
Quas velit, ast aliis dur as immittere curas,* [* duras]
Sistere aquam fluviis, & vertere sidera retrò,
Nocturnósq; ciet manes, mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram, & descendere montibus ornos :

Tho. Phaiers translation of the former words of Virg.

From thence a virgine preest is come,
from out Massyla land,
Sometimes the temple there she kept,
and from hir heavenlie hand
The dragon meate did take: she kept
also the frute divine,
With herbes and liquors sweete that still
to sleepe did men incline.
The minds of men (she saith) from love
with charmes she can unbind,
In whom she list: but others can
she cast to cares unkind.
The running streames doo stand, and from
their course the starres doo wreath,
And soules she conjure can: thou shalt
see sister underneath
The ground with roring gape, and trees
and mountaines turne upright, &c.

Moreover out of Ovid they alledge as followeth.

Ovid. metamor. 7.

Cùm volui ripis ipsis mirantibus amnes
Infontes rediere suos, concússaq́; sisto,* [* *In fontes*]

Stantia concutio, cantu freta nubila pello,
Nubiláq; ìnduco, ventos abigóq; vocóq;,
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces,|
163. *Viváque saxa, sua convulsáque robora terra,*
Et sylvas moveo, jubeóque tremescere montes,
Et mugire solum, manésque exire sepulchris,
Téque luna traho, &c:

The rivers I can make retire,
Into the fountaines whence they flo,
(Whereat the banks themselves admire)
I can make standing waters go,
With charmes I drive both sea and clowd,
I make it calme and blowe alowd.
The vipers jawes, the rockie stone,
With words and charmes I breake in twaine
The force of earth congeald in one,
I moove and shake both woods and plaine;
I make the soules of men arise,
I pull the moone out of the skies.

Also out of the same poet.

Ovid. de Medea.

Virbáque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
Quæ mare turbatum, quæ flumina concita sistant:

And thrise she spake the words that causd
Sweete sleepe and quiet rest,
She staid the raging of the sea,
And mightie flouds supprest.

Ovid. de Medea, epistola. 4.

Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus,

She sticketh also needels fine
In livers, whereby men doo pine.

3. Amor. Eclog. 6.

Also out of other poets.

Carmine læsa Ceres, sterilem vanescit in herbam,
Deficiunt læsi carmine fontis aquæ,
Illicibus glandes, cantatáque vitibus uva|
227. *Decidit, & nullo poma movente fluunt:*

With charmes the corne is spoiled so,
As that it vades to barren gras,
With charmes the springs are dried lowe,
That none can see where water was,

The grapes from vines, the mast from okes,
And beats downe frute with charming strokes./

Quæ sidera excantata voce Thessala
Lunámque cælo diripit:

She plucks downe moone and starres from skie,
With chaunting voice of Thessalie.

164.
Horac. epod. 5*
[Horat]*

Hanc ego de cælo ducentem sidera vidi,
Fluminis ac rapidi carmine vertit iter,
Hæc cantu findítque solum, manésque sepulchris
Elicit, & tepido devorat ossa rogo:
Cùm lubet hæc tristi depellit lumina cælo,
Cùm lubet æstivo convocat orbe nives:

Tibul. de fascinatrice, lib. 1. Eleg. 2.

She plucks each star out of his throne,
And turneth backe the raging waves,
With charmes she makes the earth to cone,
And raiseth soules out of their graves:
She burnes mens bones as with a fire,
And pulleth downe the lights from heaven,
And makes it snowe at hir desire
Even in the midst of summer season.

Mens hausti nulla sanie polluta veneni,
Incantata perit:

Lucan. lib. de bello civili. 6.

A man inchanted runneth mad,
That never anie poison had.

Cessavere vices rerum, dilatáque longa
Hæsit nocte dies, legi non paruit æther,
Torpuit & præceps audito carmine mundus:

Idem. Ibid.

The course of nature ceased quite,/
The aire obeied not his lawe,
The daie delaid by length of night,
Which made both daie and night to yawe;
And all was through that charming geare,
Which causd the world to quake for feare.

228.

Carmine Thessalidum dura in præcordia fluxit,
Non fatis adductus amor, flammísque severi
Illicitis arsere ignes:

Idem. Ibid.

With Thessall charmes, and not by fate
Hot love is forced for to flowe,
Even where before hath beene debate,
They cause affection for to growe.

Idem. Ibid.

Gens invisa diis maculandi callida cœli,
165. *Quos genuit terra, mali qui sidera mundi*
Juráque fixarum possunt pervertere rerum:
Nam nunc stare polos, & flumina mittere norunt,
Aethera sub terras adigunt, montésque revellunt:

These witches hatefull unto God,
And cunning to defile the aire,
Which can disorder with a nod
The course of nature everie where,
Doo cause the wandring starres to staie
And drive the winds beelow the ground,
They send the streames another waie,
And throwe downe hilles where they abound.

C. Manilius astronom. suæ. lib. 1.

——————linguis dixere volucrum,
Consultare fibras, & rumpere vocibus angues,
Solicitare umbras, ipsúmque Acheronta movere,
In noctémque dies, in lucem vertere noctes,
Omnia conando docilis solertia vincit:

They talked with the toongs of birds,
Consulting with the salt sea coasts,
They burst the snakes with witching words,
229. *Solliciting the spirituall ghosts,*
They turne the night into the daie,
And also drive the light awaie:
And what ist that cannot be made
By them that doo applie this trade?

The eight Chapter.

Poetrie and poperie compared in inchantments, popish witchmongers have more advantage herein than protestants.

YOU see in these verses, the poets (whether in earnest or in jest I know not) ascribe unto witches & to their charmes, more than is to be found in humane or diabolicall power. I doubt not but the most part of the readers hereof will admit them to be fabulous; although the most learned of mine adversaries (for lacke of scripture) are faine to produce these poetries for proofes, and for lacke of judgement I am sure doo thinke, that *Actæons* transformation was true. And why not? As well as the metamorphosis or transubstantiation of *Ulysses* his

Ovid Metamorph. lib. 3. fab. 2.

companions into swine: which S. *Augustine*, and so manie great clarkes credit and report. *Ovid. Metamorph.* 14. *fab.* 5, 6.

Neverthelesse, popish writers (I confesse) have advantage herein of our protestants: for (besides these poeticall proofes) they have (for advantage) the word and authoritie of the pope himselfe, and others of that / holie crue; whose charmes, conjurations, blessings, curssings, &c: I meane in part (for a tast) to set downe; giving you to understand, that poets are not altogither so impudent as papists herein, neither seeme they so ignorant, prophane, or impious. And therefore I will shew you how lowd also they lie, and what they on the other side ascribe to their charmes and conjurations; and togither will set downe with them all maner of witches charmes, as conveni-entlie as I maie./ **166.**

The authors transition to his purposed scope.

The ninth Chapter. *230.*

Popish periapts, amulets and charmes, agnus Dei, a wastcote of proofe, a charme for the falling evill, a writing brought to S. Leo from heaven by an angell, the vertues of S. Saviors epistle, a charme against theeves, a writing found in Christs wounds, of the crosse, &c.

THESE vertues under these verses (written by pope *Urbane* the fift to the emperour of the *Græcians*) are conteined in a periapt or tablet, to be continuallie worne about one, called *Agnus Dei*, which is a little cake, having the picture of a lambe carrieng of a flag on the one side; and Christs head on the other side, and is hollow: so as the gospell of S. *John*, written in fine paper, is placed in the concavitie thereof: and it is thus compounded or made, even as they themselves report.

Balsamus & munda cera, cum chrismatis unda
Conficiunt agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum,
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum:
Fulgura desursum depellit, & omne malignum,
Peccatum frangit, ut Christi sanguis, & angit,
Prægnans servatur, simul & partus liberatur,
Dona refert dignis, virtutem destruit ignis,
Portatus mundè de fluctibus eripit undæ:

Balme, virgine wax, and holie water,
an Agnus Dei make:
A gift than which none can be greater,
I send thee for to take.

Englished by Abraham Fleming. Looke in the Bee-hive of the

Romish church. Lib. 4. cap. 1. fol. 243.

From founteine cleere the same hath issue,
in secret sanctifide:
Gainst lightning it hath soveraigne vertue,
and thunder crackes beside./
231. *Ech hainous sinne it weares and wasteth,*
even as Christs precious blood,
And women, whiles their travell lasteth,
it saves, it is so good.
It doth bestow great gifts and graces,/
167. *on such as well deserve:*
And borne about in noisome places,
from perill doth preserve.
The force of fire, whose heat destroieth,
it breaks and bringeth downe:
And he or she that this enjoieth,
no water shall them drowne.

¶ *A charme against shot, or a wastcote of proofe.*

BEfore the comming up of these *Agnus Deis*, a holie garment called a wastcote for necessitie was much used of our forefathers, as a holy relike, &c: as given by the pope, or some such archconjuror, who promised thereby all manner of immunitie to the wearer thereof; in somuch as he could not be hurt with anie shot or other violence. And otherwise, that woman that would weare it, should have quicke deliverance: the composition thereof was in this order following.

The maner of making a wastecote of proofe.

On Christmas daie at night, a threed must be sponne of flax, by a little virgine girle, in the name of the divell: and it must be by hir woven, and also wrought with the needle. In the brest or forepart thereof must be made with needle worke two heads; on the head at the right side must be a hat, and a long beard; the left head must have on a crowne, and it must be so horrible, that it maie resemble Belzebub, and on each side of the wastcote must be made a crosse.

¶ *Against the falling evill.*

MOreover, this insuing is another counterfet charme of theirs, whereby the falling evill is presentlie remedied.

Gaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum,
Hæc tria qui secum portabit nomina regum,/
232. *Solvitur à morbo Christi pietate caduco.*

Gasper with his myrh beganne
these presents to unfold,
Then Melchior brought in frankincense,
and Balthasar brought in gold.
Now he that of these holie kings
the names about shall beare,
The falling yll by grace of Christ
shall never need to feare.

This is as true a copie of the holie writing, that was brought downe from heaven by an angell to S. *Leo* pope of *Rome*; & he did bid / him take it to king *Charles*, when he went to the battell at *Roncevall.* And the angell said, that what man or woman beareth this writing about them with good devotion, and saith everie daie three *Pater nosters*, three *Aves*, and one *Creede*, shall not that daie be overcome of his enimies, either bodilie or ghostlie; neither shalbe robbed or slaine of theeves, pestilence, thunder, or lightening; neither shall be hurt with fier or water, nor combred with spirits, neither shall have displeasure of lords or ladies: he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken with fairies, or anie maner of axes, nor yet with the falling evill. Also, if a woman be in travell, laie this writing upō hir bellie, she shall have easie deliverance, and the child right shape and christendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all through vertue of these holie names of Jesus Christ following: 168.

These effects are too good to be true in such a patched peece of poperie.

✠ *Jesus* ✠ *Christus* ✠ *Messias* ✠ *Soter* ✠ *Emmanuel* ✠ *Sabbaoth* ✠ *Adonai* ✠ *Unigenitus* ✠ *Majestas* ✠ *Paracletus* ✠ *Salvator noster* ✠ *Agiros iskiros* ✠ *Agios* ✠ *Adanatos* ✠ *Gasper* ✠ *Melchior* ✠ & *Balthasar* ✠ *Matthæus* ✠ *Marcus* ✠ *Lucas* ✠ *Johannes.*

The epistle of S. *Savior*, which pope *Leo* sent to king *Charles*, saieng, that whosoever carrieth the same about him, or in what daie so ever he shall read it, or shall see it, he shall not be killed with anie iron toole, nor be burned with fier, nor be drowned with water, neither anie evill man or other creature maie hurt him. The crosse of Christ is a woonderfull defense ✠ the crosse / of Christ be alwaies with me ✠ the crosse is it which I doo alwaies worship ✠ the crosse of Christ is true health ✠ the crosse of Christ dooth lose the bands of death ✠ the crosse of Christ is the truth and the waie ✠ I take my journie upon the crosse of the Lord ✠ the crosse of Christ beateth downe everie evill ✠ the crosse of Christ giveth all good things ✠ the crosse of Christ taketh awaie paines everlasting ✠ the crosse of Christ save me ✠ O crosse of Christ be upon me, before me, and behind me ✠ bicause the ancient enimie cannot abide the sight of 233.

thee ✠ the crosse of Christ save me, keepe me, governe me, and direct me ✠ Thomas bearing this note of thy divine majestie ✠ Alpha ✠ Omega ✠ first ✠ and last ✠ middest ✠ and end ✠ beginning ✠ and first begotten ✠ wisedome ✠ vertue ✠.

¶ *A popish periapt or charme, which must never be said, but carried about one, against theeves.*

I Doo go, and I doo come unto you with the love of God, with the humilitie of Christ, with the holines of our blessed ladie, with the faith of *Abraham*, with the justice of *Isaac*, with the vertue of *David*, with the might of *Peter*, with the constancie of *Paule*, with the word of God, with the authoritie of *Gregorie*, with the praier of *Clement*, with the floud of *Jordan*, *.p .p p c g e g a q q est p t* 1 *ka b g l k* 2 *a x t g t b am* g* 2 4 2 1 *q; p x c g k q a* 9 9 *p o q q r.* Oh onelie Father ✠ oh onlie lord ✠ And Jesus ✠ passing through the middest of them ✠ went ✠ In the name of / the Father ✠ and of the Sonne ✠ and of the Holie-ghost ✠.

[*.p = per* or *par*]

[*c a m* 2. ed.]

169.

¶ *Another amulet.*

Joseph of *Arimathea* did find this writing upon the wounds of the side of Jesus Christ, written with Gods finger, when the bodie was taken away frō the crosse. Whosoever shall carrie this writing about him, shall not die anie evill death, if he beleeve in Christ, and in all perplexities he shall soone be delivered, neither let him feare any danger at all. *Fons* ✠ *alpha & omega* ✠ *figa* ✠ *figalis* ✠ *Sabbaoth* ✠ *Emmanuel* ✠ *Adonai* ✠ *o* ✠ *Neray* ✠ *Elay* ✠ *Ihe* ✠ *Rentone* ✠ *Neger* ✠ *Sahe* ✠ *Pangeton* ✠ *Commen* ✠ *a* ✠ *g* ✠ *l* ✠ *a* ✠ *Matthæus* ✠ *Marcus* ✠ *Lucas* ✠ *Johannes* ✠ ✠ ✠ *titulus triumphalis* ✠ *Jesus Nasa/renus rex Judæorum* ✠ *ecce dominicæ crucis signum* ✠ *fugite partes adversæ, vicit leo de tribu Judæ, radix, David, aleluijah, Kyrie eleeson, Christe eleeson, pater noster, ave Maria, & ne nos, & veniat super nos salutare tuum : Oremus, &c.**

234.

[* From *Fons* is in Rom. from *titulus* in Ital.]

I find in a Primer intituled The houres of our Ladie, after the use of the church of *Yorke*, printed anno 1516. a charme with this titling in red letters ; To all them that afore this image of pitie devoutlie shall saie * five *Pater nosters*, five *Aves*, and one *Credo*, pitiouslie beholding these armes of Christs passion, are granted thirtie two thousand seven hundred fiftie five yeares of pardon. It is to be thought that this pardon was granted in the time of pope *Boniface* the ninth ; for *Platina* saith that the pardons were sold so cheape, that the apostolicall authoritie grew into contempt.

* If the party faile in the number, he may go whistle for a pardon.

¶ *A papisticall charme.*

Signum sanctæ crucis defendat me à malis præsentibus, præteritis, & futuris, interioribus & exterioribus : that is, The signe of the crosse defend me from evils present, past, and to come, inward and outward.

¶ *A charme found in the canon of the masse.*

Also this charme is found in the canon of the masse, *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi, omnibúsque sumentibus, salus mentis & corporis, & ad vitam promerendam, & capessendam, præparatio salutaris :* that is, Let this holie mixture of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, be unto me, and unto all receivers thereof, health of mind and bodie, and to the deserving and receiving of life an healthfull preparative.

¶ *Other papisticall charmes.*

Aqua benedicta, sit mihi salus & vita :
Let holie water be, both health and life to me. *By Ab. Fleming.*
Adque nomen Martini omnis hæreticus fugiat pallidus,
When Martins name is soong or said,
Let heretikes flie as men dismaid./

But the papists have a harder charme than that ; to wit, Fier and fagot, Fier and fagot./ *235.*

¶ *A charme of the holie crosse.* **170.**

Nulla salus est in domo,
Nisi cruce munit homo
Superliminaria.
Neque sentit gladium,
Nec amisit filium,
Quisquis egit talia.

No health within the house dooth dwell,
Except a man doo crosse him well,
at everie doore or frame,
He never feeleth the swords point,
Nor of his sonne shall loose a joint,
that dooth performe the same.

Furthermore as followeth.

Ista suos fortiores
Semper facit, & victores, *Sancta crux æquiparatur salutifero*

Christo. O blasphæmiam inenarrabilem!

Morbos sanat & languores,
Reprimit dæmonia.
Dat captivis libertatem,
Vitæ confert novitatem,
Ad antiquam dignitatem,
Crux reduxit omnia.
O Crux lignum triumphale,
Mundi vera salus vale,
Inter ligna nullum tale,
Fronde, flore, germine.
Medicina Christiana,
Salva sanos, ægros sana,
Quod non valet vis humana,
Fit in tuo nomine, &c.

Englished by Abraham Fleming. Looke in the Beehive of the Romish church. lib. 4. cap. 3. fol. 251, 252.

236.

It makes hir souldiers excellent,
and crowneth them with victorie,
Restores the lame and impotent,
and healeth everie maladie.
The divels of hell it conquereth,
releaseth from imprisonment,
Newnesse of life it offereth,
it hath all at commandement.
O crosse of wood incomparable,
to all the world most holsome:
No wood is halfe so honourable,

171.

in branch, in bud, or blossome.
O medcine which Christ did ordaine,
the sound save everie hower,
The sicke and sore make whole againe,
by vertue of thy power.
And that which mans unablenesse,
hath never comprehended,
Grant by thy name of holinesse,
it may be fullie ended, &c.

¶ *A charme taken out of the Primer.*

This charme following is taken out of the Primer aforesaid. *Omnipotens* ✠ *Dominus* ✠ *Christus* ✠ *Messias* ✠ with 34. names more, & as many crosses, & then proceeds in this wise; *Ista nomina me protegant ab omni adversitate, plaga, & infirmitate corporis &*

animæ, plenè liberent, & assistent in auxilium ista nomina regum, Gasper, &c: & 12 apostoli (videlicet) Petrus, &c: & 4 evangelistæ (videlicet) Matthæus, &c: mihi assistent in omnibus necessitatibus meis, ac me defendant & liberent ab omnibus periculis & corporis & animæ, & omnibus malis præteritis, præsentibus, & futuris, &c.

The tenth Chapter.

237.

How to make holie water, and the vertues therof. S. Rufins charme, of the wearing and bearing of the name of Jesus, that the sacrament of confession and the eucharist is of as much efficacie as other charmes, & magnified by L. Vairus.

IF I did well, I should shew you the confection of all their stuffe, and how they prepare it; but it would be too long. And therefore you shall onlie have in this place a few notes for the composition of certeine receipts, which in stead of an Apothecarie if you deliver to any morrowmasse preest, he will make them as well as the pope himselfe. Marie now they wax everie parlement deerer and deerer; although therewithall, they utter many stale drugs of their owne.

If you looke in the popish pontificall, you shall see how they make their holie water; to wit, in this sort: I conjure thee thou creature of water, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, & of the Holie-ghost, that thou drive the divell out of everie corner and hole of this church, and altar; so as he remaine not within our precincts that are just and righteous. And water thus used (as *Durandus* saith) hath power of his owne nature to drive away divels. If you will learne to make any more of this popish stuffe, you may go to the verie masse booke, and find manie good receipts: marrie if you search *Durandus*, &c; you shall find abundance.

In ecclesiæ dedicatione.

In rationali divinorum officiorum.

I know that all these charmes, and all these palterie confections (though they were farre more impious and foolish) will be mainteined and defended by massemongers, even as the residue will be by witchmongers: and therefore I will in this place insert a charme, the authoritie wherof is equall with the rest, desiring to have their opinions herein. I find in a booke called *Pomærium sermonum quadragesimalium*, that S. *Francis* seeing *Rufinus* provoked of the divell to thinke himselfe damned, charged Rufinus to saie this charme, when he next met with the divell; *Aperi os, & ibi imponam stircus*, which is

172.

Pom. sermon. 32.

238.

as much to saie in English as, Open thy mouth and I will put in a plumme : a verie ruffinlie charme.

L. Vairus. lib. de fascin. 3. cap. 10. *Leonard Vairus writeth, De veris, piis, ac sanctis amuletis fascinum atq; omnia veneficia destruentibus* ; wherein he speciallie commendeth the name of Jesus to be worne. But the sacrament of confession he extolleth above all things, saieng, that whereas Christ with his power did but throwe divels out of mens bodies, the preest driveth the divell out of mans soule by confession. For (saith he) these words of the preest, when he saith, *Ego te absolvo*, are as effectuall to drive awaie the princes of darknes, through the mightie power of that saieng, as was the voice of God to drive awaie the darknes of the world, when at the beginning he said, *Fiat lux*. He commendeth also, as holesome things to drive awaie divels, the sacrament of the eucharist, and solitarines, and silence. Finallie he saith, that if there be added hereunto an *Agnus Dei*, and the same be worne about ones necke by one void of sinne, nothing is wanting that is good and holesome for this purpose. But he concludeth, that you must weare and make dints in your forhead, with crossing your selfe when you put on your shooes, and at everie other action, &c : and that is also a present remedie to drive awaie divels, for they cannot abide it.

Idem, ibid. *Idem, ibid.*

The eleventh Chapter.

Of the noble balme used by Moses, apishlie counterfeited in the church of Rome.

THE noble balme that *Moses* made, having indeed manie excellent vertues, besides the pleasant and comfortable savour thereof ; wherewithall *Moses* in his politike lawes enjoined kings, queenes, and princes to be annointed in their true and lawfull elections and coronations, untill the everlasting king had put on/ man upon him, is apishlie counterfeited in the Romish church, with diverse terrible conjurations, three breathings, crossewise, (able to make a quezie stomach spue) nine mumblings, and three curtsies, saieng thereunto, *Ave sanctum oleum, ter ave sanctum balsamum.* And so the divell is thrust out, and the Holie-ghost let into his place. But as for *Moses* his balme, it is not now to be found either in *Rome* or elsewhere that I can learne. And according to this papisticall order, witches, and other superstitious people follow on, with charmes and conjurations made in forme ; which manie bad physicians also practise, when their learning faileth, as maie appeare by example in the sequele./

239.

The twelfe Chapter. 173.

The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periapts, appensions, amulets, &c. Of Homericall medicines, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof.

ARGERIUS FERRARIUS, a physician in these daies of great account, doth saie, that for somuch as by no diet nor physicke anie disease can be so taken awaie or extinguished, but that certeine dregs and relikes will remaine: therefore physicians use physicall alligations, appensions, periapts, amulets, charmes, characters, &c, which he supposeth maie doo good; but harme he is sure they can doo none: urging that it is necessarie and expedient for a physician to leave nothing undone that may be devised for his patients recoverie; and that by such meanes manie great cures are done. He citeth a great number of experiments out of *Alexander Trallianus*, *Aetius*, *Octavianus*, *Marcellus*, *Philodotus*, *Archigines*, *Philostratus*, *Plinie*, and *Dioscorides*; and would make men beleeve that *Galen* (who in truth despised and derided all those vanities) recanted in his latter daies his former opinion, and all his invectives tending against these magicall cures: writing also a booke intituled *De Homerica medicatione*, which nò man could ever see, but one *Alexander Trallianus*, who saith he saw it :/ and further affirmeth, that it is an honest mans part to cure the sicke, by hooke or by crooke, or by anie meanes whatsoever. Yea he saith that *Galen* (who indeed wrote and taught that *Incantamenta sunt mulierculorum figmenta*, and be the onlie clokes of bad physicians) affirmeth, that there is vertue and great force in incantations. As for example (saith *Trallian*) *Galen* being now reconciled to this opinion, holdeth and writeth, that the bones which sticke in ones throte, are avoided and cast out with the violence of charmes and inchanting words; yea and that thereby the stone, the chollicke, the falling sicknes, and all fevers, gowts, fluxes, fistulas, issues of bloud, and finallie whatsoever cure (even beyond the skill of himselfe or anie other foolish physician) is cured and perfectlie healed by words of inchantment. Marie M. *Ferrarius* (although he allowed and practised this kind of physicke) yet he protesteth that he thinketh it none otherwise effectuall, than by the waie of constant opinion: so as he affirmeth that neither the character, nor the charme, nor the witch, nor the devill accomplish the cure; as (saith he) the experiment of the toothach will manifestlie declare, wherein the cure is wrought by the confidence or diffidence

Arg. Fer. lib. de medendi methodo. 2. cap. 11. De Homerica medicatione.

240.

This would be examined, to see if Galen be not slandered.

as well of the patient, as of the agent ; according to the poets saieng :

Nos habitat non tartara, sed nec sidera cœli,
Spiritus in nobis qui viget illa facit.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Not hellish furies dwell in us,
Nor starres with influence heavenlie ;
The spirit that lives and rules in us,
Doth every thing ingeniouslie,

174. This (saith he) commeth to the unlearned, through the opinion which they conceive of the characters and holie words : but the learned that know the force of the mind and imagination, worke miracles by meanes thereof ; so as the unlearned must have externall helps, to doo that which the learned can doo with a word onelie. He saith that this is called *Homerica medicatio*, bicause *Homer* discovered the bloud of the word suppressed, and the infections healed by or in mysteries.

241.

The xiii. Chapter.

Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Argerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charmes, &c : foure sorts of Homericall medicines, & the choice thereof ; of imagination.

AS touching mine opinion of these amulets, characters, and such other bables, I have sufficientlie uttered it elsewhere: and I will bewraie the vanitie of these superstitious trifles more largelie hereafter. And therefore at this time I onelie saie, that those amulets, which are to be hanged or carried about one, if they consist of hearbs, rootes, stones, or some other metall, they maie have diverse medicinable operations ; and by the vertue given to them by God in their creation, maie worke strange effects and cures : and to impute this vertue to anie other matter is witchcraft. And whereas *A. Ferrarius* commendeth certeine amulets, that have no shew of physicall operation ; as a naile taken from a crosse, holie water, and the verie signe of the crosse, with such like popish stuffe : I thinke he laboureth thereby rather to draw men to poperie, than to teach or persuade them in the truth of physicke or philosophie. And I thinke thus the rather, for that he himselfe seeth the fraud hereof ; confessing that where these magicall physicians applie three seeds of three leaved grasse to a tertian ague, and foure to a quartane, that the number is not materiall.

But of these Homericall medicines he saith there are foure sorts, whereof amulets, characters, & charmes are three : howbeit he commendeth and preferreth the fourth above the rest ; and that he saith consisteth in illusions, which he more properlie calleth stratagems. Of which sort of conclusions he alledgeth for example, how *Philodotus* did put a cap of lead upon ones head, who imagined he was headlesse, whereby the partie was delivered from his disease or conceipt. Item another cured a woman that imagined, that a serpent or snake did continuallie gnaw and / teare hir entrailes ; and that was done onelie *242.* by giving hir a vomit, and by foisting into the matter vomited a little serpent or snake, like unto that which she imagined was in hir bellie.

Foure sorts of Homericall medicines, and which is the principall.

Item, another imagined that he alwaies burned in the fier, under whose bed a fier was privilie conveied, which being raked out before his face, his fancie was satisfied, and his heate allaied. Hereunto perteineth, that the hickot is cured with sudden feare or strange newes : yea by that meanes agues and manie other strange and extreame diseases have beene healed. And some that have lien so sicke and sore of the gowt, that they could not remove a joint, through sudden feare of fier, or ruine/ of houses, have forgotten their 175. infirmities and greefes, and have runne awaie. But in my tract upon melancholie, and the effects of imagination, and in the discourse of naturall magicke, you shall see these matters largelie touched.

The force of fixed fansie, opinion, or strong conceipt.

The xiiii. Chapter.

Choice of Charmes against the falling evill, the biting of a mad dog, the stinging of a scorpion, the toothach, for a woman in travell, for the Kings evill, to get a thorne out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charmes to be said fasting, or at the gathering of hearbs, for sore eies, to open locks, against spirits, for the bots in a horsse, and speciallie for the Duke of Albas horsse, for sowre wines, &c.

THERE be innumerable charmes of conjurers, bad physicians, lewd surgians, melancholike witches, and couseners, for all diseases and greefes ; speciallie for such as bad physicians and surgions knowe not how to cure, and in truth are good stuffe to shadow their ignorance, whereof I will repeate some.

For the falling evill.

TAke the sicke man by the hand, and whisper these wordes softlie in his eare, I conjure thee by the sunne and moone,/

243. and by the gospell of this daie delivered by God to *Hubert*, *Giles*, *Cornelius*, and *John*, that thou rise and fall no more. ✲ Otherwise : Drinke in the night at a spring water out of a skull of one that hath beene slaine. ✲ Otherwise : Eate a pig killed with a knife that slew a man. ✲ Otherwise as followeth.

Ananizapta ferit mortem, dum lædere quærit,
Est mala mors capta, dum dicitur Ananizapta,
Ananizapta Dei nunc miserere mei.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Ananizapta smiteth death,
whiles harme intendeth he,
This word Ananizapta say,
and death shall captive be,
Ananizapta ô of God,
have mercie now on me.

¶ *Against the biting of a mad dog.*

J. Bodinus. lib. de dæmon 3. cap. 5.

PUt a silver ring on the finger, within the which these words are graven ✠ *Habay* ✠ *habar* ✠ *hebar* ✠ & saie to the person bitten with a mad dog, I am thy saviour, loose not thy life : and then pricke him in the nose thrise, that at each time he bleed. ✲ Otherwise : Take pilles made of the skull of one that is hanged. ✲ Otherwise : Write upon a peece of bread, *Irioni*, *khiriora*, *esser*, *khuder*,
176. *feres* ; and let it be eaten by the/ partie bitten. ✲ Otherwise : *O rex gloriæ Jesu Christe, veni cum pace : In nomine patris max, in nomine filii max, in nomine spiritus sancti prax : Gasper, Melchior, Balthasar* ✠ *prax* ✠ *max* ✠ *Deus I max* ✠

But in troth this is verie dangerous ; insomuch as if it be not speedilie and cunninglie prevented, either death or frensie insueth, through infection of the humor left in the wound bitten by a mad dog : which bicause bad surgions cannot cure, they have therfore used foolish cousening charmes. But *Dodonæus* in his herball saith, that the hearbe Alysson cureth it : which experiment, I doubt not, will proove more true than all the charms in the world. But where he saith, that the same hanged at a mans gate or entrie, preserveth him and his cattell from inchantment, or bewitching, he is overtaken with follie./

244. ¶ *Against the biting of a scorpion.*

SAie to an asse secretlie, and as it were whispering in his eare ; I am bitten with a Scorpion.

¶ *Against the toothach.*

SCarifie the gums in the greefe, with the tooth of one that hath beene slaine. ❊ Otherwise : *Galbes galbat, galdes galdat.* ❊ Otherwise : *A ab hur hus*, &c. ❊ Otherwise : At saccaring of masse hold your teeth togither, and say * *Os non comminuetis ex eo.* ❊ Otherwise : *strigiles falcesq; dentatæ, dentium dolorem persanate*; O horssecombs and sickles that have so many teeth, come heale me now of my toothach.

* That is, You shall not breake or diminish a bone of him.

¶ *A charme to release a woman in travell.*

THrowe over the top of the house, where a woman in travell lieth, a stone, or any other thing that hath killed three living creatures ; namelie, a man, a wild bore, and a she beare.

¶ *To heale the Kings or Queenes evill, or any other sorenesse in the throte.*

REmedies to cure the Kings or Queenes evill, is first to touch the place with the hand of one that died an untimelie death. ❊ Otherwise : Let a virgine fasting laie hir hand on the sore, and saie ; *Apollo* denieth that the heate of the plague can increase, where a naked virgine quencheth it : and spet three times upon it.

¶ *A charme read in the Romish church, upon saint Blazes daie, that will fetch a thorne out of anie place of ones bodie, a bone out of the throte, &c : Lect.* 3.

FOr the fetching of a thorne out of any place of ones bodie, or a bone out of the throte, you shall read a charme in the Romish church upon S. *Blazes* daie ; to wit, Call upon God, and remember S. *Blaze.* This S. *Blaze* could also heale all wild beasts that were sicke or lame, with laieng on of his hands : as appeareth in the lesson red on his daie, where you shall see the matter at large.//

¶ *A charme for the headach.* *245.* 177.

TIe a halter about your head, wherewith one hath beene hanged.

¶ *A charme to be said each morning by a witch fasting, or at least before she go abroad.*

THE fier bites, the fier bites, the fier bites ; Hogs turd over it, hogs turd over it, hogs turd over it ; The father with thee, the

sonne with me, the holie-ghost betweene us both to be: ter. Then spit over one shoulder, and then over the other, and then three times right forward.

¶ *Another charme that witches use at the gathering of their medicinable hearbs.*

Haile be thou holie hearbe
growing on the ground
All in the mount °*Calvarie*
first wert thou found,
Thou art good for manie a sore,
And healest manie a wound,
In the name of sweete Jesus
I take thee from the ground.

° Though neither the hearbe nor the witch never came there.

¶ *An old womans charme, wherewith she did much good in the countrie, and grew famous thereby.*

AN old woman that healed all diseases of cattell (for the which she never tooke any reward but a penie and a loafe) being seriouslie examined by what words she brought these things to passe, confessed that after she had touched the sicke creature, she alwaies departed immediatelie; saieng:

My loafe in my lap,
my penie in my pursse;
Thou are never the better,
and I am never the wursse.

246. *Another like charme.*

A Gentlewoman having sore eies, made hir mone to one, that promised hir helpe, if she would follow his advise: which was onelie to weare about hir necke a scroll sealed up, whereinto she might not looke. And she conceiving hope of cure thereby, received it under the condition, and left hir weeping and teares, wherewith she was woont to bewaile the miserable darkenesse, which she doubted to indure: whereby in short time hir eies were well amended. But alas! she lost soone after that pretious jewell, and thereby returned to hir woonted weeping, and by consequence to hir sore eies. Howbeit, hir jewell or scroll being found againe, was looked into by hir deere friends, and this onelie posie was conteined therein:

Note the force of constant opinion, or fixed fancy.

The divell pull out both thine eies,
*And *etish in the holes likewise.*

178.

* Spell the word backward, and you shall soone see this slovenlie charme or appension.

Whereby partlie you may see what constant opinion can doo, according to the saieng of *Plato*; If a mans fansie or mind give him assurance that a hurtfull thing shall doo him good, it may doo so, &c.

A charme to open locks.

AS the hearbes called *Aethiopides* will open all locks (if all be true that inchanters saie) with the help of certeine words: so be there charmes also and periapts, which without any hearbs can doo as much: as for example. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and doo but print certeine floures therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt; and when you would undoo the locke, blow thrise therin, saieng; *Arato hoc partiko hoc maratarykin.* I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake, as thou brakest hell gates, *In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen.*

Theevish charmes.

¶ *A charme to drive awaie spirits that haunt anie house.*

HAng in everie of the foure corners of your house this sentence written upon virgine parchment; [a] *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum:* [b] *Mosen habent & prophetas:* [c] *Exurgat Deus et dissi-/pentur inimici ejus.*

This is called and counted the Paracelsian charme.

[a] Psal. 150.
[b] Luk. 16. 247.
[c] Psa. 64.

¶ *A prettie charme or conclusion for one possessed.*

THe possessed bodie must go upon his or hir knees to the church, how farre so ever it be off from their lodging; and so must creepe without going out of the waie, being the common high waie, in that sort, how fowle and durtie soever the same be; or whatsoever lie in the waie, not shunning anie thing whatsoever, untill he come to the church, where he must heare* masse devoutlie, and then followeth recoverie.

* Memorandum that hearing of masse be in no case omitted, quoth Nota.

¶ *Another for the same purpose.*

THere must be commended to some poore begger the saieng of five *Pater nosters*, and five *Aves*; the first to be said in the name of the partie possessed, or bewitched: for that Christ was led into the garden; secondlie, for that Christ did sweat both water and bloud; thirdlie, for that Christ was condemned; fourthlie, for that he was crucified guiltlesse; and fiftlie, for that he suffered to take awaie

our sinnes. Then must the sicke bodie heare masse eight daies together, standing in the place where the gospell is said, and must mingle holie water with his meate and his drinke, and holie salt also must be a portion of the mixture.

¶ *Another to the same effect.*

Johannes Anglicus ex Constantino, Gualtero, Bernardo, Gilberto, &c.

THe sicke man must fast three daies, and then he with his parents must come to church, upon an embering fridaie, and must heare the masse for that daie appointed, and so likewise the saturdaie and sundaie following. And the preest must read upon the sicke mans head, that gospell which is read in September, and in grape harvest, after the feast of holie crosse *In diebus quatuor temporum*, in ember daies: then let him write it and carrie it aboute his necke, and he shall be cured./

179. ¶ *Another charme or witch-craft for the same.*

THis office or conjuration following was first authorised and printed at *Rome*, and afterwards at *Avenion*, *Anno.* 1515. And
248. least that the divell should lie hid in some secret part of the/ bodie, everie part thereof is named; *Obsecro te Jesu Christe, &c:* that is: I beseech thee O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou pull out of everie member of this man all infirmities, from his head, from his haire, from his braine, from his forhead, from his eies, from his nose, from his eares, from his mouth, from his toong, from his teeth, from his jawes, from his throte, from his necke, from his backe, from his brest, from his paps, from his heart, from his stomach, from his sides, from his flesh, from his bloud, from his bones, from his legs, from his feete, from his fingers, from the soles of his feete, from his marrowe, from his sinewes, from his skin, and from everie joint of his members, &c.

Doubtles Jesus Christ could have no starting hole, but was hereby everie waie prevented and pursued; so as he was forced to doo the cure: for it appeareth hereby, that it had beene insufficient for him to have said; Depart out of this man thou uncleane spirit, and that when he so said he did not performe it. I doo not thinke that there will be found among all the heathens superstitious fables, or among the witches, conjurors, couseners, poets, knaves, fooles, &c: that ever wrote, so impudent and impious a lie or charme as is read in *Barnardine de bustis*; where, to cure a sicke man, Christs bodie, to wit: a wafer cake, was outwardlie applied to his side, and entred into his heart, in the sight of all the standers by. Now, if grave authors report such lies, what credit in these cases shall we attribute unto the

Barnard. de bustis in Rosar. serm. serm. 15.

old wives tales, that *Sprenger*, *Institor*, *Bodine*, and others write? Even as much as to *Ovids Metamorphosis*, *Aesops fables*, *Moores Utopia*, and diverse other fansies; which have as much truth in them, as a blind man hath sight in his eie.

¶ *A charme for the bots in a horsse.*

YOu must both saie and doo thus upon the diseased horsse three daies together, before the sunne rising: *In nomine pa✠tris & fi✠lii & spiritus✠sancti; Exorcizo te vermem per Deum pa✠trem, & fi✠lium & spiritum✠sanctum:* that is, In the name of God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost, I conjure thee O worme by God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost; that thou neither eat nor drinke the flesh bloud or bones of this horsse; and that thou hereby maist be made as patient as *Job*, and as good as S. *John Baptist*, when he baptised Christ in *Jordan*, *In nomine pa✠tris & fi✠lii & spiritus ✠sancti.* And then saie three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aves*, in the right eare of the horsse, to the glorie of the holie trinitie. *Do✠minus fili✠us spiri✠tus Mari✠a.* 249.

There are also divers bookes imprinted, as it should appeare with the authoritie of the church of *Rome*, wherein are conteined manie medicinall praiers, not onelie against all diseases of horsses, but also for everie impediment and fault in a horsse: in so much as if a shoo fall off in the middest of his journie, there is a praier to warrant your horsses/ hoofe, so as it shall not breake, how far so ever he be from the Smithes forge. 180. The smiths will canne them small thankes for this praier.

Item, the Duke of *Alba* his horsse was consecrated, or canonized, in the lowe countries, at the solemne masse; wherein the popes bull, and also his charme was published (which I will hereafter recite) he in the meane time sitting as Vice-roy with his consecrated standard in his hand, till masse was done.

¶ *A charme against vineager.*

THat wine wax not eager, write on the vessell,* *Gustate & videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus.* [* Ps. 33 9. Vulg.] O notable blasphemie.

The xv. Chapter.

The inchanting of serpents and snakes, objections aunswered concerning the same; fond reasons whie charmes take effect therin, Mahomets pigeon, miracles wrought by an Asse at Memphis in Aegypt, popish charmes against serpents, of miracle workers, the tameing of snakes, Bodins lie of snakes.

CONCERNING the charming of serpents and snakes, mine adversaries (as I have said) thinke they have great advantage by the words of *David* in the fiftie eight psalme; and by *Jeremie*, chapter eight, expounding the one prophet by *Virgil*, the other by *Ovid*. For the words of
Psal. 58. *David* are these; Their poison is like the poison of a serpent, and
250. like a deafe adder, that stoppeth his/ eare, and heareth not the voice
Virg. eclog. 8. of the charmer, charme he never so cunninglie. The words of *Virgil* are these, *Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.* As he might saie, *David* thou liest; for the cold natured snake is by the charmes of the inchanters broken all to peeces in the field where he lieth.
Ovid. metamor. 7. Then commeth *Ovid*, and he taketh his countriemans part, saieng in the name and person of a witch; *Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces*; that is, I with my words and charmes can breake in sunder
Jerem. 8. 17. the vipers jawes. Marrie *Jeremie* on the other side encountereth this poeticall witch, and he not onelie defendeth, but expoundeth his fellowe prophets words, and that not in his owne name, but in the name of almightie God; saieng, I will send serpents and cockatrices among you, which cannot be charmed.

Now let anie indifferent man (christian or heathen) judge, whether the words and minds of the prophets doo not directlie oppugne these poets words (I will not saie minds:) for that I am sure they did therein but jest and trifle, according to the common fabling of lieng poets. And certeinlie, I can encounter them two with other two poets; namelie *Propertius* and *Horace*, the one merrilie deriding, the other seriouslie impugning their fantasticall poetries, concerning the power and omnipotencie of witches. For where *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *&c*: write that witches with their charmes fetch downe the moone and starres from heaven, etc.; *Propertius* mocketh them in these words following:/

181. *At vos deductæ quibus est fallacia Lunæ,*
Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,
En agedum dominæ mentem convertite nostræ,
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis,

Tunc ego crediderim vobis & sidera & amnes
Posse Circeis ducere carminibus:

But you that have the subtill slight,
Of fetching downe the moone from skies;
And with inchanting fier bright,
Attempt to purge your sacrifies:
Lo now, go to, turne (if you can)
Our madams mind and sturdie hart,|
And make hir face more pale and wan, 251.
Than mine: which if by magicke art
You doo, then will I soone beleeve,
That by your witching charmes you can
From skies aloft the starres remeeve,
And rivers turne from whence they ran.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

And that you may see more certeinlie, that these poets did but jest and deride the credulous and timerous sort of people, I thought good to shew you what *Ovid* saith against himselfe, and such as have written so incrediblie and ridiculouslie of witches omnipotencie:

Nec mediæ magicis finduntur cantibus angues,
Nec redit in fontes unda supina suos:

Snakes in the middle are not riven
with charmes of witches cunning,
Nor waters to their fountaines driven
by force of backward running.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

As for *Horace* his verses I omit them, bicause I have cited them in another place. And concerning this matter *Cardanus* saith, that at everie eclipse they were woont to thinke, that witches pulled downe the sunne and moone from heaven. And doubtles, hence came the opinion of that matter, which spred so farre, and continued so long in the common peoples mouthes, that in the end learned men grew to beleeve it, and to affirme it in writing.

Card. lib. 15. de var. rer. cap. 80.

But here it will be objected, that bicause it is said (in the places by me alledged) that snakes or vipers cannot be charmed; *Ergo* other things may: To answer this argument, I would aske the witchmonger this question, to wit; Whether it be expedient, that to satisfie his follie, the Holie-ghost must of necessitie make mention of everie particular thing that he imagineth may be bewitched? I would also aske of him, what privilege a snake hath more than other creatures, that he onelie may not, and all other creatures may be bewitched?

An objection answered.

182. I hope they will not saie, that either/ their faith or infidelitie is the cause thereof ; neither doo I admit the answer of such divines as saie,
252. that he cannot be bewitched :/ for that he seduced *Eve* ; by meanes whereof God himselfe curssed him ; and thereby he is so privileged, as that no witches charme can take hold of him. But more shall be said hereof in the sequele.

Dan. in dialog. cap. 3. *Danæus* saith, that witches charmes take soonest hold upon snakes and adders ; bicause of their conference and familiaritie with the divell, whereby the rather mankind through them was seduced. Let us seeke then an answer for this cavill ; although in truth it needeth not : for the phrase of speach is absolute, & importes not a speciall qualitie proper to the nature of a viper anie more, than when I saie ; A connie cannot flie: you should gather & conclude thereupon, that I ment that all other beasts could flie. But you shall understand, that the cause why these vipers can rather withstand the voice & practise of inchanters and sorcerers, than other creatures, is: for that they being in bodie and nature venomous, cannot so soone or properlie receive their destruction by venome, wherby the witches in other creatures bring their mischeefous practises more easilie to passe, according to *Virgils* saieng

Virg. geo. 4. *Corrupitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo,*

Englished by Abraham Fleming. *She did infect with poison strong*
Both ponds and pastures all along.

And thereupon the prophet alludeth unto their corrupt and inflexible nature, with that comparison: and not (as *Tremelius* is faine to shift it) with stopping one eare with his taile, and laieng the other close to the ground ; bicause he would not heare the charmers voice. For the snake hath neither such reason ; nor the words such effect: otherwise the snake must know our thoughts. It is also to be considered, how untame by nature these vipers (for the most part) are ; in so much as they be not by mans industrie or cunning to be made familiar, or traind to doo anie thing, whereby admiration maie be procured: as *Bomelio Feates* his dog could doo ; or *Mahomets* pigeon, which would resort unto him, being in the middest of his campe, and picke a pease out of his eare ; in such sort that manie of the people thought that the Holie-ghost came and told him a tale in his eare: the same pigeon also brought him a scroll, wherein was written, *Rex esto*, and laid the same in his necke. And bicause I have spoken of
253. the doci/litie of a dog and a pigeon, though I could cite an infinite number of like tales, I will be bold to trouble you but with one more.

Feates his dog, and Mahomets pigeon.

A storie declaring the great docilitie of an asse.

At *Memphis* in *Aegypt*, among other juggling knacks, which were there usuallie shewed, there was one that tooke such paines with an asse, that he had taught him all these qualities following. And for gaine he caused a stage to be made, and an assemblie of people to meete ; which being done, in the maner of a plaie, he came in with his asse, and said ; The *Sultane* hath great need of asses to helpe to carrie stones and other stuffe, towards his great building which he hath in hand. The asse im/mediatlie fell downe to the ground, and 183. by all signes shewed himselfe to be sicke, and at length to give up the ghost : so as the juggler begged of the assemblie monie towards his losse. And having gotten all that he could, he said ; Now my maisters, you shall see mine asse is yet alive, and dooth but counterfet ; bicause he would have some monie to buie him provender, knowing that I was poore, and in some need of releefe. Hereupon he would needs laie a wager, that his asse was alive, who to everie mans seeming was starke dead. And when one had laid monie with him thereabout, he commanded the asse to rise, but he laie still as though he were dead : then did he beate him with a cudgell, but that would not serve the turne, untill he addressed this speech to the asse, saieng (as before) in open audience ; The *Sultane* hath commanded, that all the people shall ride out to morrow, and see the triumph, and that the faire ladies will then ride upon the fairest asses, and will give notable provender unto them, and everie asse shall drinke of the sweete water of *Nilus* : and then lo the asse did presentlie start up, and advance himselfe exceedinglie. Lo (quoth his maister) now I have wonne : but in troth the Maior hath borrowed mine asse, for the use of the old ilfavoured witch his wife : and thereupon immediatlie he hoong downe his eares, and halted downe right, as though he had beene starke lame. Then said his maister ; I perceive you love yoong prettie wenches : at which words he looked up, as it were with joifull cheere. And then his maister did bid him go choose one that should ride upon him ; and he ran to a verie handsome woman, and touched hir with his head : &c. A snake will never be brought to such familiaritie, &c. *Bodin* saith, that this was a man in the likenesse of an asse : but I maie/ rather thinke that he is an asse in the likenesse of a man. Well, to returne to our serpents, I will tell you a storie concerning the charming of them, and the event of the same.

J. Bod. lib. de dæm. 2. cap. 6. 254.

In the citie of *Salisborogh* there was an inchanter, that before all the people tooke upon him to conjure all the serpents and snakes within one mile compasse into a great pit or dike, and there to kill them. When all the serpents were gathered togither, as he stood upon the brinke of the pit, there came at the last a great and a

Mal. malef. part 2. qu. 2. cap. 9. John. Bodin.

horrible serpent, which would not be gotten downe with all the force of his incantations: so as (all the rest being dead) he flew upon the inchanter, and clasped him in the middest, and drew him downe into the said dike, and there killed him. You must thinke that this was a divell in a serpents likenesse, which for the love he bare to the poore snakes, killed the sorcerer; to teach all other witches to beware of the like wicked practise. And surelie, if this be not true, there be a great number of lies conteined in *M. Mal.* and in *J. Bodin.* And if this be well weighed, and conceived, it beateth downe to the ground all those witchmongers arguments, that contend to wring witching miracles out of this place. For they disagree notablie, some denieng and some affirming that serpents maie be bewitched. Neverthelesse, bicause in everie point you shall see how 'poperie agreeth with paganisme, I will recite certeine charmes against vipers, allowed for the most part in and by the church of *Rome*: as followeth.

Exorcismes or conjurations against serpents.

I conjure thee O serpent in this houre, by the five holie woonds 184. of our/ Lord, that thou remove not out of this place, but here staie, as certeinelie as God was borne of a pure virgine. ✲ Otherwise: I conjure thee serpent *In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti:* I command thee serpent by our ladie S. *Marie*, that thou obeie me, as wax obeieth the fier, and as fier obeieth water; that thou neither hurt me, nor anie other christian, as certeinelie as God was borne of an immaculate virgine, in which respect I take thee up, *In nomine patris & filii, & spiritus sancti: Ely lash eiter, ely lash eiter, ely lash eiter.* ✲ Otherwise: O vermine, thou must come as God came unto the Jewes. ✲ Otherwise: *L. Vairus* saith, that *Serpens quernis frondibus contacta*, that a serpent touched with oke leaves dieth, and staieth even in the beginning of his going, if a feather of the bird *Ibis* be cast or throwne upon him: and that/ 255. a viper smitten or hot with a reed is astonied, and touched with a beechen branch is presentlie numme and stiffe.

L. Vair. lib. de fascinat. 1. cap. 4.

Usurpers of kinred with blessed Paule and S Katharine.

Here is to be remembred, that manie use to boast that they are of S. *Paules* race and kinred, shewing upon their bodies the prints of serpents: which (as the papists affirme) was incident to all them of S. *Paules* stocke. Marie they saie herewithall, that all his kinsfolks can handle serpents, or anie poison without danger. Others likewise have (as they brag) a *Katharine* wheele upon their bodies, and they saie they are kin to S. *Katharine*, and that they can carrie burning coles in their bare hands, and dip their said hands in hot skalding liquor, and also go into hot ovens. Whereof though the last be but a bare jest, and to be doone by anie that will prove (as a bad fellow in *London* had used to doo, making no tariance at all therein:) yet there

is a shew made of the other, as though it were certeine and undoubted; by annointing the hands with the juice of mallowes, mercurie, urine, &c: which for a little time are defensatives against these scalding liquors, and scortching fiers.

But they that take upon them to worke these mysteries and miracles, doo indeed (after rehearsall of these and such like words and charmes) take up even in their bare hands, those snakes and vipers, and sometimes put them about their necks, without receiving anie hurt thereby, to the terror and astonishment of the beholders, which naturallie both feare and abhorre all serpents. But these charmers (upon my word) dare not trust to their charmes, but use such an inchantment, as everie man maie lawfullie use, and in the lawfull use thereof maie bring to passe that they shalbe in securitie, and take no harme, how much soever they handle them: marie with a woollen rag they pull out their teeth before hand, as some men saie; but as truth is, they wearie them, and that is of certeintie. And surelie this is a kind of witchcraft, which I terme private confederacie. *Bodin* saith, that all the snakes in one countrie were by charmes and verses driven into another region: perhaps he meaneth *Ireland*, where S. *Patrike* is said to have doone it with his holinesse, &c. *J. Bodin. lib. de dæm. 1. cap. 3.*

James Sprenger, and *Henrie Institor* affirme, that serpents and snakes, and their skins exceed all other creatures for witchcraft: in so much as witches doo use to burie them under mens/ threshholds, *256.* either of the house or stalles, whereby barrennes is procured both to woman and beast: yea and that the verie earth and ashes of them continue to have force of fascination. In respect whereof they wish all men now and then to dig/ awaie the earth under their threshholds, and 185. to sprinkle holie water in the place, & also to hang boughes (hallowed on midsummer daie) at the stall doore where the cattell stand: & produce examples thereupon, of witches lies, or else their owne, which I omit; bicause I see my booke groweth to be greater than I meant it should be.

The xvi. Chapter.

Charmes to carrie water in a sive, to know what is spoken of us behind our backs, for bleare eies, to make seeds to growe well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang hir up, notable authorities against waxen images, a storie bewraieng the knaverie of waxen images.

L. Vairus lib. fascin. 1. ca. 5. Oratio Tuscæ vestalis.

LEONARDUS VAIRUS saith, that there was a praier extant, whereby might be carried in a sive, water, or other liquor: I thinke it was Clam claie; which a crow taught a maid, that was promised a cake of so great quantitie, as might be kneded of so much floure as she could wet with the water that she brought in a sive, and by that meanes she clamd it with claie, & brought in so much water, as whereby she had a great cake, and so beguiled hir sisters, &c. And this tale I heard among my grandams maides, whereby I can decipher this witchcraft. Item, by the tingling of the eare, men heretofore could tell what was spoken of them. If anie see a scorpion, and saie this word (*Bud*) he shall not be stoong or bitten therewith. These two Greeke letters Π and A written in a paper, and hoong about ones necke, preserve the partie from bleereiednesse. Cummin or hempseed sowne with curssing and opprobrious words grow the faster and the better. *Berosus Anianus* maketh witchcraft of great antiquitie: for he saith, that/

Of the word (*Bud*) and the Greeke letters Π & A.

257. *Cham* touching his fathers naked member uttered a charme, wherby his father became emasculated or deprived of the powers generative.

¶ *A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list with images of wax, &c.*

MAke an image in his name, whom you would hurt or kill, of new virgine wax; under the right arme poke whereof place a swallowes hart, and the liver under the left; then hang about the necke thereof a new thred in a new needle pricked into the member which you would have hurt, with the rehearsall of certeine words, which for the avoiding of foolish superstition and credulitie in this behalfe is to be omitted. And if they were inserted, I dare undertake they would doo no harme, were it not to make fooles, and catch gudgins. ✲ Otherwise: Sometimes these images are made of brasse, and then the hand is placed where the foote should be, and the foote where the hand, and the face downeward. ✲ Otherwise: For a greater mischeefe,

the like image is made in the forme of a man or woman, upon whose head is written the certeine name of the partie : and on his or hir ribs these words, *Ailif, casyl, zaze, hit/ mel meltat :* then the same must be buried. ✲ Otherwise : In the dominion of *Mars*, two images must be prepared, one of wax, the other of the earth of a dead man ; each image must have in his hand a sword wherwith a man hath beene slaine, & he that must be slaine may have his head thrust through with a foine. In both must be written certeine peculiar characters, and then must they be hid in a certeine place. ✲ Otherwise : To obteine a womans love, an image must be made in the houre of *Venus*, of virgine wax, in the name of the beloved, wherupon a character is written, & is warmed at a fier, and in dooing therof the name of some angell must be mentioned. To be utterlie rid of the witch, and to hang hir up by the haire, you must prepare an image of the earth of a dead man to be baptised in another mans name, whereon the name, with a character, must be written : then must it be perfumed with a rotten bone, and then these psalmes read backward: *Domine Dominus noster, Dominus illuminatio mea, Domine exaudi orationem meam, Deus laudem meam ne tacueris* : and then burie it, first in one place, and/ afterwards in another. Howbeit, it is written in the 21 article of the determination of *Paris*, that to affirme that images of brasse, lead, gold, of white or red wax, or of any other stuffe (conjured, baptised, consecrated, or rather execrated through these magicall arts at certeine days) have woonderfull vertues, or such as are avowed in their bookes or assertions, is error in faith, naturall philosophie, and true astronomie : yea it is concluded in the 22 article of that councell, that it is as great an error to beleeve those things, as to doo them.

186. The practiser of these charmes must have skill in the planetarie motions, or else he may go shoo the goose.

258.

But concerning these images, it is certeine that they are much feared among the people, and much used among cousening witches, as partlie appeereth in this discourse of mine else-where, & as partlie you may see by the contents of this storie following. Not long sithence, a yoong maiden (dwelling at new *Romnie* heere in Kent) being the daughter of one M. *L. Stuppenie* (late Jurat of the same towne but dead before the execution hereof) and afterwards the wife of *Thomas Eps*, who is at this instant Maior of *Romnie*) was visited with sicknesse, whose mother and father in lawe being abused with credulitie concerning witches supernaturall power, repaired to a famous witch called mother *Baker*, dwelling not far from thence at a place called *Stonstreet*, who (according to witches cousening custome) asked whether they mistrusted not some bad neighbour, to whom they answered that indeed they doubted a woman neere unto them (and yet the same woman was, of the honester & wiser sort of hir

A proved storie concerning the premisses.

neighbors, reputed a good creature.) Nevertheles the witch told them that there was great cause of their suspicion : for the same (said she) is the verie partie that wrought the maidens destruction, by making a hart of wax, and pricking the same with pins and needels ; affirming also that the same neighbor of hirs had bestowed the same in some secret corner of the house. This being beleeved, the house was searched by credible persons, but nothing could be found. The witch or wise woman being certified hereof, continued hir assertion, and would needs go to the house where she hir selfe (as she affirmed) would certeinlie find it. When she came thither, she
187. used hir cunning (as it chanced) to hir owne confusion, or at least/wise to hir detection : for heerein she did, as some of the wiser sort mis-
259. trusted that she woulde doo, laieng downe privilie such an/ image (as she had before described) in a corner, which by others had beene most diligentlie searched & looked into, & by that means hir cousenage was notablie bewraied. And I would wish that all witchmongers might paie for their lewd repaire to inchantors, and consultation with witches, and such as have familiar spirits, as some of these did, and that by the order of the high commissioners, which partlie for respect of neighborhood, and partlie for other considerations, I leave unspoken of.

The xvii. Chapter.

Sundrie sorts of charmes tending to diverse purposes, and first, certeine charmes to make taciturnitie in tortures.

This charm seemeth to allude to Christ crucified betweene the two theevs.

IMPARIBUS meritis tria
pendent corpora ramis,
Dismas & Gestas,
in medio est divina potestas,
Dismas damnatur,
Gestas ad astra levatur :

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Three bodies on a bough doo hang,
for merits of inequalitie,
Dismas and Gestas, in the midst
the power of the divinitie.
Dismas is damned, but Gestas lifted up above the starres on hie.

Psal. 44. Also this : *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum veritatem nunquam dicam regi.* ✲ Otherwise : As the milke of our ladie was lussious to our Lord Jesus Christ ; so let this torture or rope be pleasant to mine

armes and members. ✲ Otherwise: *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.* ✲ Otherwise : You shall not break a bone of him./ Luk. 4. John. 19.

¶ *Counter charmes against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saieng also whereof witches are vexed, &c.* 260.

ERuctavit cor meum verbum bonum, dicam cuncta opera mea regi. ✲ Otherwise : *Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annunciabit veritatem.* ✲ Otherwise : *Contere brachia iniqui rei, & lingua maligna subvertetur.* Psal. 44. Scripture properlie applied.

¶ *A charme for the choine cough.*

TAke three sips of a chalice, when the preest hath said masse, and swallow it downe with good devotion, &c./

¶ *For corporall or spirituall rest.* 188.

In nomine patris, up and downe,
Et filii & spiritus sancti upon my crowne,
Crux Christi upon my brest,
Sweete ladie send me eternall rest !* [* Ital. & Rom.]

¶ *Charmes to find out a theefe.*

THe meanes how to find out a theefe, is thus : Turne your face to the east, and make a crosse upon christall with oile olive, and under the crosse write these two words [*Saint Helen*].* Then a child that is innocent, and a chast virgine borne in true wedlocke, and not base begotten, of the age of ten yeares, must take the christall in his hand, and behind his backe, kneeling on thy knees, thou must devoutlie and reverentlie saie over this praier thrise : I beseech thee my ladie S. *Helen*, mother of king *Constantine*, which diddest find the crosse whereupon Christ died : by that thy holie devotion, and invention of the crosse, and by the same crosse, and by the joy which thou conceivedst at the finding thereof and by the love which thou barest to thy sonne *Constantine*, and by the great goodnes which thou dooest alwaies use, that thou shew me in this christall, whatsoever I aske or desire to knowe ; Amen. And when the child seeth the angell in the christall, demand what you will, and the angell will make answer thereunto. *Memorandum*,* that this be doone just at the sunne/ rising, when the wether is faire and cleere. 261. O most woonderfull vertue hidden in the letters of S. Helens holie name ! [* So in text.] [* Rom.]

Cardanus derideth these and such like fables, and setteth downe his judgement therein accordinglie, in the sixteenth booke *De rerum* *Card. lib.* 16. *de var. rer. cap.* 93.

var. These conjurors and couseners forsooth will shew you in a glasse the theefe that hath stolne anie thing from you, and this is their order. They take a glasse viall full of holie water, and set it upon a linnen cloth, which hath beene purified, not onelie by washing, but by sacrifice, &c. On the mouth of the viall or urinall, two olive leaves must be laid acrosse, with a litle conjuration said over it, by a child; to wit thus: *Angele bone, angele candide, per tuam sanctitatem, meámq; virginitatem, ostende mihi furem:* with three *Pater nosters*, three *Aves*, and betwixt either of them a *crosse made with the naile of the thumbe upon the mouth of the viall; and then shall be seene angels ascending and descending as it were motes in the sunne beames. The theefe all this while shall suffer great torments, and his face shall be seene plainlie, even as plainlie I beleeve as the man in the moone. For in truth, there are toies artificiallie conveied into the glasse, which will make the water bubble, and devises to make images appeare in the bubbles: as also there be artificiall glasses, which will shew unto you that shall looke thereinto, manie images of diverse formes, and some so small and curious, as they shall in favour resemble whom so ever you thinke upon. Looke in *John Bap. Neap.* for the confection of such glasses. The subtilties hereof are so detected, and the mysteries of the glasses so common now, and their / cousenage so well knowne, &c: that I need not stand upon the particular confutation hereof. *Cardanus* in the place before cited reporteth, how he tried with children these and diverse circumstances the whole illusion, and found it to be plaine knaverie and cousenage.

* For if the crosse be forgotten all is not woorth a pudding.

189.

¶ *Another waie to find out a theefe that hath stolne anie thing from you.*

GO to the sea side, and gather as manie pebles as you suspect persons for that matter; carrie them home, and throwe them into the fier, and burie them under the threshhold, where the parties are like to come over. There let them lie three daies, and then before sunne rising take them awaie. Then set a porrenger/ full of water in a circle, wherein must be made crosses everie waie, as manie as can stand in it; upon the which must be written: Christ overcommeth, Christ reigneth, Christ commandeth. The porrenger also must be signed with a crosse, and a forme of conjuration must be pronounced. Then each stone must be throwne into the water, in the name of the suspected. And when you put in the stone of him that is guiltie, the stone will make the water boile, as though glowing iron were put

262.

thereinto. Which is a meere knacke of legier de maine, and to be accomplished diverse waies.

¶ *To put out the theeves eie.*

READ the seven * psalmes with the Letanie, and then must be said a horrible praier to Christ, and God the father, with a cursse against the theefe. Then in the middest of the step of your foote, on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eie, and write thereabout certeine barbarous names, and drive with a coopers hammar, or addes into the middest thereof a brasen naile consecrated, saieng : *Justus es Domine, & justa judicia tua.* Then the theefe shall be bewraied by his crieng out.

[* penitential]

¶ *Another waie to find out a theefe.*

STicke a paire of sheeres in the rind of a sive, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the sheeres, holding it with the sive up from the ground steddilie, and aske *Peter* and *Paule* whether A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guiltie person, the sive will turne round. This is a great practise in all countries, and indeed a verie bable. For with the beating of the pulse some cause of that motion ariseth, some other cause by slight of the fingers, some other by the wind gathered in the sive to be staid, &c : at the pleasure of the holders. Some cause may be the imagination, which upon conceipt at the naming of the partie altereth the common course of the pulse. As may well be conceived by a ring held steddilie by a thred betwixt the finger and the thombe, over or rather in a goblet or glasse ; which within short space will strike against the side therof so manie strokes as the holder thinketh it/ a clocke, and then will staie : the which who so prooveth shall find true.

These be meere toies to mocke apes, and have in them no commendable devise.

263.

¶ *A charme to find out or spoile a theefe.*

OF this matter, concerning the apprehension of theeves by words, I will cite one charme, called S. *Adelberts* cursse, being both for/ length of words sufficient to wearie the reader, and for substantiall stuffe comprehending all that apperteineth unto blasphemous speech or curssing, allowed in the church of *Rome*, as an excommunication and inchantment.

190.

¶ *Saint Adelberts cursse or charme against theeves.*

BY the authoritie of the omnipotent Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and by the holie virgine *Marie* mother of our Lord Jesu Christ, and the holie angels and archangels, and S. *Michaell*, and S. *John Baptist*, and in the behalfe of S. *Peter* the apostle, and the residue of the apostles, and of S. *Steeven*, and of all the martyrs, of S. *Sylvester*, and of S. *Adelbert*, and all the confessors, and S. *Alegand*, and all the holie virgins, and of all the saints in heaven and earth, unto whom there is given power to bind and loose: we doo excommunicate, damne, cursse, and bind with the knots and bands of excommunication, and we doo segregate from the bounds and lists of our holie mother the church, all those theeves, sacrilegious persons, ravenous catchers, dooers, counsellers, coadjutors, male or female, that have committed this theft or mischeefe, or have usurped any part therof to their owne use. Let their share be with *Dathan* and *Abiran*, whome the earth swallowed up for their sinnes and pride, and let them have part with *Judas* that betraied Christ, Amen : and with *Pontius Pilat*, and with them that said to the Lord, Depart from us, we will not understand thy waies ; let their children be made orphanes. Curssed be they in the field, in the grove, in the woods, in their houses, barnes, chambers, and beds ; and curssed be they in the court, in the waie, in the towne, in the castell, in the water, in the church, in the churchyard, in the tribunall place, in battell, in their abode, in the market place, in their talke, in
264. silence, in eating, in watching, in sleeping, in drinking, in feeling, in sitting, in kneeling, in standing [,] in lieng, in idlenes, in all their worke, in their bodie and soule, in their five wits, and in everie place. Curssed be the fruit of their wombs, and curssed be the fruit of their lands, and curssed be all that they have. Curssed be their heads, their mouthes, their nostrels, their noses, their lips, their jawes, their teeth, their eies and eielids, their braines, the roofe of their mouthes, their toongs, their throtes, their breasts, their harts, their bellies, their livers, all their bowels, and their stomach.

This is not to doo good to our enimies, nor to praie for them that hurt and hate us ; as Christ exhorteth.

Curssed be their navels, their spleenes, their bladder. Curssed be their thighs, their legs, their feete, their toes, their necks, their shoulders. Curssed be their backs, curssed be their armes, curssed be their elbowes, curssed be their hands, and their fingers, curssed be both the nails of their hands and feete ; curssed be their ribbes and their genitals, and their knees, curssed be their flesh, curssed be their bones, curssed be their bloud, curssed be the skin of their bodies, curssed be the marrowe in their bones, curssed be they from the crowne of the head, to the sole of the foote : and whatsoever is be-

twixt the same, be it accurssed, that is to saie, their five senses ; to wit, their seeing, their hearing, their smelling, their tasting, and their feeling. Curssed be they in the holie crosse, in the passion of Christ, with his five wounds, with the effusi/on of his bloud, and by the milke of the virgine *Marie*. I conjure thee *Lucifer*, with all thy soldiers, by the *father, the son, and the Holie-ghost, with the humanitie and nativitie of Christ, with the vertue of all saints, that thou rest not day nor night, till thou bringest them to destruction, either by drowning or hanging, or that they be devoured by wild beasts, or burnt, or slaine by their enimies, or hated of all men living. And as our Lord hath given authoritie to *Peter* the apostle, and his successors, whose place we occupie, and to us (though unworthie) that whatsoever we bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever we loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven : so we accordinglie, if they will not amend, doo shut from them the gates of heaven, and denie unto them christian buriall, so as they shall be buried in asses leaze. Furthermore, curssed be the ground wherein they are buried, let them be confounded in the last daie of judgement, let them have no conversation among christians, nor be/houseled* at the houre of death ; let them be made as dust before the face of the wind : and as *Lucifer* was expelled out of heaven, and *Adam* and *Eve* out of paradise ; so let them be expelled from the daie light. Also let them be joined with those, to whome the Lord saith at the judgement ; Go ye curssed into everlasting fier, which is prepared for the divell and his angels, where the worme shall not die, nor the fier be quenched. And as the candle, which is throwne out of my hand here, is put out : so let their works and their soule be quenched in the stench of hell fier, except they restore that which they have stolne, by such a daie : and let everie one saie, Amen. After this must be soong **In media vita in morte sumus, &c.*

191.

* Thus they make the holie trinitie to beare a part in their exorcisme, or else it is no bargaine.

265.

[*be-houseled *text.*]

Matth. 15.

* That is, In the midst of life we are in death, &c.

This terrible cursse with bell, booke, and candell added thereunto, must needs worke woonders : howbeit among theeves it is not much weighed, among wise and true men it is not well liked, to them that are robbed it bringeth small releefe : the preests stomach may well be eased, but the goods stolne will never the sooner be restored. Hereby is bewraied both the malice and follie of popish doctrine, whose uncharitable impietie is so impudentlie published, and in such order uttered, as everie sentence (if oportunitie served) might be prooved both hereticall and diabolicall. But I will answer this cruell cursse with another cursse farre more mild and civill, performed by as honest a man (I dare saie) as he that made the other, whereof mention was latelie made.

So it was, that a certeine sir *John*,* with some of his companie, once

[* i.e. a priest.]

went abroad a jetting, and in a moone light evening robbed a millers weire, and stole all his eeles. The poore miller made his mone to sir *John* himselfe, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so cursse the theefe, and all his confederates, with bell, booke, and candell, that they should have small joy of their fish. And therefore the next sundaie, sir *John* got him to the pulpit, with his surplisse on his backe, and his stole about his necke, and pronounced these words following in the audience of the people.

[* Rom.]

A cursse for theft.

*All you that have stolne the millers eeles,**
Laudate Dominum de cœlis,
And all they that have consented thereto,|*
192. *Benedicamus Domino.|*

266. Lo (saith he) there is sauce for your eeles my maisters.

¶ *Another inchantment.*

CErteine preests use the hundred and eight psalme as an inchantment or charme, or at the leastwise saieng, that against whome soever they pronounce it, they cannot live one whole yeere at the uttermost.

The xviii Chapter.

¶ *A charme or experiment to find out a witch.*

IN die dominico sotularia juvenum axungia seu pinguedine porci, ut moris est, pro restauratione fieri perungunt: and when she is once come into the church, the witch can never get out, untill the *seachers for hir give hir expresse leave to depart.

[* = seekers]

But now it is necessarie to shew you how to prevent and cure all mischeefes wrought by these charmes & witchcrafts, according to the opinion of *M. Mal.* and others. One principall waie is to naile a horsse shoo at the inside of the outmost threshhold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall have power to enter thereinto. And if you marke it, you shall find that rule observed in manie countrie houses. ✲ Otherwise: Item the triumphant title to be written crossewise, in everie corner of the house, thus: *Jesus* ✠ *Nazarenus* ✠ *rex* ✠ *Judæorum* ✠. *Memorandum** you may joine heerewithall, the name of the virgine *Marie*, or of the foure evangelists, or *Verbum caro factum est.* ✲ Otherwise: Item in some countries they naile a woolves head on the doore. ✲ Otherwise: Item they hang *Scilla*

Preservatives from witchcraft according to M. Mal. L. Vairus & others.

[* Rom.]

(which is either a roote, or rather in this place garlike) in the roofe of the house, for to keepe awaie witches and spirits : and so they doo Alicium also. ✲ Otherwise : Item perfume made of the gall of a blake dog, and his bloud besmeered on the posts and walles of the house, driveth out of the doores both devils and witches. ✲ Otherwise : The house/ where *Herba betonica* is sowne, is free from all mischeefes. *267.* ✲ Otherwise : It is not unknowne that the Romish church allowed and used the smoke of sulphur, to drive spirits out of their houses ; as they did frankincense and water hallowed. ✲ Otherwise : *Apuleius* saith, that *Mercurie* gave to *Ulysses*, when he came neere to the inchantresse *Circe*, an hearbe called *Verbascum*, which in English is called Pullein, or *Tapsus barbatus*, or Longwoort; and that preserved him from the inchantments. ✲ Otherwise : Item *Plinie* and *Homer* both doo saie, that the herbe called Molie is an excellent herbe against inchantments ; and saie[,] all that thereby *Ulysses* escaped *Circes* hir sorceries, and inchantments. ✲ Otherwise also diverse waies they went to worke in this case, and some used this defensative, some that preservative against incantations.

And heerein you shall see, not onelie how the religion of papists, and infidels agree ; but also how their ceremonies and their opinions are all one concerning witches and spirits.

*For thus writeth Ovid touching that matter :** [* *Ital.*]

Térque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat :
She purifies with fier thrise
old horie headed Aeson,/
With water thrise, and sulphur thrise,
as she thought meet in reason.

Ovid de Medea. Englished by Abraham Fleming. 193.

Againe, the same Ovid commeth in as before : ✲

Adveniat, quæ lustret anus, lectúmque locúmque,
Deferat & tremula sulphur & ova manu.

Let some old woman hither come,
and purge both bed and place,
And bring in trembling hand new egs
and sulphur in like case.

By Ab. Fleming.

And Virgil also harpeth upon the like string : ✲

Virg. in Bucolicis.

——————————baccare frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro :/

Englished by Abraham Fleming. 268.

Of berrie bearing baccar bowze [*boughs*]
a wreath or garland knit,
And round about his head and browze
see decentlie it sit;
That of an evill talking tung
Our future poet be not stung.

[* ? of *or* in.] Furthermore, was it not in times of tempests the papists use, *or superstition, to ring their belles against divels; trusting rather to the tonging of their belles, than to their owne crie unto God with fasting and praier, assigned by him in all adversities and dangers: according to the order of the *Thracian* preests, which would rore and crie, with all the noise they could make, in those tempests. *Olaus Gothus* saith, that his countriemen would shoot in the aire, to assist their gods, whome they thought to be then togither by the eares with others, and had consecrated arrowes, called *Sagittæ Joviales*, even as our papists had. Also in steed of belles, they had great hammers, called *Mallei Joviales*, to make a noise in time of thunder. In some countries they runne out of the doores in time of tempest, blessing themselves with a cheese, whereupon there was a crosse made with a ropes end upon ascension daie. Also three hailestones to be throwne into the fier in a tempest, and thereupon to be said three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aves*, S. *Johns* gospell, and *in fine fugiat tempestas*, is a present remedie. Item, to hang an eg laid on ascension daie in the roofe of the house, preserveth the same from all hurts. *Item, I conjure you haile and wind by the five wounds of Christ, by the three nailes which pearsed his hands and his feete, and by the foure evangelists, *Matthew*, *Marke*, *Luke*, and *John*, that thou come downe dissolved into water. Item, it hath beene a usuall matter, to carrie out in tempests the sacraments and relikes, &c. Item, against stormes, and manie dumme creatures, the popish church useth excommunication as a principall charme. And now to be delivered from witches themselves, they hang in their entries an hearbe called pentaphyllon, cinquefole, also an olive branch, also frankincense, myrrh, valerian, verven, palme, antirchmon, &c: also haythorne, otherwise white[t]horne gathered on Maie daie: also the smoke of a lappoints fethers driveth spirits/ awaie. There be innumerable popish exorcismes, and conjurations for hearbs and other things, to be thereby made wholsome both for the bodies and soules of men and beasts, and also for/ contagion of weather. *Memorandum*,* that at the gathering of these magicall herbs, the *Credo* is necessarie to be said, as *Vairus* affirmeth; and also the *Pater noster*, for that is not superstitious. Also *Sprenger* saith, that

Olaus Goth. lib. de gentib. Septentriona- lib. 3. cap. 8.

* A witches conjuration to make haile cease and be dissolved.

269.

194.

[* Rom.]

L. Vair. lib. de fascin. 2. cap. 11.

to throw up a blacke chicken in the aire, will make all tempests to cease : so it be done with the hand of a witch. If a soule wander in the likenesse of a man or woman by night, molesting men, with bewailing their torments in purgatorie, by reason of tithes forgotten, &c : and neither masses nor conjurations can helpe ; the exorcist in his ceremoniall apparell must go to the toome of that bodie, and spurne thereat, with his foote, saieng ; *Vade ad gehennam*, Get thee packing to hell : and by and by the soule goeth thither, and there remaineth for ever. ✲ Otherwise : There be masses of purpose for this matter, to unbewitch the bewitched. ✲ Otherwise : You must spet into the pissepot, where you have made water. ✲ Otherwise : Spet into the shoo of your right foote, before you put it on : and that *Vairus* saith is good and holsome to doo, before you go into anie dangerous place. ✲ Otherwise : That neither hunters nor their dogs maie be bewitched, they cleave an oken branch, and both they and their dogs passe over it. ✲ Otherwise : S. *Augustine* saith, that to pacifie the god *Liber*, whereby women might have fruite of the seeds they sowe, and that their gardens and feelds should not be bewitched ; some cheefe grave matrone used to put a crowne upon his genitall member, and that must be publikelie done.

Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 15.

Note that you read never of anie spirit that walked by daie, quoth Nota.

Aug. de civit. Dei. lib. 7. cap. 12.

To spoile a theefe, a witch, or anie other enimie, and to be delivered from the evill.

UPon the Sabboth daie before sunrising, cut a hazell wand, saieng : I cut thee O bough of this summers growth, in the name of him whome I meane to beate or maime. Then cover the table, and saie ✠ *In nomine patris* ✠ *&* *filii* ✠ *&* *spiritus sancti* ✠ *ter.* And striking thereon saie as followeth (english it he that can) *Drochs myroch, esenaroth,* ✠ *betu* ✠ *baroch* ✠ *ass* ✠ *maaroth* ✠ : and then saie ; Holie trinitie punish him that hath/ wrought this *270.* mischiefe, & take it away by thy great justice, *Eson* ✠ *elion* ✠ *emaris, ales, age* ; and strike the carpet with your wand.

¶ *A notable charme or medicine to pull out an arrowhead, or anie such thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot otherwise be had out.*

SAie three severall times kneeling ; *Oremus, præceptis salutaribus moniti, Pater noster, ave Maria.* Then make a crosse saieng : The Hebrew knight strake our Lord Jesu Christ, and I beseech thee, The He-

brue knight was canonized a saint to wit, S. *Longinus*.

O Lord Jesu Christ ✠ by the same iron, speare, bloud and water, to pull out this iron : *In nomine patris* ✠ *&* *filii* ✠ *&* *spiritus sancti* ✠

¶ *Charmes against a quotidian ague.*

CUt an apple in three peeces, and write upon the one ; The father is uncreated : upon the other ; The father is incomprehensible : upon the third ; The father is eternall. ✲ Otherwise : Write upon a massecake cut in three peeces ; O ague to be worshipped : on the second ; O sicknesse to be ascribed to health and joies : on the third ; *Pax* ✠ *max* ✠ *fax* ✠ and let it be eaten fasting. ✲ Otherwise : Paint upon three like peeces of a massecake, *Pater pax* ✠ *Adonai* ✠ *filius vita* ✠ *sabbaoth* ✠ *spiritus sanctus* ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ and eate it, as is afore said./

195. ¶ *For all maner of agues intermittant.*

A crossed appension, with other appensions.

JOine two little stickes togither in the middest, being of one length, and hang it about your necke in the forme of a crosse. ✲ Otherwise : For this disease the *Turkes* put within their doublet a ball of wood, with an other peece of wood, and strike the same, speaking certeine frivolous words. ✲ Otherwise : Certeine monks hanged scrolles about the necks of such as were sicke, willing them to saie certeine praiers at each fit, and at the third fit to hope well : and made them beleeve that they should thereby receive cure.

Periapts, characters, &c : for agues, and to cure all diseases, and to deliver from all evill.

For bodie and soule. 271.

THe first chapter of S. *Johns* gospell in small letters consecrated at a masse, and hanged about ones necke, is an in/comparable amulet or tablet, which delivereth from all witchcrafts and divelish practises. But me thinkes, if one should hang a whole testament, or rather a bible, he might beguile the divell terriblie. For indeed so would S. *Barnard* have done, whom the divell told, that he could shew him seven verses in the psalter, which being dailie repeated, would of themselves bring anie man to heaven, and preserve him from hell. But when S. *Barnard* desired the divell to tell him which they were, he refused, saieng, he might then thinke him a foole so to prejudice himselfe. Well (quoth S. *Barnard*) I will doo well enough for that, for I will dailie saie over the whole psalter. The divell hearing him saie so, told him which were the verses, least in reading

S. Barnard overmatcheth the divell for all his subtiltie.

over the whole psalter dailie, he should merit too much for others. But if the hanging of S. *Johns* gospell about the necke be so beneficiall; how if one should eate up the same?

¶ *More charmes for agues.*

TAke the partie by the hand, and saie; *Aequè facilis sit tibi hæc febris, atque Mariæ virgini Christi partus.* ✲ Otherwise: Wash with the partie, and privilie saie this psalme, *Exaltabo te Deus meus, rex, &c.* ✲ Otherwise: Weare about your necke, a peece of a naile taken from a crosse, and wrapped in wooll. ✲ Otherwise: Drinke wine, wherein a sworde hath beene drowned that hath cut off ones head. ✲ Otherwise: Take three consecrated massecakes, and write upon the first: *Qualis est pater talis est vita:* on the second; *Qualis est filius, talis est sanctus:* on the third; *Qualis est spiritus tale est remedium.* Then give them to the sicke man, enjoining him to eate none other thing that daie wherein he eateth anie of them, nor yet drinke: and let him saie fifteene *Pater nosters*, and as manie *Aves*, in the honour and praise of the Trinitie. ✲ Otherwise: Lead the sicke man on a fridaie before sunne rising towards the east, and let him hold up his hands towards the sunne, and saie: This is the daie, wherein the Lord God came to the crosse. But as the crosse shall never more come to him: so let never the hot or cold fit of this ague come anie more unto this man, *In nomine patris* ✠ *&* *fi*✠*lii, &* *spiritus* ✠ *sancti* ✠. Then saie seven and twentie *Pater nosters*, and as manie *Aves*, and use this three daies togither. ✲ Otherwise:/

Pretious restorities.*
[*? restorati[v]es]

Fécana, cagéti, daphnes, gebáre, gedáco,
Gébali stant, sed non stant phebas, hecas, & hedas.*

272.
This is too mysticall to be englished quoth Nota. **196.**
[* 1584, *pheb as, hec as*]

Everie one of these words must be written upon a peece of bread, and/ be given in order one daie after another to the sicke bodie, and so must he be cured. This saith *Nicholas Hemingius* he chanced to read in the schooles in jest; so as one noting the words, practised the medicine in earnest; and was not onelie cured himselfe, but also cured manie others thereby. And therefore he concludeth, that this is a kind of a miraculous cure, wrought by the illusion of the divell: whereas in truth, it will fall out most commonlie, that a tertian ague will not hold anie man longer than so, though no medicine be given, nor anie words spoken. ✲ Otherwise: This word, *Abra cadabra* written on a paper, with a certeine figure joined therewith, and hanged about ones necke, helpeth the ague. ✲ Otherwise: Let the urine of the sicke bodie made earlie in the morning, be softlie heated nine daies togither continuallie, untill all be consumed into vapor.

Fernelius.

✲ Otherwise: A crosse made of two litle twigs joined togither, wherewith when the partie is touched, he will be whole; speciallie if he weare it about his necke. ✲ Otherwise: Take a like quantitie of water out of three ponds of equall bignesse, and tast thereof in a new earthen vessell, and drinke of it when the fit commeth.

Notable follies of the Spaniards & Italians.

In the yeare of our lord 1568. the *Spaniards* and *Italians* received from the pope, this incantation following; whereby they were promised both remission of sinnes, and good successe in their warres in the lowe countries. Which whether it be not as prophane and impious, as anie witches charme, I report me to the indifferent reader. ✠ *Crucem pro nobis subiit* ✠ *& stans in illa sitiit* ✠ *Jesus sacratis manibus, clavis ferreis, pedibus perfossis, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus: Domine libera nos ab hoc malo, & ab hac peste:* then three *Pater nosters*, and three *ave Maries.* Also the same yeere their ensignes were by the authoritie aforesaid conjured with certeine ceremonies, & consecrated against their enimies. And if you read the histories of these warres, you maie see what victorie they gained hereby. Item, they baptised their cheefe standard, and gave it to name S. *Margaret*, who overthrew the divell. And bicause you
273. shall under/stand the mysterie hereof, I have the rather set it downe elsewhere, being indeed worth the reading.

¶ *For a bloudie flux, or rather an issue of bloud.*

TAke a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto three drops of the same bloud, and betweene each drop saie a *Pater noster*, and an *Ave*, then drinke to the patient, and saie; Who shall helpe you? The patient must answer *S. Marie.* Then saie you; *S. Marie* stop the issue of bloud. ✲ Otherwise: Write upon the patients forhead with the same bloud; *Consummatum est.* ✲ Otherwise: Saie to the patient; *Sanguis mane in te, sicut fecit Christus in se; Sanguis mane in tua vena, sicut Christus in sua pœna; Sanguis mane fixus, sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus: ter.* ✲ Otherwise, as followeth.

He must answer by none other, for she perhaps hath the curing thereof by patent.

In the bloud of Adam death was taken ✠
In the bloud of Christ it was all to shaken ✠
And by the same bloud I doo thee charge,
That thou doo runne no longer at large. ✲ Otherwise.

Christ was borne at *Bethelem*, and suffered at *Jerusalem*, where his bloud was troubled. I command thee by the vertue of God,
197. and through/ the helpe of all saincts, to staie even as *Jordan* did,

when *John* baptised Christ Jesus ; *In nomine patris* ✠ *&* *filii* ✠ *&* *spiritus* [*sancti* ✠ ❊ Otherwise : Put thy nameles finger in the wound, and make therwith three crosses upon the wound, and saie five *Pater nosters*, five *Aves*, and one *Credo*, in the honour of the five wounds. ❊ Otherwise : Touch that part and saie, *De latere ejus exivit sanguis & aqua.* ❊ Otherwise : *In nomine patris* ✠ *&* *filii* ✠ *&* *spiritus sancti* ✠ *&c.* *Chimrat*, *chara*, *sarite*, *confirma*, *consona*, *Imohalite.* ❊ Otherwise : *Sepa* ✠ *sepaga* ✠ *sepagoga* ✠ *sta sanguis in nomine patris* ✠ *podendi* ✠ *&* *filii* ✠ *podera* ✠ *&* *spiritus sancti* ✠ *pandorica* ✠ *pax tecum*, *Amen.*

See J. Wier. cap. 11. conf.

¶ *Cures commensed and finished by witchcraft.*

THere was a jollie fellowe that tooke upon him to be a notable surgion, in the dutchie of *Mentz*, 1567. to whom there resorted a Gentleman that had beene vexed with sicknesse, named/ *Elibert*, *274.* having a kerchiefe on his head, according to the guise of sicke folke. But the surgion made him pull off his kerchiefe, and willed him to drinke with him freelie. The sickeman said he durst not ; for he was forbidden by physicke so to doo. Tush (said this cunning man) they know not your disease : be ruled by me, and take in your drinke lustilie. For he thought that when he was well tippled, he might the more easilie beguile him in his bargaine, and make his reward the greater, which he was to receive in part aforehand. When they had well droonke, he called the sicke man aside, and told him the greatnes and danger of his disease, and how that it grew by meanes of witchcraft, and that it would be universallie spread in his house, and among all his cattell, if it were not prevented : and impudentlie persuaded the sicke man to receive cure of him. And after bargaine made, he demanded of the sicke man, whether he had not anie at home, whom he might assuredlie trust. The sicke man answered, that he had a daughter and a servant. The cousener asked how old his daughter was? The patient said, twentie. Well (said the cousener) that is fit for our turne. Then he made the mother and father to kneele on their knees to their daughter, and to desire hir in all things to obey the physician, and that she would doo in everie thing as he commanded hir ; otherwise hir father could not be restored to his health. In which respect hir parents humblie besought hir on their knees so to doo. Then he assigned hir to bring him into his lodging hir fathers haire, and hir mothers, and of all those which he kept in his house, as well of men and women, as also of his cattell. When she came therewith unto him, according to the match made, and hir parents commandement, he lead hir downe into a lowe parlor,

The surgion here most impudentlie setteth his knaverie abroch.

where having made a long speech, he opened a booke that laie on the boord, and laieth thereon two knives acrosse, with much circumstance of words. Then conjureth he, and maketh strange characters, and at length he maketh a circle on the ground, wherein he causeth hir to sticke one of those conjured knives; and after manie more strange words, he maketh hir sticke the other knife beside it. Then fell downe the maid in a swoone for feare; so as he was faine to frote hir and put a sop into hir mouth, after the receipt whereof she was sore troubled and amazed. Then he made hir brests to be uncovered, so as when/ they were bare, he dal/lied with them, diverslie and long together. Then he made hir lie right upward, all uncovered and bare belowe hir pappes. Wherein the maid being loth to obeie him, resisted, and in shame forbad that villanie. Then said the knave; Your fathers destruction is at hand: for except you will be ruled, he and all his familie shall susteine greater greefe and inconvenience, than is yet happened unto him. And no remedie, except you will seeke his utter overthrowe, I must have carnall copulation with you, and therewithall fell into hir bosome, and overthrew hir and hir virginitie. So did he the second daie, and attempted the like on the third daie. But he failed then of his purpose, as the wench confessed afterwards. In the meane time he ministred so cruell medicines to the sicke man, that through the torments therof he feared present death, and was faine to keepe his bed, whereas he walked about before verie well and lustilie. The patient in his torments calleth unto him for remedie, who being slacke and negligent in that behalfe, made roome for the daughter to accompanie hir father, who asked hir what she thought of the cure, and what hope she had of his recoverie. Who with teares remained silent, as being oppressed with greefe; till at the last in abundance of sorrowe she uttered the whole matter to hir father. This dooth *Johannes Wierus* report, saieng, that it came unto him by the lamentable relation of the father himselfe. And this is here at this time for none other purpose rehearsed, but that men may hereby learne to take heed of such cousening merchants, and knowe what they be that take upon them to be so cunning in witchcraft; least they be bewitched: as maister *Elibert* and his daughter were.

A pretended conjuration.

275. 198.

Ad vada tot vadit urna quòd ipsa cadit.

¶ *Another witchcraft or knaverie, practised by the same surgion.*

Three morsels, the first charmed with christs birth, the

THis surgion ministred to a noble man, that laie sicke of an ague, offering unto him three peeces of a roote to be eaten at three morsels; saieng to the first: I would Christ had not beene

borne; unto the second: I would he had not suffered; unto the third: I would he had not risen againe. And then putting them about the sicke mans necke, said; Be of good cheere. And if he lost them, whosoever tooke them up, should therewithall take awaie/ his ague. ✲ Otherwise: Jesus Christ, which was borne, deliver thee from this infirmitie ✠ Jesus Christ which died ✠ deliver thee from this infirmitie ✠ Jesus Christ which rose againe ✠ deliver thee from this infirmitie. Then dailie must be said five *Pater nosters*, and five *Aves*.

second with his passion, the third with his resurrection.

276.

¶ *Another experiment for one bewitched.*

ANother such cousening physician persuaded one which had a timpanie, that it was one old viper, and twoo yoong mainteined in his bellie by witchcraft. But being watched, so as he could not conveie vipers into his ordure or excrements, after his purgations: at length he told the partie, that he should suffer the paines of childbirth, if it were not prevented; and therefore he must put his hand into his breech, and rake out those wormes there. But the mother of the sicke partie having warning hereof, said she could doo that hir selfe. So the cousener was prevented, and the partie died onelie of a timpanie, and the knave ran awaie out of the countrie.

A cousening physician, and a foolish patient.

¶ *Otherwise.*

MOnsieur Bodin telleth of a witch, who undertaking to cure a woman bewitched, caused a masse to be soong at midnight in our ladies chap/pell. And when she had overlien the sicke partie, and breathed certeine words upon hir, she was healed. Wherein *Bodin* saith, she followed the example of *Elias* the prophet, who raised the *Sunamitie*. And this storie must needs be true: for goodman *Hardivin Blesensis* his host at the signe of the lion told him the storie.

John. Bodin. **199.** *Kakozelia.*

¶ *A knacke to knowe whether you be bewitched, or no, &c.*

IT is also expedient to learne how to know whether a sicke man be bewitched or no: this is the practise thereof. You must hold molten lead over the sicke bodie, and powre it into a porrenger full of water; and then, if there appeare upon the lead, anie image, you may then knowe the partie is bewitched./

Mal. malef. pa. 1. quæ. 17. Barth. Spin. in novo Mal. malef.

277.

The xix. Chapter.

That one witchcraft maie lawfullie meete with another.

Scotus in 4. distinct. 34. de imperio.

SCOTUS, *Hostiensis*, *Gofridus*, and all the old canonists agree, that it is lawfull to take awaie witchcraft by witchcraft, *Et vana vanis contundere.* And *Scotus* saith, It were follie to forbeare to encounter witchcraft by witchcraft; for (saith he) there can be none inconvenience therein; bicause the overthrower of witchcraft assenteth not to the works of the divell. And therefore he saith further, that it is meritorious so to extinguish and overthrow the divels workes. As though he should saie; It maketh no matter, though S. *Paule* saie; *Non facies malum, ut indè veniat bonum*, Thou shalt not doo evill, that good maie come thereof. *Humbertus* saith, that witchcraft maie be taken awaie by that meanes whereby it was brought. But *Gofredus* inveieth sore against the oppugners thereof. Pope *Nicholas* the fift gave indulgence and leave to bishop *Miraties* (who was so bewitched in his privities, that he could not use the gift of venerie) to seeke remedie at witches hands. And this was the clause of his dispensation, *Ut ex duobus malis fugiatur majus*, that of two evils, the greater should be avoided. And so a witch, by taking his doublet, cured him, and killed the other witch: as the storie saith, which is to be seene in *M. Mal.* and diverse other writers.

Dist. 4. Gofred. in summa sua.

The xx. Chapter.

Who are privileged from witches, what bodies are aptest to be bewitched, or to be witches, why women are rather witches than men, and what they are.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 1. 278.

NOW if you will know who and what persons are privileged from witches, you must understand, that they be even such as cannot be bewitched. In the number of whome first be the in/quisitors, and such as exercise publike justice upon them. Howbeit,* a justice in *Essex*, whome for diverse respects I have left unnamed, not long since thought he was bewitched, in the verie instant whiles he examined the witch; so as his leg was broken therby, &c: which either was false, or else this rule untrue, or both rather injurious unto Gods providence. Second-

* Whereof looke more in a little booke set foorth in print.

lie, such as observe dulie the rites and ceremonies of holie church, and worship them with reverence, through the sprinkling of holie water, and receiving consecrated salt, by the lawfull use of candles hallowed on Candelmas daie, and greene leaves consecrated on Palme sundaie (which things they saie the/ church useth for the qualifieng of the divels power) are preserved from witchcraft. Thirdlie, some are preserved by their good angels, which attend and wait upon them. 200.

But I maie not omit here the reasons, which they bring, to prove what bodies are the more apt and effectuall to execute the art of fascination. And that is, first they saie the force of celestiall bodies, which indifferentlie communicate their vertues unto men, beasts, trees, stones, &c. But this gift and naturall influence of fascination maie be increased in man, according to his affections and perturbations ; as thorough anger, feare, love, hate, &c. For by hate (saith *Vairus*) entereth a fierie inflammation into the eie of man, which being violentlie sent out by beams and streames, &c : infect and bewitch those bodies against whome they are opposed. And therefore he saith (in the favour of women) that that is the cause why women are oftener found to be witches than men. For (saith he) they have such an unbrideled force of furie and concupiscence naturallie, that by no meanes it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as upon everie trifling occasion, they (like brute beasts) fix their furious eies upon the partie whom they bewitch. Hereby it commeth to passe, that whereas women having a mervellous fickle nature, what greefe so ever happeneth unto them, immediatlie all peaceablenes of mind departeth ; and they are so troubled with evill humors, that out go their venomous exhalations, ingendred thorough their ilfavoured diet, and increased by meanes of their pernicious excrements, which they expell. Women are also (saith he) monethlie filled full of superfluous humors, and with them/ the melancholike bloud boileth ; whereof spring vapors, and are carried up, and conveied through the nosethrels and mouth, &c : to the bewitching of whatsoever it meeteth. For they belch up a certeine breath, wherewith they bewitch whomsoever they list. And of all other women, leane, hollow eied, old, beetlebrowed women (saith he) are the most infectious. Marie he saith, that hot, subtill, and thin bodies are most subject to be bewitched, if they be moist, and all they generallie, whose veines, pipes, and passages of their bodies are open. And finallie he saith, that all beautifull things whatsoever, are soone subject to be bewitched ; as namelie goodlie yoongmen, faire women, such as are naturallie borne to be rich, goodlie beasts, faire horsses, ranke corne, beutifull trees, &c. Yea a freend

L. Vair. lib. de fascin. I. *c.* 12.

Much like the eiebiting witches, of whom we have elswhere spoken.

279.

Who are most likelie to bewitch, and to be bewitched.

of his told him, that he saw one with his eie breake a pretious stone in peeces. And all this he telleth as soberlie, as though it were true. And if it were true, honest women maie be witches, in despight of all inquisitors: neither can anie avoid being a witch, except shee locke hir selfe up in a chamber.

The xxi. Chapter.

What miracles witchmongers report to have beene done by witches words, &c: contradictions of witchmongers among themselves, how beasts are cured herby, of bewitched butter, a charme against witches, and a counter charme, the effect of charmes and words proved by L. Vairus to be woonderfull.

197.[2] IF I should go about to recite all charmes, I should take an infinite worke in hand. For the witching writers hold opinion, that anie thing al/most maie be therby brought to passe; & that whether the words of the charme be understandable or not, it skilleth not: so the charmer have a steddie intention to bring his desire about. And then what is it that cannot be done by words? For *L. Vairus* saith, that old women have infeebled and killed children with words, and have made women with child miscarrie;/ they have made men pine awaie to death, they have killed horsses, deprived sheepe of their milke, *transformed men into beasts, flowne in the aire, tamed and staied wild beasts, driven all noisome cattell and vermine from corne, vines and hearbs, staied serpents, &c: and all with words. In so much as he saith, that with certeine words spoken in a bulles eare by a witch, the bull hath fallen downe to the ground as dead. Yea some by vertue of words have gone upon a sharpe sword, and walked upon hot glowing coles, without hurt; with words (saith he) verie heavie weights and burthens have beene lifted up; and with words wild horsses and wild bulles have beene tamed, and also mad dogs; with words they have killed wormes, and other vermine, and staied all maner of bleedings and fluxes: with words all the diseases in mans bodie are healed, and wounds cured; arowes are with wonderfull strangenesse and cunning plucked out of mens bones. Yea (saith he) there be manie that can heale all bitings of dogs, or stingings of serpents, or anie other poison: and all with nothing but words spoken. And that which is most strange, he saith, that they can remedie anie stranger, and him that is absent, with that verie sword wherewith they are wounded. Yea and that which is beyond all

L. Vair. lib. de fascin. 1. *ca.* 5.

280.

* According to *Ovids* saieng of *Proteus* & *Medea*, which he indeed alledgeth therefore, *Nunc aqua, nunc ales, modò bos, modò cervus abibat.*

admiration, if they stroke the sword upwards with their fingers, the partie shall feele no paine: whereas if they drawe their finger downewards thereupon, the partie wounded shall feele intollerable paine. With a number of other cures, done altogither by the vertue and force of words uttered and spoken.

Where, by the waie, I maie not omit this speciall note, given by *M. Mal.* to wit, that holie water maie not be sprinkled upon bewitched beasts, but must be powred into their mouthes. And yet he, and also *Nider*, saie, that It is lawfull to blesse and sanctifie beasts, as well as men; both by charmes written, and also by holie words spoken. For (saith *Nider*) if your cow be bewitched, three crosses, three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aves* will certeinlie cure hir: and likewise all other ceremonies ecclesiasticall. And this is a sure *Maxime*,* that they which are delivered from witchcraft by shrift, are ever after in the night much molested (I beleeve by their ghostlie fathers.) Also they loose their monie out of their pursses and caskets: as *M. Mal.* saith he knoweth by experience./ Also one generall rule is given by *M. Mal.* to all butter wives, and dairie maides, that they neither give nor lend anie butter, milke, or cheese, to anie witches, which alwaies use to beg therof, when they meane to worke mischeefe to their kine or whitmeats. Whereas indeed there are in milke three substances commixted; to wit, butter, cheese, and whaie: if the same be kept too long, or in an evill place, or be sluttishlie used, so as it be stale and sower, which happeneth sometimes in winter, but oftener in summer, when it is set over the fier, the cheese and butter runneth togither, and congealeth, so as it will rope like birdlime, that you maie wind it about a sticke, and/ in short space it will be so drie, as you maie beate it to powder. Which alteration being strange, is woondered at, and imputed to witches. And herehence sometimes proceedeth the cause, why butter commeth not, which when the countrie people see that it commeth not, then get they out of the suspected witches house, a little butter, whereof must be made three balles, in the name of the holie trinitie; and so if they be put into the cherne, the butter will presentlie come, and the witchcraft will cease; *Sic ars deluditur arte.* But if you put a little sugar or sope into the cherne, among the creame, the butter will never come: which is plaine witchcraft, if it be closelie, cleanlie, and privilie handled. There be twentie severall waies to make your butter come, which for brevitie I omit; as to bind your cherne with a rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c: but your best remedie and surest waie is, to looke well to your dairie maid or wife, that she neither eat up the creame, nor sell awaie your butter.

Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæ. 2. cap. 7.

Nider in præceptorio, præcept. 1. ca. 11.

Nider in fornicario.

Mal. Malef. part. 2. cap. 8.

[* *Ital.*]

281. A good devise to starve up poore women.

Mal. Malef. part. 2. quæ. 2, cap. 7.

198.[2]

¶ *A charme to find hir that bewitched your kine.*

A ridiculous charme.

PUt a paire of breeches upon the cowes head, and beate hir out of the pasture with a good cudgell upon a fridaie, and she will runne right to the witches doore, and strike thereat with hir hornes.

¶ *Another, for all that have bewitched anie kind of cattell.*

WHen anie of your cattell are killed with witchcraft, hast you to the place where the carcase lieth, and traile the bowels of
282. the beast unto your house, and drawe them not in at/ the doore, but under the threshhold of the house into the kitchen ; and there make a fier, and set over the same a grediron, and thereupon laie the inwards or bowels ; and as they wax hot, so shall the witches entrailes be molested with extreame heate and paine. But then must you make fast your doores, least the witch come and fetch awaie a cole of your fier : for then ceaseth hir torments. And we have knowne saith *M. Mal.* when the witch could not come in, that the whole house hath beene so darkened, and the aire round about the same so troubled, with such horrible noise and earthquakes ; that except the doore had beene opened, we had thought the house would have fallen on our heads. *Thomas Aquinas*, a principall treator herein, alloweth conjurations against the changelings, and in diverse other cases : whereof I will saie more in the word *Iidoni.*

¶ *A speciall charme to preserve all cattell from witchcraft.*

In anie case observe the festivall time, or else you marre all.

AT Easter you must take certeine drops, that lie uppermost of the holie paschall candle, and make a little waxe candle thereof : and upon some sundaie morning rath, light it, and hold it, so as it maie drop upon and betweene the hornes and eares of the beast, saieng : *In nomine patris, & filii, et duplex s s:* and burne the beast a little betweene the hornes on* the eares with the same wax : and that which is left thereof, sticke it in crossewise about the stable or stall, or upon the threshold, or over the doore, where the cattell use to go in and out, and for all that yeare your cattell shall
199.[2] never be be/witched. ✲ Otherwise : *Jacobus de Chusa Carthusianus* sheweth, how bread, water, and salt is conjured, and saith, that if either man or beast receive holie bread and holie water nine daies together, with three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aves*, in the honour of the trinitie, and of S. *Hubert*, it preserveth that man or beast from

[* or]

all diseases, and defendeth them against all assaults of witchcraft, of satan, or of a mad dog, &c.

Lo this is their stuffe, mainteined to be at the least effectuall, if not wholsome, by all papists and witchmongers, and speciallie of the last and proudest writers. But to proove these things to be effectuall, God knoweth their reasons are base and absurd. For they write so, as they take the matter in question as granted,/ and *283.* by that meanes go awaie therewith. For *L. Vairus* saith in the *L. Vair. lib. de fascin. 1. cap. 1.* beginning of his booke, that there is no doubt of this supernaturall matter, bicause a number of writers agree herein, and a number of stories confirme it, and manie poets handle the same argument, and in the twelve tables there is a lawe against it, and bicause the consent of the common people is fullie with it, and bicause immoderate praise is to be approoved a kind of witchcraft, and bicause old women have such charmes and superstitious meanes as preserve themselves from it, and bicause they are mocked that take awaie the credit of such miracles, and bicause *Salomon* saith ; *Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bona*, and bicause the apostle saith ; *O insensati Galatæ, quis vos fascinavit?* And bicause it is written, *Qui timent te, videbunt me.* And finallie he saith, least you should seeme to distrust and detract anie thing from the credit of so manie grave men, from histories, and common opinion of all men : he meaneth in no wise to proove that there is miraculous working by witchcraft and fascination ; and proceedeth so, according to his promise.

Sapi. 4. Gali. 3. Psal. 119.

The xxii. Chapter.

Lawfull charmes, or rather medicinable cures for diseased cattell. The charme of charmes, and the power thereof.

BUT if you desire to learne true and lawfull charmes, to cure diseased cattell, even such as seeme to have extraordinarie sicknesse, or to be bewitched, or (as they saie) strangelie taken : looke in *B. Googe* his third booke, treating of cattell, and happilie you shall find some good medicine or cure for them : or if you list to see more ancient stuffe, read *Vegetius* his foure bookes thereupon : or, if you be unlearned, seeke some cunning bullocke leech. If all this will not serve, then set *Jobs* patience before your eies. And never thinke that a poore old woman can alter supernaturallie the notable course, which God hath appointed among his/ creatures. If it had beene Gods pleasure to have per- *284.* mitted such a course, he would no doubt have both given notice in

Direct and lawfull meanes of curing cattell, &c.

his word, that he had given such power unto them, and also would have taught remedies to have prevented them.

Furthermore, if you will knowe assured meanes, and infallible charmes, yeelding indeed undoubted remedies, and preventing all maner of witchcrafts, and also the assaults of wicked spirits; then
200.[2] despise first all cou/sening knaverie of priests, witches, and couseners: and with true faith read the sixt chapter of S. *Paule* to the *Ephesians*, and followe his counsell, which is ministred unto you in the words following, deserving worthilie to be called by the name insuing:

The charme of charmes.

A charme of charmes taken out of the sixt chapter of S. Paule to the Ephesians.

Finallie my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may stand against the assaults of the divell. For we wrestle not against flesh and bloud, but against principalities and powers, & against worldlie governors the princes of the darkenes of this world, against spirituall wickednes, which are in the high places. For this cause take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evill daie; and having finished all things, stand fast. Stand therefore, and your loines girded about with veritie, and having on the brestplate of righteousnes, &c: as followeth in that chapter, verses 15. 16. 17. 18. 1 *Thes.* 5. 1 *Pet.* 5, *verse.* 8. *Ephes.* 1. and elsewhere in the holie scripture.

¶ *Otherwise.*

IF you be unlearned, and want the comfort of freends, repaire to some learned, godlie, and discreet preacher. If otherwise need require, go to a learned physician, who by learning and experience knoweth and can discerne the difference, signes, and causes of such diseases, as faithlesse men and unskilfull physicians impute to witchcraft.//

285. 201.

The xxiii. Chapter.

A confutation of the force and vertue falselie ascribed to charmes and amulets, by the authorities of ancient writers, both divines and physicians.

MY meaning is not, that these words, in the bare letter, can doo anie thing towards your ease or comfort in this behalfe; or that it were wholesome for your bodie or soule to weare them about your necke: for then would I wish you to weare the whole Bible, which must needs be more

effectuall than anie one parcell thereof. But I find not that the apostles, or anie of them in the primitive church, either carried S. *Johns* gospell, or anie *Agnus Dei** about them, to the end they might be preserved from bugges: neither that they looked into the foure corners of the house, or else in the roofe, or under the threshhold, to find matter of witchcraft, and so to burne it, to be freed from the same; according to the popish rules. Neither did they by such and such verses or praiers made unto saints, at such or such houres, seeke to obteine grace: neither spake they of anie old women that used such trades. Neither did Christ at anie time use or command holie water, or crosses, &c: to be used as terrors against the divell, who was not affraid to assault himselfe, when he was on earth. And therefore a verie vaine thing it is to thinke that he feareth these trifles, or anie externall matter. Let us then cast awaie these prophane and old wives fables. For (as *Origen* saith) *Incantationes sunt dæmonū irrisiones idololatriæ fæx, animarum infatuatio, &c.*

[* *Ital.*]

Mal. Malef. part. 2. qu. 2. cap. 6.

1. Tim. 4, 7. *Origin. lib. 3. in Job.*

Chrysostome saith; There be some that carrie about their necks a peece of a gospell. But* is it not dailie read (saith he) and heard of all men? But if they be never the better for it, being put into their eares, how shall they be saved, by carrieng it about their necks? And further he saith; Where is the vertue of the gospell? In the figure of the letter, or in the understanding of the sense? If in the figure, thou dooest well to weare it about thy/ necke; but if in the understanding, then thou shouldest laie it up in thine heart. *Augustine* saith; Let the faithfull ministers admonish and tell their people, that these magicall arts and incantations doo bring no remedie to the infirmities either of men or cattell, &c.

J. Chrysost. in Matth.

* Marke that here was no latine service.

Idem. Ibid.

286.

August. 26. quæ. ultim.

The heathen philosophers shall at the last daie confound the infidelitie and barbarous foolishnes of our christian or rather antichristian and prophane witchmongers. For as *Aristotle* saith, that *Incantamenta sunt muliercularum figmenta:* so dooth *Socrates* (who was said to be cunning herein) affirme, that *Incantationes sunt verba animas decipientia humanas.* Others saie; *Inscitiæ pallium sunt carmina, maleficium, & incantatio.* *Galen* also saith, that such as impute the falling e/vill, and such like diseases to divine matter, and not rather to naturall causes, are witches, conjurers, &c. *Hippocrates* calleth them arrogant; and in another place affirming that in his time there were manie deceivers and couseners, that would undertake to cure the falling evill, &c: by the power and helpe of divels, by burieng some lots or inchantments in the ground, or casting them into the sea, concludeth thus in their credit, that they are all knaves and couseners: for God is our onlie defender and deliverer. O notable sentence of a heathen philosopher!/

285. [=203.]

Galen. in lib. de comitiali morbo.

Hippocrat. lib. de morbo sacro.

287.

¶ *The xiii. booke.*

The first Chapter.

The signification of the Hebrue word Hartumim, where it is found written in the scriptures, and how it is diverslie translated: whereby the objection of Pharaos magicians is afterward answered in this booke; also of naturall magicke not evill in it selfe.

HARTUMIM is no naturall Hebrue word, but is borrowed of some other nation: howbeit, it is used of the Hebrues in these places; to wit, *Gen.* 4. 1. 8. 24. *Exod.* 7. 13. 24. & 8. 7. 18. & 9. 11. *Dan.* 1, 20. & 2. 2. *Hierome* sometimes translateth it *Conjectores*, sometimes *Malefici*, sometimes *Arioli:* which we for the most part translate by this word witches. But the right signification heereof may be conceived, in that the inchanters of *Pharao*, being magicians of *Aegypt*, were called *Hartumim.* And yet in *Exodus* they are named in some Latine translations *Venefici.* *Rabbi Levi* saith, it betokeneth such as doo strange and woonderfull things, naturallie, artificiallie, and deceitfullie. *Rabbi Isaac Natar* affirmeth, that such were so termed, as amongst the Gentiles professed singular wisedome. *Aben Ezra* expoundeth it, to signifie such as knowe the secrets of nature, and the qualitie of
203. stones and hearbs, &c: which is atteined unto by art, and/ speciallie by naturall magicke. But we, either for want of speach, or know-
288. lege, call them all by the name/ and terme of witches.

Hieronymus. in Gen. 41. 8, & 24. *In Exod.* 7, 13. *In Dan.* 1, 20

Certeinlie, God indueth bodies with woonderfull graces, the perfect knowledge whereof man hath not reached unto: and on the one side, there is amongst them such mutuall love, societie, and consent; and on the other side, such naturall discord, and secret enimitie, that therein manie things are wrought to the astonishment of mans capacitie. But when deceit and diabolicall words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and conjuration; as whereunto those naturall effects are falselie imputed. So as heere I shall have some occasion to say somewhat of naturall magicke; bicause under it lieth hidden the venome of this word *Hartumim.* This art is said by some to be the profoundnesse, and the verie absolute perfection of naturall philosophie, and shewing foorth the active part thereof, & through the aid of naturall vertues, by the convenient applieng of

The authors intention touching the matter hereafter to be discoursed upon.

them, works are published, exceeding all capacitie and admiration; and yet not so much by art, as by nature. This art of it selfe is not evill; for it consisteth in searching foorth the nature, causes, and effects of things. As farre as I can conceive, it hath beene more corrupted and prophaned by us Christians, than either by Jewes or Gentiles.

The second Chapter.

How the philosophers in times past travelled for the knowledge of naturall magicke, of Salomons knowledge therein, who is to be called a naturall magician, a distinction thereof, and why it is condemned for witchcraft.

MANIE philosophers; as namely *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Democritus*, &c: travelled over all the world, to find out & learne the knowlege of this art; & at their returne they preached and taught, professed and published it. Yea, it should appeere by the magicians that came to adore Christ, that the knowledge and re/putation thereof *289.* was greater, than we conceive or make account of. But of all other, *Salomon* was the greatest traveller in this art, as may appeere throughout the booke of *Ecclesiastes*: and speciallie in the booke of *Wisedome*, where hee saith* God hath given me the true science of Sap. 7. 17 things, so as I knowe how the world was made, and the power of the 18. elements, the beginning and the end, and the middest of times, how 19. the times alter, and the change of seasons, the course of the yeare, 20. and the situation of the starres, the nature of living things, and the furiousnesse of beasts, the power of the wind, and the imaginations of men, the diversities of plants, and the vertues of roots, and all 21. things both secret and knowne, &c. Finallie, he was so cunning in *See Iidioni.* this art, that he is said to have bene a conjurer or witch, and is so [*Iidoni.*] reputed in the Romish church at this daie. Whereby you may see, how fooles and papists are inclined to credit false accusations in matters of/ witchcraft and conjuration. The lesse knowledge we **204.** have in this art, the more we have it in contempt: in which respect *Plato* saith trulie to *Dionysius*; They make philosophie a mockerie, that deliver it to prophane and rude people. Certeinlie, the witch-craft, conjuration, and inchantment that is imputed to *Salomon*, is Eccle. 1. & 1. gathered out of these his words following: I applied my mind to knowledge, and to search and seeke out science, wisedome and understanding, to knowe the foolishnesse of the ungodlie, and the

error of doting fooles. In this art of naturall magike (without great heed be taken) a student shall soone be abused. For manie (writing by report, without experience) mistake their authors, and set downe one thing for another. Then the conclusions being found false, the experiment groweth into contempt, and in the end seemeth ridiculous, though never so true. *Plinie* and *Albert* being curious writers heerein, are often deceived; insomuch as *Plinie* is called a noble lier, and *Albert* a rusticall lier; the one lieng by heeresaie, the other by authoritie.

A magician described and the art distinguished.

A magician is indeed that which the Latines call a wise man, as *Numa Pompilius* was among the Romans; The Greeks, a philosopher, as *Socrates* was among them; the *Aegyptians* a preest, as *Hermes* was; the Cabalists called them prophets. But although these
290. distinguished this art, accounting the one part/ thereof infamous, as being too much given unto wicked, vaine, and impious curiositie, as unto moovings, numbers, figures, sounds, voices, tunes, lights, affections of the mind, and words; and the other part commendable, as teaching manie good and necessarie things, as times and seasons to sowe, plant, till, cut, &c: and diverse other things, which I will make manifest unto you heereafter: yet we generallie condemne the whole art, without distinction, as a part of witchcraft; having learned to hate it, before we knowe it; affirming all to be witchcraft, which our grosse heads are not able to conceive, and yet can thinke that an old doting woman seeth through it, &c. Wherein we consider not how God bestoweth his gifts, and hath established an order in his works, graffing in them sundrie vertues to the comfort of his severall creatures; and speciallie to the use and behoofe of man: neither doo we therein weigh that art is servant unto nature, and waiteth upon hir as hir handmaiden.

The third Chapter.

What secrets do lie hidden, and what is taught in naturall magicke, how Gods glorie is magnified therein, and that it is nothing but the worke of nature.

Read Plinie in natural. hist. Cardan de rerum variet. Albertus de occulta rerum proprietate.

IN this art of naturall magicke, God almightie hath hidden manie secret mysteries; as wherein a man may learne the properties, qualities, and knowledge of all nature. For it teacheth to accomplish maters in such sort and oportunitie, as the common people thinketh the same to be miraculous;

and to be compassed none other waie, but onelie by witchcraft. And yet in truth, naturall magicke is nothing else, but the worke of na/ture. For in tillage, as nature produceth corne and hearbs ; so art, being natures minister, prepareth it. Wherein times and seasons are greatlie to be respected : for *Annus non arvus producit aristas.*

Barthol. Neap. in natural. magia, & many others.

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But as manie necessarie and sober things are heerein taught : so dooth it partlie (I saie) consist in such experiments and conclu/sions as are but toies, but neverthelesse lie hid in nature, and being unknowne, doo seeme miraculous, speciallie when they are intermedled and corrupted with cunning illusion, or legierdemaine, from whence is derived the estimation of witchcraft. But being learned and knowne, they are contemned, and appeere ridiculous : for that onelie is woonderfull to the beholder, whereof he can conceive no cause nor reason, according to the saieng of *Ephesius*, *Miraculum solvitur unde videtur esse miraculum.* And therefore a man shall take great paines heerein, and bestow great cost to learne that which is of no value, and a meere jugling knacke. Whereupon it is said, that a man may not learne philosophie to be rich ; but must get riches to learne philosophie : for to sluggards, niggards, & dizzards, the secrets of nature are never opened. And doubtlesse a man may gather out of this art, that which being published, shall set foorth the glorie of God, and be many waies beneficiall to the commonwealth : the first is doone by the manifestation of his works ; the second, by skilfullie applieng them to our use and service.

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Naturall magicke hath a double end, which proveth ye excellencie of the same.

The fourth Chapter.

What strange things are brought to passe by naturall magicke.

THE dailie use and practise of medicine taketh awaie all admiration of the woonderfull effects of the same. Manie other things of lesse weight, being more secret and rare, seeme more miraculous. As for example (if it be true that *J. Bap. Neap.* and many other writers doo constantlie affirme.) Tie a wild bull to a figtree, and he will be presentlie tame ; or hang an old cocke thereupon, and he will immediatlie be tender ; as also the feathers of an eagle consume all other feathers, if they be intermedled together. Wherein it may not be denied, but nature sheweth hir selfe a proper workwoman. But it seemeth unpossible, that a little fish being but halfe a foot long, called *Remora* or *Remiligo*, or/ of some *Echeneis*, staieth a mightie ship with all hir loade

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and tackling, and being also under saile. And yet it is affirmed by so manie and so grave authors, that I dare not denie it ; speciallie, bicause I see as strange effects of nature otherwise : as the propertie of the loadstone, which is so beneficiall to the mariner ; and of Rheubarb, which onelie medleth with choler, and purgeth neither flegme nor melancholie, & is as beneficiall to the physician, as the other to the mariner./

Pompanatius. lib. de incant. cap. 3. J. Wierus de lamiis. Jasp. Peucer H. Cardan. &c.

206.

The fift Chapter.

The incredible operation of waters, both standing and running ; of wels, lakes, rivers, and of their woonderfull effects.

THE operation of waters, and their sundrie vertues are also incredible, I meane not of waters compounded and distilled : for it were endlesse to treate of their forces, speciallie concerning medicines. But we have heere even in *England* naturall springs, wels, and waters, both standing and running, of excellent vertues, even such as except we had seene, and had experiment of, we would not beleeve to be *In rerum natura.* And to let the physicall nature of them passe (for the which we cannot be so thankefull to God, as they are wholsome for our bodies) is it not miraculous, that wood is by the qualitie of divers waters heere in *England* transubstantiated into a stone ? The which vertue is also found to be in a lake besides the citie *Masaca* in *Cappadocia*, there is a river called *Scarmandrus*, that maketh yellow sheepe. Yea, there be manie waters, as in *Pontus* & *Thessalia*, and in the land of *Assyrides*, in a river of *Thracia* (as *Aristotle* saith) that if a white sheepe being with lambe drinke thereof, the lambe will be blacke. *Strabo* writeth of the river called *Crantes*, in the borders of *Italie*, running towards *Tarentum*, where mens haire is made white and yellow being washed therein. *Plinie* dooth write that of what colour the veines are under the rammes toong, of/ the same colour or colours will the lambs be. There is a lake in a field called *Cornetus*, in the bottome whereof manifestlie appeareth to the eie, the carcases of snakes, ewts, and other serpents : whereas if you put in your hand, to pull them out, you shall find nothing there. There droppeth water out of a rocke in *Arcadia*, the which neither a silverne nor a brasen boll can conteine, but it leapeth out, and sprinkleth awaie ; and yet will it remaine without motion in the hoofe of a mule. Such conclusions (I warrant you) were not unknowne to *Jannes* and *Jambres.*

Of late experience neere Coventrie, &c.

Aristot. in lib. de hist. animalium.

Plin. de lanicii colore.

293.

The sixt Chapter.

The vertues and qualities of sundrie pretious stones, of cousening Lapidaries, &c.

THE excellent vertues and qualities of stones, found, conceived and tried by this art, is woonderfull. Howbeit many things most false and fabulous are added unto their true effects, wherewith I thought good in part to trie the readers patience and cunning withall. An Aggat (they saie) hath vertue against the biting of scorpions or serpents. It is written (but I will not stand to it) that it maketh a man eloquent, and procureth the favour of princes ; yea that the fume thereof dooth turne awaie tempests. Alectorius is a stone about the bignesse of a beane, as cleere as/ the christall, taken out of a cocks bellie which hath beene gelt or made a capon foure yeares. If it be held in ones mouth, it asswageth thirst, it maketh the husband to love the wife, and the bearer invincible : for heereby *Milo* was said to overcome his enimies. A crawpocke delivereth from prison. Chelidonius is a stone taken out of a swallowe, which cureth melancholie : howbeit, some authors saie, it is the hearbe wherby the swallowes recover the sight of their yoong, even if their eies be picked out with an instrument. Geranites is taken out of a crane, and Draconites out of a dragon. But it is to be noted, that such stones must be taken out of the bellies of the serpents, beasts, or birds,/ (wherein they are) whiles they live : otherwise, they vanish awaie with the life, and so they reteine the vertues of those starres under which they are. Amethysus maketh a droonken man sober, and refresheth the wit. The* corrall preserveth such as beare it from fascination or bewitching, and in this respect they are hanged about childrens necks. But from whence that superstition is derived, and who invented the lie, I knowe not : but I see how readie the people are to give credit thereunto, by the multitude of corrals that waie emploied. I find in good authors, that while it remaineth in the sea, it is an hearbe ; and when it is brought thence, into the aire, it hardeneth, and becommeth a stone.

207.

Ludovicus Cælius. Rhodo. lib. antiq. lect. 11. *ca.* 70. *Barthol. Anglicus, lib.* 16.

294.

* *Avicenna cano. 2. tract. 2. cap.* 124. *Serapio agg. cap.* 100. *Dioscor. lib.* 5. *cap.* 93.

Heliotropius stancheth bloud, driveth awaie poisons, preserveth health : yea, and some write that it provoketh raine, and darkeneth the sunne, suffering not him that beareth it to be abused. Hyacinthus dooth all that the other docth, and also preserveth from lightening. Dinothera hanged about the necke, collar, or yoke of any creature, tameth it presentlie. A Topase healeth the lunatike person of his

passion of lunacie. Aitites, if it be shaken, soundeth as if there were a little stone in the bellie thereof: it is good for the falling sicknesse, and to prevent untimelie birth. Amethysus aforesaid resisteth droonkenesse, so as the bearers shall be able to drinke freelie, and recover themselves soone being droonke as apes: the same maketh a man wise. Chalcedonius maketh the bearer luckie in lawe, quickeneth the power of the bodie, and is of force also against the illusions of the divell, and phantasticall cogitations arising of melancholie. Corneolus mitigateth the heate of the mind, and qualifieth malice, it stancheth bloudie fluxes, speciallie of women that are troubled with their flowers. Heliotropius aforesaid darkeneth the sunne, raiseth shewers, stancheth bloud, procureth good fame, keepeth the bearer in health, and suffereth him not to be deceived. If this were true, one of them would be deerer than a thousand diamonds.

Plin. lib. 37. *cap.* 10. *Albert. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. *Solin. cap.* 32.

Hyacinthus delivereth one from the danger of lightening, driveth awaie poison and pestilent infection, and hath manie other vertues. Iris helpeth a woman to speedie deliverance, and maketh rainebowes to appeere. A Saphire preserveth the members, and maketh them livelie, and helpeth agues and gowts, and suffereth
295. not the bearer to be afraid: it hath vertue against/ venome, and staieth bleeding at the nose being often put thereto. *A Smarag is good for the eiesight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, it maketh one rich and eloquent. A Topase increaseth riches, healeth the lunatike passion, and stancheth bloud. Mephis (as *Aaron* and *Hermes*/ report out of *Albertus Magnus*) being broken into
208. powder, and droonke with water, maketh insensibilitie of torture. Heereby you may understand, that as God hath bestowed upon these stones, and such other like bodies, most excellent and woonderfull virtues; so according to the abundance of humane superstitions and follies, manie ascribe unto them either more vertues, or others than they have: other boast that they are able to adde new qualities unto them. And heerin consisteth a part of witchcraft and common cousenage used sometimes of the Lapidaries for gaines; sometimes of others for cousening purposes. Some part of the vanitie heereof I will heere describe, bicause the place serveth well therefore. And it is not to be forgotten or omitted, that *Pharos* magicians were like enough to be cunning therein.

* *Rabbi Moses aphorism. partic.* 22. *Isidor. lib.* 14. *cap.* 3. *Savanorola.*

Neverthelesse, I will first give you the opinion of one, who professed himselfe a verie skilfull and well experimented Lapidarie, as appeereth by a booke of his owne penning, published under this title of *Dactylotheca*, and (as I thinke) to be had among the bookesellers. And thus followeth his assertion:

Evax rex Arabum fertur scripsisse Neroni,
(Qui post Augustum regnavit in orbe secundus)
Quot species lapidis, quæ nomina, quíve colores,
Quæq́; sit his regio, vel quanta potentia cuiq́;,
Ocult as etenim lapidum cognoscere vires,*
Quorum causa latens effectus dat manifestos,
Egregium quiddam volumus rarúmque videri.
*Scilicet hinc solers medicorum cura juvatur.**
Auxilio lapidum morbos expellere docta.
Nec minùs inde dari cunctarum commoda rerum
Autores perhibent, quibus hæc perspecta feruntur.
Nec dubium cuiquam debet falsúmque videri,
Quin sua sit gemmis divinitùs insita virtus :|

Marbodæus Gallus in sua dactylotheca, pag. 5, 6.

[* Ocultas]

[*,]

Evax an old Arabian king
is named to have writ
A treatise, and on Neros Grace
to have bestowed it,
(Who in the world did second reigne
after Augustus time)
Of pretious stones the sundrie sorts,
their names, and in what clime
And countrie they were to be found,
their colours and their hue,
Their privie power and secret force,
the which with knowledge true
To understand, their hidden cause
most plaine effects declare :
And this will we a noble thing
have counted be and rare.|
The skilfull care of leeches learnd
is aided in this case,
And hereby holpen, and are taught
with aid of stones to chase
Awaie from men such sicknesses
as have in them a place.
No less precise commodities
of althings else therebie
Are ministred and given to men,
if authors doo not lie,
To whome these things are said to bee
most manifestlie knowne.

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Englished by Abraham Fleming.

209.

Vis gemmarum & lapillorum pretiosorum negatur, quia occulta est, rarissiméque sub sensum cadit.

It shall no false or doubtfull case
appeare to anie one,
But that by heavenlie influence
each pretious pearle and stone,
Hath in his substance fixed force
and vertue largelie sowne.

297. Whereby it is to be concluded, that stones have in them cer/teine proper vertues, which are given them of a speciall influence of the planets, and a due proportion of the elements, their substance being a verie fine and pure compound, consisting of well tempered matter wherein is no grosse mixture : as appeareth by plaine proofe of *India* and *Aethopia*, where the sunne being orient and meridionall, dooth more effectuallie shew his operation, procuring more pretious stones there to be ingendred, than in the countries that are occident and septentrionall. Unto this opinion doo diverse ancients accord ; namelie, *Alexander Peripateticus*, *Hermes*, *Evax*, *Bocchus Zoroastes*, *Isaac Judæus*, *Zacharias Babylonicus*, and manie more beside.

Manie mo authors may be named of no lesse antiquitie and learning.

The seventh Chapter.

Whence the pretious stones receive their operations, how curious Magicians use them, and of their seales.

CURIOUS Magicians affirme, that these stones receive their vertues altogether of the planets and heavenlie bodies, and have not onelie the verie operation of the planets, but sometimes the verie images and impressions of the starres naturallie ingraffed in them, and otherwise ought alwaies to have graven upon them, the similitudes of such monsters, beasts, and other devises, as they imagine to be both internallie in operation, and externallie in view, expressed in the planets. As for example, upon the Achate are graven serpents or venomous beasts ; and sometimes a man riding on a serpent : which they know to be *Aesculapius*, which is the celestiall serpent, whereby are cured (they saie) poisons and stingings of serpents and scorpions. These grow in the river of *Achates*, where the/ greatest scorpions are ingendred, and their noisomnes is thereby qualified, and by the force of the scorpions the stones vertue is quickened and increased. Also, if they would induce love for the accomplishment of venerie, they inscribe and expresse in the stones, amiable embracings and love/lie countenances and gestures, words and kissings in apt figures. For the desires of the mind are consonant with the nature of the stones, which must also be set

Plin. lib. 37. *cap.* 10. *Albert. miner. li.* 2. *ca.* 1. *Solin. cap.* 11. *Diurius in scrin. cap. de complexionibus & complexatis.*

298.

in rings, and upon foiles of such metals as have affinitie with those stones, thorough the operation of the planets whereunto they are addicted, whereby they may gather the greater force of their working.

As for example, They make the images of *Saturne* in lead, of *Sol* in gold, of *Luna* in silver. Marrie there is no small regard to be had for the certeine and due times to be observed in the graving of them: for so are they made with more life, and the influences and configurations of the planets are made thereby the more to abound in them. As if you will procure love, you must worke in apt, proper, and freendlie aspects, as in the houre of *Venus*, *&c* : to make debate, the direct contrarie order is to be taken. If you determine to make the image of *Venus*, you must expect to be under *Aquarius* or *Capricornus*: for *Saturne*, *Taurus*, and *Libra* must be taken heed of. Manie other observations there be, as to avoid the infortunate seate and place of the planets, when you would bring a happie thing to passe, and speciallie that it be not doone in the end, declination, or heele (as they terme it) of the course thereof: for then the planet moorneth and is dull.

Geor. Pictorius. Villang. doct. medici in scholiis super Marbod. dactyl.

Such signes as ascend in the daie, must be taken in the daie ; if in the night they increase, then must you go to worke by night, &c. For in *Aries*, *Leo*, and *Sagittarie* is a certeine triplicitie, wherein the sunne hath dominion by daie, *Jupiter* by night, and in the twielight the cold star of *Saturne*. But bicause there shall be no excuse wanting for the faults espied herein, they saie that the vertues of all stones decaie through tract of time : so as such things are not now to be looked for in all respects as are written. Howbeit *Jannes* and *Jambres* were living in that time, and in no inconvenient place ; and therefore not unlike to have that helpe towards the abusing of *Pharao*. *Cardane* saith, that although men attribute no small force unto such seales ; as to the seale of the sunne, authorities, honors, and favors of princes ; of *Jupiter*, riches and freends ; of *Venus*, pleasures ; of *Mars*, boldnes ; of *Mercurie*, diligence ; of *Saturne*, patience and induring of labour ; of *Luna*, favour of people : I am not ignorant (saith he) that stones doo good, and yet I knowe the seales or figures doo/ none at all. And when *Cardane* had shewed fullie that art, and the follie thereof, and the maner of those terrible, prodigious, & deceitfull figures of the planets with their characters, &c. : he saith that those were deceitfull inventions devised by couseners, and had no vertue indeed nor truth in them. But bicause we spake somewhat even now of signets and seales, I will shew you what I read reported by *Vincentius in suo speculo*, where making mention of the Jasper stone, whose nature and propertie *Marbodeus Gallus* describeth in the verses following :/

H. Card. lib. de subtil. 10.

299.

H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 16. *cap.* 90.

Marbodeus **211.** *in sua dactylotheca, pag.* 41, 52.

Jaspidis esse decem species septémque feruntur,
Hic & multorum cognoscitur esse colorum,
Et multis nasci perhibetur partibus orbis,
Optimus in viridi translucentíque colore,
Et qui plus soleat virtutis habere probatur,
Castè gestatus febrem fugat, arcet hydropem,
Adpositúsque juvat mulierem parturientem,
Et tutamentum portanti creditur esse.
Nam consecratus gratum facit atque potentem,
Et, sicut perhibent, phantasmata noxia pellit,
Cujus in argento vis fortior esse putatur.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Seven kinds and ten of Jasper stones
reported are to be,
Of manie colours this is knowne
which noted is by me,
And said in manie places of
the world for to be seene,
Where it is bred; but yet the best
is thorough shining greene,
And that which prooved is to have
in it more virtue plaste:
For being borne about of such
as are of living chaste,
It drives awaie their ague fits,
the dropsie thirsting drie,
And put unto a woman weake
in travell which dooth lie
It helps, assists, and comforts hir
in pangs when she dooth crie.
Againe, it is beleevd to be
A safegard franke and free,
To such as weare and beare the same;
and if it hallowed bee
It makes the parties gratious,
and mightie too that have it,
And noysome fansies (as they write
that ment not to deprave it)
It dooth displace out of the mind:
the force thereof is stronger,
In silver if the same be set,
and will endure the longer.

Memorandum the authors meaning is, that this stone be set in silver, & worne on the finger for a ring: as you shall see afterwards. 300.

But (as I said) *Vincentius* making mention of the Jasper stone, touching which (by the waie of a parenthesis) I have inferred *Marbodeus* his verses, he saith that some Jasper stones are found having in them the livelie image of a naturall man, with a sheeld at his necke and a speare in his/ hand, and under his feete a serpent: which stones so marked and signed, he preferreth before all the rest, bicause they are antidotaries or remedies notablie resisting poison. Othersome also are found figured and marked with the forme of a man bearing on his necke a bundle of hearbs and flowres, with the estimation and value of them noted, that they have in them a facultie or power restrictive, and will in an instant or moment of time stanch bloud. Such a kind of stone (as it is reported) *Galen* wore on his finger. Othersome are marked with a crosse, as the same author writeth, and these be right excellent against inundations or overflowings of waters. I could hold you long occupied in declarations like unto these, wherein I laie before you what other men have published and set foorth to the world, choosing rather to be an academicall discour/ser, than an universall determiner: but I am desirous of brevitie. *301.*

Vincent. lib. 9. cap. 77. Dioscor. lib. 5. cap. 100. Aristot. in Lapidario. **212.**

The eight Chapter.

The sympathie and antipathie of naturall and elementarie bodies declared by diverse examples of beasts, birds, plants, &c.

IF I should write of the strange effects of Sympathia and Antipathia, I should take great paines to make you woonder, and yet you would scarse beleeve me. And if I should publish such conclusions as are common and knowne, you would not regard them. And yet *Empedocles* thought all things were wrought hereby. It is almost incredible, that the grunting or rather the wheeking of a little pig, or the sight of a simple sheepe should terrifie a mightie elephant: and yet by that meanes the *Romans* did put to flight *Pyrhus* and all his hoast. A man would hardlie beleeve, that a cocks combe or his crowing should abash a puissant lion: but the experience herof hath satisfied the whole world. Who would thinke that a serpent should abandon the shadow of an ash, &c? But it seemeth not strange, bicause it is common, that some man otherwise hardie and stout enough, should not dare to abide or endure the sight of a cat. Or that a draught of drinke should so overthrow a man, that never a part or member of his bodie should be able to performe his dutie and office; and should also so

Agreement & disagreement in sufferance.

corrupt and alter his senses, understanding, memorie, and judgement, that he should in everie thing, saving in shape, beecome a verie beast. And herein the poets experiment of liquor is verified, in these words following :

——————sunt qui non corpora tantùm,
Verùm animas etiam valeant mutare liquores :

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Some waters have so powerfull ben,
As could not onelie bodies change,
302. *But even the verie minds of men,*
Their operation is so strange.

Read a litle tract of Erasmus intituled *De amicitia*, where enough is said touching this point.

213. The freendlie societie betwixt a fox and a serpent is almost incredible : how loving the lizzard is to a man, we maie read, though we cannot see. Yet some affirme that our newt is not onlie like to the lizzard in shape, but also in condition. From the which affection towards a man, a spaniell doth not much differ, whereof I could cite incredible stories. The amitie betwixt a castrell and a pigeon is much noted among writers ; and speciallie how the castrell defendeth hir from hir enimie the sparowhawke : whereof they saie the doove is not ignorant. Besides, the woonderfull operation and vertue of hearbs, which to repeat were infinite : and therfore I will onlie referre you to *Mattheolus* his herball, or to *Dodonæus*. There is among them such naturall accord and discord, as some prosper much the better for the others companie, and some wither awaie being planted neere unto the other. The lillie and the rose rejoise in ech others neighborhood. The flag and the fernebush abhorre each other so much, that the one can hardlie live besides the other. The cowcumber loveth water, and hateth oile to the death. And bicause you shall not saie that hearbs have no vertue, for that in this place I cite none, I am content to discover two or three small qualities and vertues, which are affirmed to be in hearbs : marie as simple as they be, *Jannes* and *Jambres* might have done much with them, if they had had them. If you pricke out a yoong swallowes eies, the old swallow restoreth againe their sight, with the application (they saie) of a little Celondine. *Xanthus* the author of histories reporteth, that a yoong dragon being dead, was revived by hir dam, with an hearbe called Balim. And *Juba* saith, that a man in *Arabia* being dead was revived by the vertue of another hearbe.

Xanthus in hist. prima.

Jub. lib. 25. cap. 2.

The ninth Chapter. *303.*

The former matter prooved by manie examples of the living and the dead.

AND as we see in stones, herbs, &c : strange operation and naturall love and dissention : so doo we read, that in the bodie of a man, there be as strange properties and vertues naturall. I have heard by credible report, and I have read many grave authors constantlie affirme, that the wound of a man murthered reneweth bleeding; at the presence of a deere freend, or of a mortall enimie. Diverse also write, that if one passe by a murthered bodie (though unknowne) he shalbe striken with feare, and feele in him selfe some alteration by nature. Also that a woman, above the age of fiftie yeares, being bound hand and foote, hir clothes being upon hir, and laid downe softlie into the water, sinketh not in a long time; some saie, not at all. By which experiment they were woont to trie witches, as well as by *Ferrum candens:* which was, to hold hot iron in their hands, and by not burning to be tried. Howbeit, *Plutarch* saith, that *Pyrhus* his great toe had in it such naturall or rather divine vertue, that no fier could burne it.

This common experience can justifie.

J. Wierus.

Plutarch. in vita Pyrhi.

And *Albertus* saith, and manie other also repeat the same storie, saieng, that there were two such children borne in *Germanie*, as if that one of them had beene carried by anie house, all the doores right against one of his sides would flie open : and that vertue which the one had in the left side, the other brother had in the right side. He saith further, that manie sawe it, and that it could be referred to nothing, but to the proprietie of their bodies. *Pompanatius* writeth that the kings of *France* doo cure the disease called now the kings evill, or queenes evill; which hath beene alwaies thought, and to this daie is supposed to be a miraculous and a peculiar gift, & a speciall grace given to the kings and queenes of *England.* Which some referre to the proprietie of their persons, some to the peculiar gift of God, and some to the/ efficacie of words. But if the French king use it no woorsse than our Princesse doth, God will not be offended thereat : for hir maiestie onelie useth godlie and divine praier, with some almes, and referreth the cure to God and to the physician. *Plutarch* writeth that there be certeine men called *Psilli*, which with their mouthes heale the bitings of serpents. And *J. Bap. Neap.* saith, that an olive being planted by the hand of a virgine, prospereth; which if a harlot doo, it withereth awaie. Also, if a serpent or viper lie in a hole, it

Albert. lib. de mor. animal. cap. 3. 214.

Pompan. lib. de incant. cap. 4.

304.

Plutar. in vita Catonis.

J. Bap. Neap. in lib. de natur. magia. 1.

maie easilie be pulled out with the left hand, wheras with the right hand it cannot be remooved. Although this experiment, and such like, are like enough to be false ; yet are they not altogether so impious as the miracles said to be done by characters, charmes, &c. For manie strange properties remaine in sundrie partes of a living creature, which is not universallie dispersed, and indifferentlie spred through the whole bodie : as the eie smelleth not, the nose seeth not, the eare tasteth not, &c.

The tenth Chapter.

The bewitching venome conteined in the bodie of an harlot, how hir eie, hir toong, hir beautie and behavior bewitcheth some men : of bones and hornes yeelding great vertue.

The venom or poison of an harlot.

THE vertue conteined within the bodie of an harlot, or rather the venome proceeding out of the same maie be beheld with great admiration. For hir eie infecteth, entiseth, and (if I maie so saie) bewitcheth them manie times, which thinke themselves well armed against such maner of people. Hir toong, hir gesture, hir behaviour, her beautie, and other allurements poison and intoxicate the mind : yea, hir companie induceth impudencie, corrupteth virginitie, confoundeth and consumeth the bodies, goods, and the verie soules of men. And finallie hir bodie destroieth and rotteth the verie flesh and bones of mans bodie. And this is common, that we woonder not at all thereat, naie
305. we have not/ the course of the sunne, the moone, or the starres in so great admiration, as the globe, counterfeting their order : which is in respect but a bable made by an artificer. So as (I thinke) if Christ himselfe had continued long in the execution of miracles, and had left that power permanent and common in the church ; they would have
215. growne into contempt, and not have beene esteemed, according/ to his owne saieng : A prophet is not regarded in his owne countrie. I might recite infinite properties, wherewith God hath indued the bodie of man, worthie of admiration, and fit for this place. As touching other living creatures, God hath likewise (for his glorie, and our behoofe) bestowed most excellent and miraculous gifts and vertues upon their bodies and members, and that in severall and woonderfull wise. We see that a bone taken out of a carps head, stancheth bloud, and so doth none other part besides of that fish. The bone also in a hares foot mitigateth the crampe, as none other bone nor part else of the

Matth. 13. Marke. 6. Luke. 4. John. 4.

Wonderfull naturall effects in bones

hare doth. How pretious is the bone growing out of the forehead of a unicorne ; if the horne, which we see, growe there, which is doubted : and of how small accompt are the residue of all his bones? At the excellencie whereof, as also at the noble and innumerable vertues of herbs we muse not at all ; bicause it hath pleased God to make them common unto us. Which perchance might in some part assist *Jannes* and *Jambres*, towards the hardning of *Pharaos* heart. But of such secret and strange operations read *Albert De mineral. cap.* 1. 11. 17. Also *Marsilius Ficinus*, *cap.* 1. *lib.* 4. *Cardan. de rerum varietate. J. Bap. Neap. de magia naturali. Peucer*, *Wier*, *Pompanacius*, *Fernelius*, and others.

of fishes, beasts, &c.

The eleventh Chapter.

Two notorious woonders and yet not marvelled at.

I THOUGHT good here to insert two most miraculous matters, of the one I am *Testis oculatus*, an eie witnesse ; of the other I am so crediblie and certeinelie informed, that I dare and doo beleeve it to be verie true. When Maister *T. Randolph* returned out of *Russia*, after his ambassage dispatched, a gentleman of his traine/ brought home a monument of *306.* great accompt, in nature and in propertie very wonderfull. And bicause I am loath to be long in the description of circumstances, I will first describe the thing it selfe : which was a peece of earth of a good quantitie, and most excellentlie proportioned in nature, having these qualities and vertues following. If one had taken a peece of perfect steele, forked and sharpened at the end, and heated it red hot, offering therewith to have touched it ; it would have fled with great celeritie : and on the other side, it would have pursued gold, either in coine or bulloine, with as great violence and speed as it shunned the other. No bird in the aire durst approch neere it ; no beast of the field but feared it, and naturallie fled from the sight thereof. It would be here to daie, and to morrowe twentie miles off, and the next daie after in the verie place it was the first daie, and that without the helpe of anie other creature.

Strange properties in a peece of earth.

Johannes Fernelius writeth of a strange stone latelie brought out of *India*, which hath in it such a marvellous brightnes, puritie, and shining, that therewith the aire round about is so lightned and cleared, that one may see to read thereby in the darknes of night. It will not be conteined in a close roome, but requireth an open and

Strange properties in a stone : the like qualities in other stons : *See pag.* 193. 194, 195.

196, 197, 198, 199, 300.

216. free place. It would not willing/lie rest or staie here belowe on the earth, but alwaies laboureth to ascend up into the aire. If one presse it downe with his hand, it resisteth, and striketh verie sharpelie. It is beautifull to behold, without either spot or blemish, and yet verie unplesant to taste or feele. If anie part thereof be taken awaie, it is never a whit diminished, the forme thereof being inconstant, and at everie moment mutable. These two things last rehearsed are strange, and so long woondered at, as the mysterie and moralitie thereof remaineth undiscovered : but when I have disclosed the matter, and told you that by the lumpe of earth a man is ment, and some of his qualities described ; and that that which was conteined in the farre fetcht stone, was fier, or rather flame : the doubt is resolved, and the miracle ended. And yet (I confesse) there is in these two creatures conteined more miraculous matter, than in all the loadstones and diamonds in the world. And hereby is to be noted, that even a part of this art, which is called naturall or witching magicke, consisteth as well in the deceipt of words, as in the/

307. sleight of hand : wherein plaine lieng is avoided with a figurative speech, in the which, either the words themselves, or their interpretation have a double or doubtfull meaning, according to that which hath beene said before in the title* *Ob* or *Pytho :* and shall be more at large hereafter in this treatise manifested.

* Being the 7 booke of this discoverie : *See pag.* 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 160, &c. Where discourse is made of oracles, &c.

The twelfe Chapter.

Of illusions, confederacies, and legierdemaine, and how they may be well or ill used.

MANIE writers have beene abused as well by untrue reports, as by illusion, and practises of confederacie and legierdemaine, &c : sometimes imputing unto words that which resteth in the nature of the thing ; and sometimes to the nature of the thing, that which proceedeth of fraud and deception of sight. But when these experiments growe to superstition or impietie, they are either to be forsaken as vaine, or denied as false. Howbeit, if these things be doone for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of Gods name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether unlawfull : though herein or hereby a naturall thing be made to seeme supernaturall. Such are the miracles wrought by jugglers, consisting in fine and nimble conveiance, called legierdemaine : as when they seeme

Look hereafter in this booke for

to cast awaie, or to deliver to another that which they reteine still in their owne hands ; or conveie otherwise : or seeme to eate a knife, or some such other thing, when indeed they bestowe the same secretlie into their bosoms or laps. Another point of juggling is, when they thrust a knife through the braines and head of a chicken or pullet, and seeme to cure the same with words : which would live and doo well, though never a word were spoken. Some of these toies also consist in arythmeticall devises, partlie in experiments of naturall magike, and partlie in private as also in publike confederacie.//

divers conceits of juggling set foorth at large, beginning at pag. 321.

The xiii. Chapter. *308.* 217.

Of private confederacie, and of Brandons pigeon.

PRIVATE confederacie I meane, when one (by a speciall plot laid by himselfe, without anie compact made with others) persuadeth the beholders, that he will suddenlie and in their presence doo some miraculous feat, which he hath alredie accomplished privilie. As for example, he will shew you a card, or anie other like thing : and will saie further unto you ; Behold and see what a marke it hath, and then burneth it ; and nevertheles fetcheth another like card so marked out of some bodies pocket, or out of some corner where he himselfe before had placed it ; to the woonder and astonishment of simple beholders, which conceive not that kind of illusion, but expect miracles and strange works.

What woondering and admiration was there at *Brandon* the juggler, who painted on a wall the picture of a dove, and seeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the king ; Lo now your Grace shall see what a juggler can doo, if he be his craftes maister ; and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectuall words, as the pigeon fell downe from the top of the house starke dead. I need not write anie further circumstance to shew how the matter was taken, what woondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to use that feat anie further, least he should emploie it in anie other kind of murther ; as though he, whose picture so ever he had pricked, must needs have died, and so the life of all men in the hands of a juggler : as is now supposed to be in the hands and willes of witches. This storie is, untill the daie of the writing hereof, in fresh remembrance, & of the most part beleeved as canonicall, as are all the fables of witches : but when you

Example of a ridiculous woonder.

are taught the feate or sleight (the secrecie and sorcerie of the matter being bewraied, and discovered) you will thinke it a mockerie, and a simple illusion. To interpret unto you the revelation of this mysterie ; so it is, that the poore pigeon was before in the hands of
309. the juggler,/ into whome he had thrust a dramme of *Nux vomica*, or some other such poison, which to the nature of the bird was so extreame a venome, as after the receipt thereof it could not live above the space of halfe an houre, and being let lose after the medicine ministred, she alwaies resorted to the top of the next house : which she will the rather doo, if there be anie pigeons alreadie sitting there, and (as it is alreadie said) after a short space falleth downe, either starke dead, or greatlie astonnied. But in the meane time the juggler useth words of art, partlie to protract the time, and partlie to gaine credit and admiration of the beholders. If this or the like feate should be done by an old woman, everie bodie would crie out for fier and faggot to burne the witch./

This I have prooved upon crows and pies.

This might be done by a confederate, who standing at some window in a church steeple, or other fit place, and holding the pigeon by the leg in a string, after a signe given by his fellowe, pulleth downe the pigeon, and so the woonder is wrought.

The xiiii. Chapter.

218.

Of publike confederacie, and whereof it consisteth.

PUBLIKE confederacie is, when there is before hand a compact made betwixt diverse persons ; the one to be principall, the rest to be assistants in working of miracles, or rather in cousening and abusing the beholders. As when I tell you in the presence of a multitude what you have thought or doone, or shall doo or thinke, when you and I were thereupon agreed before. And if this be cunninglie and closelie handled, it will induce great admiration to the beholders ; speciallie when they are before amazed and abused by some experiments of naturall magike, arythmeticall conclusions, or legierdemaine. Such were, for the most part, the conclusions and devises of *Feates* : wherein doubt you not, but *Jannes* and *Jambres* were expert, active, and readie.

The xv. Chapter.

How men have beene abused with words of equivocation, with sundrie examples thereof.

SOME have taught, and others have written certeine experiments; in the expressing whereof they have used such words of equivocation, as wherby manie have beene overtaken and abused through/ rash credulitie: so as *310.* sometimes (I saie) they have reported, taught, and written that which their capacitie tooke hold upon, contrarie to the truth and sincere meaning of the author. It is a common jest among the water men of the Thames, to shew the parish church of *Stone* to the passengers, calling the same by the name of the lanterne of *Kent*; affirming, and that not untrulie, that the said church is as light (meaning in weight and not in brightnes) at midnight, as at noonedaie. Whereupon some credulous person is made beleeve, and will not sticke to affirme and sweare, that in the same church is such continuall light, that anie man may see to read there at all times of the night without a candle.

A jest among watermen touching Stone church in Kent as light at midnight as at middaie.

An excellent philosopher, whome (for reverence unto his fame and learning) I will forbeare to name, was overtaken by his hostesse at *Dover*; who merrilie told him, that if he could reteine and keepe in his mouth certeine pibbles (lieng at the shore side) he should not perbreake untill he came to *Calice*, how rough and tempestuous so ever the seas were. Which when he had tried, and being not forced by sicknes to vomit, nor to lose his stones, as by vomiting he must needs doo, he thought his hostesse had discovered unto him an excellent secret, nothing doubting of hir amphibologicall speech: and therefore thought it a worthie note to be recorded among miraculous and medicinable stones; and inserted it accordinglie into his booke, among other experiments collected with great industrie, learning, travell, and judgement. All these toies helpe a subtill cousener/ to *219.* gaine credit with the multitude. Yea, to further their estimation, manie will whisper prophesies of their owne invention into the eares of such as are not of quickest capacitie; as to tell what weather, &c: shall followe. Which if it fall out true, then boast they and triumph, as though they had gotten some notable conquest; if not, they denie the matter, forget it, excuse it, or shift it off; as that they told another the contrarie in earnest, and spake that but in jest. All these helps might *Pharaos* jugglers have, to mainteine

A slender shift to save the credit of their cunning.

their cousenages and illusions, towards the hardening of *Pharaos* hart.

Hereunto belong all maner of charmes, periapts, amulets, characters, and such other superstitions, both popish and prophane : where-
311. by (if that were true, which either papists, conjurors, or wit/ches undertake to doo) we might dailie see the verie miracles wrought indeed, which *Pharaos* magicians seemed to performe. Howbeit, bicause by all those devises or cousenages, there cannot be made so much as a nit, so as *Jannes* and *Jambres* could have no helpe that waie, I will speake thereof in place more convenient.

The xvi. Chapter.

How some are abused with naturall magike, and sundrie examples thereof when illusion is added thereunto, of Jacobs pied sheepe, and of a blacke Moore.

BUT as these notable and wonderfull experiments and conclusions that are found out in nature it selfe (through wisedome, learning, and industrie) doo greatlie oppose and astonnish the capacitie of man ; so (I saie) when deceipt and illusion is annexed thereunto, then is the wit, the faith, & constancie of man searched and tried. For if we shall yeeld that to be divine, supernaturall, and miraculous, which we cannot comprehend ; a witch, a papist, a conjuror, a cousener, and a juggler may make us beleeve they are gods : or else with more impietie we shall ascribe such power and omnipotencie unto them, or unto the divell, as onelie and properlie apperteineth to God. As for example. By confederacie or cousenage (as before I have said) I may seeme to manifest the secret thoughts of the hart, which (as we learne in Gods booke) none knoweth or searcheth, but God himselfe alone. And therfore, whosoever beleeveth that I can doo as I may seeme to doo, maketh a god of me, and is an idolater. In which respect, whensoever we heare papist, witch, conjuror, or cousener, take upon him more than lieth in humane power to performe, we may know & boldlie saie it is a knacke of knaverie ; and no miracle at all. And further we may know, that when we understand it, it will not be woorth the knowing. And at the discoverie of these miraculous toies, we shall leave to wonder at them, and beginne to wonder at our selves, that could be so
312. abused with/ bables. Howbeit, such things as God hath laid up secretlie in nature are to be weighed with great admiration, and to be

The inconvenience of holding opinion, that whatsoever passeth our capacitie, is divine, supernaturall, &c.

searched out with such industrie, as may become a christian man : I meane, so as neither God, nor/ our neighbour be offended thereby, 220. which respect doubtlesse *Jannes* and *Jambres* never had. We find in the scriptures diverse naturall and secret experiments practised ; as namelie that of *Jacob*, for pied sheepe : which are confirmed by prophane authors, and not onelie verified in lambs and sheepe, but in horsses, pecocks, connies, &c. We read also of a woman that brought foorth a yoong blacke Moore, by meanes of an old blacke Moore who was in hir house at the time of her conception, whome she beheld in phantasie, as is supposed : howbeit, a gelous husband will not be satisfied with such phantasticall imaginations. For in truth a blacke Moore never faileth to beget blacke children, of what colour soever the other be : *Et sic è contra.*

J. Bap. Neapol. in natural. mag.

The xvii. Chapter.

The opinion of witchmongers, that divels can create bodies, and of Pharaos magicians..

IT is affirmed by *James Sprenger* and *Henrie Institor*, in *M. Mal.* who cite *Albert In lib. de animalib.* for their purpose, that divels and witches also can truelie make living creatures as well as God ; though not at an instant, yet verie suddenlie. Howbeit, all such as are rightlie informed in Gods word, shall manifestlie perceive and confesse the contrarie, as hath beene by scriptures alreadie prooved, and may be confirmed by places infinite. And therefore I saie *Jannes* and *Jambres*, though sathan and also *Belzebub* had assisted them, could never have made the serpent or the frogs of nothing, nor yet have changed the waters with words. Neverthelesse, all the learned expositors of that place affirme, that they made a shew of creation, &c : exhibiting by cunning a resemblance of some of those miracles, which GOD wrought by the hand of *Moses*. Yea S. *Augustine* and manie other hold, that they made by art (and that trulie) the serpents, &c./ But that they may by art approch somewhat neerer 313. to those actions, than hath beene yet declared, shall and may appeere by these and manie other conclusions, if they be true.

M. Malef. p. 1. q. 10.

John. 1, 3. Coloss. 1, 16.

The xviii. Chapter.

How to produce or make monsters by art magike, and why Pharaos magicians could not make lice.

Naturall conclusiõs.

STRATO, *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, and of late, *Jo. Bap. Neap.* teach by what meanes monsters may be produced, both from beast and also from fowle. *Aristotle* himselfe teacheth to make a chicken have foure legs, and as manie wings, onlie by a doubled yolked eg: whereby also a serpent may be made to have manie legs. Or any thing that produceth egs, may likewise be made double membred, or dismembred: & the viler creature the sooner brought to monstrous deformitie, which in more
221. noble creatures is more hardlie/ brought to passe. There are also prettie experiments of an eg, to produce anie fowle, without the naturall helpe of the hen: the which is brought to passe, if the eg be laid in the powder of the hens doong, dried and mingled with some of the hens fethers, & stirred everie fourth houre. You may also produce (as they saie) the most venomous, noisome, and dangerous serpent, called a cockatrice, by melting a little arsenicke, and the poison of serpents, or some other strong venome, and drowning an eg therein, which there must remaine certeine daies; and if the eg be set upright, the operation will be the better. This may also be doone, if the eg be laid in doong, which of all other things giveth the most singular and naturall heate: and as *J. Bap. Neap.* saith is **Mirabilium rerum parens*; who also writeth, that *Crines fœminæ menstruosæ* are turned into serpents within short space: and he further saith, that basill being beaten, and set out in a moist place, betwixt a couple of tiles, dooth ingender scorpions. The ashes of a ducke, being put betweene two dishes, and set in a moist place, dooth ingender a huge tode: *Quod etiam efficit sanguis menstruosus.* Manie
314. writers conclude, that there be two maner of todes, the/ one bred by naturall course and order of generation, the other growing of themselves, which are called temporarie, being onlie ingendred of shewers and dust: and (as *J. Bap. Neap.* saith) they are easie to be made. *Plutarch* and *Heraclides* doo saie, that they have seene these to descend in raine, so as they have lien and cralled on the tops of houses, &c. Also *Aelianus* dooth saie, that he sawe frogs and todes, whereof the heads & shoulders were alive, & became flesh; the hinder parts being but earth, & so cralled on two feete, the other being not yet fashioned or fullie framed. And *Macrobius* reporteth,

To produce anie fowle out of an eg, without the naturall helpe of the hen.

* The mother of marvels.

Two kind of todes, naturall & temporall.

that in *Aegypt*, mice growe of earth and shewers; as also frogs, todes, and serpents in other places. They saie that *Danmatus Hispanus* could make them when & as manie as he listed. He is no good angler, that knoweth not how soone the entrales of a beast, when they are buried, will engender maggots (which in a civiler terme are called gentles) a good bait for small fishes. Whosoever knoweth the order of preserving silkewormes, may perceive a like conclusion: bicause in the winter, that is a dead seed, which in the summer is a livelie creature. Such and greater experiments might be knowne to *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and serve well to their purpose, especiallie with such excuses, delaies, and cunning, as they could joine therewithall. But to proceed, and come a little neerer to their feats, and to shew you a knacke beyond their cunning; I can assure you that of the fat of a man or a woman, lice are in verie short space ingendered: and yet I saie, *Pharaos* magicians could not make them, with all the cunning they had. Whereby you may perceive, that God indeed performed the other actions, to indurate *Pharao*, though he thought his magicians did with no lesse dexteritie than *Moses* worke miracles and woonders. But some of the interpretors of that place excuse their ignorance in that matter, thus; The divell (saie they) can make no creature under the quantitie of a barlie corne, and lice being so little cannot therefore be created by them. As though he that can make the greater, could not make the lesse. A verie grosse absurditie. And as though that he which hath power over great, had not the like over small.//

Maggotts ingendred of the inwards of a beast are good for angling.

Giles. Alley: See the poore mans librarie.

The xix. Chapter. *315.* 222.

That great matters may be wrought by this art, when princes esteeme and mainteine it: of divers woonderfull experiments, and of strange conclusions in glasses, of the art perspective, &c.

HOWBEIT, these are but trifles in respect of other experiments to this effect; speciallie when great princes mainteine & give countenance to students in those magicall arts, which in these countries and in this age is rather prohibited than allowed, by reason of the abuse commonlie coupled therewith; which in truth is it that mooveth admiration and estimation of miraculous workings. As for example. If I affirme, that with certeine charmes and popish praiers I can set an horsse or an asses head upon a mans shoulders, I shall not be beleeved; or if I doo it, I shall be thought a witch. And yet if *J. Bap. Neap.* experi-

Wonderfull experiments.

ments be true, it is no difficult matter to make it seeme so : and the charme of a witch or papist joined with the experiment, will also make the woonder seeme to proceed thereof. The words used in such case are uncerteine, and to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or cousener. But the conclusion is this : Cut off the head of a horsse or an asse (before they be dead) otherwise the vertue or strength thereof will be the lesse effectuall, and make an earthern vessell of fit capacitie to conteine the same, and let it be filled with the oile and fat therof; cover it close, and dawbe it over with lome : let it boile over a soft fier three daies continuallie, that the flesh boiled may run into oile, so as the bare bones may be seene : beate the haire into powder, and mingle the same with the oile ; and annoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seeme to have horsses or asses heads. If beasts heads be annointed with the like oile made of a mans head, they shall seeme to have mens faces, as diverse authors soberlie affirme. If a lampe be annointed heerewith, everie thing shall seeme most monstrous. It is also written, that if that which is called

To set an horsses or an asses head on a mans neck and shoulders,

316. *Sperma* in anie beast be bur/ned, and anie bodies face therewithall annointed, he shall seeme to have the like face as the beast had. But if you beate arsenicke verie fine, and boile it with a little sulphur in a covered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seeme to be hedlesse. Aqua composita and salt being fiered in the night, and all other lights extinguished, make the standers by seeme as dead. All these things might be verie well perceived and knowne, and also practised by *Jannes* and *Jambres*. But the woonderous devises, and miraculous sights and conceipts made and conteined in glasse, doo farre exceed all other ; whereto the art perspective is verie necessarie. For it sheweth the illusions of them, whose experiments be seene in diverse sorts of glasses ; as in the hallowe, the plaine, the embossed, the columnarie, the pyramidate or piked, the turbinall, the bounched, the round, the cornerd, the inversed, the eversed, the massie, the regular, the irregular, the coloured and cleare glasses : for you may have glasses so made, as what image or favour soever you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as therein one may see what others

Strange things to be doone by perspective glasses.

223. doo/ in places far distant ; others, wherby you shall see men hanging in the aire ; others, whereby you may perceive men flieng in the aire ; others, wherin you may see one comming, & another going ; others, where one image shall seeme to be one hundred, &c. There be glasses also, wherein one man may see another mans image, and not his owne ; others, to make manie similitudes ; others, to make none at all. Others, contrarie to the use of all glasses, make the right side turne to the right, and the left side to the left ; others, that burne before

and behind; others, that represent not the images received within them, but cast them farre off in the aire, appearing like aierie images, and by the collection of sunne beames, with great force setteth fier (verie farre off) in everie thing that may be burned. There be cleare glasses, that make great things seeme little, things farre off to be at hand; and that which is neere, to be far off; such things as are over us, to seeme under us; and those that are under us, to be above us. There are some glasses also, that represent things in diverse colours, & them most gorgeous, speciallie any white thing. Finally, the thing most worthie of admiration concerning these glasses, is, that the lesser glass dooth lessen the shape: but how big so ever it be, it maketh the shape no bigger than it is. And therfore *Augustine* thinketh some hidden mysterie to be therein. *Vitellius*, and *J. Bap. Neap.* write largelie hereof. These I have for the most part seene, and have the receipt how to make them: which, if desire of brevitie had not forbidden me, I would here have set downe. But I thinke not but *Pharaos* magicians had better experience than I for those and such like devises. And (as *Pompanacius* saith) it is most true, that some for these feats have beene accounted saints, some other witches. And therefore I saie, that the pope maketh rich witches, saints; and burneth the poore witches.

Cõcerning these glasses remember that the eiesight is deceived: for *Non est in speculo res quæ speculatur in eo.*

317.

Rash opinion can never judge soundlie.

The xx. Chapter.

A comparison betwixt Pharaos magicians and our witches, and how their cunning consisted in juggling knacks.

THUS you see that it hath pleased GOD to shew unto men that seeke for knowledge, such cunning in finding out, compounding, and framing of strange and secret things, as thereby he seemeth to have bestowed upon man, some part of his divinitie. Howbeit, God (of nothing, with his word) hath created all things, and dooth at his will, beyond the power and also the reach of man, accomplish whatsoever he list. And such miracles in times past he wrought by the hands of his prophets, as here he did by *Moses* in the presence of *Pharao*, which *Jannes* and *Jambres* apishlie followed. But to affirme that they by themselves, or by all the divels in hell, could doo indeed as *Moses* did by the power of the Holie-ghost, is woorsse than infidelitie. If anie object and saie, that our witches can doo such feats with words and charms, as *Pharaos* magicians did by their art, I denie it; and all the world will never be

An apish imitation in Jannes and Jambres of working woonders.

Jo. Calvine, lib. institut. 1. cap. 8. Cle. recog. 3.

able to shew it. That which they did, was openlie done; as our witches and conjurors never doo anie/ thing: so as these cannot doo as they did. And yet (as *Calvine* saith of them) they were but
224. 318. jugglers. Neither could they doo, as manie/ suppose. For as *Clemens* saith; These magicians did rather seeme to doo these woonders, than worke them indeed. And if they made but prestigious shewes of things, I saie it was more than our witches can doo. For witchcrafts (as *Erastus* himselfe confesseth in drift of argument) are but old wives fables. If the magicians serpent had beene a verie serpent, it must needs have beene transformed out of the rod. And therein had beene a double worke of God; to wit, the qualifieng and extinguishment of one substance, and the creation of another. Which are actions beyond the divels power, for he can neither make a bodie to be no bodie, nor yet no bodie to be a bodie; as to make something nothing, and nothing something; and contrarie things, one: naie, they cannot make one haire either white or blacke.* If *Pharaos* magicians had made verie frogs upon a sudden, whie could they not drive them awaie againe? It they could not hurt the frogs, whie should we thinke that they could make them? Or that our witches, which cannot doo so much as counterfet them, can kill cattell and other creatures with words or wishes? And therefore I saie with *Jamblichus*, *Quæ fascinati imaginamur, præter imaginamenta nullā habent actionis & essentiæ veritatem*; Such things as we being bewitched doo imagine, have no truth at all either of action or essence, beside the bare imagination.

Erast. in disputat. de lamiis.

Actions unpossible to divels: *Ergo* to witches conjurors, &c.

[* Matt. 5, 36]

Jamb. de mysteriis.

The xxi. Chapter.

That the serpents and frogs were trulie presented, and the water poisoned indeed by Jannes and Jambres, of false prophets, and of their miracles, of Balams asse.

TRUELIE I thinke there were no inconvenience granted, though I should admit that the serpent and frogs were truelie presented, and the water truelie poisoned by *Jannes* and *Jambres*; not that they could execute such miracles of themselves, or by their familiars or divels: but that God, by the hands of those counterfet couseners, contrarie to their owne expectations, overtooke them, and compelled them in their ridiculous wickednes to be/
319. instruments of his will and vengeance, upon their maister *Pharao*: so as by their hands God shewed some miracles, which he himselfe

Pharaos magicians were not maisters of their owne actions.

wrought : as appeareth in *Exodus*. For God did put the spirit of truth into *Baalams* mouth, who was hiered to cursse his people. And although he were a corrupt and false prophet, and went about a mischeevous enterprise ; yet God made him an instrument (against his will) to the confusion of the wicked. Which if it pleased God to doo here, as a speciall worke, whereby to shew his omnipotencie, to the confirmation of his peoples faith, in the doctrine of their Messias delivered unto them by the prophet *Moses*, then was it miraculous and extraordinarie, and not to be looked for now. And (as some suppose) there were then a consort or crew of false prophets, which could also foretell things to come, and worke miracles. I answer, it was extraordinarie and miraculous, & that it pleased God so/ to trie his people ; but he worketh not so in these daies : for the working of miracles is ceased. Likewise in this case it might well stand with Gods glorie, to use the hands of *Pharaos* magicians, towards the hardening of their maisters hart ; and to make their illusions and ridiculous conceipts to become effectuall. For God had promised and determined to harden the heart of *Pharao*. As for the miracles which *Moses* did, they mollified it so, as he alwaies relented upon the sight of the same. For unto the greatnesse of his miracles were added such modestie and patience, as might have mooved even a heart of steele or flint. But *Pharaos* frowardnes alwaies grew upon the magicians actions : the like example, or the resemblance whereof, we find not againe in the scriptures. And though there were such people in those daies suffered and used by God, for the accomplishment of his will and secret purpose : yet it followeth not, that now, when Gods will is wholie revealed unto us in his word, and his sonne exhibited (for whome, or rather for the manifestation of whose comming all those things were suffered or wrought) such things and such people should yet continue. So as I conclude, the cause being taken awaie, the thing proceeding thence remaineth not. And to assigne our witches and conjurors their roome, is to mocke and contemne Gods woonderfull works ; and to oppose against them cousenages, juggling knacks, and things of nought. And therefore, as they must/ confesse, that none in these daies can doo as *Moses* did : so it may be answered, that none in these daies can doo as *Jannes* and *Jambres* did : who, if they had beene false prophets, as they were jugglers, had yet beene more privileged to exceed our old women or conjurors, in the accomplishing of miracles, or in prophesieng, &c. For who may be compared with *Balaam* ? Naie, I dare saie, that *Balaams* asse wrought a greater miracle, and more supernaturall, than either the pope or all the conjurors and witches in the world can doo at this daie.

Exod. 10.

God useth the wicked as instruments to execute his counsels & judgments.

225.

The contrarie effects that the miracles of Moses and the miracles of the Aegyptian magiciãs wroght in the hart of Pharao.

320.

That the art of juggling is more, or at least no les strange in working miracles than conjuring, witchcraft, &c.

To conclude, it is to be avouched (and there be proofes manifest enough) that our jugglers approch much neerer to resemble *Pharaos* magicians, than either witches or conjurors, & can make a more livelie shew of working miracles than anie inchantors can doo : for these practise to shew that in action, which witches doo in words and termes. But that you may thinke I have reason for the maintenance of mine opinion in this behalfe, I will surcease by multitude of words to amplifie this place, referring you to the tract following of the art of juggling, where you shall read strange practises and cunning conveiances ; which bicause they cannot so convenientlie be described by phrase of speech, as that they should presentlie sinke into the capacitie of you that would be practitioners of the same ; I have caused them to be set foorth in forme and figure, that your understanding might be somewhat helped by instrumentall demonstrations. And when you have perused that whole discoverie of juggling, compare the wonders thereof with the woonders imputed to conjurors and witches, (not omitting *Pharaos* sorcerers at anie hand in this comparison) and I beleeve you will be resolved, that the miracles doone in *Pharaos* sight by them, and the miracles ascribed unto witches, conjurors, &c : may be well taken for false miracles, meere delusions, &c : and for such actions as are commonlie practised by cunning jugglers ; be it either by legierdemaine, confederacie, or otherwise.//

321. 226.

The xxii. Chapter.

The art of juggling discovered, and in what points it dooth principallie consist.

NOW because such occasion is ministred, and the matter so pertinent to my purpose, and also the life of witchcraft and cousenage so manifestlie delivered in the art of juggling ; I thought good to discover it, together with the rest of the other deceiptfull arts ; being sorie that it falleth out to my lot, to laie open the secrets of this mysterie, to the hinderance of such poore men as live thereby : whose dooings herein are not onlie tollerable, but greatlie commendable, so they abuse not the name of God, nor make the people attribute unto them his power ; but alwaies acknowledge wherein the art consisteth, so as thereby the other unlawfull and impious arts may be by them the rather detected and bewraied.

In what respects juggling is tollerable and also commendable.

The true art therefore of juggling consisteth in legierdemaine ; to wit, the nimble conveiance of the hand, which is especiallie performed three waies. The first and principall consisteth in hiding and conveieng of balles, the second in the alteration of monie, the third in the shuffeling of the cards. He that is expert in these may shew much pleasure, and manie feats, and hath more cunning than all other witches or magicians. All other parts of this art are taught when they are discovered : but this part cannot be taught by any description or instruction, without great exercise and expense of time. And for as much as I professe rather to discover than teach these mysteries, it shall suffice to signifie unto you, that the endevor and drift of jugglers is onelie to abuse mens eies and judgements. Now therefore my meaning is, in words as plaine as I can, to rip up certeine proper tricks of that art ; whereof some are pleasant and delectable, other some dreadfull and desperate, and all but meere delusions, or counterfet actions, as you shall soone see by due observation of everie knacke by me heereafter deciphered./

The three principall points wherein legierdemaine or nimblenes of hand dooth consist.

The xxiii. Chapter. *322.*

Of the ball, and the manner of legierdemaine therewith, also notable feats with one or diverse balles.

CONCERNING the ball, the plaies & devises thereof are infinite, in somuch as if you can by use handle them well, you may shewe therewith a hundreth feats. But whether you seeme to throw the ball into your left hand, or into your mouth, or into a pot, or up into the aier, &c : it is to be kept still in your right hand. If you practise first with a leaden bullet, you shall the sooner and better doo it with balles of corke. The first place at your first learning, where you are to bestow a great ball, is in the palme of your hand, with your ringfinger : but a small ball is to be placed with your/ thombe, betwixt your ringfinger and 227. midlefinger, then are you to practise to doo it betwixt the other fingers, then betwixt the forefinger and the thombe, with the forefinger and midlefinger jointlie, and therein is the greatest and strangest cunning shewed. Lastlie the same small ball is to be practised in the palme of the hand, and by use you shall not onelie seeme to put anie one ball from you, and yet reteine it in your hand ; but you shall keepe foure or five as cleanelie and certeinelie as one. This being atteined unto, you shall worke woonderfull feats : as for example.

Great varietie of plaie with the balles, &c

These feats are nimbly, cleanly, & swiftly to be conveied ; so as the eies of the beholders may not

discerne or perceive the drift.

Laie three or foure balles before you, and as manie small candlesticks, bolles, saltsellers, or saltseller covers, which is the best. Then first seeme to put one ball into your left hand, and therwithall seeme to hold the same fast : then take one of the candlesticks, or anie other thing (having a hollow foot, & not being too great) and seeme to put the ball which is thought to be in your left hand, underneath the same, and so under the other candlesticks seeme to bestow the other balles : and all this while the beholders will suppose each ball to be under each candlesticke : this doone, some charme or forme of words is commonlie used. Then take up one candlesticke
323. with one hand, and blow, saieng ; Lo, you see that is/ gone : & so likewise looke under ech candlesticke with like grace and words, &

Memorandum that the juggler must set a good grace on the matter : for that is verie requisite.

the beholders will woonder where they are become. But if you, in lifting up the candlesticks with your right hand, leave all those three or foure balles under one of them (as by use you may easilie doo, having turned them all downe into your hand, and holding them fast with your little and ringfingers) and take the candlesticke with your other fingers, and cast the balles up into the hollownes thereof (for so they will not roll so soone awaie) the standers by will be much astonied. But it will seeme woonderfull strange, if also in shewing how there remaineth nothing under an other of those candlesticks, taken up with your left hand, you leave behind you a great ball, or anie other thing, the miracle will be the greater. For first they thinke you have pulled awaie all the balles by miracle ; then, that you have brought them all togither againe by like meanes, and they neither thinke nor looke that anie other thing remaineth behind under anie of them. And therefore, after manie other feats doone, returne to your candlesticks, remembring where you left the great ball, and in no wise touch the same ; but having an other like ball about you, seeme to bestow the same in maner and forme aforesaid, under a candlesticke which standeth furthest frō that where the ball lieth. And when you shall with *words or charmes seeme to conveie the same ball from under the same candlesticke, and afterward bring it under the candlesticke which you touched not, it will (I saie) seeme woonderfull strange.

* As, Hey, fortuna furie, nunquam credo, passe, passe, when come you sirra : *See pag.* 147.

To make a little ball swell in your hand till it be verie great.

TAke a verie great ball in your left hand, or three indifferent big balles ; and shewing one or three little balles, seeme to put them into your said left hand, concealing (as you may well doo) the other balles which were there in before : then use words, and make

them seeme to swell, and open your hand, &c. This plaie is to be varied a hundreth waies : for as you find them all under one candle-sticke, so may you go to a stander by, and take off/ his hat or cap, 228. and shew the balles to be there, by conveieng them thereinto, as you turne the bottome upward./

To consume (or rather to conveie) one or manie balles into nothing. 324.

IF you take one ball, or more, & seeme to put it into your other hand, and whilest you use charming words, you conveie them out of your right hand into your lap ; it will seeme strange. For when you open your left hand immediatlie, the sharpest lookers on will saie it is in your other hand, which also then you may open ; & when they see nothing there, they are greatlie overtaken.

How to rap a wag upon the knuckles.

BUt I will leave to speake anie more of the ball, for herein I might hold you all daie, and yet shall I not be able to teach you to use it, nor scarslie to understand what I meane or write concerning it : but certeinelie manie are persuaded that it is a spirit or a flie, &c. *Memorandum,** that alwaies the right hand be kept open and streight, onlie keepe the palme from view. And therefore you may end with this miracle. ¶ Laie one ball upon your shoulder, an other on your arme, and the third on the table : which because it is round, and will not easilie lie upon the point of your knife, you must bid a stander by laie it thereon, saieng that you meane to throwe all those three balles into your mouth at once : and holding a knife as a pen in your hand, when he is laieng it upon the point of your knife, you may easilie with the haft rap him on the fingers, for the other matter wilbe hard to doo.

[* Rom.]

This feate tendeth cheefelie to the mooving of laughter and mirth.

The xxiiii. Chapter.

Of conveiance of monie.

THE conveieng of monie is not much inferior to the ball, but much easier to doo. The principall place to keepe a peece of monie is the palme of your hand, the best peece to keepe is a testor ; but with exercise all will be alike, except the mony be verie small, and then it is to be kept

The monie must not be of too small nor of too large a circumference for hinde-

ring of the convet-ance.

betwixt the fingers, almost at the fingers end, whereas the ball is to be kept beelowe neere to the palme./

To conveie monie out of one of your hands into the other by legierdemaine.

325.

FIrst you must hold open your right hand, & lay therin a testor, or some big peece of monie : then laie thereupon the top of your long left finger, and use words, and upon the sudden slip your right hand from your finger wherwith you held downe the testor, and bending your hand a verie little, you shall reteine the testor still therein : and suddenlie (I saie) drawing your right hand through your left, you shall seeme to have left the testor there speciallie when you shut in due time your left hand. Which/ that it may more plainelie appeare to be trulie doone, you may take a knife, and seeme to knocke against it, so as it shall make a great sound : but in stead of knocking the peece in the left hand (where none is) you shall hold the point of the knife fast with the left hand, and knocke against the testor held in the other hand, and it will be thought to hit against the mony in the left hand. Then use words, and open your hand, and when nothing is seene, it will be woondered at how the testor was remooved.

This is pret-tie if it be cunninglie handled : for both the eare and the eie is deceived by this de-vise.

229.

To convert or transubstantiate monie into counters, or counters into monie.

ANother waie to deceive the lookers on, is to doo as before, with a testor ; and keeping a counter in the palme of the left hand secretlie to seeme to put the testor thereinto ; which being reteined still in the right hand, when the left hand is opened, the testor will seeme to be transubstantiated into a counter.

To put one testor into one hand, and an other into the other hand, and with words to bring them togither.

Varietie of trickes may be shewed in juggling with mony.

HE that hath once atteined to the facilitie of reteining one peece of monie in his right hand, may shew a hundreth pleasant conceipts by that meanes, and may reserve two or three as well as one. And lo then may you seeme to put one peece into your left hand, and reteining it still in your right hand, you may togither therewith take up another like peece, and so with words seeme to bring both peeces togither./

To put one testor into a strangers hand, and another into your owne, and to conveie both into the strangers hand with words. 326.

ALso you may take two testors evenlie set togither, and put the same in stead of one testor, into a strangers hand, and then making as though you did put one testor into your left hand, with words you shall make it seeme that you conveie the testor in your hand, into the strangers hand: for when you open your said left hand, there shall be nothing seene; and he opening his hand shall find two, where he thought was but one. By this devise (I saie) a hundreth conceipts may be shewed.

How to doo the same or the like feate otherwise.

TO keepe a testor, &c: betwixt your finger, serveth speciallie for this and such like purposes. Hold out your hand, and cause one to laie a testor upon the palme thereof, then shake the same up almost to your fingers ends, and putting your thombe upon it; you shall easilie, with a little practise, conveie the edge betwixt the middle and forefinger, whilest you proffer to put it into your other hand (provided alwaies that the edge appeere not through the fingers on the backside) which being doone, take up/ another testor (which you may cause a stander by to laie downe) and put them both together, either closelie instead of one into a strangers hand, or keepe them still in your owne: & (after words spoken) open your hands, and there being nothing in one, and both peeces in the other, the beholders will woonder how they came togither.

You must take heed that you be close and slie: or else you discredit the art. 230.

To throwe a peece of monie awaie, and to find it againe where you list.

YOu may, with the middle or ringfinger of the right hand, conveie a testor into the palme of the same hand, & seeming to cast it awaie, keepe it still: which with confederacie will seeme strange; to wit, when you find it againe, where another hath bestowed the verie like peece. But these things without exercise cannot be doone, and therefore I will proceed to shew things to be/ brought to passe by monie, with lesse difficultie; & yet as strange as the rest: which being unknowne are marvellouslie commended, but being knowne, are derided, & nothing at all regarded.

Use and exercise maketh men readie and practive. 327.

With words to make a groat or a testor to leape out of a pot, or to run alongst upon a table.

This feat is the stranger if it be doone by night ; a candle placed betweene the lookers on & the juggler : for by that means their eiesight is hindered from discerning the conceit.

YOu shall see a juggler take a groat or a testor, and throwe it into a pot, or laie it in the midst of a table, & with inchanting words cause the same to leape out of the pot, or run towards him, or from him ward* alongst the table. Which will seeme miraculous, untill you knowe that it is doone with a long blacke haire of a womans head, fastened to the brim of a groat, by meanes of a little hole driven through the same with a Spanish needle. In like sort you may use a knife, or anie other small thing : but if you would have it go from you, you must have a confederate, by which meanes all juggling is graced and amended.

[* =himward]

To make a groat or a testor to sinke through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher verie strangelie.

A Juggler also sometimes will borrow a groat or a testor, &c : and marke it before you, and seeme to put the same into the middest of a handkercher, and wind it so, as you may the better see and feele it. Then will he take you the handkercher, and bid you feele whether the groat be there or naie ; and he will also require you to put the same under a candlesticke, or some such thing. Then will he send for a bason, and holding the same under the boord right against the candlesticke, will use certeine words of inchantments ; and in short space you shall heare the groat fall into the bason. This doone, one takes off the candlesticke, and the juggler taketh the handkercher by a tassell, and shaketh it ; but the monie is gone : which seemeth as strange as anie feate whatsoever, but being knowne, the miracle is turned to a bable. For it is nothing else, but to sowe a groat into the corner of a handkercher, finelie covered with a peece of linnen, little bigger than your groat : which corner you must conveie in steed of the groat delivered to you, into the middle of your handkercher ; leaving the other either in your hand/ or lap, which afterwards you must/ seeme to pull through the boord, letting it fall into a bason, &c.

A discoverie of this juggling knacke.

231. *328.*

A notable tricke to transforme a counter to a groat.

TAke a groat, or some lesse peece of monie, and grind it verie thin at the one side ; and take two counters, and grind them, the one at the one side, the other on the other side : glew the smooth

side of the groat to the smooth side of one of the counters, joining them so close together as may be, speciallie at the edges, which may be so filed, as they shall seeme to be but one peece ; to wit, one side a counter, and the other side a groat. Then take a verie little greene waxe (for that is softest and therefore best) and laie it so upon the smooth side of the other counter, as it doo not much discolour the groat : and so will that counter with the groat cleave togither, as though they were glewed ; and being filed even with the groat and the other counter, it will seeme so like a perfect entire counter, that though a stranger handle it, he shall not bewraie it ; then having a little touched your forefinger, and the thombe of your right hand with soft waxe, take therewith this counterfet counter, and laie it downe openlie upon the palme of your left hand, in such sort as an auditor laieth downe his counters, wringing the same hard, so as you may leave the glewed counter with the groat apparentlie in the palme of your left hand ; and the smooth side of the waxed counter will sticke fast upon your thombe, by reason of the wax wherwith it is smeered, and so may you hide it at your pleasure. Provided alwaies, that you laie the waxed side downeward, and the glewed side upward: then close your hand, and in or after the closing thereof turne the peece, & so in stead of a counter (which they suppose to be in your hand) you shall seeme to have a groat, to the astonishment of the beholders, if it be well handled./

The jugler must have none of his trinkets wanting : besides that, it behooveth him to be mindfull, least he mistake his trickes.

The xxv. Chapter. 329.

An excellent feat, to make a two penie peece lie plaine in the palme of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you list.

PUT a little red wax (not too thin) upon the naile of your longest finger, then let a stranger put a two penie peece into the palme of your hand, and shut your fist suddenlie, and conveie the two penie peece upon the wax, which with use you may so accomplish, as no man shall perceive it. Then and in the meane time use *words of course, and suddenlie open your hand, holding the tippes of your fingers rather lower than higher than the palme of your hand, and the beholders will woonder where it is become. Then shut your hand suddenlie again, & laie a wager whether it be there or no ; and you may either leave it there, or take it awaie with you at your pleasure. This (if it be will† handled) hath more admiration than any other feat of the hand.

* As, Ailif, casyl, zaze, hit mel meltat: Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurie, Luna: or such like.

[† for well]

[* Rom.] *Memorandum** this may be best handled, by putting the wax upon the two penie peece, but then must you laie it in your hand your selfe./

232. *To conveie a testor out of ones hand that holdeth it fast.*

STicke a little wax upon your thombe, and take a stander by by the finger, shewing him the testor, and telling him you will put the same into his hand : then wring it downe hard with your waxed thombe, and using many words looke him in the face, & as soone as you perceive him to looke in your face, or frō your hand, suddenlie take awaie your thombe, & close his hand, and so will it seeme to him that the testor remaineth : even as if you wring a testor upon ones forehead, it will seeme to sticke, when it is taken awaie, especiallie if it be wet. Then cause him to hold his hand still, and with speed put into another mans hand (or into your owne) two testors
330. in stead of one, and use words of course, wher/by you shall make not onelie the beholders, but the holders beleeve, when they open their hands, that by inchantment you have brought both togither.

To throwe a peece of monie into a deepe pond, and to fetch it againe from whence you list.

In these knacks of confederacie Feats had the name, whilest he lived.

THere be a marvellous number of feats to be doone with monie, but if you will worke by private confederacie, as to marke a shilling, or anie other thing, and throwe the same into a river or deepe pond, and having hid a shilling before with like marks in some other secret place ; bid some go presentlie & fetch it, making them beleeve, that it is the verie same which you threw into the river : the beholders will marvell much at it. And of such feats there may be doone a marvellous number ; but manie more by publike confederacie, whereby one may tell another how much monie he hath in his pursse, and a hundreth like toies, and all with monie.

To conveie one shilling being in one hand into another, holding your armes abroad like a rood.

A knacke more merrie than marvellous.

EVermore it is necessarie to mingle some merie toies among your grave miracles, as in this case of monie, to take a shilling in each hand, and holding your armes abroad, to laie a wager that you will put them both into one hand, without bringing them anie whit neerer togither. The wager being made, hold your armes abroad

like a rood, and turning about with your bodie, laie the shilling out of one of your hands upon the table, and turning to the other side take it up with the other hand : and so you shall win your wager.

How to rap a wag on the knuckles.

DEliver one peece of monie with the left hand to one, and to a second person another, and offer him that you would rap on the fingers the third ; for he (though he be ungratious and subtill) seeing the other receive monie, will not lightlie refuse it : and when he offereth to take it, you may rap him on the fingers with a knife, or somewhat else held in the right/ hand, saieng that you knew by your familiar, that he ment to have kept it from you./

Another to the same purpose read in pag. 324.

233.

The xxvi. Chapter. 331.

To transforme anie one small thing into anie other forme by folding of paper.

TAKE a sheete of paper, or a handkercher, and fold or double the same, so as one side be a little longer than an other : then put a counter betweene the two sides or leaves of the paper or handkercher, up to the middle of the top of the fold, holding the same so as it be not perceived, and laie a groat on the outside thereof, right against the counter, and fold it downe to the end of the longer side : and when you unfold it againe, the groat will be where the counter was, and the counter where the groat was ; so as some will suppose that you have transubstantiated the monie into a counter, and with this manie feats may be doone.

The like or rather stranger than it may be done, with two papers three inches square a peece, divided by two folds into three equall parts at either side, so as each folded paper remaine one inch square: then glew the backsides of the two papers together as they are folded, & not as they are open, & so shall both papers seeme to be but one ; & which side soever you open, it shall appeare to be the same, if you hide handsomelie the bottome, as you may well doo with your middle finger, so as if you have a groat in the one and a counter in the other, you (having shewed but one) may by turning the paper seeme to transubstantiate it. This may be best performed, by putting it under a candlesticke, or a hat, &c : and with *words seeme to doo the feat.

* Such as you shall find in pag. 323, & 329. in the marginal notes or some strange terms of your owne devising.

The xxvii. Chapter.

Of cards, with good cautions how to avoid cousenage therein: speciall rules to conveie and handle the cards, and the maner and order how to accomplish all difficult and strange things wrought with cards.

HAVING now bestowed some waste monie among you, I will set you to cards; by which kind of witchcraft a great number of people have juggled awaie not onelie
332. their monie, but also their lands,/ their health, their time, and their honestie. I dare not (as I could) shew the lewd juggling that chetors practise, least it minister some offense to the well disposed, to the simple hurt and losses, and to the wicked occasion of evill dooing. But I would wish all gamesters to beware, not onlie with what cards and dice they plaie, but speciallie with whome & where they exercise gaming. And to let dice passe (as whereby a man maie be inevitablie cousened) one that is skilfull to make and use Bumcards, may undoo a hundreth wealthie men that are given to gaming: but if he have a confederate present, either of/ the plaiers or standers by, the mischiefe cannot be avoided. If you plaie among strangers, beware of him that seemes simple or drunken; for under their habit the most speciall couseners are presented, & while you thinke by their simplicitie and imperfections to beguile them (and therof perchance are persuaded by their confederats, your verie freends as you thinke) you your selfe will be most of all overtaken. Beware also of bettors by, and lookers on, and namelie of them that bet on your side: for whilest they looke in your game without suspicion, they discover it by signes to your adversaries, with whome they bet, and yet are their confederates.

Of dice plaie & the like unthriftie games, mark these two olde verses: *Ludens taxillis bene respice quid sit in illis, Mors tua fors tua res tua spes tua pendet in illis:* and remember them. **234.**

But in shewing feats, and juggling with cards, the principall point consisteth in shuffling them nimblie, and alwaies keeping one certeine card either in the bottome, or in some knowne place of the stocke, foure or five cards from it. Hereby you shall seeme to worke woonders; for it will be easie for you to see or spie one card, which though you be perceived to doo, it will not be suspected, if you shuffle them well afterwards. And this note I must give you, that in reserving the bottome card, you must alwaies (whilest you shuffle) keepe him a little before or a little behind all the cards lieng underneath him, bestowing him (I saie) either a little beyond his fellowes before, right over the forefinger, or else behind the rest, so as the little

Note.

finger of the left hand may meete with it : which is the easier, the readier, and the better waie. In the beginning of your shuffling, shuffle as thicke as you can ; and in the end throw upon the stocke the nether card (with so manie mo at the least as you would have preserved for anie purpose) a little before or behind the rest. Provided alwaies, that your forefinger, if the packe be laied before, or the little finger, if the packe lie be/hind, creepe up to meete with the bottome card, and not lie *333.* betwixt the cards : and when you feele it, you may there hold it, untill you have shuffled over the cards againe, still leaving your kept card below. Being perfect herein, you may doo almost what you list with the cards. By this meanes, what packe soever you make, though it consist of eight, twelve, or twentie cards, you may keepe them still together unsevered next to the nether card, and yet shuffle them often to satisfie the curious beholders. As for example, and for brevities sake, to shew you diverse feats under one.

How to deliver out foure aces, and to convert them into foure knaves.

MAke a packe of these eight cards ; to wit, foure knaves and foure aces : and although all the eight cards must lie immediatlie together, yet must ech knave and ace be evenlie severed, and the same eight cards must lie also in the lowest place of the bunch. Then shuffle them so, as alwaies at the second shuffling, or at least wise at the end of your shuffling the said packe, and of the packe one ace may lie nethermost, or so as you may know where he goeth and lieth : and alwaies (I saie) let your foresaid packe with three or foure cards more lie unseparablie together immediatlie upon and with that ace. Then using some speech or other devise, and putting your hands with the cards to the edge of the table to hide the action, let out privilie a peece of the second card, which is one of the knaves, holding/ foorth **235.** the stocke in both your hands, and shewing to the standers by the nether card (which is the ace or kept card) covering also the head or peece of the knave (which is the next card) with your foure fingers, draw out the same knave, laieng it downe on the table : then shuffle againe, keeping your packe whole, and so have you two aces lieng together in the bottome. And therfore, to reforme that disordered card, as also for a grace and countenance to that action, take off the uppermost card of the bunch, and thrust it into the middest of the cards ; and then take awaie the nethermost card, which is one of your said aces, and bestow him likewise. Then may you begin as before, shewing an other ace, and in steed thereof, laie downe an other knave: and so foorth, untill in steed of foure aces you/ have laied downe foure *334.*

You must be well advised in the shuffling of the bunch, least you overshoot your selfe.

knaves. The beholders all this while thinking that there lie foure aces on the table, are greatlie abused, and will marvell at the transformation.

How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stocke.

WHen you have seene a card privilie, or as though you marked it not, laie the same undermost, and shuffle the cards as before you are taught, till your card lie againe below in the bottome. Then shew the same to the beholders, willing them to remember it: then shuffle the cards, or let anie other shuffle them; for you know the card alreadie, and therefore may at anie time tell them what card they saw: which* neverthelesse would be done with great circumstance and shew of difficultie.

* For that will drawe the action into the greater admiration.

An other waie to doo the same, having your selfe indeed never seene the card.

IF you can see no card, or be suspected to have seene that which you meane to shew, then let a stander by first shuffle, and afterwards take you the cards into your hands, and (having shewed and not seene the bottome card) shuffle againe, and keepe the same card, as before you are taught; and either make shift then to see it when their suspicion is past, which maie be done by letting some cards fall, or else laie downe all the cards in heaps, remembring where you laid your bottome card. Then spie how manie cards lie in some one heape, and laie the heape where your bottome card is upon that heape, and all the other heapes upon the same: and so, if there were five cards in the heape wheron you laied your card, then the same must be the sixt card, which now you may throw out, or looke upon without suspicion: and tell them the card they saw.

To tell one without confederacie what card he thinketh.

LAie three cards on a table, a little waie distant, and bid a stander by be true and not waver, but thinke one of them three, and by his eie you shall assuredlie perceive which he both seeth and thinketh. And you shall doo the like, if you cast downe a whole/ paire of cards with the faces upward,/ wherof there will be few or none plainlie perceived, and they also coate cards. But as you cast them downe suddenlie, so must you take them up presentlie, marking both his eie and the card whereon he looketh.

The eie bewraieth the thought.

335.
236.

The xxviii. Chapter.

How to tell what card anie man thinketh, how to conveie the same into a kernell of a nut or cheristone, &c: and the same againe into ones pocket: how to make one drawe the same or anie card you list, and all under one devise.

TAKE a nut, or a cheristone, & burne a hole through the side of the top of the shell, and also through the kernell (if you will) with a hot bodkin, or boare it with a nall; and with the eie of a needle pull out some of the kernell, so as the same may be as wide as the hole of the shell. Then write the number or name of a card in a peece of fine paper one inch or halfe an inch in length, and halfe so much in bredth, and roll it up hard: then put it into a nut, or cheristone, and close the hole with a little red waxe, and rub the same with a litle dust, and it will not be perceived, if the nut or cheristone be browne or old. Then let your confederate thinke that card which you have in your nut, &c: and either conveie the same nut or cheristone into some bodies pocket, or laie it in some strange place: then make one drawe the same out of the stocke held in your hand, which by use you may well doo. But saie not; I will make you perforce draw such a card: but require some stander by to draw a card, saieng that it skils not what card he draw. And if your hand serve you to use the cards well, you shall prefer unto him, and he shall receive (even though he snatch at an other) the verie card which you kept, and your confederate thought, and is written in the nut, and hidden in the pocket, &c. You must (while you hold the stocke in your hands, tossing the cards to and fro) remember alwaies to keepe your card in your eie, and not to loose the sight thereof. Which feate, till you be perfect in, you may/ have the same privilie marked; and when *336.* you perceive his hand readie to draw, put it a little out towards his hand, nimblie turning over the cards, as though you numbred them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw anie other: which if he should doo, you must let three or foure fall, that you may beginne againe. ¶ This will seeme most strange, if your said paper be inclosed in a button, and by confederacie sowed upon the doublet or cote of anie bodie. This tricke they commonlie end with a nut full of inke, in which case some wag or unhappie boie is to be required to thinke a card; and having so doone, let the nut be delivered him to cracke, which he will not refuse to doo, if he have seene the other feate plaied before./

Tricks with cards, &c: which must be doone with confederacie.

A merrie conceipt, the like whereof you shall find in pag. 324, & 330.

237.

The xxix. Chapter.

Of fast or loose, how to knit a hard knot upon a handkercher, and to undoo the same with words.

THE *Aegyptians* juggling witchcraft or sortilegie standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I have written somwhat generallie alreadie, yet having such oportunitie I will here shew some of their particular feats; not treating of their common tricks which is so tedious, nor of their fortune telling which is so impious; and yet both of them meere cousenages. ¶ Make one plaine loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and seeming to draw the same verie hard, hold fast the bodie of the said handkercher (neere to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrarie end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close up handsomlie the knot, which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand, as the left hand end may be neere to the knot: then will it seeme a true and a firme knot. And to make it appeare more assuredlie to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilest you hold fast the other in your right hand: and then holding the knot with your forefinger & thombe, & the nether part of your handkercher with your other fingers,/ 337. as you hold a bridle when you would with one hand slip up the knot and lengthen your reines. This doone, turne your handkercher over the knot with the left hand, in dooing whereof you must suddenlie slip out the end or corner, putting up the knot of your handkercher with your forefinger and thombe, as you would put up the foresaid knot of your bridle. Then deliver the same (covered and wrapt in the middest of your handkercher) to one, to hold fast, and so after some words used, and wagers laied, take the handkercher and shake it, and it will be loose.

Fast and loose with a handkercher.

A notable feate of fast or loose; namelie, to pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remooving of your hand.

TAke two little whipcords of two foote long a peece, double them equallie, so as there may appeare foure ends. Then take three great beadstones, the hole of one of them beeing bigger than the rest; and put one beadstone upon the eie or bowt of the one

Fast or lose with whipcords and beades.

cord, and an other on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bowts be hidden therein: which may be the better doone, if you put the eie of the one into the eie or bowt of the other. Then pull the middle bead upon the same, being doubled over his fellow, and so will the beads seeme to be put over the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may tosse them as you list, and make it seeme manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you have doone it, that the beadstons are put upon the two cords without anie fraud. Then must you seeme to adde more effectuall binding of those beadstones to the string, and make one/ halfe of a knot with one of the ends of each side; which is for no other purpose, but that when the beadstones be taken awaie, the cords may be seene in the case which the beholders suppose them to be in before. For when you have made your halfe knot (which in anie wise you may not double to make a perfect knot) you must deliver into the hands of some stander by those two cords; namelie, two ends evenlie set in one hand, and two in the other, and then with a wager, &c: beginne to pull off your beadstones, &c: which if you handle nimblie, and in the end cause him to pull his two ends, the two cords will/ shew to be placed plainelie, and the beadstones to have come through the cords. But these things are so hard and long to be described, that I will leave them; whereas I could shew great varietie.

238.

This conveiance must be closelie doone: *Ergo* it must be no bunglers worke.

338.

The xxx. Chapter.

Juggling knacks by confederacie, and how to know whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.

TAIE a wager with your confederate (who must seeme simple, or obstinatlie opposed against you) that standing behind a doore, you will (by the sound or ringing of the monie) tell him whether he cast crosse or pile: so as when you are gone, and he hath fillipped the monie before the witnesses who are to be cousened, he must saie; What is it, if it be crosse; or What ist, if it be pile: or some other such signe, as you are agreed upon, and so you need not faile to gesse rightlie. By this meanes (if you have anie invention) you may seeme to doo a hundreth miracles, and to discover the secrets of a mans thoughts, or words spoken a far off.

What is it? What ist? signes of confederacie.

To make a shoale of goslings drawe a timber log.

TO make a shoale of goslings, or (as they saie) a gaggle of geese to seeme to drawe a timber log, is doone by that verie meanes that is used, when a cat dooth drawe a foole through a pond or river: but handled somewhat further off from the beholders.

To make a pot or anie such thing standing fast on the cupboord, to fall downe thense by vertue of words.

LEt a cupboord be so placed, as your confederate may hold a blacke thred without in the court, behind some window of that roome; and at a certeine lowd word spoken by you, he may pull the same thred, being woond about the pot, &c. And this was the feate of *Eleazar*, which *Josephus* reporteth to be such a miracle./

Eleazers feate of cō-federacie.

339. *To make one danse naked.*

MAke a poore boie confederate with you, so as after charmes, &c: spoken by you, he uncloth himselfe, and stand naked, seeming (whilest he undres/seth him) to shake, stampe, and crie, still hastening to be unclothed, till he be starke naked: or if you can procure none to go so far, let him onelie beginne to stampe and shake, &c: and to uncloth him, and then you may (for the reverence of the companie) seeme to release him.

239.

To transforme or alter the colour of ones cap or hat.

TAke a confederates hat, and use certeine *words over it, and deliver it to him againe, and let him seeme to be wroth, and cast it backe to you againe, affirming that his was a good new blacke hat, but this is an old blew hat, &c: and then you may seeme to countercharme it, and redeliver it, to his satisfaction.

* As, Droch myroch, & senaroth betu baroch assmaaroth, roūsee farounsee, hey passe passe, &c: or such like strange words.

How to tell where a stollen horsse is become.

BY meanes of confederacie, *Steeven Tailor* and one *Pope* abused divers countrie people. For *Steeven Tailor* would hide awaie his neighbours horsses, &c: and send them* to *Pope*, (whom he before had told where they were) promising to send the parties unto him, whome he described and made knowne by divers signes: so as this *Pope* would tell them at their first entrance unto the doore. Wherefore they came, and would saie that their horsses were stollen, but the theefe should

Pope and Tailor cō-federates.

[* ? then]

be forced to bring backe the horsses, &c : and leave them within one mile south and bywest, &c: of his house, even as the plot was laid, and the packe made before by *Steeven* and him. This *Pope* is said of some to be a witch, of others he is accompted a conjuror ; but commonlie called a wise man, which is all one with a soothsaier or witch./

The xxxi. Chapter. 340.

Boxes to alter one graine into another, or to consume the graine or corne to nothing.

THERE be divers juggling boxes with false bottoms, wherein manie false feates are wrought. First they have a box covered or rather footed alike at each end, the bottome of the one end being no deeper than as it may conteine one lane of corne or pepper glewed thereupon. Then use they to put into the hollow end thereof some other kind of graine, ground or unground ; then doo they cover it, and put it under a hat or candlesticke : and either in putting it therinto, or pulling it thence, they turne the box, and open the contrarie end, wherein is shewed a contrarie graine : or else they shew the glewed end first (which end they suddenlie thrust into a boll or bag of such graine as is glewed alreadie thereupon) and secondlie the emptie box./

Note the maner of this conveiance.

How to conveie (with words or charmes) the corne conteined in one box into an other. 240.

THere is another box fashioned like a bell, wherinto they doo put so much, and such corne or spice as the foresaid hollow box can conteine. Then they stop or cover the same with a peece of lether, as broad* as a testor, which being thrust up hard towards the midle part or waste of the said bell, will sticke fast, & beare up the corne. And if the edge of the leather be wet, it will hold the better. Then take they the other box dipped (as is aforesaid) in corne, and set downe the same upon the table, the emptie end upward, saieng that they will conveie the graine therein into the other box or bell : which being set downe somewhat hard upon the table, the leather and the corne therein will fall downe, so as the said bell being taken up from the table, you shall see the corne lieng thereon, and the stopple will be hidden therwith, & covered : & when you uncover the other box, nothing shall remaine therein. But presentlie the corne must be swept downe with one hand into the other, or into your lap or hat.

[* = thick]

You must take heed that when the corne commeth out it cover & hide the leather, &c.

Manie feats maie be done with this box, as to put therein a tode, affirming the same to have beene so turned from corne, &c: and then
341. manie beholders will/ suppose the same to be the jugglers divell, whereby his feats and miracles are wrought. But in truth, there is more cunning witchcraft used in transferring of corne after this sort, than is in the transferring of one mans corne in the grasse into an other mans feeld : which* the lawe of the twelve tables dooth so forceablie condemne : for the one is a cousening slight, the other is a false lie.

* See the 12 booke of this discoverie, in the title *Habar*, cap. 4. pag. 220, 221.

Of an other boxe to convert wheat into flower with words, &c.

THere is an other boxe usuall among jugglers, with a bottome in the middle thereof, made for the like purposes. One other also like a tun, wherin is shewed great varietie of stuffe, as well of liquors as spices, and all by means of an other little tun within the same, wherein and whereon liquors and spices are shewed. But this would aske too long a time of descripton.

Of diverse petie juggling knacks.

These are such sleights that even a bungler may doo them: and yet prettie, &c.

THere are manie other beggerlie feats able to beguile the simple, as to make an ote stir by spetting thereon, as though it came to passe by words. Item to deliver meale, pepper, ginger, or anie powder out of the mouth after the eating of bread, &c: which is doone by reteining anie of those things stuffed in a little paper or bladder conveied into your mouth, and grinding the same with your teeth. ¶ Item, a rish through a peece of a trencher, having three holes, and at the one side the rish appearing out in the second, at the other side in the third hole, by reason of a hollow place made betwixt them both, so as the slight consisteth in turning the peece of trencher./

241.

The xxxii. Chapter.

To burne a thred, and to make it whole againe with the ashes thereof.

Marke the maner of this conceit and devise.

IT is not one of the woorst feats to burne a thred handsomelie, and to make it whole againe : the order whereof is this. Take two threds, or small laces, of one foote in
342. length a peece : roll up one of/ them round, which will be then of the quantitie of a pease, bestow the same betweene your left

forefinger and your thombe. Then take the other thred, and hold it foorth at length, betwixt the forefinger and thombe of each hand, holding all your fingers deintilie, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take up a morsell of meate. Then let one cut asunder the same thred in the middle. When that is doone, put the tops of your two thombes together, and so shall you with lesse suspicion receive the peece of thred which you hold in your right hand into your left, without opening of your left finger and thombe : then holding these two peeces as you did the same before it was cut, let those two be cut also asunder in the middest, and they conveied againe as before, untill they be cut verie short, and then roll all those ends together, and keepe that ball of short threds before the other in your left hand, and with a knife thrust out the same into a candle, where you may hold it untill the said ball of short threds be burnt to ashes. Then pull backe the knife with your right hand, and leave the ashes with the other ball betwixt the forefinger and thombe of your left hand, and with the two thombs & two forefingers together seeme to take paines to frot and rub the ashes, untill your thred be renewed, and drawe out that thred at length which you kept all this while betwixt your left finger and thombe. This is not inferior to anie jugglers feate if it be well handled, for if you have legierdemaine to bestowe the same ball of thred, and to change it from place to place betwixt your other fingers (as may easilie be doone) then will it seeme verie strange.

That is, neatlie and deintilie.

A thred cut in manie peeces and burned to ashes made whole againe.

To cut a lace asunder in the middest, and to make it whole againe.

BY a devise not much unlike to this, you may seeme to cut asunder any lace that hangeth about ones necke, or any point, girdle, or garter, &c : and with witchcraft or conjuration to make it whole and closed together againe. For the accomplishment whereof, provide (if you can) a peece of the lace, &c : which you meane to cut, or at the least a patterne like the same, one inch and a halfe long, & (keeping it double privilie in your left hand, betwixt some of your fingers neere to the tips thereof) take the other lace which you meane to cut, still hanging about ones necke,/ and drawe downe your said left hand to the bought thereof : and *343.* putting your owne peece a little before the other (the end or rather middle whereof you must hide betwixt your forefinger and thombe) making the eie or bought, which shall be seene, of your owne patterne, let some stander by cut the same a/sunder, and it will be surelie 242. thought that the other lace is cut ; which with words and froting, &c : you shall seeme to renew & make whole againe. This, if it be well handled, will seeme miraculous.

The means discovered.

How to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth, of what colour or length you list, and never anie thing seene to be therein.

A common juggling knacke of flat cousenage plaied among the simple, &c.

AS for pulling laces out of the mouth, it is somewhat a stale jest, whereby jugglers gaine monie among maides, selling lace by the yard, putting into their mouths one round bottome as fast as they pull out an other, and at the just end of everie yard they tie a knot, so as the same resteth upon their teeth: then cut they off the same, and so the beholders are double and treble deceived, seeing as much lace as will be conteined in a hat, and the same of what colour you list to name, to be drawne by so even yards out of his mouth, and yet the juggler to talke as though there were nothing at all in his mouth.

The xxxiii. Chapter.

How to make a booke, wherein you shall shew everie leafe therein to be white, blacke, blew, red, yellow, greene, &c.

Juggling a kind of witchcraft.

The invention of Clarvis.

THERE are a thousand jugglings, which I am loth to spend time to describe, whereof some be common, and some rare, and yet nothing else but deceipt, cousenage, or confederacie: whereby you may plainelie see the art to be a kind of witchcraft. I will end therfore with one devise, which is not common, but was speciallie used by *Clarvis*, whome though I never saw to exercise the feat, yet am I sure I conceive aright of that invention. He had (they/ saie) a booke, whereof he would make you thinke first, that everie leafe was cleane white paper: then by vertue of words he would shew you everie leafe to be painted with birds, then with beasts, then with serpents, then with angels, &c: the devise thereof is this. ¶ Make a booke seven inches long, and five inches broad, or according to that proportion: and let there be xlix, leaves; to wit, seven times seven conteined therin, so as you may cut upon the edge of each leafe six notches, each notch in depth halfe a quarter of an inch, and one inch distant. Paint everie foureteenth and fifteenth page (which is the end of everie sixt leafe, & the beginning of everie seventh) with like colour, or one kind of picture. Cut off with a paire of sheares everie notch of the first leafe, leaving onlie one inch of paper in the uppermost place uncut, which will remaine almost halfe a quarter of an inch higher than anie part of that leafe. Leave an other like inch in the second place of the second leafe, clipping away one inch of paper in the highest place immediatlie above it, and all the notches below the same, and so orderlie to the third, fourth, &c: so as there shall rest upon each leafe one onlie inch of paper above the rest. One high uncut inch of paper must answer to the first, directlie

344.

This knack is sooner learned by demonstrative means, than taught by words of instruction.

in everie seventh leafe of the booke: so as when you have cut the first seven leaves, in such sort as I first described,/ you are to begin in 243.
the selfe same order at the eight leafe, descending in such wise in the cutting of seven other leaves, and so againe at the fifteenth, to xxi, &c: untill you have passed through everie leafe, all the thicknes of your booke.

Now you shall understand, that after the first seven leaves, everie seventh leafe in the booke is to be painted, saving one seven leaves, which must remaine white. Howbeit you must observe, that at each Bumleafe or high inch of paper, seven leaves distant, opposite one directlie and lineallie against the other, through the thicknesse of the booke, the same page with the page precedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture; and so must you passe through the booke with seven severall sorts of colours or pictures: so as, when you shall rest your thombe upon anie of those Bumleaves, or high inches, and open the booke, you shall see in each page one colour or picture through out the booke; in an other rowe, an other colour, &c. To make that matter more plaine unto you, let this be the description hereof. Hold the booke/ with your left hand, and (betwixt your fore- *345.*
finger and thombe of your right hand) slip over the booke in what place you list, and your thombe will alwaies rest at the seventh leafe; to wit, at the Bumleafe or high inch of paper from whence when your booke is streined, it will fall or slip to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, & open the booke, the beholders seeing each leafe to have one colour or picture with so manie varieties, all passing continuallie & directlie thrugh the whole booke, will suppose that with words you can discolour the leaves at your pleasure. But because perhaps you will hardlie conceive herof by this description, you shall (if you be disposed) see or buie for a small value the like booke, at the shop of *W. Brome* in Powles churchyard, for your further instruction. ¶ There are certeine feats of activitie, which beautifie this art exceedinglie: howbeit even in these, some are true, and some are counterfet; to wit, some done by practise, and some by confederacie. ¶ There are likewise divers feats arythmeticall & geometricall: for them read *Gemma Phrysius*, and *Record, &c.* which being exercised by jugglers ad credit to their art. ¶ There are also (besides them which I have set downe in this title of *Hartumim*) sundrie strange experiments reported by *Plinie*, *Albert*, *Joh. Bap. Port. Neap.* and *Thomas Lupton*, wherof some are true, and some false: which being knowne to *Jannes* and *Jambres*, or else to our jugglers, their occupation is the more magnified, and they thereby more reverenced. ¶ Here is place to discover the particular knaveries of casting of lots, and drawing of cuts (as they terme it) whereby manie cousenages are wrought: so as I dare not teach the sundrie devises thereof, least the ungodlie make a

This will seeme rare to the beholders.

Wher such bookes may be gotten.

See more hereof in the 11. book of this discoverie, in the title

Nahas, cap. 10 pag. 197, 198.

practise of it in the commonwealth, where manie things are decided by those meanes, which being honestlie meant may be lawfullie used. But I have said alreadie somewhat hereof in generall, and therefore also the rather have suppressed the particularities, which (in truth) are meere juggling knackes : whereof I could discover a great number./

346. 244.

The xxxiiii. Chapter.

Desperate or dangerous juggling knacks, wherein the simple are made to thinke, that a seelie juggler with words can hurt and helpe, kill and revive anie creature at his pleasure : and first to kill anie kind of pullen, and to give it life againe.

TAKE a hen, a chicke, or a capon, and thrust a nall or a fine sharpe pointed knife through the midst of the head thereof, the edge towards the bill, so as it may seeme impossible for hir to scape death : then use words, and pulling out the knife, laie otes before hir, &c : and she will eate and live, being nothing at all greeved or hurt with the wound ; bicause the * braine lieth so far behind in the head as it is not touched, though you thrust your knife betweene the combe and it : and after you have doone this, you may convert your speach and actions to the greevous wounding and present recovering of your owne selfe.

* The naturall cause why a hen thrust thorough the head with a bodkin dooth live notwithstanding.

To eate a knife, and to fetch it out of anie other place.

TAke a knife, and conteine the same within your two hands, so as no part be seene thereof but a little of the point, which you must so bite at the first, as noise may be made therewith. Then seeme to put a great part thereof into your mouth, and letting your hand slip downe, there will appeare to have beene more in your mouth than is possible to be conteined therein. Then send for drinke, or use some other delaie, untill you have let the said knife slip into your lap, holding both your fists close together as before, and then raise them so from the edge of the table where you sit (for from thence the knife may most privilie slip downe into your lap) and in steed of biting the knife, knable a little upon your naile, and then seeme to thrust the knife into your mouth, opening the hand next unto it, and thrust up the other, so as it may appeare to the standers by, that you have delivered your/ *347.* hands therof, and thrust it into your mouth : then call for drinke, after countenance made of pricking and danger, &c. Lastlie, put your hand into your lap, and taking that knife in your hand, you may seeme to bring it out from behind you, or from whence you

It must be cleanelie conveied in any case.

list. ¶ But if you have another like knife and a confederate, you may doo twentie notable woonders hereby: as to send a stander by into some garden or orchard, describing to him some tree or herbe, under which it sticketh; or else some strangers sheath or pocket, &c.

To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt.

TAke a bodkin so made, as the haft being hollowe, the blade thereof may slip thereinto as soone as you hold the point upward: and set the same to your forehead, and seeme to thrust it into your head, and so (with a little sponge in your hand) you may wring out bloud or wine, making the be/holders thinke the bloud or the wine (whereof you may saie you have drunke verie much) runneth out of your forehead. Then, after countenance of paine and greefe, pull awaie your hand suddenlie, holding the point downeward; and it will fall so out, as it will seeme never to have beene thrust into the haft: but immediatlie thrust that bodkin into your lap or pocket, and pull out an other plaine bodkin like the same, saving in that conceipt.

The maner & meanes of this action.

245.

To thrust a bodkin through your toong, and a knife through your arme: a pittifull sight, without hurt or danger.

MAke a bodkin, the blade therof being sundred in the middle, so as the one part be not neere to the other almost by three quarters of an inch, each part being kept a sunder with one small bought or crooked piece of iron, of the fashion described hereafter in place convenient. Then thrust your toong betwixt the foresaid space; to wit, into the bought left it the bodkin blade, thrusting the said bought behind your teeth, and biting the same: and then shall it seeme to sticke so fast in and through your toong, as that one can hardlie pull it out. ¶ Also the verie like may be doone with a knife so made, and put upon your arme: and the wound will appeare the more terrible, if a little bloud be powred/ thereupon.

A forme or patterne of this bodkin and knife you shal see described if you turne over a few leaves forward.

348.

To thrust a peece of lead into one eie, and to drive it about (with a sticke) betweene the skin and flesh of the forehead, untill it be brought to the other eie, and there thrust out.

PUt a peece of lead into one of the nether lids of your eie, as big as a tag of a point, but not so long (which you may doo without danger) and with a little juggling sticke (one end therof being hollow) seeme to thrust the like peece of lead under the other eie lid; but conveie the same in deed into the hollownes of the sticke, the stopple or peg whereof may be privilie kept in your hand untill this feate be

doone. Then seeme to drive the said peece of lead, with the hollow end of the said sticke, from the same eie: and so with the end of the said sticke, being brought along upon your forhead to the other eie, you maie thrust out the peece of lead, which before you had put thereinto ; to the admiration of the beholders. ¶ Some eat the lead, and then shoove it out at the eie : and some put it into both, but the first is best.

To cut halfe your nose asunder, and to heale it againe presentlie without anie salve.

This is easilie doone, howbeit being clenlie handled it will deceive the sight of the beholders.

TAke a knife having a round hollow gap in the middle, and laie it upon your nose, and so shall you seeme to have cut your nose halfe asunder. Provided alwaies, that in all these you have an other like knife without a gap, to be shewed upon the pulling out of the same, and words of inchantment to speake, bloud also to beeraie the wound, and nimble conveiance./

246. *To put a ring through your cheeke.*

THere is an other old knacke, which seemeth dangerous to the cheeke. For the accomplishing whereof you must have two rings, of like colour and quantitie ; the one filed asunder, so as you may thrust it upon your cheeke ; the other must be whole, and conveied upon a sticke, holding your hand thereupon in the middle of the sticke, delivering each end of the same sticke to be holden fast by a stander by. Then conveieng the same cleanlie into your hand, or (for
349. lacke of good conveiance) into your lap or/ pocket, pull awaie your hand from the sticke : and in pulling it awaie, whirle about the ring, and so will it be thought that you have put thereon the ring which was in your cheeke.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, &c: which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.

This was doone by one Kingsfield of London, at a Bartholomewtide, An. 1582. in the sight of diverse that came to view this spectacle.

TO shew a most notable execution by this art, you must cause a boord, a cloth, and a platter to be purposelie made, and in each of them holes fit for a boies necke. The boord must be made of two planks, the longer and broader the better : there must be left within halfe a yard of the end of each planke halfe a hole ; so as both planks being thrust togither, there may remaine two holes, like to the holes in a paire of stocks : there must be made likewise a hole in the tablecloth or carpet. A platter also must be set directlie over or upon one of them, having a hole in the midle thereof, of the like quantitie, and also a peece cut out of the same, so big as his necke, through which his head may be conveied into the middest of the platter: and then sitting or kneeling under the boord, let the head onlie remaine upon

the boord in the same. Then (to make the sight more dredfull) put a little brimstone into a chafing dish of coles, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaspe two or three times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth (which is not unholsome) and the head presentlie will appeare starke dead ; if the boie set his countenance accordinglie : and if a little bloud be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger.

This is commonlie practised with a boie instructed for that purpose, who being familiar and conversant with the companie, may be knowne as well by his face, as by his apparell. In the other end of the table, where the like hole is made, an other boie of the bignesse of the knowne boie must be placed, having upon him his usuall apparell : he must leane or lie upon the boord, and must put his head under the boord through the said hole, so as his bodie shall seeme to lie on the one end of the boord, and his head shall lie in a platter on the other end. ¶ There are other things which might be performed in this action, the more to astonish the beholders, which because they offer long descriptions, I omit : as to put about his necke a little dough kneded with bul/locks bloud, which being cold will appeare like dead flesh ; & being pricked with a sharpe round hollow quill, will bleed, and seeme verie strange, &c. ¶ Manie rules are to be observed herein, as to/ have the table cloth so long and wide as it may almost touch the ground. ¶ Not to suffer the companie to staie too long in the place, &c.

Necessarie observations to astonish the beholders. *350.*

247.

To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts verie strangelie, and to recover immediatlie.

AN other miracle may be shewed touching counterfet executions ; namelie, that with a bodkin or a dagger you shall seeme to kill your selfe, or at the least make an unrecoverable wound in your bellie : as (in truth) not long since a juggler caused himself to be killed at a taverne in cheapside, from whence he presentlie went into Powles churchyard and died. Which misfortune fell upon him through his owne follie, as being then drunken, and having forgotten his plate, which he should have had for his defense. The devise is this. ¶ You must prepare a paste boord, to be made according to the fashion of your bellie and brest : the same must by a painter be coloured cunninglie, not onelie like to your flesh, but with pappes, navill, haire, &c : so as the same (being handsomelie trussed unto you) may shew to be your naturall bellie. Then next to your true bellie you may put a linnen cloth, and thereupon a double plate (which the juggler that killed himselfe forgot, or wilfullie omitted) over and upon the which you may place the false bellie. Provided alwaies, that betwixt the plate & the false bellie you place a gut or bladder of bloud, which

Of a juggler that failing in the feats of his art lost his life.

bloud must be of a calfe or of a sheepe; but in no wise of an oxe or a cow, for that will be too thicke. Then thrust, or cause to be thrust into your brest a round bodkin, or the point of a dagger, so far as it may pearse through your gut or bladder: which being pulled out againe, the said bloud will spin or spirt out a good distance from you, especiallie if you straine your bodie to swell, and thrust therewith against the plate. You must ever remember to use (with words, countenance, and gesture) such a grace, as may give a grace to the action, and moove admiration in the beholders./

But herein see you be circumspect.

351. *To drawe a cord through your nose, mouth or hand, so sensiblie as is woonderful to see.*

A forme or patterne of this bridle you shall see described if you turne over a few leaues.

THere is an other juggling knacke, which they call the bridle, being made of two elder sticks, through the hollownes therof is placed a cord, the same being put on the nose like a paire of tongs or pinsars; and the cord, which goeth round about the same, being drawne to and fro, the beholders will thinke the cord to go through your nose verie dangerouslie. The knots at the end of the cord, which doo staie the same from being drawne out of the sticke, may not be put out at the verie top (for that must be stopped up) but halfe an inch beneath each end: and so I saie, when it is pulled, it will seeme to passe through the nose; and then may you take a knife, and seeme to cut the cord asunder, and pull the bridle from your nose./

248. *The conclusion, wherin the reader is referred to certeine patterns of instruments wherewith diverse feats heere specified are to be executed.*

HErein I might wade infinitelie, but I hope it sufficeth, that I have delivered unto you the principles, and also the principall feats belonging to this art of juggling; so as any man conceiving throughlie hereof may not onlie doo all these things, but also may devise other as strange, & varie everie of these devises into other formes as he can best conceive. And so long as the power of almightie God is not transposed to the juggler, nor offense ministred by his uncomlie speach and behaviour, but the action performed in pastime, to the delight of the beholders, so as alwaies the juggler confesse in the end that these are no supernaturall actions, but devises of men, and nimble conveiances, let all such curious conceipted men as cannot affoord their neighbors anie comfort or commoditie, but such as

pleaseth their melancholike dispositions say what they list, for this will not onelie be found among indifferent actions, but such as greatlie advance the power and glorie of God, discovering their pride and falshood that take upon them to worke miracles, and to be the mightie power of God, as *Jannes* and *Jambres* and also *Simon Magus* did.

Among what actions jugling is to be counted.

If anie man doubt of these things, as whether they be not as/ strange to behold as I have reported, or thinke with *Bodin* that these matters are performed by familiars or divels ; let him go into S. Martins, and inquire for one *John Cautares* (a French man by birth, in conversation an honest man) and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who getteth not his living hereby, but laboureth for the same with the sweat of his browes, and neverthelesse hath the best hand and conveiance (I thinke) of anie man that liveth this daie. *352.*

A matchles fellowe for legierdemaine.

Neither doo I speake (as they saie) without booke herein. For if time, place, and occasion serve, I can shew so much herein, as I am sure *Bodin*, *Spinæus*, and *Vairus*, would sweare I were a witch, and had a familiar divell at commandement. But truelie my studie and travell herein hath onelie beene emploied to the end I might proove them fooles, and find out the fraud of them that make them fooles, as whereby they may become wiser, and God may have that which to him belongeth.

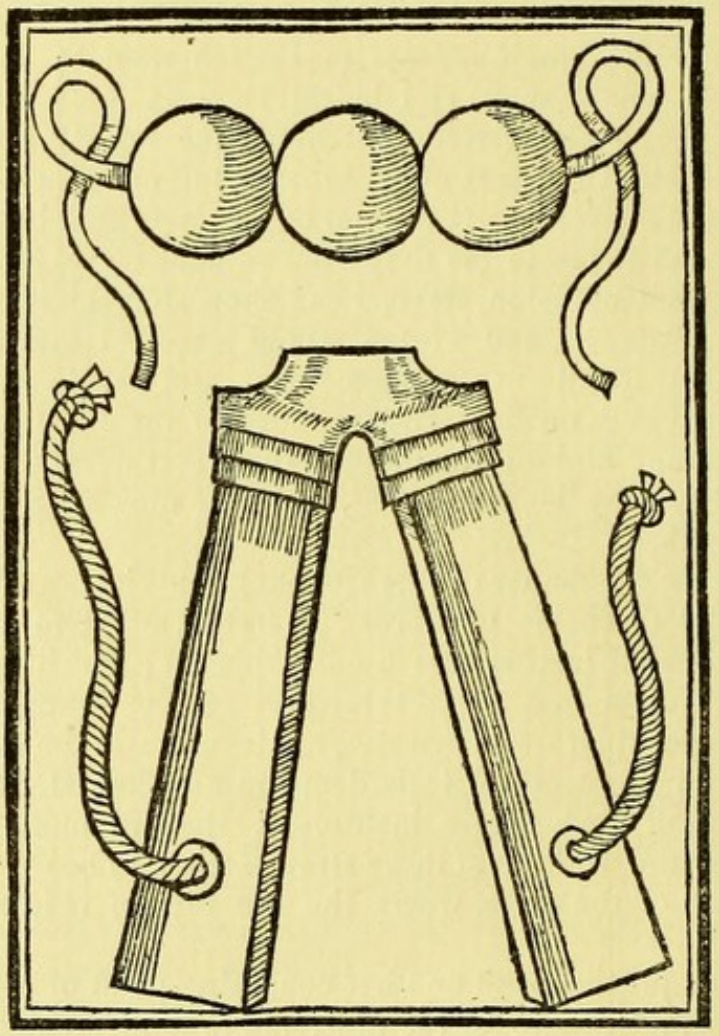
Touching the patternes of diverse jugling instruments.

And bicause the maner of these juggling conveiances are not easilie conceived by discourse of words ; I have caused to be set downe diverse formes of instruments used in this art ; which may serve for patternes to them that would throughlie see the secrets thereof, and make them for their owne private practises, to trie the event of such devises, as in this tract of legierdemaine are shewed. Where note, that you shall find everie instrument that is most necessarilie occupied in the working of these strange feats, to beare the just and true number of the page, where the use thereof is in ample words declared.

Now will I proceed with another cousening point of witchcraft, apt for the place, necessarie for the time, and in mine opinion meet to be discovered, or at the least to be defaced among deceitfull arts. And bicause manie are abused heereby to their utter undooing, for that it hath had passage under the protection of learning, wherby they pretend to accomplish their works, it hath gone freelie without generall controlment through all ages, nations & people.//

[* Hence Rom.]

*Heere follow patternes of certeine instru*ments to be used in the former juggling knacks.*



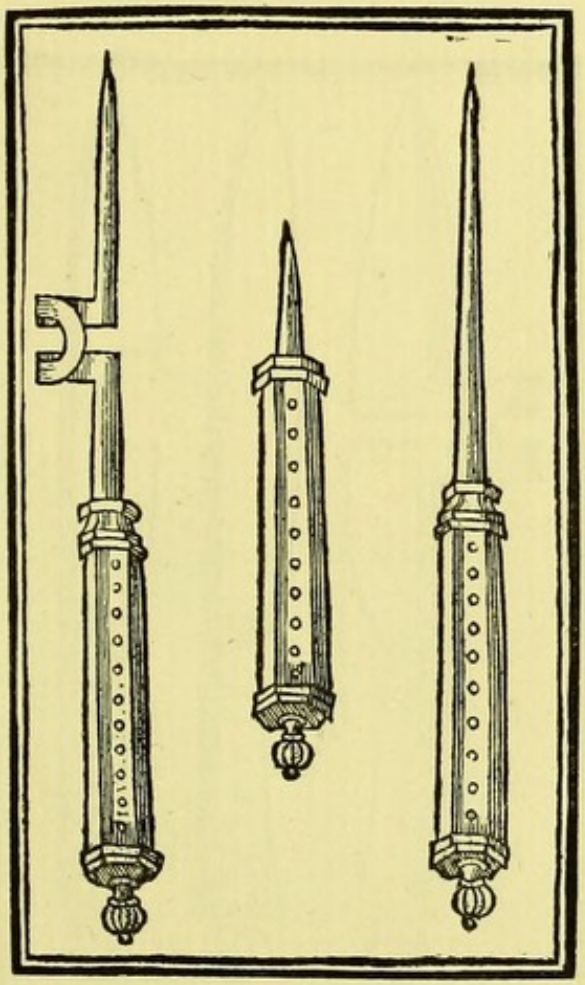
To pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remooving of your hand.

To draw a cord thorough your nose, mouth or hand, which is called the bridle.

TO be instructed in the right use of the said beadstones, read page 337. and 338. As for the bridle, read page 351.

[These four pages of engravings are unpaged in the first and second editions. The references are to the first edition pagings.]

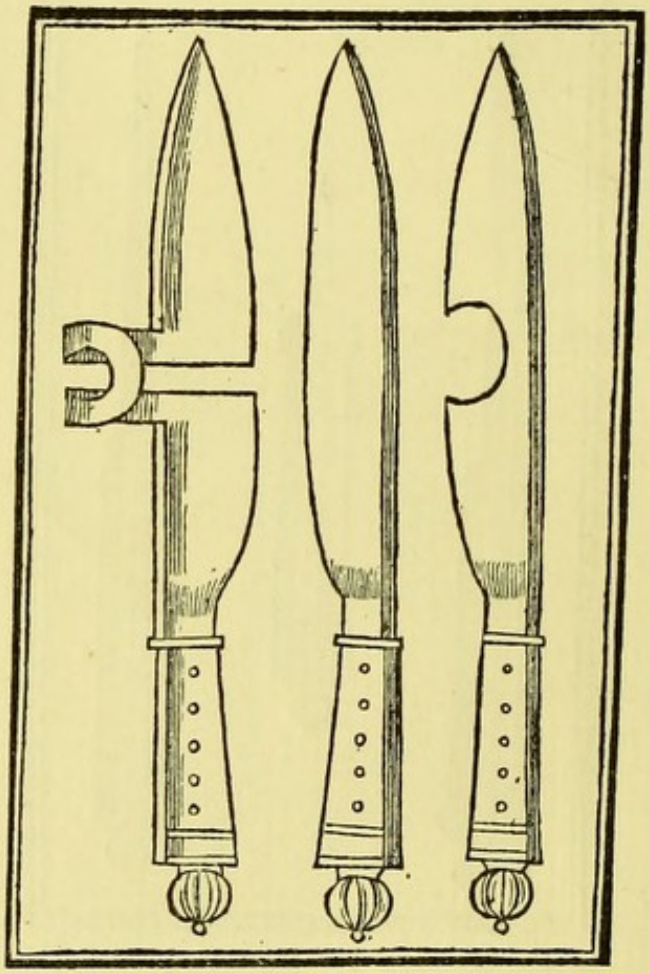
To thrust a bodkin into your head, and through your toong, &c.



The hethermost is the bodkin w^t^ the bowt: y^e^ midlemost is the bodkin with the holow haft: the further most is the plaine bodkin serving for shew.

TO be instructed and taught in the right use and readie practise of these bodkins, read pag. 347.

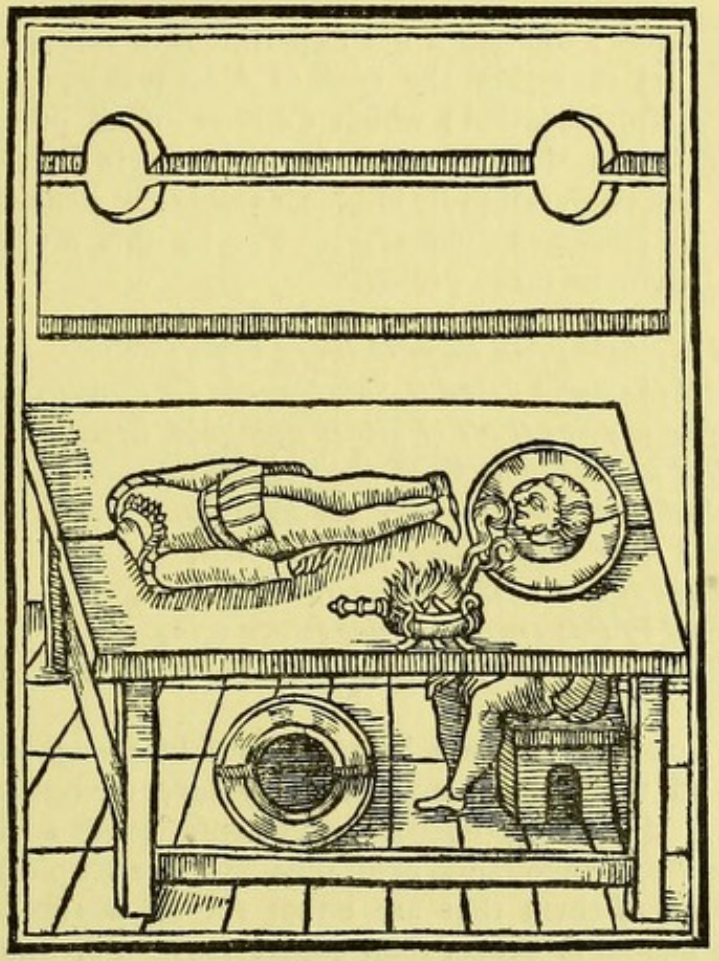
To thrust a knife through your arme, and to cut halfe your nose asunder, &c.



The middle most knife is to serve for shew; the other two be the knives of device.

TO be readie in the use and perfect in the practise of these knives here portraied, see page 347. and 348.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.



The forme of y^e^ planks, &c.

The order of the action, as it is to be shewed.

WHat order is to be observed for the practising heereof with great admiration, read page 349, 350.

353. 249.

¶ *The xiiii. Booke.*

The first Chapter.

Of the art of Alcumystrie, of their woords of art and devises to bleare mens eies, and to procure credit to their profession.

Alcumystrie a craft. not an art.

HERE I thought it not impertinent to saie somewhat of the art or rather the craft of Alcumystrie, otherwise called Multiplication ; which *Chaucer*, of all other men, most livelie deciphereth. In the bowels herof dooth both witchcraft and conjuration lie hidden, as whereby some cousen others, and some are cousened themselves. For by this mysterie (as it is said in the chanons mans prolog)

G. Chaucer in the Chanons mans prolog. [See note.]

They take upon them to turne upside downe,
All the earth betwixt Southwarke & Canturburie towne,
And to pave it all of silver and gold, &c.
But ever they lacke of their conclusion,
And to much folke they doo illusion.
For their stuffe slides awaie so fast,
That it makes them beggers at the last,
And by this craft they doo never win,
But make their pursse emptie, and their wits thin.

And bicause the practisers heereof would be thought wise, learned, cunning, and their crafts maisters, they have devised words of art, 354. sentences and epithets obscure, and confectious* so innu/merable (which are also compounded of strange and rare simples) as confound the capacities of them that are either set on worke heerein, or be brought to behold or expect their conclusions. For what plaine man would not beleeve, that they are learned and jollie fellowes, that have in such readinesse so many mysticall termes of art : as (for a tast) their subliming, amalgaming, engluting,* imbibing, incorporating, cementing, ritrination, terminations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, matters combust and coagulat, ingots, tests, &c. Or who is able to conceive (by reason of the abrupt confusion, contrarietie, and multitude of drugs, simples, and confections) the operation and mysterie of their stuffe and workemanship. For these things and

[* confections]

[* enluting] The termes of the art alcumystical devised of purpose to bring credit to cousenage.

many more, are of necessitie to be prepared and used in the execution of this indevor; namelie orpiment, sublimed *Mercurie*, iron squames, *Mercurie* crude, groundlie large, bole armoniake, verdegrece, borace, boles, gall,* arsenicke, sal armoniake, brimstone,/ salt, 250. paper, burnt bones, unsliked lime, claie, saltpeter, vitriall, saltartre, alcalie, sal preparat, claie made with horsse doong, mans haire, oile of tartre, allum, glasse, woort, yest, argoll, resagor,† gleir of an eie, powders, ashes, doong, pisse, &c. Then have they waters corosive and lincall, waters of albification, and waters rubifieng, &c. Also oiles, ablutions, and metals fusible. Also their lamps, their urinalles, discensories, sublimatories, alembecks, viols, croslets, cucurbits, stillatories, and their fornace of calcination: also their soft and subtill fiers, some of wood, some of cole, composed speciallie of beech, &c. And bicause they will not seeme to want anie point of cousenage to astonish the simple, or to moove admiration to their enterprises, they have (as they affirme) foure spirits to worke withall, whereof the first is, orpiment; the second, quicksilver; the third, sal armoniake; the fourth, brimstone. Then have they seven celestiall bodies; namelie, *Sol*, *Luna*, *Mars*, *Mercurie*, *Saturne*, *Jupiter*, and *Venus*; to whome they applie seven terrestriall bodies; to wit, gold, silver, iron, quickesilver, lead, tinne, and copper, attributing unto these the operation of the other; speciallie if the terrestriall bodies be qualified, tempered, and wrought in the houre and daie according to the feats* of the celestiall bodies: with more like vanitie./

[* boles gall, Chaucer.]

[† Resalgar]

[* ? seats]

The second Chapter. 355.

The Alcumysters drift, the Chanons yeomans tale, of alcumysticall stones and waters.

NOW you must understand that the end and drift of all their worke, is, to atteine unto the composition of the philosophers stone, called Alixer, and to the stone called Titanus; and to Magnatia, which is a water made of the foure elements, which (they saie) the philosophers are sworne neither to discover, nor to write of. And by these they mortifie quicke silver, and make it malleable, and to hold touch: heereby also they convert any other mettall (but speciallie copper) into gold. This science (forsooth) is the secret of secrets; even as *Salomons* conjuration is said among the conjurors to be so likewise. And thus, when they chance to meete with yong men, or simple people, they boast and

Acts. 8.

brag, and saie with *Simon Magus*, that they can worke miracles, and bring mightie things to passe. In which respect *Chaucer* truelie heereof saith :

G. Chaucer in the Chanons mans tale. [Prologue.]

Each man is as wise as Salomon,
When they are togither everichone :
But he that seemes wisest, is most foole in preefe,
And he that is truest, is a verie theefe.
They seeme friendlie to them that knowe nought,
But they are feendlie both in word and thought,
Yet many men ride and seeke their acquaintance,
Not knowing of their false governance.|

251. He also saith, and experience verifieth his assertion, that they looke ill favouredlie, & are alwaies beggerlie attired : his words are these :

Idem, ibid.

These fellowes looke ill favouredlie,
And are alwaies tired beggerlie,|
356. *So as by smelling and thredbare araie,*
These folke are knowne and discerned alwaie.
But so long as they have a sheet to wrap them in by night,
Or a rag to hang about them in the day light,
They will it spend in this craft,
They cannot stint till nothing be laft.
Here one may learne if he have ought,
To multiplie and bring his good to naught.
But if a man aske them privilie,
Whie they are clothed so unthriftilie,
They will round him in the eare and saie,
If they espied were, men would them slaie,
And all bicause of this noble science :
Lo thus these folke beetraien innocence.

The tale of the chanons yeoman published by *Chaucer*, dooth make (by waie of example) a perfect demonstration of the art of Alcumystrie or multiplication : the effect whereof is this. A chanon being an Alcumyster or cousenor, espied a covetous preest, whose pursse he knew to be well lined, whome he assaulted with flatterie and subtill speach, two principall points belonging to this art. At the length he borrowed monie of the preest, which is the third part of the art, without the which the professors can doo no good, nor indure in good estate. Then he at his daie repaied the monie, which is the most difficult point in this art, and a rare experiment. Finallie, to requite the preests courtesie, he promised unto him such instruc-

The points or parts of the art Alcumysticall which may be called the mystie or smokie science.

tions, as wherby with expedition he should become infinitelie rich, and all through this art of multiplication. And this is the most common point in this science; for herein they must be skilfull before they can be famous, or atteine to anie credit. The preest disliked not his proffer; speciallie bicause it tended to his profit, and embraced his courtesie. Then the chanon willed him foorthwith to send for three ownces of quicke silver, which he said he would transubstantiate (by his art) into perfect silver. The preest thought that a man of his profession could not dissemble, and therefore with great joy and hope accomplished his request./

And now (forsooth) goeth this jollie Alcumyst about his busines and worke of multiplication, and causeth the preest to make a fier of coles, in the bottome whereof he placeth a croslet; and pretending onelie to helpe the preest to laie the coles handsomelie, he foisteth into the middle ward or lane of coles, a beechen cole, within the which was conveied an ingot of perfect silver, which (when the cole was consumed) slipt downe into the croslet, that was (I saie) directlie under it. The preest perceived not the fraud, but received the ingot of silver, and was not a little joy/full to see such certeine successe proceed from his owne handie worke wherein could be no fraud (as he surelie conceived) and therefore verie willinglie gave the cannon fortie pounds for the receipt of this experiment, who for that summe of monie taught him a lesson in Alcumystrie, but he never returned to heare repetitions, or to see how he profited.

357.

The Alcumysts bait to catch a foole. **252.**

The third Chapter.

Of a yeoman of the countrie cousened by an Alcumyst.

I COULD cite manie Alcumysticall cousenages wrought by Doctor *Burcot*, *Feates*, and such other; but I will passe them over, and onelie repeate three experiments of that art; the one practised upon an honest yeoman in the countie of *Kent*, the other upon a mightie prince, the third upon a covetous preest. And first touching the yeoman, he was overtaken and used in maner and forme following, by a notable cousening varlot, who professed Alcumystrie, juggling, witchcraft, and conjuration: and by meanes of his companions and confederats discussed the simplicitie and abilitie of the said yeoman, and found out his estate and humor to be convenient for his purpose; and finallie came a wooing (as they saie) to his daughter, to whome he made

love cunninglie in words, though his purpose tended to another matter. And among other illusions and tales, concerning his owne/
358. commendation, for welth, parentage, inheritance, alliance, activitie, learning, pregnancie, and cunning, he boasted of his knowledge and experience in Alcumystrie ; making the simple man beleeve that he could multiplie, and of one angell make two or three. Which seemed strange to the poore man, in so much as he became willing enough to see that conclusion : whereby the Alcumyster had more hope and comfort to atteine his desire, than if his daughter had yeelded to have maried him. To be short, he in the presence of the said yeoman, did include within a little ball of virgine wax, a couple of angels ; and after certeine ceremonies and conjuring words he seemed to deliver the same unto him : but in truth (through legierdemaine) he conveied into the yeomans hand another ball of the same scantling, wherein were inclosed manie more angels than were in the ball which he thought he had received. Now (forsooth) the Alcumyster bad him laie up the same ball of wax, and also use certeine ceremonies (which I thought good heere to omit). And after certeine daies, houres, and minuts they returned together, according to the appointment, and found great gaines by the multiplication of the angels. Insomuch as he, being a plaine man, was heereby persuaded, that he should not onelie have a rare and notable good sonne in lawe ; but a companion that might helpe to adde unto his welth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and felicitie. And to increase this opinion in him, as also to winne his further favour ; but speciallie to bring his cunning Alcumystrie, or rather his lewd purpose to passe ; he told him that it were follie to multiplie a pound of gold, when as easilie they might multiplie a millian : and therefore counselled him/
252. to produce all the monie he had, or could borrowe of his neighbours and freends ; and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiplie the same, and redouble it exceedinglie, even as he sawe by experience how he delt with the small summe before his face. This yeoman, in hope of gaines and preferment, &c : consented to this sweete motion, and brought out and laid before his feete, not the one halfe of his goods, but all that he had, or could make or borrowe anie maner of waie. Then this juggling Alcumyster, having obteined his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantitie farre bigger than the other, and
359. conveieng the same into his/ bosome or pocket, delivered another ball (as before) of the like quantitie unto the yeoman, to be reserved and safelie kept in his chest ; whereof (bicause the matter was of importance) either of them must have a key, and a severall locke, that no interruption might be made to the ceremonie, nor abuse by either of them, in defrauding ech other. Now (forsooth) these cir-

Note the cousening conveiance of this alcumystical practitioner.

A notable foole.

cumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the Alcumysters purpose therby performed ; he told the yeoman that (untill a certeine daie and houre limitted to returne) either of them might emploie themselves about their busines, and necessarie affaires ; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the citie of *London*, and in the meane time the gold shuld multiplie, &c. But the Alcumyster (belike) having other matters of more importance came not just at the houre appointed, nor yet at the daie, nor within the yeare : so as, although it were somewhat against the yeomans conscience to violate his promise, or breake the league ; yet partlie by the longing he had to see, and partlie the desire he had to enjoie the fruit of that excellent experiment, having (for his owne securitie) and the others satisfaction, some testimonie at the opening thereof, to witnesse his sincere dealing, he brake up the coffer, and lo he soone espied the ball of wax, which he himselfe had laid up there with his owne hand. So as he thought (if the hardest should fall) he should find his principall : and whie not as good increase hereof now, as of the other before. But alas ! when the wax was broken, and the metall discovered, the gold was much abased, and beecame perfect lead.

A cousening devise by running awaie to save the credit of the art.

Now who so list to utter his follie,
Let him come foorth, and learne to multiplie ;
And everie man that hath ought in his cofer,
Let him appeare, and waxe a philosopher,
In learning of this elvish nice lore,
All is in vaine, and pardee much more
Is to learne a lewd man this sutteltee,
Fie, speake not thereof it woll not bee :
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none,
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.‖

G. Chaucer in the tale of the chanons yeoman. [Prologue.]

The fourth Chapter.

360. **254.**

A certeine king abused by an Alcumyst, and of the kings foole a pretie jest.

THE second example is of another Alcumyst that came to a certeine king, promising to worke by his art manie great things, as well in compounding and transubstantiating of mettals, as in executing of other exploites of no lesse admiration. But before he beganne, he found the meanes to

A king cousened by Alcumystrie.

receive by vertue of the kings warrant, a great summe of monie in prest, assuring the king and his councell, that he would shortlie returne, and accomplish his promise, &c. Soone after, the kings foole, among other jestes, fell into a discourse and discoverie of fooles, and handled that common place so pleasantlie, that the king began to take delight therein, & to like his merrie veine. Whereupon he would needes have the foole deliver unto him a schedull or scroll, conteining the names of all the most excellent fooles in the land.

So he caused the kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of the lords of his privie councell. The king seeing him so sawcie and malepert, ment to have had him punished: but some of his councell, knowing him to be a fellow pleasantlie conceipted, besought his majestie rather to demand of him a reason of his libell, &c: than to proceed in extremitie against him. Then the foole being asked why he so sawcilie accused the king and his councell of principall follie, answered; Bicause he sawe one foolish knave beguile them all, and to cousen them of so great a masse of monie, and finallie to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the councell) he maie returne and performe his promise, &c. Then (quoth the foole) I can helpe all the matter easilie. How (said the king) canst thou doo that? Marie sir (said he) then I will blotte out your name, and put in his, as the most foole in the world. Manie other practises of the like nature might be hereunto annexed, for the detection of their kna/verie and deceipts whereupon this art dependeth, whereby the readers maie be more delighted in reading, than the practisers benefited in simplie using the same. For it is an art consisting wholie of subtiltie and deceipt, whereby the ignorant and plaine minded man through his too much credulitie is circumvented, and the humor of the other slie cousener satisfied.

A wise foole.

361.

The fift Chapter.

A notable storie written by Erasmus of two Alcumysts, also of longation and curtation.

Eras. in colloq. de arte alcumystica.

THE third example is reported by *Erasmus*, whose excellent learning and wit is had to this daie in admiration. He in a certeine dialog intituled *Alcumystica* doth finelie bewraie the knaverie of this craftie art ;/ wherein he proposeth one *Balbine*, a verie wise, learned, and devout preest, howbeit such a one as was bewitched, and mad upon the art of

255.

Alcumystrie. Which thing another cousening preest perceived, and dealt with him in maner and forme following.

A flattering & clawing preamble.

M. Doctor *Balbine* (said he) I being a stranger unto you maie seeme verie saucie to trouble your worship with my bold sute, who alwaies are busied in great and divine studies. To whome *Balbine*, being a man of few words, gave a nodde: which was more than he used to everie man. But the preest knowing his humor, said; I am sure sir, if you knew my sute, you would pardon mine importunitie. I praie thee good sir *John* (said *Balbine*) shew me thy mind, and be breefe. That shall I doo sir (said he) with a good will. You know M. Doctor, through your skill in philosophie, that everie mans destinie is not alike; and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whether I maie be counted happie or infortunate. For when I weigh mine owne case, or rather my state, in part I seeme fortunate, and in part miserable. But *Balbine* being a man of some surlinesse, alwaies willed him to draw his matter to a more compendious forme: which thing the preest/ said he would doo, and could the better performe; *362.* bicause *Balbine* himselfe was so learned and expert in the verie matter he had to repeat, and thus he began.

I have had, even from my childhood, a great felicitie in the art of Alcumystrie, which is the verie marrow of all philosophie. *Balbine* at the naming of the word Alcumystrie, inclined and yeelded himselfe more attentivelie to hearken unto him: marie it was onelie in gesture of bodie; for he was spare of speech, and yet he bad him proceed with his tale. Then said the preest, Wretch that I am, it was not my lucke to light on the best waie: for you M. *Balbine* know (being so universallie learned) that in this art there are two waies, the one called longation, the other curtation; and it was mine ill hap to fall upon longation. When *Balbine* asked him the difference of those two waies; Oh sir said the preest, you might count me impudent, to take upon me to tell you, that of all other are best learned in this art, to whome I come, most humblie to beseech you to teach me that luckie waie of curtation. The cunninger you are, the more easilie you maie teach it me: and therefore hide not the gift that God hath given you, from your brother, who maie perish for want of his desire in this behalfe; and doubtlesse Jesus Christ will inrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

Longation and curtation in Alcumystrie.

Balbine being abashed partlie with his importunitie, and partlie with the strange circumstance, told him that (in truth) he neither knew what longation or curtation meant; and therefore required him to expound the nature of those words. Well (quoth the preest) since it is your pleasure, I will doo it, though I shall thereby take upon me to teach him that is indeed much cunninger than my selfe. And thus he

Note how the cousener circumventeth Balbine.

began: Oh sir, they that have spent all the daies of their life in this divine facultie, doo turne one nature and forme into another, two waies, the one is verie breefe, but somewhat dangerous; the other much longer, marie verie safe, sure, and commodious. Howbeit, I thinke my selfe most unhappie that have spent my time and travell in that
256. waie which utterlie misliketh me, and/ never could get one to shew me the other that I so earnestlie desire. And now I come to your worship, whom I know to be wholie learned and expert herein, hoping that you will (for charities sake) comfort your brother,/
363. whose felicitie and well doing now resteth onelie in your hands; and therefore I beseech you releeve me with your counsell.

By these and such other words when this cousening varlot had avoided suspicion of guile, and assured *Balbine* that he was perfect and cunning in the other waie: *Balbine* his fingers itched, and his hart tickled; so as he could hold no longer, but burst out with these words: Let this curtation go to the divell, whose name I did never so much as once heare of before, and therefore doo much lesse understand it. But tell me in good faith, doo you exactlie understand longation? Yea said the preest, doubt you not hereof: but I have no fansie to that waie, it is so tedious. Why (quoth *Balbine*) what time is required in the accomplishment of this worke by waie of longation? Too too much said the Alcumyster, even almost a whole yeere: but this is the best, the surest, and the safest waie, though it be for so manie moneths prolonged, before it yeeld advantage for cost and charges expended thereabouts. Set your hart at rest (said *Balbine*) it is no matter, though it were two yeeres, so as you be well assured to bring it then to passe.

Faire words make fooles faine, and large offers blind the wise.

Finallie, it was there and then concluded, that presentlie the preest should go in hand with the worke, and the other should beare the charge, the gaines to be indifferentlie divided betwixt them both, and the worke to be doone privilie in *Balbins* house. And after the mutuall oth was taken for silence, which is usuall and requisite alwaies in the beginning of this mysterie; *Balbine* delivered monie to the Alcumyster for bellowes, glasses, coles, &c: which should serve for the erection and furniture of the forge. Which monie the Alcumyster had no sooner fingered, but he ran merilie to the dice, to the alehouse, & to the stewes, and who there so lustie as cousening sir *John*: who indeed this waie made a kind of alcumysticall transformation of monie. Now *Balbine* urged him to go about his businesse, but the other told him, that if the matter were once begun, it were halfe ended: for therein consisted the greatest difficultie.

Well, at length he began to furnish the fornace, but now forsooth a new supplie of gold must be made, as the seed and spawne of that

which must be ingendred and grow out of this worke of Alcumystrie. For even as a fish is not caught without a bait, no/ more is gold multiplied without some parcels of gold : and therfore gold must be the foundation and groundworke of that art, or else all the fat is in the fier. But all this while *Balbine* was occupied in calculating, and musing upon his accompt ; casting by arythmetike, how that if one ownce yeelded fifteene, then how much gaines two thousand ownces might yeeld : for so much he determined to emploie that waie. *364.*

When the Alcumyst had also consumed this monie, shewing great travell a moneth or twaine, in placing the bellowes, the coles, and such other stuffe, and no whit of profit proceeding or comming thereof : *Balbine* demanded how the world went, our Alcumyst was as a man amazed./ Howbeit he said at length ; Forsooth even as such matters of importance commonlie doo go forward, wherunto there is alwaies verie difficult accesse. There was (saith he) a fault (which I have now found out) in the choice of the coles, which were of oke, and should have beene of beech. One hundreth duckets were spent that waie, so as the dising house and the stewes were partakers of *Balbines* charges. But after a new supplie of monie, better coles were provided, and matters more circumspectlie handled. Howbeit, when the forge had travelled long, and brought foorth nothing, there was another excuse found out ; to wit, that the glasses were not tempered as they ought to have beene. But the more monie was disbursed hereabouts, the woorsse willing was *Balbine* to give over, according to the disers veine, whome frutelesse hope bringeth into a fooles paradise. *257.*

Balbine was bewitched with desire of gold, &c.

The Alcumyst, to cast a good colour upon his knaverie, tooke on like a man moonesicke, and protested with great words full of forgerie and lies, that he never had such lucke before. But having found the error, he would be sure enough never hereafter to fall into the like oversight, and that henceforward all should be safe and sure, and throughlie recompensed in the end with large increase. Hereupon the workehouse is now the third time repaired, and a new supplie yet once againe put into the Alcumysts hand ; so as the glasses were changed. And now at length the Alcumyst uttered another point of his art and cunning to *Balbine* ; to wit, that those matters would proceed much better, if he sent our Ladie a few French crownes in reward : for the art/ being holie, the matter cannot prosperously proceed, without the favour of the saints. Which counsell exceedinglie pleased *Balbine*, who was so devout and religious, that no daie escaped him but he said our Ladie mattens. *365.*

Notable cousenage.

Now our Alcumyster having received the offering of monie, goeth on his holie pilgrimage, even to the next village, & there consumeth

The Alcumyster bringeth Balbin into a fooles paradise.

it everie penie, among bawds and knaves. And at his returne, he told *Balbine* that he had great hope of good lucke in his businesse ; the holie virgine gave such favourable countenance, and such attentive eare unto his praiers and vowes. But after this, when there had beene great travell bestowed, and not a dram of gold yeelded nor levied from the forge; *Balbine* began to expostulate and reason somewhat roundlie with the cousening fellowe ; who still said he never had such filthie lucke in all his life before, and could not devise by what meanes it came to passe, that things went so overthwartlie. But after much debating betwixt them upon the matter, at length it came into *Balbines* head to aske him if he had not foreslowed to heare masse, or to saie his houres : which if he had doone, nothing could prosper under his hand. Without doubt (said the cousener) you have hot the naile on the head. Wretch that I am ! I remember once or twise being at a long feast, I omitted to saie mine *Ave Marie* after dinner. So so (said *Balbine*) no marvell then that a matter of such importance hath had so evill successe. The Alcumyster promised to doo penance ; as to heare twelve masses for two that he had foreslowed ; and for everie *Ave* overslipped, to render and repeate twelve to our Ladie.

Soone after this, when all our Alcumysters monie was spent, & also/
258. his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this devise, as a man woonderfullie fraied and amazed, pitiouslie crieng and lamenting his misfortune. Whereat *Balbine* being astonished, desired to knowe the cause of his complaint. Oh (said the Alcumyster) the courtiers have spied our enterprise ; so as I for my part looke for nothing but present imprisonment. Whereat *Balbine* was abashed, bicause it was flat fellonie to go about that matter, without speciall licence. But (quoth the Alcumyster) I feare not to be put to death, I would it would fall out so : marrie I feare least I shall be shut up
366. in some/ castell or towre, and there shall be forced to tug about this worke and broile in this businesse all the daies of my life.

Here the Alcumyster uttereth a notorious point of cousening knaverie.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, *Balbine*, bicause he was cunning in the art of rhetorike, and not altogither ignorant in lawe, beat his braines in devising how the accusation might be answered, and the danger avoided. Alas (said the Alcumyster) you trouble your selfe all in vaine, for you see the crime is not to be denied, it is so generallie bruted in court : neither can the fact be defended, bicause of the manifest lawe published against it. To be short, when manie waies were devised, and divers excuses alledged by *Balbine*, and no sure ground to stand on for their securitie ; at length the Alcumyster having present want and need of monie, framed his speech in this sort ; Sir said he to *Balbine*, we use slowe counsell, and yet

the matter requireth hast. For I thinke they are comming for me yer this time to hale me awaie to prison; and I see no remedie but to die valiantlie in the cause. In good faith (said *Balbine*) I knowe not what to saie to the matter. No more do I said the Alcumyster, but that I see these courtiers are hungrie for monie, and so much the readier to be corrupted & framed to silence. And though it be a hard matter, to give those rakehels till they be satisfied: yet I see no better counsell or advise at this time. No more could *Balbine*, who gave him thirtie ducats of gold to stop their mouthes, who in an honest cause would rather have given so manie teeth out of his head, than one of those peeces out of his pouch. This coine had the Alcumyster, who for all his pretenses & gaie gloses was in no danger, other than for lacke of monie to leese his leman or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not give over, nor forbeare hir companie, for all the goods that he was able to get, were it by never such indirect dealing and unlawfull meanes.

Marke how this Alcumyster goeth frō one degree of cousenage to another.

Well, yet now once againe dooth *Balbine* newlie furnish the forge, a praier being made before to our Ladie to blesse the enterprise. And all things being provided and made readie according to the Alcumysters owne asking, & all necessaries largelie ministred after his owne liking; a whole yeare being likewise now consumed about this bootlesse businesse, and nothing brought to passe; there fell out a strange chance, and that by this meanes insuing, as you shall heare./

Our Alcumyster forsooth used a little extraordinarie lewd cōpanie *367.* with a courtiers wife, whiles he was from home, who suspecting the matter, came to the doore unlooked for, and called to come in, threatning them that he would breake open the doores upon them. Some present devise (you see) was now requisite, and there was none other to be had,/ but such as the oportunitie offered; to wit, to **259.** leape out at a backe window: which he did, not without great hazard, and some hurt. But this was soone blazed abroad, so as it came to *Balbines* eare, who shewed in countenance that he had heard heereof, though he said nothing. But the Alcumyster knew him to be devout, & somewhat superstitious: and such men are easie to be intreated to forgive, how great soever the fault be, and devised to open the matter in maner and forme following.

The mildest and softest nature is cōmonlie soonest abused.

O Lord (saith he before *Balbine*) how infortunatlie goeth our businesse forward! I marvell what should be the cause. Whereat *Balbine*, being one otherwise that seemed to have vowed silence, tooke occasion to speake, saieng; It is not hard to knowe the impediment and stop heereof: for it is sinne that hindereth this matter; which is not to be dealt in but with pure hands. Whereat the Alcumys-

ter fell upon his knees, beating his breast, & lamentablie cried, saieng ; Oh maister *Balbine*, you saie most trulie, it is sinne that hath doone us all this displeasure ; not your sinne sir, but mine owne, good maister *Balbine*. Neither will I be ashamed to discover my filthinesse unto you, as unto a most holy and ghostlie father. The infirmitie of the flesh had overcome me, and the divell had caught me in his snare. Oh wretch that I am ! Of a preest I am become an adulterer. Howbeit, the monie that erstwhile was sent to our Ladie, was not utterlie lost : for if she had not beene, I had certeinlie beene slaine. For the good man of the house brake open the doore, and the windowe was lesse than I could get out thereat. And in that extremitie of danger it came into my mind to fall downe prostrate to the virgine; beseeching hir (if our gift were acceptable in hir sight) that she would, in consideration thereof, assist me with hir helpe. And to be short, I ran to the windowe, and found it bigge enough to leape out at. Which thing *Balbine* did not onelie beleeve to be true, but in respect therof forgave him, religiouslie admonishing/ him to shew himselfe thankfull to that pitifull and blessed Ladie.

En immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles.

368.

Now once againe more is made a new supplie of monie, and mutuall promise made to handle this divine matter hence forward purelie and holilie. To be short, after a great number of such parts plaied by the Alcumyster ; one of *Balbins* acquaintance espied him, that knew him from his childhood to be but a cousening merchant; and told *Balbine* what he was, and that he would handle him in the end, even as he had used manie others : for a knave he ever was, and so he would proove. But what did *Balbine*, thinke you ? Did he complaine of this counterfet, or cause him to be punished ? No, but he gave him monie in his pursse, and sent him awaie ; desiring him, of all courtesie, not to blab abroad how he had cousened him. And as for the knave Alcumyster, he needed not care who knew it, or what came of it : for he had nothing in goods or fame to be lost. And as for his cunning in Alcumystrie, he had as much as an asse. By this discourse *Erasmus* would give us to note, that under the golden name of Alcumystrie there lieth lurking no small calamitie ; wherein there be such severall shifts and sutes of rare subtilties and deceipts, as that not onelie welthie men are thereby manie times impoverished, and that with the sweete allurement of this art, through their owne covetousnesse ;/ as also by the flattering baits of hoped gaine : but even wise and learned men hereby are shamefullie overshot, partlie for want of due experience in the wiles and subtilties of the world, and partlie through the softenesse and pliablenesse of their good nature, which cousening knaves doo commonlie abuse to their owne lust and commoditie, and to the others utter undooing.

Balbine is ashamed that he should be overshot and overseene in a case of flat cousenage.

260.

The sixt Chapter.

The opinion of diverse learned men touching the follie of Alcumystrie.

ALBERT in his booke of minerals reporteth, that *Avicenna* treating of Alcumystrie, saith; Let the dealers in Alcumystrie understand, that the verie nature and kind of things cannot be changed,/ but rather made by art to resemble the same in shew and likenesse: so that they are not the verie things indeed, but seeme so to be in appearance: as castels and towers doo seeme to be built in the clouds, whereas the representations there shewed, are nothing else but the resemblance of certeine objects beelow, caused in some bright and cleere cloud, when the aire is void of thicknes and grossenes. A sufficient proofe hereof maie be the looking glasse. And we see (saith he) that yellow or orrenge colour laid upon red, seemeth to be gold. *Francis Petrarch* treating of the same matter in forme of a dialogue, introduceth a disciple of his, who fansied the foresaid fond profession and practise, saieng; I hope for prosperous successe in Alcumystrie. *Petrarch* answereth him; It is a woonder from whence that hope should spring, sith the frute thereof did never yet fall to thy lot, nor yet at anie time chance to anie other; as the report commonlie goeth, that manie rich men, by this vanitie and madnes have beene brought to beggerie, whiles they have wearied themselves therewith, weakened their bodies, and wasted their wealth in trieng the means to make gold ingender gold. I hope for gold according to the workemans promise, saith the disciple. He that hath promised thee gold, will runne awaie with thy gold, and thou never the wiser, saith *Petrarch.* He promiseth mee great good, saith the disciple. He will first serve his owne turne, and releeve his private povertie, saith *Petrarch*; for Alcumysters are a beggerlie kind of people, who though they confesse themselves bare and needie, yet will they make others rich and welthie: as though others povertie did more molest and pitie them than their owne. These be the words of *Petrarch*, a man of great learning and no lesse experience; who as in his time he sawe the fraudulent fetches of this compassing craft: so hath there beene no age, since the same hath beene broched, wherein some few wisemen have not smelt out the evill meaning of these shifting merchants, and bewraied them to the world.

The substances of things are not transmutable. *369.*

Franc. Petrarch. lib. de remed. utr. fort. 1. *cap.* 10.

An ancient writer of a religious order, who lived above a thousand

Goschalcus Boll. ordinis

S. August. in suo præceptorio, fol. 244. col. b. c. d. & 1.

yeares since, discovering the diversities of theftes, after a long enumeration, bringeth in Alcumysters, whom he calleth *Falsificantes metallorum & mineralium*, witches and counterfetters of metals and minerals ;

261. *370.* and setteth/ them as deepe in the/ degree of theeves, as anie of the rest, whose injurious dealings are brought to open arreignment. It is demanded (saith he) why the art of Alcumystrie doth never proove that in effect, which it pretendeth in precept and promise. The answer is readie ; that if by art gold might be made, then were it behoovefull to know the maner and proceeding of nature in generation ; sith art is said to imitate and counterfet nature. Againe, it is bicause of the lamenesse and unperfectnesse of philosophie, speciallie concerning minerals: no such manner of proceeding being set downe by consent and agreement of philosophers in writing, touching the true and undoubted effect of the same. Where upon one supposeth that gold is made of one kind of stuffe this waie, others of another kind of stuffe that waie. And therefore it is a chance if anie atteine to the artificiall applieng of the actives and passives of gold and silver. Moreover, it is certeine, that quicke silver and sulphur are the materials (as they terme them) of mettals, and the agent is heate, which directeth : howbeit it is verie hard to know the due proportion of the mixture of the materials ; which proportion the generation of gold doth require. And admit that by chance they atteine to such proportion ; yet can they not readilie resume or doo it againe in another worke, bicause of the hidden diversities of materials, and the uncerteintie of applieng the actives and passives.

No certein ground in the art Alcumysticall.

Idem ibid.

The same ancient author concluding against this vaine art, saith, that of all christian lawmakers it is forbidden, and in no case tollerable in anie commonwelth : first bicause it presumeth to forge idols for covetousnes, which are gold and silver ; whereupon saith the apostle, Covetousenesse is idolworship : secondlie, for that (as *Aristotle* saith) coine should be skant and rare, that it might be deere ; but the same would waxe vile, and of small estimation, if by the art of Alcumystrie gold and silver might be multiplied : thirdlie, bicause (as experience prooveth) wisemen are thereby bewitched, couseners increased, princes abused, the rich impoverished, the poore beggered, the multitude made fooles, and yet the craft and craftesmaisters (oh madnes !) credited. Thus far he. Whereby in few words he discountenanceth that profession, not by the imaginations of his owne braine, but by manifold circumstances of mani-

Avaritia idolorum cultus.

371. fest proofe. Touching the which practise I/ thinke inough hath beene spoken, and more a great deale than needed ; sith so plaine and demonstrable a matter requireth the lesse travell in confutation.

The seventh Chapter.

That vaine and deceitfull hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that there labours therein are bootelesse, &c.

HITHERTO somewhat at large I have detected the knaverie of the art Alcumysticall, partlie by reasons, and partlie by examples : so that the thing it selfe maie no lesse appeare to the judiciall eie of the considerers ;/ than the bones 262.
and sinewes of a bodie anatomized, to the corporall eie of the beholders. Now it shall not be amisse nor impertinent, to treate somewhat of the nature of that vaine and frutelesse hope, which induceth Of vaine hope.
and draweth men forward as it were with chordes, not onelie to the admiration, but also to the approbation of the same : in such sort that some are compelled rufullie to sing (as one in old time did, whether in token of good or ill lucke, I doo not now well remember) *Spes & fortuna valete* ; Hope and good hap adieu.

No mervell then though Alcumystrie allure men so sweetlie, and intangle them in snares of follie ; sith the baits which it useth is the hope of gold, the hunger wherof is by the poet termed *Sacra*, which some doo English, Holie ; not understanding that it is rather to be interpreted, *Curssed or detestable, by the figure *Acyron*, when a word of an unproper signification is cast in a clause as it were a cloud: or by the figure *Antiphrasis*, when a word importeth a contrarie meaning to that which it commonlie hath. For what reason can there be, that the hunger of gold should be counted holie, the same having (as depending upon it) so manie milians of mischeefes and miseries : as treasons, theftes, adulteries, manslaughters, trucebreakings, perjuries, cousenages, and a great troope of other enormities, which were here too long/ to rehearse. And if the nature of everie action be 372.
determinable by the end thereof, then cannot this hunger be holie, A maxime.
but rather accurssed, which pulleth after it as it were with iron chaines such a band of outrages and enormities, as of all their labor, charge, care and cost, &c : they have nothing else left them in lieu of lucre, but onlie some few burned brickes of a ruinous fornace, a pecke or two of ashes, and such light stuffe, which they are forced peradventure in fine to sell, when beggerie hath arrested and laid his mace on their shoulders. As for all their gold, it is resolved *In primam materiam*, or rather *In levem quendam fumulum*, into a light smoke or fumigation of vapors, than the which

* *J. Cal. in Comment. upon Deut. serm.* 127. *pa.* 781. *col.* 1. *number.* 40.

nothing is more light, nothing lesse substantiall, spirits onelie excepted, out of whose nature and number these are not to be exempted.

The eight Chapter.

A continuation of the former matter, with a conclusion of the same.

THAT which I have declared before, by reasons, examples, and authorities, I will now prosecute and conclude by one other example; to the end that we, as others in former ages, maie judge of vaine hope accordinglie, and be no lesse circumspect to avoid the inconveniences therof, than *Ulysses* was warie to escape the incantations of *Circes* that old transforming witch. Which example of mine is drawne from *Lewes* the French king, the eleventh of that name, who being on a time at *Burgundie*, fell acquainted by occasion of hunting with one *Conon*, a clownish but yet an honest and hartie good fellow. For princes and great men de/light much in such plaine clubhutchens. The king oftentimes, by meanes of his game, used the countrimans house for his refreshing; and as noble men sometimes take pleasure in homelie and course things, so the king did not refuse to eate turnips and rape rootes in *Conons* cotage. Shortlie after king *Lewes* being at his pallace, void of troubles and disquietnesse, *Conons* wife/ wild him to repaire to the court, to shew himselfe to the king, to put him in mind of the old intertainement which he had at his house, and to present him with some of the fairest and choisest rape rootes that she had in store. *Conon* seemed loth, alledging that he should but lose his labour: for princes (saith he) have other matters in hand, than to intend to thinke of such trifeling courtesies. But *Conons* wife overcame him, and persuaded him in the end, choosing a certeine number of the best and goodliest rape rootes that she had: which when she had given hir husband to carrie to the court, he set forward on his journie a good trudging pase. But *Conon* being tempted by the waie, partlie with desire of eating, and partlie with the toothsomnes of the meate which he bare, that by little and little he devoured up all the roots saving one, which was a verie faire and a goodlie great one indeed. Now when *Conon* was come to the court, it was his lucke to stand in such a place, as the king passing by, and spieng the man, did well remember him, and commanded that he should be brought in. *Conon* verie cheerelie followed his guide hard at the heeles, and no sooner sawe the king, but bluntlie comming to him, reached out

Erasmus in colloq. cui titulus Convivium fabulosum.

263.

373.

A hungrie bellie will not be brideled.

his hand, and presented the gift to his maiestie. The king received it with more cheerefulnes than it was offered, and bad one of those that stood next him, to take it, and laie it up among those things which he esteemed most, & had in greatest accompt. Then he had *Conon* to dine with him, and after dinner gave the countriman great thanks for his rape roote ; who made no bones of the matter, but boldlie made challenge and claime to the kings promised courtesie. Whereupon the king commanded, that a thousand crownes should be given him in recompense for his roote.

A princelie largesse.

The report of this bountifulnes was spred in short space over all the kings houshold : in so much as one of his courtiers, in hope of the like or a larger reward gave the king a verie proper ginnet. Whose drift the king perceiving, and judging that his former liberalitie to the clowne, provoked the courtier to this covetous attempt, tooke the ginnet verie thankefullie : and calling some of his noble men about him, began to consult with them, what mends he might make his servant for his horsse. Whiles this was a dooing, the courtier conceived passing good/ hope of some princelie largesse, calculating *374.* and casting his cards in this maner ; If his maiestie rewarded a sillie clowne so bountifullie for a simple rape roote, what will he doo to a jollie courtier for a gallent gennet ? Whiles the king was debating the matter, and one said this, another that, and the courtier travelled all the while in vaine hope, at last saith the king, even upon the sudden ; I have now bethought me what to bestowe upon him : and calling one of his nobles to him, whispered him in the eare, and willed him to fetch a thing, which he should find in his chamber wrapped up in silke. The roote is brought wrapped in silke, which *Sic ars deluditur arte.* the/ king with his owne hands gave to the courtier, using these words **264.** therewithall, that he sped well, in so much as it was his good hap to have for his horsse a jewell that cost him a thousand crownes. The courtier was a glad man, and at his departing longed to be looking what it was, and his hart dansed for joy. In due time therefore he unwrapped the silke (a sort of his fellow courtiers flocking about him to testifie his good lucke) and having unfolded it, he found therein a drie and withered rape roote. Which spectacle though it set the standers about in a lowd laughter, yet it quailed the courtiers courage, and cast him into a shrewd fit of pensifenes. Thus was the confidence of this courtier turned to vanitie, who upon hope of good speed was willing to part from his horsse for had I wist.

This storie dooth teach us into what follie and madnes vaine hope may drive undiscreete and unexpert men. And therefore no mervell though Alcumysters dreame and dote after double advantage, faring like *Aesops* dog, who greedilie coveting to catch and snatch at the

The morall of the præmisses.

shadowe of the flesh which he carried in his mouth over the water, lost both the one and the other : as they doo their increase and their principall. But to breake off abruptlie from this matter, and to leave these hypocrits (for whie may they not be so named, who as *Homer*, speaking in detestation of such rakehelles, saith verie divinelie and trulie ;

Homer.

Odi etenim seu claustra Erebi, quicúnque loquuntur
Ore aliud, tacitóque aliud sub pectore claudunt :|

375. *I hate even as the gates of hell,*
Those that one thing with toong doo tell,
And notwithstanding closelie keepe,
Another thing in hart full deepe)

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

To leave these hypocrits (I saie) in the dregs of their dishonestie, I will conclude against them peremptorilie, that they, with the rable above rehearsed, and the rowt hereafter to be mentioned, are ranke couseners, and consuming cankers to the common wealth, and therefore to be rejected and excommunicated from the fellowship of all honest men. For now their art, which turneth all kind of metals that they can come by into mist and smoke, is no lesse apparent to the world, than the cleere sunnie raies at noone sted ; in so much that I may saie with the poet,

Aul. Persius, satyr. 3.

Hos populus ridet, multúmque torosa juventus
Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos :

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

All people laugh them now to scorne,
each strong and lustie blood
Redoubleth quavering laughters lowd
with wrinkled nose a good.

So that, if anie be so addicted unto the vanitie of the art Alcumysticall/ (as everie foole will have his fansie) and that (beside so manie experimented examples of divers, whose wealth hath vanished like a vapor, whiles they have beene over rash in the practise hereof) this discourse will not moove to desist from such extreame dotage, I saie to him or them and that aptlie,

265.

Idem, ibid.

——————dicítque facítque quod ipse
Non sani esse hominis non sanus juret Orestes :

By Ab. Fleming.

He saith and dooth that verie thing,
which mad Orestes might
With oth averre beecame a man
beereft of reason right.|

¶ *The xv. Booke.* 376.

The first Chapter.

The exposition of Iidoni, and where it is found, whereby the whole art of conjuration is deciphered.

THIS word *Iidoni* is derived of *Iada*, which properlie signifieth to knowe: it is sometimes translated, **Divinus*, which [* *Ital.*] is a divinor or soothsaier, as in *Deut.* 18. *Levit.* 20 : sometimes **Ariolus*, which is one that also taketh upon him to foretell things to come, and is found *Levit.* 19. 2. *Kings.* 23. *Esai.* 19. To be short, the opinion of them that are most skilfull in the toongs, is, that it comprehendeth all them, which take upon them to knowe all things past and to come, and to give answers accordinglie. It alwaies followeth the word **Ob*, and in the scriptures is not named severallie from it, and differeth little from the same in sense, and doo both concerne oracles uttered by spirits, possessed people, or couseners. What will not couseners or witches take upon them to doo? Wherein will they professe ignorance? Aske them anie question, they will undertake to resolve you, even of that which none but God knoweth. And to bring their purposes the better to passe, as also to winne further credit unto the counterfet art which they professe, they procure confederates, whereby they worke wonders. And when they have either learning,/ eloquence, or 266. nimblenesse of hands to accompanie their confederacie, or ra/ther 377. knaverie, then (forsooth) they passe the degree of witches, and intitle themselves to the name of conjurors. And these deale with no inferiour causes : these fetch divels out of hell, and angels out of heaven; these raise up what bodies they list, though they were dead, buried, and rotten long before ; and fetch soules out of heaven or hell with much more expedition than the pope bringeth them out of purgatorie. These I saie (among the simple, and where they feare no law nor accusation) take upon them also the raising of tempests, and earthquakes, and to doo as much as God himselfe can doo. These are no small fooles, they go not to worke with a baggage tode, or a cat, as witches doo ; but with a kind of majestie, and with authoritie they call up by name, and have at their commandement seventie and nine principall and princelie divels, who have under them, as their ministers, a great multitude of legions of pettie divels ; as for example.

The large signification of the word Iidoni.

Vide Philast Brix. episc. hæresecôn catal. de philonissa.

J. Wierus in Pseudomonarchia dæmonum.

The second Chapter.

An inventarie of the names, shapes, powers, governement, and effects of divels and spirits, of their severall segniories and degrees : a strange discourse woorth the reading.

Salomons notes of conjuration. *Baell.*

THEIR first and principall king (which is of the power of the east) is called *Baëll* ; who when he is conjured up, appeareth with three heads ; the first, like a tode ; the second, like a man ; the third, like a cat. He speaketh with a hoarse voice, he maketh a man go invisible, he hath under his obedience and rule sixtie and six legions of divels.

Agares. The first duke under the power of the east, is named *Agares*, he commeth up mildlie in the likenes of a faire old man, riding upon a crocodile, and carrieng a hawke on his fist ; hee teacheth presentlie all maner of toongs, he fetcheth backe all such as runne awaie, and maketh them runne that stand still ; he overthroweth all dignities
378. supernaturall and temporall, hee maketh earth/quakes, and is of the order of vertues, having under his regiment thirtie one legions.

Marbas. [* *Ital.*] *Marbas*, **alias Barbas* is a great president, and appeareth in the forme of a mightie lion ; but at the commandement of a conjuror commeth up in the likenes of a man, and answereth fullie as touching anie thing which is hidden or secret : he bringeth diseases, and cureth them, he promoteth wisedome, and the knowledge of mechanicall arts, or handicrafts ; he changeth men into other shapes, and under his presidencie or gouvernement are thirtie six legions of divels conteined.

Amon. *Amon*, or *Aamon*, is a great and mightie marques, and commeth abroad in the likenes of a woolfe, having a serpents taile, spetting
267. out and/ breathing flames of fier ; when he putteth on the shape of a man, he sheweth out dogs teeth, and a great head like to a mightie raven ; he is the strongest prince of all other, and understandeth of all things past and to come, he procureth favor, and reconcileth both freends and foes, and ruleth fourtie legions of divels.

Barbatos. *Barbatos*, a great countie or earle, and also a duke, he appeareth in *Signo sagittarii sylvestris*, with foure kings, which bring companies and great troopes. He understandeth the singing of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowings of bullocks, and the voice of all living creatures. He detecteth treasures hidden by magicians and inchanters, and is of the order of vertues, which in part beare rule : he knoweth all things past, and to come, and reconcileth freends

and powers; and governeth thirtie legions of divels by his authoritie.

Buer is a great president, and is seene in this signe; he absolutelie teacheth philosophie morall and naturall, and also logicke, and the vertue of herbes: he giveth the best familiars, he can heale all diseases, speciallie of men, and reigneth over fiftie legions. *Buer.*

Gusoin is a great duke, and a strong, appearing in the forme of a *Xenophilus*, he answereth all things, present, past, and to come, expounding all questions. He reconcileth freendship, and distributeth honours and dignities, and ruleth over fourtie legions of divels. *Gusoin.*

Botis, otherwise *Otis*, a great president and an earle he com-/ meth foorth in the shape of an ouglie viper, and if he put on humane shape, he sheweth great teeth, and two hornes, carrieng a sharpe sword in his hand: he giveth answers of things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends, and foes, ruling sixtie legions. *Botis.* *379.*

Bathin, sometimes called *Mathim*, a great duke and a strong, he is seene in the shape of a verie strong man, with a serpents taile, sitting on a pale horsse, understanding the vertues of hearbs and pretious stones, transferring men suddenlie from countrie to countrie, and ruleth thirtie legions of divels. *Bathin.*

Purson, **alias Curson*, a great king, he commeth foorth like a man with a lions face, carrieng a most cruell viper, and riding on a beare; and before him go alwaies trumpets, he knoweth things hidden, and can tell all things present, past, and to come: he bewraieth treasure, he can take a bodie either humane or aierie; he answereth truelie of all things earthlie and secret, of the divinitie and creation of the world, and bringeth foorth the best familiars; and there obeie him two and twentie legions of divels, partlie of the order of vertues, & partlie of the order of thrones. *Purson.* [* *Ital.*]

Eligor, **alias Abigor*, is a great duke, and appeereth as a goodlie knight, carrieng a lance, an ensigne, and a scepter: he answereth fullie of things hidden, and of warres, and how souldiers should meete: he knoweth things to come, and procureth the favour of lords and knights, governing sixtie legions of divels. *Eligor.*

Leraie, **alias Oray*, a great marquesse, shewing himselfe in the like-/ nesse of a galant archer, carrieng a bowe and a quiver, he is author of all battels, he dooth putrifie all such wounds as are made with arrowes by archers, *Quos optimos objicit tribus diebus*, and he hath regiment over thirtie legions. *Leraie.* 268.

Valefar, **alias Malephar*, is a strong duke, comming foorth in the shape of a lion, and the head of a theefe, he is verie familiar with them *Valefar.*

to whom he maketh himselfe acquainted, till he hath brought them to the gallowes, and ruleth ten legions.

Morax. [* *Ital.*] *Morax*, **alias Foraii*, a great earle and a president, he is seene like a bull, and if he take unto him a mans face, he maketh men wonderfull cunning in astronomie, & in all the liberall sciences: he giveth good familiars and wise, knowing the power & vertue of hearbs and stones which are pretious, and ruleth thirtie six le/gions.

380.

Ipos. *Ipos*, **alias Ayporos*, is a great earle and a prince, appeering in the shape of an angell, and yet indeed more obscure and filthie than a lion, with a lions head, a gooses feet, and a hares taile: he knoweth things to come and past, he maketh a man wittie, and bold, and hath under his jurisdiction thirtie six legions.

Naberius. *Naberius*, **alias Cerberus*, is a valiant marquesse, shewing himselfe in the forme of a crowe, when he speaketh with a hoarse voice: he maketh a man amiable and cunning in all arts, and speciallie in rhetorike, he procureth the losse of prelacies and dignities: nineteene legions heare and obeie him.

Glasya Labolas. *Glasya Labolas*, **alias Caacrinolaas*, or *Caassimolar*, is a great president, who commeth foorth like a dog, and hath wings like a griffen, he giveth the knowledge of arts, and is the captaine of all mansleiers: he understandeth things present and to come, he gaineth the minds and love of freends and foes, he maketh a man go invisible, and hath the rule of six and thirtie legions.

Zepar. *Zepar* is a great duke, appearing as a souldier, inflaming women with the loove of men, and when he is bidden he changeth their shape, untill they maie enjoie their beloved, he also maketh them barren, and six and twentie legions are at his obeie and commandement.

Bileth. *Bileth* is a great king and a terrible, riding on a pale horsse, before whome go trumpets, and all kind of melodious musicke. When he is called up by an exorcist, he appeareth rough and furious, to deceive him. Then let the exorcist or conjuror take heed to himself, and to allaie his courage, let him hold a hazell bat in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out toward the east and south, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand unto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirits; let the conjuror proceed to reading, and by and by he will submit himselfe, and come in, and doo whatsoever the exorcist commandeth him, and he shalbe safe. If *Bileth* the king be more stubborne, and refuse to enter into the circle at the first call, and the conjuror shew himselfe fearfull, or if he have not the chaine of spirits, certeinelie he will never feare nor regard him after. Also, if the place be unapt for a triangle to be made without the circle, then set

there a boll of/ wine, and the ex/orcist shall certeinlie knowe when he commeth out of his house, with his fellowes, and that the foresaid *Bileth* will be his helper, his friend, and obedient unto him when he commeth foorth. And when he commeth, let the exorcist receive him courteouslie, and glorifie him in his pride, and therfore he shall adore him as other kings doo, bicause he saith nothing without other princes. Also, if he be cited by an exorcist, alwaies a silver ring of the middle finger of the left hand must be held against the exorcists face, as they doo for *Amaimon.* And the dominion and power of so great a prince is not to be pretermitted ; for there is none under the power & dominion of the conjuror, but he that deteineth both men and women in doting love, till the exorcist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the seaventh throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eightie five legions. 269. *381.* *Vide Amaimon.*

Sitri, **alias Bitru*, is a great prince, appeering with the face of a leopard, and having wings as a griffen : when he taketh humane shape, he is verie beautifull, he inflameth a man with a womans love, and also stirreth up women to love men, being commanded he willinglie *deteineth secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them luxuriouslie naked, and there obeie him sixtie legions. *Sitri* a bawdie divell. [* *Ital.*] [* See note.]

Paimon is more obedient to *Lucifer* than other kings are. *Lucifer* is heere to be understood he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge : he would needs be like God, and for his arrogancie was throwne out into destruction, of whome it is said ; Everie pretious stone is thy covering. *Paimon* is constrained by divine vertue to stand before the exorcist ; where he putteth on the likenesse of a man : he sitteth on a beast called a dromedarie, which is a swift runner, and weareth a glorious crowne, and hath an effeminate countenance. There goeth before him an host of men with trumpets and well sounding cymbals, and all musicall instruments. At the first he appeereth with a great crie and roring, as in *Circulo Salomonis*, and in the art is declared. And if this *Paimon* speake sometime that the conjuror understand him not, let him not therefore be dismaied. But when he hath delivered him the first obligation, to observe his desire, he must bid him also answer him distinctlie and plainelie to the questi/ons he shall aske you, of all philosophie, wisedome, and science, and of all other secret things. And if you will knowe the disposition of the world, and what the earth is, or what holdeth it up in the water, or any other thing, or what is *Abyssus*, or where the wind is, or from whence it commeth, he will teach you aboundantlie. Consecrations also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. *Paimon.* Ezech. 88. *382.*

He giveth dignities and confirmations ; he bindeth them that resist him in his owne chaines, and subjecteth them to the conjuror ; he prepareth good familiars, and hath the understanding of all arts.

Cautions for the Exorcist or conjuror.

Note, that at the calling up of him, the exorcist must looke towards the northwest, bicause there is his house. When he is called up, let the exorcist receive him constantlie without feare, let him aske what questions or demands he list, and no doubt he shall obteine the same
270. of him. And the exorcist must beware/ he forget not the creator, for those things, which have beene rehearsed before of *Paimon*, some saie he is of the order of dominations ; others saie, of the order of cherubim. There follow him two hundred legions, partlie of the order of angels, and partlie of potestates. Note that if *Paimon* be cited alone by an offering or sacrifice, two kings followe him ; to wit, *Beball* & *Abalam*, & other potentates : in his host are twentie five legions, bicause the spirits subject to them are not alwaies with them, except they be compelled to appeere by divine vertue.

The fall of Beliall.

Some saie that the king *Beliall* was created immediatlie after *Lucifer*, and therefore they thinke that he was father and seducer of them which fell being of the orders. For he fell first among the worthier and wiser sort, which went before *Michael* and other heavenlie angels, which were lacking. Although *Beliall* went before all them that were throwne downe to the earth, yet he went not before them that tarried in heaven. This *Beliall* is constrained by divine vertue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he againe may give unto the offerers true answers. But he tarrieth not one houre in the truth, except he be constrained by the divine power, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautifull angell, sitting in a firie chariot ; he speaketh faire, he distributeth preferments of senatorship, and the favour of friends, and excellent familiars : he hath rule over eightie legions, partlie of the order of vertues, partlie of angels ; he/
383. is found in the forme of an exorcist in the bonds of spirits. The exorcist must consider, that this *Beliall* doth in everie thing assist his subjects. If he will not submit himselfe, let the bond of spirits be read : the spirits chaine is sent for him, wherewith wise *Salomon* gathered them togither with their legions in a brasen vessell, where were inclosed among all the legions seventie two kings, of whome the cheefe was *Bileth*, the second was *Beliall*, the third *Asmoday*, and above a thousand thousand legions. Without doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my maister *Salomon* ; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them up so : but I beleeve it was for the pride of this *Beliall*. Certeine nigromancers doo saie, that *Salomon*, being on a certeine daie seduced by the craft of a certeine woman, inclined himselfe to praie before the same idoll,

Salomon gathered al the divels togither in a brasen vessell.

Beliall by name: which is not credible. And therefore we must rather thinke (as it is said) that they were gathered together in that great brasen vessell for pride and arrogancie, and throwne into a deepe lake or hole in *Babylon.* For wise *Salomon* did accomplish his workes by the divine power, which never forsooke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshipped not the image *Beliall*; for then he could not have constrained the spirits by divine vertue: for this *Beliall,* with three kings were in the lake. But the *Babylonians* woondering at the matter, supposed that they should find therein a great quantitie of treasure, and therefore with one consent went downe into the lake, and uncovered and brake the vessell, out of the which immediatlie flew the capteine divels, and were delivered to their former and proper places. But this *Beliall* entred into a certeine image, and there gave answer to them that offered and sacrificed unto him: as *Tocz.* in his sentences reporteth, and the *Babylonians* did worship and sacrifice thereunto./

The Babylonians disappointed of their hope.

Bune is a great and a strong Duke, he appeareth as a dragon with three heads, the third whereof is like to a man; he speaketh with a divine voice, he maketh the dead to change their place, and divels to assemble upon the sepulchers of the dead: he greatlie inricheth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise, answering trulie to all demands, and thirtie legions obeie him.

Bune. 271.

Forneus is a great marquesse, like unto a monster of the sea, he maketh men woonderfull in rhetorike, he adorneth a man/ with a good name, and the knowledge of toongs, and maketh one beloved as well of foes as freends: there are under him nine and twentie legions, of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels.

Forneus. 384.

Ronove a marquesse and an earle, he is resembled to a monster, he bringeth singular understanding in rhetorike, faithfull servants, knowledge of toongs, favour of freends and foes; and nineteene legions obeie him.

Ronove.

Berith is a great and a terrible duke, and hath three names. Of some he is called *Beall*; of the Jewes *Berith*; of Nigromancers *Bolfry*: he commeth foorth as a red souldier, with red clothing, and upon a horsse of that colour, and a crowne on his head. He answereth trulie of things present, past, and to come. He is compelled at a certeine houre, through divine vertue, by a ring of art magicke. He is also a lier, he turneth all mettals into gold, he adorneth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a cleare and a subtill voice, and six and twentie legions are under him.

Berith a golden divell.

Astaroth is a great and a strong duke, comming foorth in the shape of a fowle angell, sitting upon an infernall dragon, and carrieng on his right hand a viper: he answereth trulie to matters present, past,

Astaroth.

and to come, and also of all secrets. He talketh willinglie of the creator of spirits, and of their fall, and how they sinned and fell : he saith he fell not of his owne accord. He maketh a man woonderfull learned in the liberall sciences, he ruleth fourtie legions. Let everie exorcist take heed, that he admit him not too neere him, bicause of his stinking breath. And therefore let the conjuror hold neere to his face a magicall ring, and that shall defend him.

Foras. *Foras*, **alias Forcas* is a great president, and is seene in the forme [* *Ital.*] of a strong man, and in humane shape, he understandeth the vertue of hearbs and pretious stones : he teacheth fullie logicke, ethicke, and their parts : he maketh a man invisible, wittie, eloquent, and to live long ; he recovereth things lost, and discovereth treasures, and is lord over nine and twentie legions.

Furfur. *Furfur* is a great earle, appearing as an hart, with a firie taile, he lieth in everie thing, except he be brought up within a triangle ; being *385.* bidden, he taketh angelicall forme, he speaketh/ with a hoarse voice, and willinglie maketh love betweene man and wife ; he raiseth thunders and lightnings, and blasts. Where he is commanded, he answereth well, both of secret and also of divine things, and hath rule and dominion over six and twentie legions.

Marchosias. *Marchosias* is a great marquesse, he sheweth himselfe in the shape **272.** of a/ cruell shee woolfe, with a griphens wings, with a serpents taile, and spetting I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans shape, he is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions trulie, he is faithfull in all the conjurors businesse, he was of the order of dominations, under him are thirtie legions : he hopeth after 1200. yeares to returne to the seventh throne, but he is deceived in that hope.

Malphas. *Malphas* is a great president, he is seene like a crowe, but being cloathed with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth houses and high towres wonderfullie, and quicklie bringeth artificers togither, he throweth downe also the enimies edifications, he helpeth to good familiars, he receiveth sacrifices willinglie, but he deceiveth all the sacrificers, there obeie him fourtie legions.

Vepar. *Vepar*, **alias Separ*, a great duke and a strong, he is like a mermaid, he is the guide of the waters, and of ships laden with armour ; he bringeth to passe (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shalbe rough and stormie, and shall appeare full of shippes ; he killeth men in three daies, with putrifieng their wounds, and producing maggots into them ; howbeit, they maie be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and twentie legions.

Sabnacke. *Sabnacke*, **alias Salmac*, is a great marquesse and a strong, he commeth foorth as an armed soldier with a lions head, sitting on a

pale horsse, he dooth marvelouslie change mans forme and favor, he buildeth high towres full of weapons, and also castels and cities ; he inflicteth men thirtie daies with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists commandement, he provideth good familiars, and hath dominion over fiftie legions.

Sidonay, **alias Asmoday*, a great king, strong and mightie, he is seene with three heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a man, the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of his mouth, he hath feete like a goose, he sitteth/ on an infernall dragon, he carrieth a lance and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, which are under the power of *Amaymon*. When the conjuror exerciseth this office, let him be abroad, let him be warie and standing on his feete ; if his cap be on his head, he will cause all his dooings to be bewraied, which if he doo not, the exorcist shalbe deceived by *Amaymon* in everie thing. But so soone as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by his name, saieng ; Thou art *Asmoday*: he will not denie it, and by and by he boweth downe to the ground ; he giveth the ring of vertues, he absolutelie teacheth geometrie, arythmetike, astronomie, and handicrafts. To all demands he answereth fullie and trulie, he maketh a man invisible, he sheweth the places where treasure lieth, and gardeth it, if it be among the legions of *Amaymon*, he hath under his power seventie two legions.

Sidonay. [* *Ital.*

386.

Gaap, **alias Tap*, a great president and a prince, he appeareth in a meridionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of the foure principall kings, as mightie as *Bileth*. There were certeine necromancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings unto him ; and to call him up, they exercised an art, saieng that *Salomon* the wise made it./ Which is false: for it was rather *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*, who after the floud began first to invocate wicked spirits. He invocated *Bileth*, and made an art in his name, and a booke which is knowne to manie mathematicians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts given, and much wickednes wrought by the exorcists, who mingled therewithall the holie names of God, the which in that art are everie where expressed. Marie there is an epistle of those names written by *Salomon*, as also write *Helias Hierosolymitanus* and *Helisæus*. It is to be noted, that if anie exorcist have the art of *Bileth*, and cannot make him stand before him, nor see him, I may not bewraie how and declare the meanes to conteine him, bicause it is abhomination, and for that I have learned nothing from *Salomon* of his dignitie and office. But yet I will not hide this ; to wit, that he maketh a man woonderfull in philosophie and all the liberall sciences : he maketh love,

Gaap.

273.

Who was the first necromancer.

hatred, insensibilitie,* invisibilitie, consecration,† and consecration of those things that are belonging unto the domination of *Amaymon*, and delivereth familiars out of the possession of o/ther conjurors, answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, & to come, & transferreth men most speedilie into other nations, he ruleth sixtie six legions, & was of the order of potestats.

[* Not in Wier] [† Press duplication]

387.

Shax. [‡ *Ital.*]

Shax, ‡*alias Scox*, is a darke and a great marquesse, like unto a storke, with a hoarse and subtill voice: he dooth marvellouslie take awaie the sight, hearing, and understanding of anie man, at the commandement of the conjuror: he taketh awaie monie out of everie kings house, and carrieth it backe after 1200. yeares, if he be commanded,§ he is a horssestealer, he is thought to be faithfull in all commandements: and although he promise to be obedient to the conjuror in all things; yet is he not so, he is a lier, except he be brought into a triangle, and there he speaketh divinelie, and telleth of things which are hidden, and not kept of wicked spirits, he promiseth good familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceivers, he hath thirtie legions.

[§: in Wier]

Procell. [*Pucel*, Wier]

Procell is a great and a strong duke, appearing in the shape of an angell, but speaketh verie darklie of things hidden, he teacheth geometrie and all the liberall arts, he maketh great noises, and causeth the waters to rore, where are none, he warmeth waters, and distempereth bathes at certeine times, as the exorcist appointeth him, he was of the order of potestats, and hath fourtie eight legions under his power.

Furcas.

Furcas is a knight and commeth foorth in the similitude of a cruell man, with a long beard and a hoarie head, he sitteth on a pale horsse, carrieng in his hand a sharpe weapon, he perfectlie teacheth practike philosophie, rhetorike, logike, astronomie, chiromancie, pyromancie, and their parts: there obeie him twentie legions.

Murmur.

Murmur is a great duke and an earle, appearing in the shape of a souldier, riding on a griphen, with a dukes crowne on his head; there go before him two of his ministers, with great trumpets, he teacheth philosophie absolutelie, he constraineth soules to come before the exorcist, to answer what he shall aske them, he was of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels, ‖and ruleth thirtie legions.

[‖ and, etc., not in Wier]

Caim.

274.

388.

Caim is a great president, taking the forme of a thrush, but when he put/teth on mans shape, he answereth in burning ashes, carrieng in his hand a most sharpe swoord, he maketh the best/ disputers, he giveth men the understanding of all birds, of the lowing of bullocks, and barking of dogs, and also of the sound and noise of waters, he answereth best of things to come, he was of the order of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions of divels.

Raum, or *Raim* is a great earle, he is seene as a crowe, but when he putteth on humane shape, at the commandement of the exorcist, he stealeth woonderfullie out of the kings house, and carrieth it whether he is assigned, he destroieth cities, and hath great despite unto dignities, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth freends and foes, he was of the order of thrones, and governeth thirtie legions. *Raum.*

Halphas is a great earle, and commeth abroad like a storke, with a hoarse voice, he notablie buildeth up townes full of munition and weapons, he sendeth men of warre to places appointed, and hath under him six and twentie legions. *Halphas.*

Focalor is a great duke comming foorth as a man, with wings like a griphen, he killeth men, and drowneth them in the waters, and overturneth ships of warre, commanding and ruling both winds and seas. And let the conjuror note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willinglie consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000. yeares to returne to the seventh throne, but he is deceived, he hath three legions. *Focalor.*

Vine is a great king and an earle, he showeth himselfe as a lion, riding on a blacke horsse, and carrieth a viper in his hand, he gladlie buildeth large towres, he throweth downe stone walles, and maketh waters rough. At the commandement of the exorcist he answereth of things hidden, of witches, and of things present, past, and to come. *Vine.*

Bifrons is seene in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the image of a man, he maketh one woonderfull cunning in astrologie, absolutelie declaring the mansions of the planets, he dooth the like in geometrie, and other admesurements, he perfectlie understandeth the strength and vertue of hearbs, pretious stones, and woods, he changeth dead bodies from place to place, he seemeth to light candles upon the sepulchres of the dead, and hath under him six and twentie legions. *Bifrons.*

Gamigin is a great marquesse, and is seene in the forme of a little horsse, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a/ hoarse voice, disputing of all liberall sciences; he bringeth also to passe, that the soules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatorie (which is called *Cartagra*, that is, affliction of soules) shall take aierie bodies, and evidentlie appeare and answer to interrogatories at the conjurors commandement; he tarrieth with the exorcist, untill he have accomplished his desire, and hath thirtie legions under him. *Gamigin.* *389.*

Zagan is a great king and a president, he commeth abroad like a bull, with griphens wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men wittie, he turneth all mettals into the coine of that dominion, and turneth water into wine, and wine into water, he also *Zagan.*

turneth bloud into wine, & wine into bloud, & a foole into a wise man, he is head of thirtie and three legions./

Orias. 275. *Orias* is a great marquesse, and is seene as a lion riding on a strong horsse, with a serpents taile, and carrieth in his right hand two great serpents hissing, he knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectlie teacheth the vertues of the starres, he transformeth men, he giveth dignities, prelacies, and confirmations, and also the favour of freends and foes, and hath under him thirtie legions.

Valac. *Valac* is a great president, and commeth abroad with angels wings like a boie, riding on a twoheaded dragon, he perfectlie answereth of treasure hidden, and where serpents may be seene, which he delivereth into the conjurors hands, void of anie force or strength, and hath dominion over thirtie legions of divels.

Gomory. *Gomory* a strong and a mightie duke, he appeareth like a faire woman, with a duchesse crownet about hir midle, riding on a camell, he answereth well and truelie of things present, past, and to come, and of treasure hid, and where it lieth : he procureth the love of women, especiallie of maids, and hath six and twentie legions.

Decarabia. *Decarabia* or *Carabia*, he commeth like a * and knoweth the force of herbes and pretious stones, and maketh all birds flie before the exorcist, and to tarrie with him, as though they were tame, and that they shall drinke and sing, as their maner is, and hath thirtie legions.

Amduscias. *Amduscias* a great and a strong duke, he commeth foorth as an 290. unicorne, when he standeth before his maister in humane/ shape, being commanded, he easilie bringeth to passe, that trumpets and all musicall instruments may be heard and not seene, and also that trees shall bend and incline, according to the conjurors will, he is excellent among familiars, and hath nine and twentie legions.

Andras. *Andras* is a great marquesse, and is seene in an angels shape with a head like a blacke night raven, riding upon a blacke and a verie strong woolfe, flourishing with a sharpe sword in his hand, he can kill the maister, the servant, and all assistants, he is author of discords, and ruleth thirtie legions.

Andrealphus. *Andrealphus* is a great marquesse, appearing as a pecocke, he raiseth great noises, and in humane shape perfectlie teacheth geometrie, and all things belonging to admeasurements, he maketh a man to be a subtill disputer, and cunning in astronomie, and transformeth a man into the likenes of a bird, and there are under him thirtie legions.

Ose. *Ose* is a great president, and commeth foorth like a leopard, and counterfeting to be a man, he maketh one cunning in the liberall sciences, he answereth truelie of divine and secret things, he trans-

formeth a mans shape, and bringeth a man to that madnes, that he thinketh himselfe to be that which he is not; as that he is a king or a pope, or that he weareth a crowne on his head, *Durátque id regnum *ad horam.*

[* Wier has no *ad*]

Aym or *Haborim* is a great duke and a strong, he commeth foorth with three heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a man having two * the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper, carrieng in his hand a light fier brand, with the flame whereof castels and cities are fiered, he maketh one wittie everie kind of waie, he answereth truelie of privie matters, and reigneth over twentie six legions./ *Aym.*

Orobas is a great prince, he commeth foorth like a horsse, but when he putteth on him a mans idol, he talketh of divine vertue, he giveth true answers of things present, past, and to come, and of the divinitie, and of the creation, he deceiveth none, nor suffereth anie to be tempted, he giveth dignities and prelacies, and the favour of freends and foes, and hath rule over twentie legions. *Orobas.* **276.**

Vapula is a great duke and a strong, he is seene like a lion/ with griphens wings, he maketh a man subtill and wonderfull in handicrafts, philosophie, and in sciences conteined in bookes, and is ruler over thirtie six legions. *Vapula.* *391.*

Cimeries is a great marquesse and a strong, ruling in the parts of *Aphrica*; he teacheth perfectlie grammar, logicke, and rhetorike, he discovereth treasures and things hidden, he bringeth to passe, that a man shall seeme with expedition to be turned into a soldier, he rideth upon a great blacke horsse, and ruleth twentie legions. *Cimeries.*

Amy is a great president, and appeareth in a flame of fier, but having taken mans shape, he maketh one marvelous in astrologie, and in all the liberall sciences, he procureth excellent familiars, he bewraieth treasures preserved by spirits, he hath the governement of thirtie six legions, he is partlie of the order of angels, partlie of potestats, he hopeth after a thousand two hundreth yeares to returne to the seventh throne: which is not credible. *Amy.*

Flauros a strong duke, is seene in the forme of a terrible strong leopard, in humane shape, he sheweth a terrible countenance, and fierie eies, he answereth trulie and fullie of things present, past, and to come; if he be in a triangle,† he lieth in all things‡ and deceiveth in other things, and beguileth in other busines, he gladlie talketh of the divinitie, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by divine vertue, and so are all divels or spirits, to burne and destroie all the conjurors adversaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the conjuror not to be tempted, and he hath twentie legions under him. *Flauros.*

[† ? transpose ; —.]

[‡ an erroneous duplication of next clause]

Balam is a great and a terrible king, he commeth foorth with three *Balam.*

heads, the first of a bull, the second of a man, the third of a ram, he hath a serpents taile, and flaming eies, riding upon a furious beare, and carrieng a hawke on his fist, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, answering perfectlie of things present, past, and to come, hee maketh a man invisible and wise, hee governeth fourtie legions, and was of the order of dominations.

Allocer. *Allocer* is a strong duke and a great, he commeth foorth like a soldier, riding on a great horsse, he hath a lions face, verie red, and
392. with flaming eies, he speaketh with a big voice, he maketh a/ man woonderfull in astronomie, and in all the liberall sciences, he bringeth good familiars, and ruleth thirtie six legions.

Saleos. *Saleos* is a great earle, he appeareth as a gallant soldier, riding on a crocodile, and weareth a dukes crowne, peaceable, &c.

Vuall. *Vuall* is a great duke and a strong, he is seene as a great and terrible dromedarie, but in humane forme, he soundeth out in a base voice the *Ægyptian* toong. This man above all other procureth the
277. especiall love/ of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, procuring the love of freends and foes, he was of the order of potestats, and governeth thirtie seven legions.

Haagenti. *Haagenti* is a great president, appearing like a great bull, having the wings of a griphen, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh a man wise in everie thing, he changeth all mettals into gold, and changeth wine and water the one into the other, and commandeth as manie legions as *Zagan.*

Phœnix. *Phœnix* is a great marquesse, appearing like the bird *Phœnix*, having a childs voice: but before he standeth still before the conjuror, he singeth manie sweet notes. Then the exorcist with his companions must beware he give no eare to the melodie, but must by and by bid him put on humane shape; then will he speake marvellouslie of all woonderfull sciences. He is an excellent poet, and obedient, he hopeth to returne to the seventh throne after a thousand two hundreth yeares, and governeth twentie legions.

Stolas *Stolas* is a great prince, appearing in the forme of a nightraven, before the exorcist, he taketh the image and shape of a man, and teacheth astronomie, absolutelie understanding the vertues of herbes and pretious stones; there are under him twentie six legions.

¶ *Note that a legion is 6 6 6 6. and now by multiplication count how manie legions doo arise out of everie particular.*|

✠ *Secretum secretorum,*
The secret of secrets;
*Tu operans sis secretus horum,**
Thou that workst them, be secret in them.

This was the work of one T. R. written in faire letters of red & blacke upō parchment, and made by him, Ann. 1570. to the maintenance of his living, the edifieng of the poore, and the glorie of gods holie name: as he himselfe saith. [* The Lat: Rom.] 393.

The third Chapter.

The houres wherin principall divels may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from dooing of hurt.

AMAYMON king of the east, *Gorson* king of the south, *Zimimar* king of the north, *Goap* king and prince of the west, may be bound from the third houre, till noone, and from the ninth houre till evening. Marquesses may be bound from the ninth houre till compline, and from compline till the end of the daie. Dukes may be bound from the first houre till noone; and cleare wether is to be observed. Prelates may be bound in anie houre of the daie. Knights from daie dawning, till sunne rising; or from evensong, till the sunne set. A President may not be bound in anie houre of the daie, except the king, whome he o/beieth, be invocated; nor in the shutting of the evening. Counties or erles may be bound at anie houre of the daie, so it be in the woods or feelds, where men resort not. 278.

The fourth Chapter.

The forme of adjuring or citing of the spirits aforesaid to arise and appeare.

WHEN you will have anie spirit, you must know his name and office; you must also fast,† and be cleane from all pollusion, three or foure daies before; so will the spirit be the more obedient unto you. Then make a circle, and call up the spirit with great intention, and holding a ring in your hand, rehearse in your owne name, and your companions (for one must alwaies be with you) this/ praier following, and so no spirit shall annoie you, and your purpose shall take effect. ‡And note how this agreeth with popish charmes and conjurations. [† fast *not in Wier*] 394. [‡ This not in Wier]

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the ✠ father ✠ and the sonne ✠ and the Holie-ghost ✠ holie trinitie and unseparable unitie,

I call upon thee, that thou maiest be my salvation and defense, and the protection of my bodie and soule, and of all my goods* through the vertue of thy holie crosse, and through the vertue of thy passion, I beseech thee O Lord Jesus Christ, by the merits of thy blessed mother S. *Marie*, and of all thy saints, that thou give me grace and divine power over all the wicked spirits, so as which of them soever I doo call by name, they may come by and by from everie coast, and accomplish my will, that they neither be hurtfull nor fearefull unto me, but rather obedient and diligent about me. And through thy vertue streightlie commanding them, let them fulfill my commandements, Amen. Holie, holie, holie, Lord God of sabboth, which wilt come to judge the quicke and the dead, thou which art A and Ω, first and last, King of kings and Lord of lords, *Ioth*, *Aglanabrath*, *El*, *Abiel*, *Anathiel*, *Amazim*, *Sedomel*, *Gayes*, *Heli*, *Messias*, *Tolimi*, *Elias*, *Ischiros*, *Athanatos*, *Imas*. By these thy holie names, and by all other I doo call upon thee, and beseech thee O Lord Jesus Christ, by thy nativitie and baptisme, by thy crosse and passion, by thine ascension, and by the comming of the Holie-ghost, by the bitternesse of thy soule when it departed from thy bodie, by thy five wounds, by the bloud and water which went out of thy bodie, by thy vertue, by the sacrament which thou gavest thy disciples the daie before thou sufferedst, by the holie trinitie, and by the inseparable unitie, by blessed *Marie* thy mother, by thine angels, archangels, prophets, patriarchs, and by all thy saints, and by all the sacraments which are made in thine honour, I doo worship and beseech thee, I blesse and desire thee, to accept these praiers, conjurations, and words of my mouth, which I will use. I require thee O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou give me thy vertue & power over all thine angels (which were throwne downe from heaven to deceive mankind) to drawe them to me, to tie and bind them, & also to loose them, to gather them togither before me, & to command them to doo all that they can, and that by no meanes they con/temne my voice, or the words of my mouth ;/ but that they obeie me and my saiengs, and feare me. I beseech thee by thine humanitie, mercie and grace, and I require thee *Adonay*, *Amay*, *Horta*, *Vege*† *dora*, *Mitai*, *Hel*, *Suranat*, *Ysion*, *Ysesy*,‡ and by all thy holie names, and by all thine holie he saints and she saints, by all thine angels and archangels, powers, dominations, and vertues, and by that name that *Salomon* did bind the divels, and shut them up, *Elhrach*,§ ‖*Ebanher*, *Agle*, *Goth*, *Ioth*, *Othie*, *Venoch*, *Nabrat*, and by all thine holie names which are written in this booke, and by the vertue of them all, that thou enable me to congregate all thy spirits throwne downe from heaven, that they may give me a true answer of all my demands, and that they satisfie all my requests, without the hurt of

[* goods. Through, *Wier*]

Note what names are attributed unto Christ by the conjuror in this his exorcising exercise.

395. 279.

[† *Vigedara*, Wier]

[‡ *Ysyesy*, Wier]

[§ *Elhroch*, Wier]

[‖ *eban her*, Wier]

What wonderfull force conjurors doo

my bodie or soule, or any thing else that is mine, through our Lord Jesus Christ thy sonne, which liveth and reigneth with thee in the unitie of the Holie-ghost, one God world without end.

beleeve cõsisteth in these forged names of Christ.

Oh father omnipotent, oh wise sonne, oh Holie-ghost, the searcher of harts, oh you three in persons, one true godhead in substance, which didst spare *Adam* and *Eve* in their sins; and oh thou sonne, which diedst for their sinnes a most filthie death, susteining it upon the holie crosse; oh thou most mercifull, when I flie unto thy mercie, and beseech thee by all the means I can, by these the holie names of thy sonne; to wit, A and Ω, and all other his names, grant me thy vertue and power, that I may be able to cite before me, thy spirits which were throwne downe from heaven, & that they may speake with me, & dispatch by & by without delaie, & with a good will, & without the hurt of my bodie, soule, or goods, &c: as is conteined in the booke called *Annulus Salomonis.*

Oh great and eternall vertue of the highest, which through disposition, these being called to judgement, **Vaicheon*, *Stimulamaton*, *Esphares*, *Tetragrammaton*, *Olioram*, †*Cryon*, *Esytion*, *Existion*, *Eriona*, *Onela*, *Brasim*, *Noym*, *Messias*, *Soter*, *Emanuel*, *Sabboth*, *Adonay*, I worship thee, I invocate thee, I ‡imploie thee with all the strength of my mind, that by thee, my present praiers, consecrations, and conjurations be hallowed: and whersoever wicked spirits are called, in the vertue of thy names, they may come togither from everie coast, and diligentlie fulfill the will of me the exorcist. §*Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*/

[* Rom.]

[† *irion*, Wier]

[‡ implore, *Wier*]

[§ *Ital.*]

The fift Chapter. 396.

A confutation of the manifold vanities conteined in the precedent chapters, speciallie of commanding of divels.

HE that can be persuaded that these things are true, or wrought indeed according to the assertion of couseners, or according to the supposition of witchmongers & papists, may soone be brought to beleeve that the moone is made of greene cheese. You see in this which is called *Salomons* conjuration, there is a perfect inventarie registred of the number of divels, of their names, of their offices, of their personages, of their qualities, of their powers, of their properties, of their kingdomes,/ of their governments, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their subjection, of their submission, and of the waies to bind or loose them; with a note what wealth, learning, office, commoditie, pleasure, &c: they can

280.

This is contrarie to the scrip-

ture, which saith that everie good gift commeth from the father of light, &c.

give, and may be forced to yeeld in spight of their harts, to such (forsooth) as are cunning in this art : of whome yet was never seene any rich man, or at least that gained any thing that waie ; or any unlearned man, that became learned by that meanes ; or any happie man, that could with the helpe of this art either deliver himselfe, or his freends, from adversitie, or adde unto his estate any point of felicitie: yet these men, in all worldlie happinesse, must needs exceed all others ; if such things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed. For if they may learne of *Marbas*, all secrets, and to cure all diseases ; and of *Furcas*, wisdome, and to be cunning in all mechanicall arts ; and to change anie mans shape, of *Zepar* : if *Bune* can make them rich and eloquent, if *Beroth* can tell them of all things, present, past, and to come ; if *Asmodaie* can make them go invisible and shew them all hidden treasure ; if *Salmacke* will afflict whom they list, & *Allocer* can procure them the love of any woman ; if *Amy* can provide them excellent familiars, if *Caym* can make them understand the voice of all birds and beasts, and *Buer* and *Bifrons* can make them live long ; and finallie, if *Orias*/ could procure unto them great friends, and reconcile their enimies, & they in the end had all these at commandement ; should they not live in all worldlie honor and felicitie? whereas contrariwise they lead their lives in all obloquie, miserie, and beggerie, and in fine come to the gallowes ; as though they had chosen unto themselves the spirit *Valefer*, who they saie bringeth all them with whom he entreth into familiaritie, to no better end than the gibet or gallowes. But before I proceed further to the confutation of this stuffe, I will shew other conjurations, devised more latelie, and of more authoritie ; wherein you shall see how fooles are trained to beleeve these absurdities, being woone by little and little to such credulitie. For the author heereof beginneth, as though all the cunning of conjurors were derived and fetcht from the planetarie motions, and true course of the stars, celestiall bodies, &c./

A breviarie of the inventarie of spirits.

397.

The authors further purpose in the detection of cõjuring.

The vi. Chapter. 281.

The names of the planets, their characters, togither with the twelve signes of the zodiake, their dispositions, aspects, and government, with other observations.

Conjunction Sextile Quadrat	☌ ✱ □	♄ ♃ ♂ ☉ ♀ ☿ ☽. the characters of the Planets. *Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercu. Luna.*
Trine Opposition	△ ☍	*Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercu. Luna.*

The twelve signes of the zodiake, their characters and denominations, &c.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
Aries	*Taurus*	*Gemini*	*Cancer*	*Leo*	*Virgo*

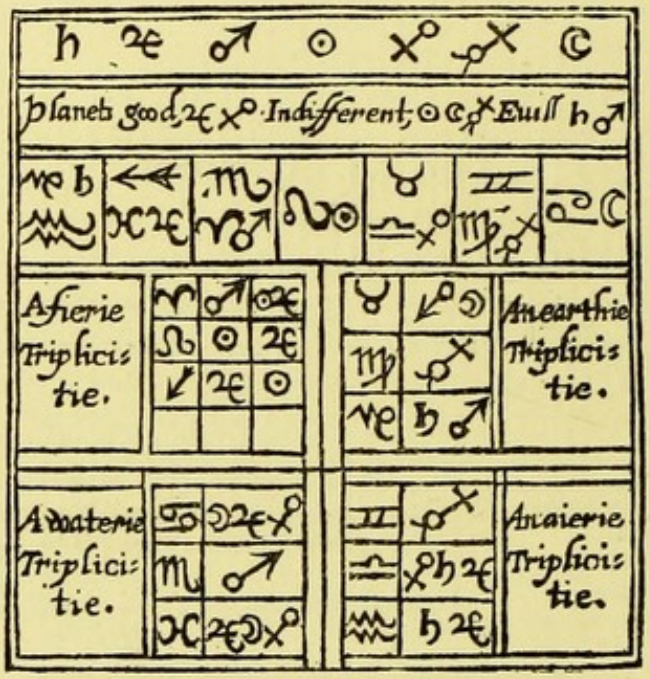
♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Libra	*Scorpio*	*Sagittarius*	*Capricornus*	*Aquarius*	*Pisces.*

Their dispositions or inclinations.

♈ ♋ ♉ ♓ ♐	Good signes.		♎ ♏ ♑ ♒ ♊	Evill signes.		♒ ♏ ♋ ♓ ♍	Signes indifferent.		

♈ ♎ ♐ Very good signes. ♑ ♊ ♌ ♉ Very evill signes.

398. **282.** *The disposition of the planets.*



The aspects of the planets.

The five planetarie aspects: Conjunct. Sextil. Trine. Quartil. Opposit.

☌ Is the best aspect, with good planets, and woorst with evill.
✶ Is a meane aspect in goodnesse or badnesse.
△ Is verie good in aspect to good planets, & hurteth not in evill.
□ This aspect is of enimitie not full perfect.
☍ This aspect is of enimitie most perfect.

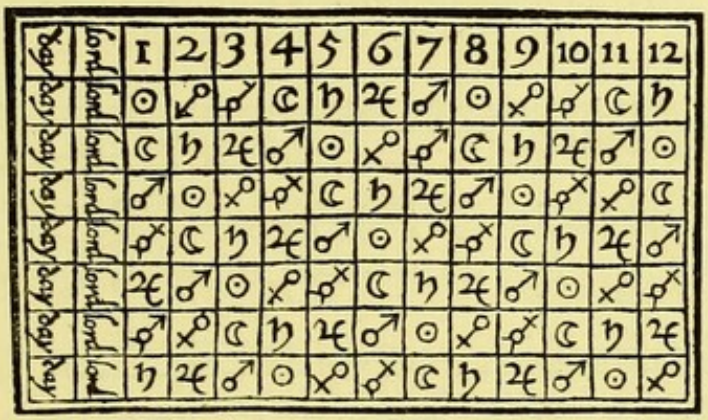
How the daie is divided or distinguished.

A daie naturall is the space of foure and twentie houres, accounting the night withall, and beginneth at one of the clocke after midnight.

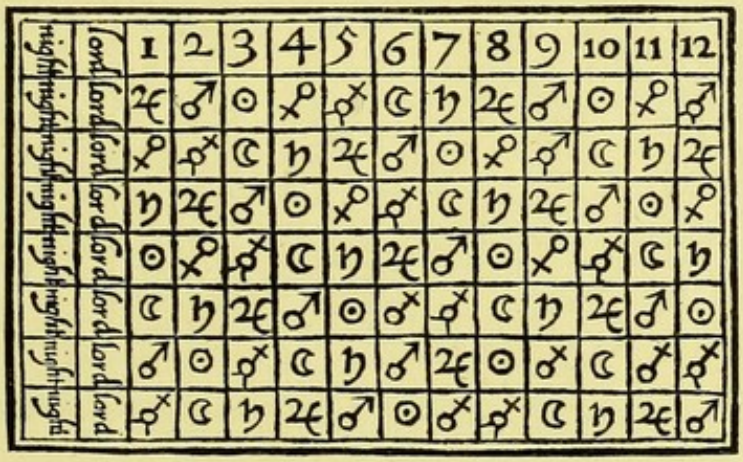
An artificiall daie is that space of time, which is betwixt the rising and falling of the ☉ &c. All the rest is night, & beginneth at the ☉ rising.

Hereafter followeth a table, showing how the daie and the night is divided by houres, and reduced to the regiment of the planets.//

The division of the daie, and the planetarie regiment. *399.* **283.**



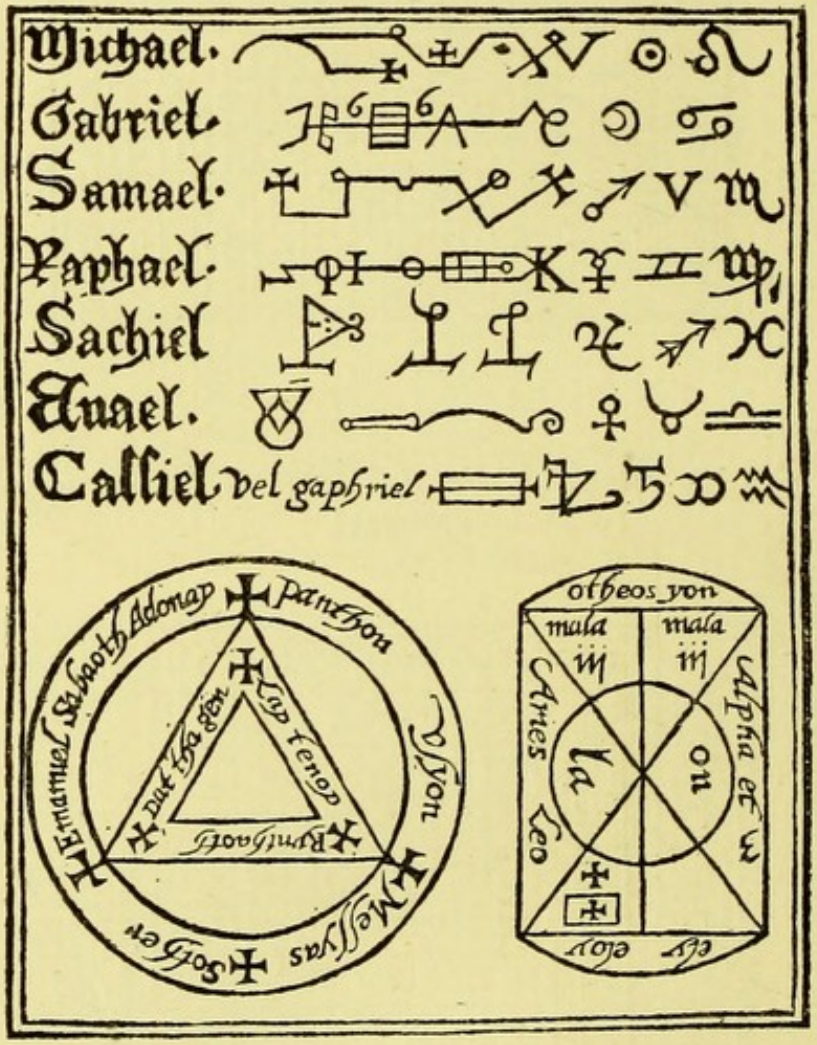
The division of the night, and the planetarie regiment.



400. 284.

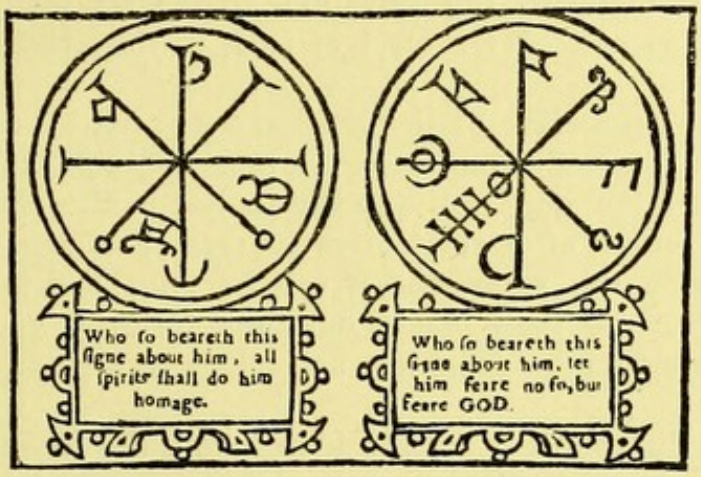
The seventh Chapter.

The characters of the angels of the seaven daies, with their names: of figures, seales and periapts.



[1st ed. *ve*]

These figures are called the seales of the earth, without the which no spirit will appeere, except thou have them with thee.



401. **285.**

[fo = foe]

The eight Chapter.

An experiment of the dead.

FIRST fast and praie three daies, and absteine thee from all filthinesse ; go to one that is new buried, such a one as killed himselfe or destroied himselfe wilfullie : or else get thee promise of one that shalbe hanged, and let him sweare an oth to thee, after his bodie is dead, that his spirit shall come to thee, and doo thee true service, at thy commandements, in all daies, houres, and minuts. And let no persons see thy doings, but thy *fellow. And about eleven a clocke in the night, go to the place where he was buried, and saie with a bold faith & hartie desire, to have the spirit come that thou doost call for, thy fellow having a candle in his left hand, and in his right hand a christall stone, and saie these words following, the maister having a hazell wand in his right hand, and these names of God written thereupon, †*Tetragrammaton* ✠| *Adonay* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Craton* ✠ Then strike three strokes on the ground, and saie ; Arise *N.* Arise *N.* Arise *N.* I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the resurrection of our Lord Jesu Christ, that thou doo obey to my words, and come unto me this night verelie and trulie, as thou beleevest to be saved at the daie of judgement. And I will sweare to thee an oth, by the perill of my soule, that if thou wilt come to me, and appeare to me this night, and shew me true visions in this christall stone, and fetch me the fairie *Sibylia*, that I may talke with hir visiblie, and she may come before me, as the conjuration leadeth : and in so dooing, I will give thee an/

Conjuring for a dead spirit.

* For the cousenor (the conjuror I should saie) can do nothing to any purpose without his cō-federate.

[† Rom.] *402.* Note that numerus ternarius, which is counted mysticall, be observed.

Ex inferno nulla redemptio, saith the scripture: *Ergo* you lie quoth Nota.

286. almesse deed, and praie for thee *N.* to my Lord God, wherby thou maiest be restored to thy salvation at the resurrection daie, to be received as one of the elect of God, to the everlasting glorie, Amen.

The maister standing at the head of the grave, his fellow having in his hands the candle and the stone, must begin the conjuration as followeth, and the spirit will appeare to you in the christall stone, in a faire forme of a child of twelve yeares of age. And when he is in, feele the stone, and it will be hot; and feare nothing, for he or shee will shew manie delusions, to drive you from your worke. Feare God, but feare him not. This is to constraine him, as followeth.

I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the living God, the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers which have created both thee and me, and all the world. I conjure thee *N.* by these holie names of God, **Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *Algramay* ✠ *Saday* ✠ *Sabaoth* ✠ *Planaboth* ✠ *Panthon* ✠ *Craton* ✠ *Neupmaton* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *Homo* ✠ *Omnipotens* ✠ *Sempiturnus* ✠ *Ysus* ✠ *Terra* ✠ *Unigenitus* ✠ *Salvator* ✠ *Via* ✠ *Vita* ✠ *Manus* ✠ *Fons* ✠ *Origo* ✠ *Filius* ✠ And by their vertues and powers, and by all their names, by the which God gave power to man, both to speake or thinke; so by their vertues and powers I conjure thee spirit *N.* that now immediatlie thou doo appeare in this christall stone, visiblie to me and to my fellow, without anie tarrieng or deceipt. I conjure thee N. by the excellent name of Jesus Christ A and Ω. the first and the last. For this holie name of Jesus is above all names: for in this name of Jesus

[* Rom.]

403. everie knee dooth bow and obeie, both of heavenlie/ things, earthlie things, and infernall. And everie toong doth confesse, that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glorie of the father: neither is there anie other name given to man, whereby he must be saved. Therefore in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and by his nativitie, resurrection, and ascension, and by all that apperteineth unto his passion, and by their vertues and powers I conjure thee spirit *N.* that thou doo appeare visiblie in this christall stone to me, and to my fellow, without anie dissimulation. I conjure thee *N.* by the bloud of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, which was shed for us upon the crosse: for all those that* doo beleeve in the vertue of his bloud, shalbe saved. I conjure thee *N.* by the vertues and powers of all the riall names and words of the living God of me pronounced, that thou be obedient unto me and to my words rehearsed. If thou refuse this to doo, I by the holie trinitie, and their vertues and powers doo condemne thee thou spirit *N.* into the place where there is no hope of

* *Dæmones credendo contremiscunt.*

remedie or rest, but everlasting horror and paine there dwelling, and a place where is paine upon paine, dailie, horriblie, and lamentablie, thy paine to be there augmented as the starres in the heaven, and as the gravell or sand in the sea : except thou spirit *N.* doo appeare to me and to my fellow visiblie, immediatlie in this christall stone, and in a faire forme and shape of a child of twelve yeares of age, and that thou alter not thy shape, I charge thee upon paine of everlasting condemnation. I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord/ Jesus Christ : so thou spirit *N.* be thou bound into the perpetuall paines of hell fier, for thy disobedience and unreverent regard, that thou hast to the holie names and words, and his precepts. I conjure thee *N.* by the two edged sword, which *John* sawe proceed out of the mouth of the almightie ; and so thou spirit *N.* be torne and* cut in peeces with that sword, and to be condemned into everlasting paine, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not. I conjure thee *N.* by the heavens, and by the celestiall citie of *Jerusalem*, and by the earth and the sea, and by all things conteined in them, and by their vertues & powers. I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the obedience that thou doost owe unto the principall prince. And except thou spirit *N.* doo come and appeare in this christall stone visiblie in my presence, here imme/diatlie as it is aforesaid. Let the great cursse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of death, and of eternall condemnation be upon thee spirit *N.* for ever and ever ; bicause thou hast denied thy faith, thy health, & salvation. For thy great disobedience, thou art worthie to be condemned. Therefore let the divine trinitie, thrones, dominions, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of saints, both of men and women, condemne thee for ever, and be a witnesse against thee at the daie of judgement, bicause of thy disobedience. And let all creatures of our Lord Jesus Christ, saie thereunto ; *Fiat, fiat, fiat :* Amen.

A heavie sentence denounced of the conjuror against the spirit in case of disobedience, contempt, or negligence.

287.

[*] How can that be, when a spirit hath neither flesh, bloud, nor bones ?

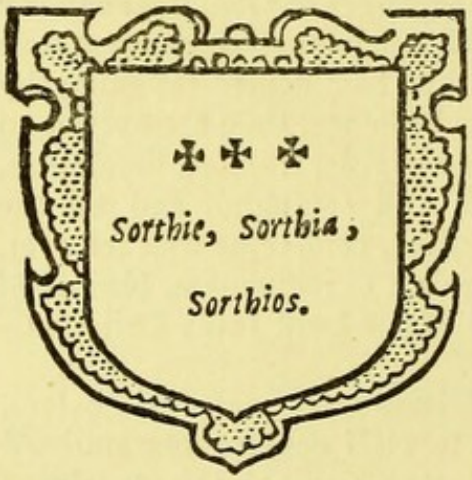
404.

And when he is appeared in the christall stone, as is said before, bind him with this bond as followeth ; to wit, I conjure thee spirit *N.* that art appeared to me in this christall stone, to me and to my fellow ; I conjure thee by* all the riall words aforesaid, the which did constraine thee to appeare therein, and their vertues ; I charge thee spirit by them all, that thou shalt not depart out of this christall stone, untill my will being fulfilled, thou be licenced to depart. I conjure and bind thee spirit *N.* by that omnipotent God, which commanded the angell S. *Michael* to drive *Lucifer* out of the heavens with a sword of vengeance, and to fall from joy to paine ; and for dread of such paine as he is in, I charge thee spirit *N.* that thou shalt not go out of the christall stone ; nor yet to alter thy shape at this time,

* The conjuror imputeth the appearing of a spirit by constraint unto words quoth Nota.

except I command thee otherwise ; but to come unto me at all places, and in all houres and minuts, when and wheresoever I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, or by anie conjuration of words that is written in this booke, and to shew me and my freends true visions in this christall stone, of anie thing or things that we would see, at anie time or times : and also to go and to fetch me the fairie *Sibylia*, that I may talke with hir in all kind of talke, as I shall call hir by anie conjuration of words conteined in this booke. I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the great wisedome and divinitie of his godhead, my will to fulfill, as is aforesaid : I charge thee upon paine of condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come, *Fiat, fiat, fiat :* Amen.

This done, go to a place fast by, and in a faire parlor or chamber,
405. make a circle with chalke, as hereafter followeth : and make/ another circle for the fairie *Sibylia* to appeare in, foure foote from the circle thou art in, & make no names therein, nor cast anie holie thing there-
288. in, but/ make a circle round with chalke ; & let the maister and his fellowe sit downe in the first circle, the maister having the booke in his hand, his fellow having the christall stone in his right hand, looking in the stone when the fairie dooth appeare. The maister also must have upon his brest this figure here written in parchment,



and beginne to worke in the new of the ☽ and in the houre of ♃ the ☉ and the ☽ to be in one of inhabiters signes, as ♋ ♐ ♓. This bond as followeth, is to cause the spirit in the christall stone, to fetch unto thee the fairie *Sibylia*. All things fulfilled, beginne this bond as followeth, and be bold, for doubtles they will come before thee, before the conjuration be read seven times.

I conjure thee spirit *N.* in this christall stone, by God the father, by God the sonne Jesus Christ, and by God the Holie-ghost, three persons and one God, and by their vertues. I conjure thee spirit, that thou doo go in peace, and also to come againe to me quicklie, and to bring with thee into that circle appointed, *Sibylia* fairie, that I may talke with hir in those matters that shall be to hir honour and glorie ; and so I charge thee declare unto hir. I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the bloud of the innocent lambe, the which redeemed all the world ; by the vertue thereof I charge thee thou spirit in the christall stone, that thou doo declare unto hir this message. Also I conjure thee spirit

And whie might not he doo it himselfe, as well as madam *Sibylia*.

N. by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure the *N.* that thou doo depart with speed, and also to come againe with speed, and to bring with thee the fairie *Sibylia*, to appeare in that circle, before I doo read the conjuration in this booke seven times. Thus I charge thee my will to be fulfilled, upon paine of everlasting condemnation: *Fiat, fiat, fiat;* Amen.

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brest, rehearse the words therein, and saie, ✠ *Sorthie* ✠ *Sorthia* ✠ *Sorthios* ✠ then beginne your conjuration as followeth here, and saie; I/ conjure thee *Sibylia*, O gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercie of the Holie-ghost, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by their vertues and powers; I conjure thee *Sibylia*, O gentle virgine of fairies, and by all the angels of ♃ and their characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of ♃ and ♀ and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters that be in the firmament, and by the king and queene of fairies, and their vertues, and by the faith and obedience that thou bearest unto them. I conjure thee *Sibylia* by the bloud that ranne out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the opening of heaven, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darkenes of the sunne in the time of his death, and by the rising up of the dead in the time of his resurrection, and by the virgine *Marie*/ mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the unspeakable name of God, *Tetragrammaton.* I conjure thee O *Sibylia*, O blessed and beautifull virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid; I conjure thee *Sibylia* by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the forme and shape of a beautifull woman in a bright and vesture white, adorned and garnished most faire, and to appeare to me quicklie without deceipt or tarrieng, and that thou faile not to fulfill my will & desire effectuallie. For I will choose thee to be my blessed virgine, & will have common copulation with thee. Therfore make hast & speed to come unto me, and to appeare as I said before: to whome be honour and glorie for ever and ever, Amen.

406. The fairie Sibylia conjured to appeare, &c.

289.

The which doone and ended, if shee come not, repeate the conjuration till they doo come: for doubtles they will come. And when she is appeared, take your censers, and incense hir with frankincense, then bind hir with the bond as followeth. ¶ I doo conjure thee *Sibylia*, by God the Father, God the sonne, and God the Holie-ghost, three persons and one God, and by the blessed virgine *Marie* mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by all the whole and holie companie of heaven, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principates,

The maner of binding the fairie Sibylia at hir appearing.

potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I conjure thee, and bind thee *Sibylia*, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeared, nor yet to alter thy shape, except I give thee licence to depart. I conjure thee *Sibylia*
407. by the bloud that ranne out of the side/ of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I conjure thee *Sibylia* to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visiblie, as the conjuration of words leadeth, written in this booke. I conjure thee *Sibylia*, O blessed virgine of fairies, by the opening of heaven, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darknes of the sunne at the time of his death, and by the rising of the dead in the time of his glorious resurrection, and by the unspeakable name of God ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ and by the king and queene of fairies, & by their vertues I conjure thee *Sibylia* to appeare, before the conjuration be read over foure times, and that visiblie to appeare, as the conjuration leadeth written in this booke, and to give me good counsell at all times, and to come by treasures hidden in the earth, and all other things that is to doo me pleasure, and to fulfill my will, without anie deceipt or tarrieng; nor yet that thou shalt have anie power of my bodie or soule, earthlie or ghostlie, nor yet to perish so much of my bodie as one haire of my head. I conjure thee *Sibylia* by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues and powers, I charge and bind thee by the vertue thereof, to be obedient unto me, and to all the words aforesaid, and this bond to stand betweene thee and me, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen./

If all this will not fetch hir up the divell is a knave.

290. ## The ninth Chapter.

A licence for Sibylia to go and come by at all times.

I CONJURE thee *Sibylia*, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt have no powers, in thy going or comming unto me, imagining anie evill in anie maner of waies, in the earth or under the earth, of evill dooings, to anie person or persons. I conjure and command thee *Sibylia* by all the riall words and vertues that be written in this booke, that thou shalt not go to the place from whence thou camest, but shalt remaine peaceablie invisiblie, and looke thou be readie to come unto me, when thou art called by anie conjuration of words that be written in this booke, to come (I saie) at
408. my commandement, and to answer unto me truelie/ and duelie of all

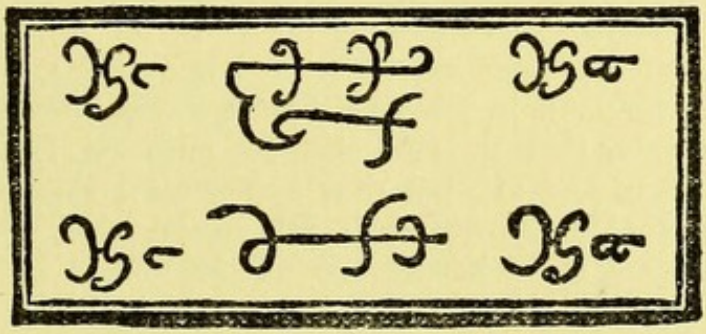
things, my will quicklie to be fulfilled. *Vade in pace, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti.* And the holie ✠ crosse ✠ be betweene thee and me, or betweene us and you, and the lion of *Juda*, the roote of *Jesse*, the kindred of *David*, be betweene thee & me ✠ Christ commeth ✠ Christ commandeth ✠ Christ giveth power ✠ Christ defend me ✠ and his innocent bloud ✠ from all perils of bodie and soule, sleeping or waking: *Fiat, fiat*, Amen.

The tenth Chapter.

To know of treasure hidden in the earth.

WRITE in paper these characters following, on the saturdaie, in the houre of ☽, and laie it where thou thinkest treasure to be: if there be anie, the paper will burne, else not. And these be the characters.

This would be much practised if it were not a cousening knacke.



This is the waie to go invisible by these three sisters of fairies. 291.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holieghost. First go to a faire parlor or chamber, & an even ground, and in no loft, and from people nine daies; for it is the better: and let all thy clothing be cleane and sweete. Then make a candle of virgine waxe, and light it, and make a faire fier of charcoles, in a faire place, in the middle of the parlor or chamber. Then take faire cleane water, that runneth against the east, and set it upon the fier: and *yer thou washest thy selfe, saie these words, going about the fier, three times, holding the candle in the right hand ✠ *Panthon* ✠ *Craton* ✠ *Muriton* ✠ *Bisecognaton* ✠ *Siston* ✠ *Diaton* ✠ *Maton* ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Agarion* ✠ *Tegra* ✠ *Pentessaron* ✠ *Tendicata* ✠ Then reherse these names ✠ *Sorthie* ✠ *Sorthia* ✠ [* = ere.]

409.

Sorthios ✠ *Milia* ✠ *Achilia* ✠ *Sibylia* ✠ *in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti*, Amen. I conjure you three sisters of fairies, *Milia*, *Achilia*, *Sibylia*, by the father, by the sonne, and by the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues and powers, and by the most mercifull and living God, that will command his angell to blowe the trumpe at the daie of judgement; and he shall saie, Come, come, come to judgement; and by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure you three sisters, by the vertue of all the riall words aforesaid: I charge you that you doo appeare before me visiblie, in forme and shape of faire women, in white vestures, and to bring with you to me, the ring of invisibilitie, by the which I may go invisible at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in all houres and minuts: *in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti*, Amen. ❧ Being appeared, saie this bond following.

The three sisters of the fairies, Milia, Achilia, and Sibylia.

O blessed virgins ✠ *Milia* ✠ *Achilia* ✠ I conjure you in the name of the father, in the name of the sonne, and in the name of the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues I charge you to depart from me in peace, for a time. And *Sibylia*, I conjure thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the vertue of his flesh and pretious bloud, that he tooke of our blessed ladie the virgine, and by all the holie companie in heaven: I charge thee *Sibylia*, by all the vertues aforesaid, that thou be obedient unto me, in the name of God; that when, and at what time and place I shall call thee by this foresaid conjuration written in this booke, looke thou be readie to come unto me, at all houres and minuts, and to bring unto me the ring of invisibilitie, whereby I may go invisible at my will and pleasure, and that at all houres and minuts; *Fiat, fiat*, Amen.

The ring of invisibilitie.

And if they come not the first night, then doo the same the second night, and so the third night, untill they doo come: for doubtles they will come, and lie thou in thy bed, in the same parlor or chamber. And laie thy right hand out of the bed, and looke thou have a faire silken kercher bound about thy head, and be not afraid, they will doo thee no harme. For there will come before thee three
410. faire/ women, and all in white clothing; and one of them will put *a
292. ring upon thy finger, wherwith thou shalt go/ invisible. Then with speed bind them with the bond aforesaid. When thou hast this ring on thy finger, looke in a glasse, and thou shalt not see thy selfe. And when thou wilt go invisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and everie new ☽ renew it againe. For after the first time thou shalt ever have it, and ever beginne this worke in the new of the ☽ and in the houre of ♃ and the ☽ in ♋ ♌ ♓.

* Such a ring it was that advanced Giges to the kingdome of Lydia: *Plato. lib. 2 de justo.*

The eleventh Chapter.

*An experiment following, of Citrael, &c : *angeli diei dominici.*

[* These three words *Ital.*]

¶ *Saie first the praiers of the angels everie daie, for the space of seaven daies.*

Michael.	☉
Gabriel.	☽
Samael.	♂
Raphael.	☿
Sachiel.	♃
Anael.	♀
Cassiel.	♄

O Ye glorious angels written in this square, be you my coadjutors & helpers in all questions and demands, in all my busines, and other causes, by him which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier. *O angeli gloriosi in hac quadra scripti, estote coadjutores & auxiliatores in omnibus quæstionibus & interrogationibus, in omnibus negotiis, cæterisque causis, per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & mundum per ignem.*

¶ *Saie this praier fasting, called *Regina linguæ.*

* O queene or governesse of the toong.

✠ *Lemaac* ✠ *solmaac* ✠ *elmay* ✠ *gezagra* ✠ *raamaasin* ✠ *eziérego* ✠ *mial* ✠ *egziephiaz* ✠ *Josamin* ✠ *sabach* ✠ *ha* ✠ *aem* ✠ *re* ✠ *b* ✠ *e* ✠ *sepha* ✠ *sephar* ✠ *ramar* ✠ *semoit* ✠ *lemaio* ✠ *pheralon* ✠ *amic* ✠ *phin* ✠ *gergoin* ✠ *letos* ✠ *Amin* ✠ *amin* ✠.

In the name of the most pitifullest and mercifullest God of Israel and of paradise, of heaven and of earth, of the seas and of/ the *411.* infernalles, by thine omnipotent helpe may performe this worke, which livest and reignest ever one God world without end, Amen.

O most strongest and mightiest God, without beginning or ending, by thy clemencie and knowledge I desire, that my questions, worke, and labour may be fullie and trulie accomplished, through thy worthines, good Lord, which livest and reignest, ever one God, world without end, Amen.

O holie, patient, and mercifull great God, and to be worshipped, the Lord of all wisedome, cleare and just ; I most hartilie desire thy holines and clemencie, to fulfill, performe and accomplish this my whole worke, thorough thy worthines, and blessed power : which livest and reignest, ever one God,

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum,

Amen./

293.

The twelfe Chapter.

How to enclose a spirit in a christall stone.

Observations of clenlinesse, abstinence, and devotion.

THIS operation following, is to have a spirit inclosed into a christall stone or berill glasse, or into anie other like instrument, &c. ¶ First thou in the new of the ☽ being clothed with all new, and fresh, & cleane araie, and shaven, and that day to fast with bread and water, and being cleane confessed, saie the seaven* psalmes, and the letanie, for the space of two daies, with this praier following.

[* penitential]

I desire thee O Lord God, my mercifull and most loving God, the giver of all graces, the giver of all sciences, grant that I thy welbeloved *N.* (although unworthie) may knowe thy grace and power, against all the deceipts and craftines of divels. And grant to me thy power, good Lord, to constraine them by this art: for thou art the true, and livelie, and eternall GOD, which livest and reignest ever one GOD through all worlds, Amen.

An observation touching the use of the five swords.

Thou must doo this five daies, and the sixt daie have in a redines, five bright swords: and in some secret place make one circle, with one of the said swords. And then write this name, *Sitrael*: which doone, standing in the circle, thrust in thy sword into that name. *412.* And write againe *Malanthon*, with another sword; and/ *Thamaor*, with another; and *Falaur*, with another; and *Sitrami*, with another: and doo as ye did with the first. All this done, turne thee to *Sitrael*, and kneeling saie thus, having the christall stone in thine hands.

[† sic]

O Sitrael, *Malantha*,† *Thamaor*, *Falaur*, and *Sitrami*, written in these circles, appointed to this worke, I doo conjure and I doo exorcise you, by the father, by the sonne, and by the Holy-ghost, by him which did cast you out of paradise, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, that all you five infernall maisters and princes doo come unto me, to accomplish and to fulfill all my desire and request, which I shall command you. Also I conjure you divels, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Jesus Christ, the sonne of the most highest God, and by the blessed and glorious virgine *Marie*, and by all the saints, both of men and women of God, and by all the angels, archangels, patriarches, and prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and confessors, virgins, and widowes, and all the elect of God. Also I conjure you, and everie of you, ye infernall kings, by heaven, by the starres, by the ☉ and by the ☽ and by all the planets, by the earth, fier, aier,

A weightie charge of conjuration upon the five K. of the north.

and water, and by the terrestriall paradise, and by all things in them conteined, and by your hell, and by all the divels in it, and dwelling about it, and by your vertue and power, and by all whatsoever, and with whatsoever it be, which maie constreine and bind you. Therefore by all these foresaid vertues and powers, I doo bind you and constreine you into my will and power ; that you being thus bound, may/ come unto me in great humilitie, and to appeare in your circles before me visiblie, in faire forme and shape of mankind kings, and to obeie unto me in all things, whatsoever I shall desire, and that you may not depart from me without my licence. And if you doo against my precepts, I will promise unto you that you shall descend into the profound deepenesse of the sea, except that you doo obeie unto me, in the part of the living sonne of God, which liveth and reigneth in the unitie of the Holie-ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen. 294. A penaltie for not appearing, &c.

Saie this true conjuration five courses, and then shalt thou see come out of the northpart five kings, with a marvelous com/panie : which when they are come to the circle, they will allight downe off from their horsses, and will kneele downe before thee, saieng : Maister, command us what thou wilt, and we will out of hand be obedient unto thee. Unto whome thou shall saie ; See that ye depart not from me, without my licence ; and that which I will command you to doo, let it be done trulie, surelie, faithfullie and essentiallie. And then they all will sweare unto thee to doo all thy will. And after they have sworne, saie the conjuration immediatlie following. *413.*

I conjure, charge, and command you, and everie of you, **Sirrael*, †*Malanthan*, *Thamaor*, *Falaur*, and *Sitrami*, you infernall kings, to put into this christall stone one spirit learned and expert in all arts and sciences, by the vertue of this name of God *Tetragrammaton*, and by the crosse of our Lord Jesu Christ, and by the bloud of the innocent lambe, which redeemed all the world, and by all their vertues & powers I charge you, ye noble kings, that the said spirit may teach, shew, and declare unto me, and to my freends, at all houres and minuts, both night and daie, the truth of all things, both bodilie and ghostlie, in this world, whatsoever I shall request or desire, declaring also to me my verie name. And this I command in your part to doo, and to obeie thereunto, as unto your owne lord and maister. That done, they will call a certeine spirit, whom they will command to enter into the centre of the circled or round christall. Then put the christall betweene the two circles, and thou shalt see the christall made blacke. [* Sitrael,] The five spirits of the north : as you shall see in the type expressed in pag. 414. next folowing. [† A third variation]

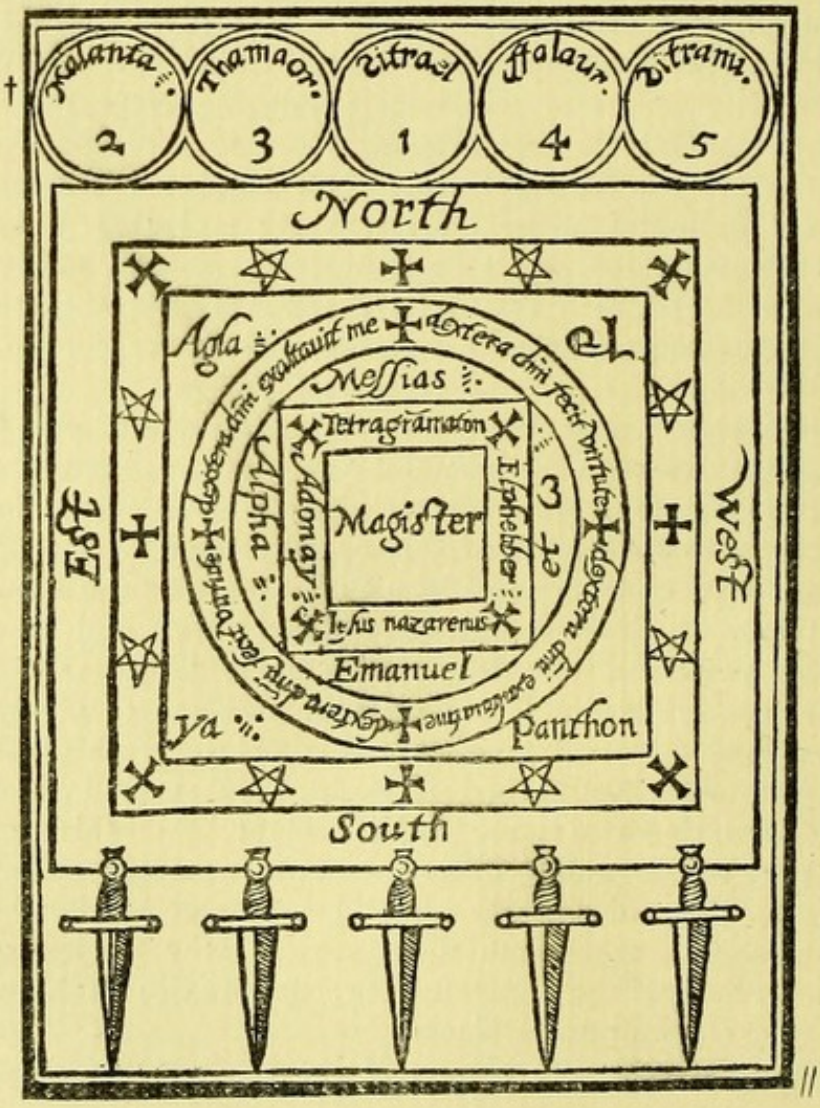
Then command them to command the spirit in the christall, not

to depart out of the stone, till thou give him licence, & to fulfill thy will for ever. That done, thou shalt see them go upon the christall, both to answer your requests, & to tarrie your licence. That doone, the spirits will crave licence : and *say ; Go ye to your place appointed of almightie God, in the name of the father, &c. And then take up thy christall, and looke therein, asking what thou wilt, and it will shew it unto thee. Let all your circles be nine foote everie waie, & made as followeth. Worke this worke in ♋ ♏ or ♓ in the houre of the ☽ or ♃. And when the spirit is inclosed, if thou feare him, bind him with some bond, in such sort as is elsewhere expressed alreadie in this our treatise.//

[* *i.e.* do thou]

414. 295. *A figure or type proportionall, shewing what forme must be observed and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in christall is to be accomplished, &c.*

[† A 4th variation]



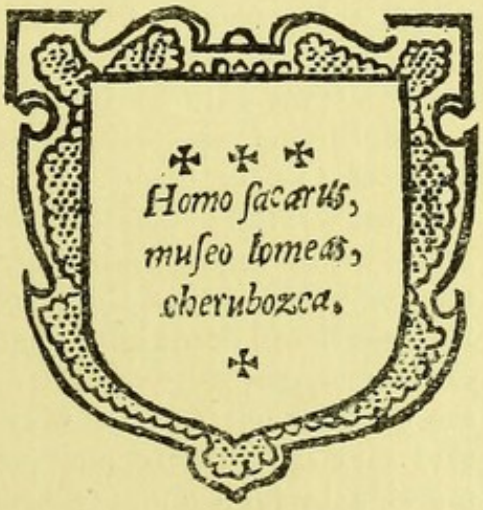
The names written within the five circles doo signifie the five infernall kings: *See* pag. 411. 412. 413.

The xiii. Chapter. *415.* 296.

An experiment of Bealphares.

THIS is proved the noblest carrier that ever did serve anie man upon the earth, & here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit, & how to have a true answer of him, without anie craft or harme; and he will appeare unto thee in the likenesse of a faire man, or faire woman, the which spirit will come to thee at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee: or if thou wilt go from one countrie to another, he will beare thee without anie harme of bodie or soule. Therefore * he that will doo this worke, shall absteine from lecherousnes and dronkennesse, and from false swearing, and doo all the abstinence that he may doo; and namelie three daies before he go to worke, and in the third daie, when the night is come, and when the starres doo shine, and the element faire and cleare, he shall bath himselfe and his fellowes (if he have anie) all together in a quicke welspring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white cloathes, and he must have another privie place, and beare with him inke and pen, wherewith he shall write this holy name of God almightie in his right hand ✢ *Agla* ✢ & in his left hand this name ✢ ♊ ♋ ♍ ♋ ✢ And he must have a drie thong of a lions or of a harts skin, and make thereof a girdle, and write the holie names of God all about, and in the end ✢ A and Ω ✢ And upon his brest he must have this present figure or marke written in virgine parchment, as it is here shewed. And it must be sowed upon a peece of new linnen, and so made fast upon thy brest. And if thou wilt have a fellow to worke with thee, he must be appointed in the same maner. You must have also a bright knife that was never occupied, and he must write on the one side of the blade of the knife ✢ *Agla* ✢ and on the other side of the knifes blade ✢ ♊ ♋ ♍ ♋ ✢ And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called *Salomons*

* Memorandum with what vices the cousenor (the conjuror I should saie) must not be polluted: therfore he must be no knave, &c.



The conjurors brest-plate.

416.

Salomons circle.

circle. When that he is made, go into the circle, and close againe the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and saie ; *Per crucis hoc signum* ✠ *fugiat procul omne malignum ; Et per idem signum* ✠ *salvetur quodque benignum*,* and make suffumigations to thy selfe, and to thy fellowe or fellowes, with frankincense, mastike, *lignum aloes :* then put it in wine, and saie with good devotion,/ in the worship of the high God almightie, all together, that he may defend you from all evils. And when he that is maister will close the spirit, he shall saie towards the east, with meeke and devout devotion, these psalmes and praiers as followeth here in order.

[* translated in 2 ed, see note]

†299. † so & onwards]

¶ *The two and twentieth psalme.*

O My God my God, looke upon me, whie hast thou forsaken me, and art so farre from my health, and from the words of my complaint ? ¶ And so foorth to the end of the same psalme, as it is to be founde in the booke.

Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51 psalms all over : or else rehearse them by hart : for these are counted necessarie, &c.

This psalme also following, being the fiftie one psalme, must be said three times over, &c.

HAve mercie upon me, O God, after thy great goodnes, according to the multitude of thy mercies, doo awaie mine offenses. ¶ And so foorth to the end of the same psalme, concluding it with, Glorie to the Father and to the Sonne, and to the Holie-ghost, As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen. Then saie this verse : O Lord leave not my soule with the wicked ; nor my life with the bloudthirstie. Then saie a *Pater noster* an *Ave Maria*, and a *Credo*, *&* *ne nos inducas.* O Lord shew us thy mercie, and we shall be saved. Lord heare our praier, and let our crie come unto thee. Let us praie.

O Lord God almightie, as thou warnedst by thine angell, the three kings of *Cullen*, *Jasper*, *Melchior*, and *Balthasar*, when they came with worshipfull presents towards *Bethleem* : *Jasper* brought myrrh ; *Melchior*, incense ; *Balthasar*, gold ; worshipping the high king of all the world, Jesus Gods sonne of hea/ven, the second person in ‡trinitie, being borne of the holie and cleane virgine S. *Marie*, queene of heaven, empresse of hell, and ladie of all the world : at that time the holie angell *Gabriel* warned and bad the foresaid three kings, that they should take another waie, for dread of perill, that *Herod* the king by his ordinance would have destroied these *three noble kings, that meekelie sought out our Lord and saviour. As wittilie

417. [‡ ? the]

*Gaspar, Ba th[a]sar

and truelie as these three kings turned for dread, and tooke another waie : so wiselie and so truelie, O Lord GOD, of thy mightifull mercie, blesse us now at this time, for thy blessed passion save us, and keepe us all together from all evill ; and thy holie angell defend us. Let us praie.

and Melchior, who followed the starre, wherin was ye image of a litle babe bearing a crosse : if *Longa legẽda Coloniæ* lie not.

O Lord, king of all kings, which conteinest the throne of heavens, and beholdest all deepes, weighest the hilles, and shuttest up with thy hand the earth ; heare us, most meekest GOD, and grant unto us (being unworthie) according to thy great mercie, to have the veritie and vertue of knowledge of hidden treasures by this spirit invocated, through thy helpe O Lord Jesus Christ, to whome be all honour and glorie, from worlds to worlds everlastinglie, Amen. Then saie these names ✠ *Helie* ✠ *helyon* ✠ *esseiere** ✠ *Deus æternus* ✠ *eloy* ✠ *clemens* ✠ *heloye* ✠ *Deus sanctus* ✠ *sabaoth* ✠ *Deus exercituum* ✠ *adonay* ✠ *Deus mirabilis* ✠ *iao* ✠ *verax* ✠ *anepheneton* ✠ *Deus ineffabilis* ✠ *so|doy* ✠ *dominator dominus* ✠ *ôn fortissimus* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *qui*, the which wouldest be praied unto of sinners : receive (we beseech thee) these sacrifices of praise, and our meeke praiers, which we unworthie doo offer unto thy divine majestie. Deliver us, and have mercie upon us, and prevent with thy holie spirit this worke, and with thy blessed helpe to followe after ; that this our worke begunne of thee, may be ended by thy mightie power, Amen. Then saie this anon after ✠ *Homo* ✠ *sacarus* ✠ *museolameas*† ✠ *cherubozca* ✠ being the figure upon thy brest aforesaid, the girdle about thee, the circle made, blesse the circle with holie water, and sit downe in the middest, and read this conjuration as followeth, sitting backe to backe at the first time.

[* 1° jere. 2nd ed.]

300.

[† Two words, and lomeas in engr.]

I exorcise and conjure Bealphares, the practiser and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heavens and of earth, and by his vertue, and by his unspeakable name *Tetragrammaton*, and by all/ the holie sacraments, and by the holie majestie and deitie of the living God. I conjure and exorcise thee *Bealphares* by the vertue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your maister, that you doo come unto us, in faire forme of man or womankind, here visiblie, before this circle, and not terrible by anie manner of waies. This *circle being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull goodnes of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that you doo make answer truelie, without craft or deceipt, unto all my demands and questions, by the vertue and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

418.

* Which must be environed with a goodlie companie of crosses.

The xiiii. Chapter.

To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to lose him againe.

NOW when he is appeared, bind him with these words which followe. ¶ I conjure thee *Bealphares*, by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the Holie-ghost, and by all the holie companie in heaven ; and by their vertues and powers I charge thee *Bealphares*, that thou shalt not depart out of my sight, nor yet to alter thy bodilie shape, that thou art appeared in, nor anie power shalt thou have of our bodies or soules, earthlie or ghostlie, but to be obedient to me, and to the words of my conjuration, that be written in this booke. I conjure thee *Bealphares*, by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure and charge, bind and constreine thee *Bealphares*, by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues, that thou be obedient unto me, and to come and appeare visiblie unto me, and that in * all daies, houres, and minuts, whersoever I be, being called by the vertue of our Lord Jesu Christ, the which words are written in this booke. Looke readie thou be to appeare unto me, and to give me good counsell, how to come by treasures hidden in the earth, or in the water, and how to come to dig/nitie and knowledge of all things, that is to saie, of the magike art, and of grammar, dialectike, rhetorike, arythmetike, musike, geo/metrie, and of astronomie, and in all other things my will quicklie to be fulfilled : I charge thee upon paine of everlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen.

* On sundaies, festivall daies, and holie daies, none excepted.

301.

419.

When he is thus bound, aske him what thing thou wilt, and he will tell thee, and give thee all things that thou wilt request of him, without anie sacrifice dooing to him, and without forsaking thy God, that is, thy maker. And when the spirit hath fulfilled thy will and intent, give him licence to depart as followeth.

He dares doo no other being so conjured I trowe.

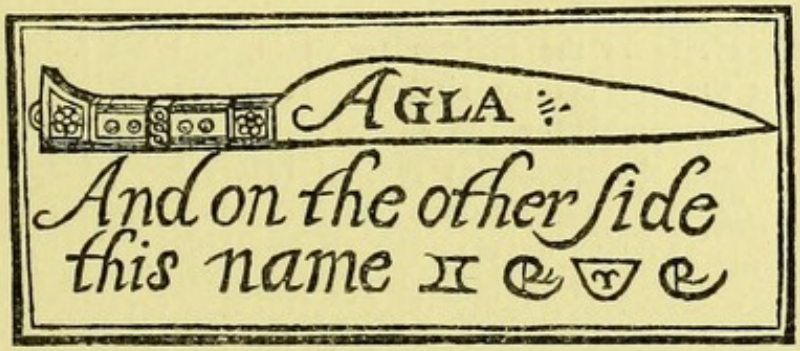
A licence for the spirit to depart.

*GO unto the place predestinated and appointed for thee, where thy Lord GOD hath appointed thee, untill I shall call thee againe. Be thou readie unto me and to my call, as often as I shall call thee, upon paine of everlasting damnation. And if thou wilt, thou maiest recite, two or three times, the last conjuration, untill thou

[* All this par. in much smaller type.]

doo come to this tearme, *In throno.* If he will not depart, and then* say *In throno*, that thou depart from this place, without hurt or damage of anie bodie, or of anie deed to be doone ; that all creatures may knowe, that our Lord is of all power, most mightiest, and that there is none other God but he, which is three, and one, living for ever and ever. And the malediction of God the father omnipotent, the sonne and the holie ghost, descend upon thee, and dwell alwaies with thee, except thou doo depart without damage of us, or of any creature, or anie other evill deed to be doone : & thou to go to the place predestinated. And by our Lord Jesus Christ I doo else send thee to the great pit of hell, except (I saie) that thou depart to the place, whereas thy Lord God hath appointed thee. And see thou be readie to me and to my call, at all times and places, at mine owne will and pleasure, daie or night, without damage or hurt of me, or of anie creature ; upon paine of everlasting damnation : *Fiat, fiat, fiat* ; Amen, Amen. ¶ The peace of Jesus Christ bee betweene us and you ; in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the Holie-ghost : Amen. *Per crucis hoc* ✠ *signum*, &c. Saie *In principio erat verbum, & verbum erat apud Deum* ; In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word : and so forward, as followeth in the first chapter of saint *Johns* Gospell, staieng at these words, Full of grace and truth : to whom be all honour and glorie world without end, Amen.

* [? thou]



The fashion or forme of the conjuring knife, with the names theron to bee graven or written.

420. 302. *A type or figure of the circle for the maister and his fellowes to sit in, shewing how and after what fashion it should be made.*

This is the circle for the maister to sit in, and his fellowe or fellowes, at the first calling, sit backe to backe, when he calleth the spirit ; and for the fairies make this circle with chalke on the ground, as is said before. This spirit *Bealphares* being once called and found, shall never have power to hurt thee.

Call him in the houre of ♃ or ♀ the ☽ increasing.//

The xv. Chapter. *421.* 303.

The making of the holie water.*

EXORCISO† *te creaturam salis, per Deum vivum ✠ per Deum ✠ verum ✠ per Deum sanctum per Deum qui te per Elizæum prophetam in aquam mitti jussit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aquæ, ut efficiaris sal exorcisatus in salutem credentium; ut sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animæ & corporis, & effugiat atque discedat ab eo loco, qui aspersus fuerit omnis phantasia & nequitia, vel versutia diabolicæ fraudis, omnisq; spiritus immundus, adjuratus per eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:*

Absque exorcismo sal non sit sanctus.

[* These Rom.]

[† *Lat. in small Ital.*]

Immensam clementiam tuam, omnipotens ceterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, ut hanc creaturam salis, quam in usum generis humani tribuisti, bene✠dicere & sancti✠ficare tua pietate digneris, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis & corporis, ut quicquid ex eo tactum fuerit, vel respersum, careat omni immundicia, omniq; impugnatione spiritualis nequitiæ, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

To the water saie also as followeth.

EXorciso *te creaturam aquæ in nomine ✠ patris ✠ & Jesu Christi filii ejus Domini nostri, & in virtute spiritus ✠ sancti ✠ ut fias aqua exorcisata, ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimici, & ipsum inimicum eradicare & explantare valeas, cum angelis suis apostatis, per virtutem ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:*

Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quæque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris, & elemento huic multimodis purificationibus præparato, virtutem tuæ bene✠dictionis infunde, ut creatura tua mysteriis tuis serviens, ad abigendos dæmones, morbosq; pellendos, divinæ gratiæ sumat effectum, ut quicquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium hæc unda resperserit, careat omni immundicia, liberetur à noxa, non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens, discedant omnes insidiæ latentis inimici, & si quid est, quod aut incolumitati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersione hujus aquæ effugiat, ut salubritas per invocationem sancti tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit impug-

nationibus defensa, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat, in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen./

304. Then take the salt in thy hand, and saie putting it into the water, making in the maner of a crosse.

Oratio ad Deum ut sali exorcisato vires addat.

Commixtio salis & aquæ pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen. Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo, Oremus: ¶ Deus invictæ virtutis author, & insuperabilis imperii rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui adversæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis sævitiam superas, qui hostiles nequitias potens expugnas; te Domine trementes & supplices deprecamur ac petimus, ut hanc creaturam salis & aquæ aspicias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuæ rore sancti fices, ubicunq; fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus
422. *abjiciatur, terrórq; venenosi serpentis procul pellatur, &*/ *præsentia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubiq; adesse dignetur, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.*

Then sprinkle upon anie thing, and saie as followeth.

Oratio, in qua dicenda, exorcista se se sacri laticis aspergine debes perrorare.

Asperges me Domine hyssopo, & mundabor, lavabis me, & supra nivem dealbabor. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, & supra nivem dealbabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. Et supra nivem dealbabor, asperges me, &c. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam, & salutare tuum da nobis; exaudi nos Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, & mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de cælis, qui custodiat, foveat, visitet, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.

The xvi. Chapter.

To make a spirit to appeare in a christall.

I DOO conjure thee *N.* by the father, and the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, the which is the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of judgement, that thou *N.* doo appeare, in this christall stone, or anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to mee and to my

felow, gentlie and beautifullie, in faire forme of a boy of twelve yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules ; and certeinlie to informe and to shew me, without anie guile or craft, all that we doo desire or demand of thee to know, by the vertue of him, which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen.

Also I conjure and exorcise thee *N.* by the sacrament of the altar, and by the substance therof, by the wisedome of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, & by all things that are above the earth,/ and by their vertues, by the ☉ and the ☽ by ♄ ♃ ♂ and ♀ and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the virgins and widowes, and the chast, and by all saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertues, & by the holie names of God, *Tetragrammaton*, *El*, *Ousion*, *Agla*, and by all the other holie names of God, and by their vertues, by the circumcision, passion, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the heavines of our ladie the virgine, and by the joy which she had/ when she sawe hir sonne rise from death to life, that thou *N.* doo appeare in this christall stone, or in anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my felow, gentlie, and beautifullie, and visiblie, in faire forme of a child of twelve yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules, and trulie to informe and shew unto me & to my felow, without fraud or guile, all things according to thine oth and promise to me, whatsoever I shall demand or desire of thee, without anie hinderance or tarrieng, and this conjuration be read of me three times, upon paine of eternall condemnation, to the last daie of judgement : *Fiat fiat, fiat*, Amen.

Marke how consonant this is with poperie, &c. 305. 423.

And when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of the dead above written : then saie as followeth. ¶ I charge thee *N.* by the father, to shew me true visions in this christall stone, if there be anie treasure hidden in such a place *N.* & wherin it lieth, and how manie foot from this peece of earth, east, west, north, or south.

For hidden treasure.

The xvii. Chapter.

An experiment of the dead.

FIRST go and get of some person that shalbe put to death, a promise, and sweare an oth unto him, that if he will come to thee, after his death, his spirit to be with thee, and to remaine with thee all the daies of thy life, and will doo thee true service, as it is conteined in the oth and promise following. Then laie thy hand on thy booke, and sweare this oth unto him. I *N.* doo sweare and promise to thee *N.* to give for thee an almesse everie moneth, and also to praie for thee once in everie weeke, to saie the Lords praier for thee, and so to continue all the daies of my life, as God me helpe and holie doome, and by the contents of this booke. Amen.

Promises & oths interchangeablie made betweene the conjuror & the spirit.

Then let him make his oth to thee as followeth, and let him saie after thee, laieng his hand upon the booke. ¶ I *N.* doo sweare this oth to thee *N.* by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Jesus Christ, and by his pretious bloud which hath redeemed all the world, by the which bloud I doo trust to be saved at the generall daie of judgment, and by the vertues therof, I *N.* doo sweare this oth to thee *N.* that my spirit that is within my bodie now,/ shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to anie place of rest, but shall come to thee *N.* and be verie well pleased to remaine/ with thee *N.* all the daies of thy life, and so to be bound to thee *N.* and to appeare to thee *N.* in anie christall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so soone as my spirit is departed out of my bodie, streightwaie to be at your commandements, and that in and at all daies, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient unto thee *N.* being called of thee by the vertue of our Lord Jesu Christ, & out of hand to have common talke with thee at all times, and in all houres & minuts, to open and declare to thee *N.* the truth of all things present, past, and to come, and how to worke the magike art, and all other noble sciences, under the throne of God. If I doo not performe this oth and promise to thee *N.* but doo flie from anie part thereof, then to be condemned for ever and ever. Amen.

424.

306.

Note the penaltie of breaking promise with the spirit.

Also I *N.* doo sweare to thee by God the Holie-ghost, and by the great wisedome that is in the divine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by all the holie angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by all their vertues doo I *N.* sweare, and promise thee to be obedient as is

rehearsed. And heere, for a witnesse, doo I *N.* give thee *N.* my right hand, and doo plight thee my faith and troth, as God me helpe and holiedoome. And by the holie contents in this booke doo I *N.* sweare, that my spirit shall be thy true servant, all the daies of thy life, as is before rehearsed. And here for a witnesse, that my spirit shall be obedient to thee *N.* and to those bonds of words that be written in this *N.* before the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thrise ; else to be damned for ever : and thereto saie all faithfull soules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

Then let him sweare this oth *three times, and at everie time kisse the booke, and at everie time make marks to the bond. Then perceiving the time that he will depart, get awaie the people from you, and get or take your stone or glasse, or other thing in your hand, and saie the *Pater noster*, *Ave*, and *Credo*, and this praier as followeth. And in all the time of his departing, rehearse the bonds of words ; and in the end of everie bond, saie oftentimes ; Remember thine oth and promise. And bind him stronglie to thee, and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, rea/ding thy bond 24 times. And everie daie when you doo call him by your other bond, bind him stronglie by the first bond : by the space of 24 daies applie it, & thou shalt be made a man for ever.

* Three times, in reverence (peradventure) of the Trinitie, P. F. S S.

425.

Now the Pater noster, Ave, and Credo must be said, and then the praier immediatlie following.

O God† of *Abraham*, God of *Isaac*, God of *Jacob*, God of *Tobias* ; the which diddest deliver the three children from the hot burning oven, *Sidrac*, *Misac* and *Abdenago*,‡ and *Susanna* from the false crime, and *Daniel* from the lions power : even so O Lord omnipotent, I beseech thee, for thy great mercie sake, to helpe me in these my works, and to deliver me this spirit of *N.* that he may be a true subject to me *N.* all the daies of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this *N.* all the daies of my life./ O glorious God, Father, Sonne, and Holie-ghost, I beseech thee to help me at this time, and to give me power by thine holie name, merits and vertues, wherby I may conjure & constreine this spirit of *N.* that he may be obedient unto me, and may fulfill his oth and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine holines. This grant O Lord God of hosts, as thou art righteous and holy, and as thou art the word, and the word God, the beginning and the end, sitting in the thrones of thine everlasting kingdoms, & in the divinitie of thine everlasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glorie, now and for ever and ever, Amen, Amen.

[† This par. in smaller type.]

[‡ sic]

307.

The xviii. Chapter.

A bond to bind him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.

Note the summe of this obligation or bond.

I *N.* conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* by the living God, by the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constreine the spirit of thee *N.* that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy bodie, to no place of rest, but onelie to take thy resting place with **N.* and with this *N.* all the daies of my life, according to thine oth and promise. I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* by these holie names of God ✢ *Tetragrammaton* ✢ *Adonay* ✢ *Agla* ✢ *Saday* ✢ *Sabaoth* ✢ *planabothe* ✢ *panthon* ✢ *craton* ✢ *neupmaton* ✢ *Deus* ✢ *homo* ✢ *omnipotens* ✢ *sempiternus* ✢ *ysus* ✢ *terra* ✢ *unigenitus* ✢ *salvator* ✢ *via* ✢ *vita* ✢ *manus* ✢ *fons* ✢ *origo* ✢ *filius* ✢ and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* that thou shalt not rest nor remaine in the fier, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in anie privie place of the earth, but
426. onelie with me *N.* and with this *N.* all the/ daies of my life. I charge the spirit of *N.* upon paine of everlasting condemnation, remember thine oth and promise. Also I conjure the spirit of *N.* and constreine thee by the excellent name of Jesus Christ, A and Ω, the first and the last; for this holie name of Jesus is above all names, for *unto it all knees doo bow and obey, both of heavenlie things, earthlie things, and infernalles. Nor is there anie other name given to man, whereby we have anie salvation, but by the name of Jesus. Therefore by the name, and in the name of Jesus of *Nazareth*, and by his nativitie, resurrection and ascension, and by all that apperteineth to his passion, and by their vertues and powers, I doo conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* that thou shalt not take anie resting place in the nor in the ☽ nor in ♄ nor in ♃ nor in ♂ nor in ♀ nor in ☿ nor in anie of the twelve signes, nor in the concavitie of the clouds, nor in anie other privie place, to rest or staie in, but onelie with me *N.* or with this *N.* all the daies of my life. If thou be not obedient unto me, according to thine oth and promise, I *N.* doo condemne the spirit of *N.* into the pit of hell for ever, Amen.

[* *i.e.* me]

* Scripture as well applied of the conjuror, as that of satan in tempting Christ, Matth. 4, 6.

I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* by the bloud of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, the which was shed upon the crosse, for all
308. those that/ doo obeie unto it, and beleeve in it, shall be saved and by the vertue thereof, and by all the aforesaid riall names and words of the living God by mee pronounced, I doo conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* that thou be obedient unto me, according to thine

oth and promise. If thou doo refuse to doo as is aforesaid, I *N.* by the holie trinitie, and by his vertue and power doo comdemne the spirit of *N.* into the place whereas there is no hope of remedie, but everlasting condemnation, and horror, and paine upon paine, dailie, horriblie, & lamentablie the paines there to be augmented, so thicke as the stars in the firmament, and as the gravell sand in the sea: except thou spirit of *N.* obeie me *N.* as is afore rehearsed; else I *N.* doo condemne the spirit of *N.* into the pit of everlasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen. Also I conjure thee, and constreine the spirit of *N.* by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim & seraphim, & by the foure evangelists, *Matthew*, *Marke*, *Luke*, and *John*, and by all things conteined in the old lawe and the new, and by their vertues, and by the twelve apo/stles, and by all patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, innocents, and by all the elect and chosen,* is, and shall be, which followeth the lambe of God; and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* stronglie, to have common talke with me, at all times, and in all daies, nights, houres, and minuts, and to talke in my mother toong plainelie, that I may heare it, and understand it, declaring the truth unto me of all things, according to thine oth and promise; else to be condemned for ever; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

Note what sore penalties the spirit is injoined to suffer for disbedience.

427.

[* ? which *or* that]

Also I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* by the *golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Jesus Christ, so thou spirit of *N.* be thou bound, and cast into the pit of everlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and unreverent regard that thou hast to the holie names and words of God almightie, by me pronounced: *Fiat*, Amen.

* There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was woorth a golden girdle.

Also I conjure, constreine, command, and bind the spirit of *N.* by the two edged sword, which *John* saw proceed out of the mouth of God almightie: except thou be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thee in peeces, and condemne thee into the pit of everlasting paines, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; *Fiat, fiat, fiat,* Amen.

Bugs words.

Also I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* by the throne of the Godhead, and by all the heavens under him, and by the celestiall citie new *Jerusalem*, and by the earth, by the sea, and by all things created and conteined therein, and by their vertues and powers, and by all the infernalles, and by their vertues and powers, and all things conteined therein, and by their vertues and powers, I conjure and constreine the spirit of *N.* that now immediatlie thou be obedient unto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced, according to thine oth and promise: *else let the great cursse of

* Is it possible to be greater

than S. Adelberts cursse? *See in Habar. lib. 12. ca. 17: pag. 263, 264, 265.*

God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of everlasting condemnation be upon thee thou spirit of *N.* for ever and ever, bicause thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and salvation, for 309. thy great disobedience thou are worthie to be con/demned. Therefore let the divine trinitie, angels, and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our 428. Lord Jesus/ Christ, at the generall daie of judgement, condemne the spirit of *N.* for ever and ever, and be a witnesse against thee, bicause of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises, *Fiat, fiat*, Amen.

Being thus bound, he must needs be obedient unto thee, whether he will or no : proove this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your *N.* and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the houre of ♄ to bind or inchant anie thing, and in the houre of ♃ for peace and concord, in the houre of ♂ to marre, to destroie, and to make sicke, in the houre of the ☉ to bind toongs and other bonds of men, in the houre of ♀ to increase love, joy, and good will, in the houre of ☿ to put awaie enimitie or hatred, to know of theft, in the houre of the ☽ for love, goodwill and concord, ♄ lead ♃ tinne ♂ iron ☉ gold ♀ coppar ☿ quicksilver ☽ silver, &c.

The xix. Chapter.

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your christall stone, or glasse, &c.

ALSO I doo conjure thee spirit *N.* by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holie-ghost, A and Ω, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of judgement, of them which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thee spirit *N.* to come to him that holdeth the christall stone in his hand, & to appeare visiblie, as hereafter foloweth. Also I conjure thee spirit *N.* by these holie names of God ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *El* ✠ *Ousion* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Jesus* ✠ *of Nazareth* ✠ and by the vertues thereof, and by his nativitie, death, buriall, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things apperteining unto his passion, and by the *blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Jesu Christ, and by all the joy which shee had when shee saw hir sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers therof I con-

* A popish supplement.

streine thee spirit *N.* to come into the christall stone, & to appeare visiblie, as herafter shalbe declared. Also I conjure thee *N.* thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by the ☉ ☽ ♄ ♃ ♂ ♀ ☿, and by the twelve signes, and by their vertues and powers,/ and by all things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by *429.* their vertues & powers I constreine thee spirit *N.* to appeare visiblie in that christall stone, in faire *forme and shape of a white angell, a greene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, a boie, a maiden virgine, a white grehound, a divell with great hornes, without anie hurt or danger of our bodies or soules, and trulie to informe and shew unto us, true visions of all things in that christall stone, according to thine oth and promise, and that without anie hinderance or/ tarrieng, to appeare visiblie, by this bond of words read over by mee three times, upon paine of everlasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

* Belike he had the gift to appeare in sundrie shapes, as it is said of *Proteus in Ovid lib. metamor.* 8. *fab.* 10: and of *Vertumnus; lib. metamor.* 14. *fab.* 16. **310.**

Then being appeared, saie these words following.

I Conjure† thee spirit, by God the father, that thou shew true visions in that christall stone, where there be anie *N.* in such a place or no, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit *N.* by God the sonne Jesus Christ, that thou doo shew true visions unto us, whether it be gold or silver, or anie other metals, or whether there were anie or no, upon paine of condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit *N.* by God the Holie-ghost, the which dooth sanctifie all faithfull soules and spirits, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thee spirit *N.* to speake, open, and to declare, the true waie, how we may come by these treasures hidden in *N.* and how to have it in our custodie, & who are the keepers thereof, and how manie there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to shew me true visions of what sort and similitude they be, and how long they have kept it, and to knowe in what daies and houres we shall call such a spirit, *N.* to bring unto us these treasures, into such a place *N.* upon paine of everlasting condemnation ✠[.] Also I constreine thee spirit *N.* by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim & seraphim, that you doo shew a true vision in this christall stone, who did conveie or steale away such a *N.* and where it is, & who hath it, and how farre off, and what is his or hir name, and how and when to come unto it, upon paine of eternall condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the ☉ ☽ ♄ ♃ ♂ ♀ ☿ and by all the characters in the firmament, that

[† This par. is in small type.]

Note that the spirit is tied to obediēce under paine of condemnation and hell fier.

thou doo shew unto me a true vision in this christall stone, where such *N.* and in what state he is, and how long he hath beene there, and what time he will be in such a place, what daie and houre: and this and all other things to declare plainelie, in paine of hell fier; *Fiat*, Amen.

A licence to depart.

[* This in still smaller.]

DEpart* out of the sight of this christall stone in peace for a time, and readie to appeare therein againe at anie time or times I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appeere visiblie, as the words be rehersed. I constreine thee spirit *N.* by the divinitie of the Godhead, to be obedient unto these words rehearsed, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen.//

430. 311.

The xx. Chapter.

When to talke with spirits, and to have true answers to find out a theefe.

THE daies and houres of ♄ ♂ ☿ and the ☽ is best to doo all crafts of necromancie, & for to speake with spirits, and for to find theft, and to have true answer thereof, or of anie other such like. ¶ And in the daies and houres of ☉ ♃ ♀ is best to doo all experiments of love, and to purchase grace, and for to be invisible, and to doo anie operation, whatsoever it be, for anie thing, the ☽ being in a convenient signe. ¶ As when thou laborest for theft, see the moone be in an earthie signe, as ♉ ♍ ♑, or of the aier, as ♊ ♎ ♒. ¶ And if it be for love, favor or grace, let the ☽ be in a signe of the fier, as ♈ ♌ ♐, and for hatred, in a signe of the water, as ♋ ♏ ♓. For anie other experiment, let the ☽ be in ♈. ¶ And if thou findest the ☉ & the ☽ in one signe that is called in even number, then thou maiest write, consecrate, conjure, and make readie all maner of things that thou wilt doo, &c.

This is condemned for ranke follie by the doctors: as by *Chrysos. sup. Matth. Gregor. in homil. sup. Epiphan. Domini*; and others.

To speake with spirits.

[† This par. in the second-sized type.]

CAll† these names, *Orimoth*, *Belimoth*, *Lymocke*, and say thus: I conjure you up by the names of the angels *Satur* and *Azimor*,

that you intend to me in this houre, and send unto me a spirit called *Sagrigrit*, that hee doo fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can understand my words for one or two yeares, or as long as I will, &c.

The xxi. Chapter.

A confutation of conjuration, especiallie of the raising, binding and dismissing of the divell, of going invisible, and other lewd practises.

THUS farre have we waded in shewing at large the vanitie of necromancers, conjurors, and such as pretend to have reall conference and consultation with spirits and divels : wherein (I trust) you see what notorious blasphemie is committed, besides other blind superstitious ceremonies, a disordered heap, which are so far from building up the endevors of these blacke art practitioners, that they doo altogether ruinate & overthrow them, making them in their follies and falshoods as bare and naked as an anatomie. As for these ridiculous conjurations, last rehearsed, being of no small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part made by *T. R.* (for so much of his name he bewraieth) and *John/ Cokars*, invented and devised for the augmentation and maintenance of their living, for the edifieng of the poore, and for the propagating and inlarging of Gods glorie, as in the beginning of their booke of conjurations they protest ; which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impietie, and of the witchmongers follie and credulitie, I thought good to insert, whereby the/ residue of their proceedings may be judged, or rather detected. For if we seriouslie behold the matter of conjuration, and the drift of conjurors, we shall find them, in mine opinion, more faultie than such as take upon them to be witches, as manifest offenders against the majestie of God, and his holie lawe, and as apparent violators of the lawes and quietnesse of this realme : although indeed they bring no such thing to passe, as is surmised and urged by credulous persons, couseners, liers, and witchmongers. For these are alwaies learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselves by others abused.

All the former practises breeflie confuted.

431.

See the title of the booke, with the authors intent, in a marginall note, pag. 312. 393. [of this book.]

But let us see what appearance of truth or possibilitie is wrapped within these mysteries, and let us unfold the deceipt. They have made choice of certeine words, whereby they saie they can worke miracles, &c. And first of all, that they call divels & soules out of

Luk. 16. &c.

hell (though we find in the scriptures manifest proofes that all passages are stopped concerning the egresse out of hell) so as they may go thither, but they shall never get out, for *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, out of hell there is no redemption. Well, when they have gotten them up, they shut them in a circle made with chalke, which is so stronglie beset and invironed with crosses and names, that they cannot for their lives get out; which is a verie probable matter. Then can they bind them, and lose them at their pleasures, and make them that have beene liers from the beginning, to tell the truth: yea, they can compell them to doo anie thing. And the divels are forced to be obedient unto them, and yet cannot be brought to due obedience unto God their creator. This done (I saie) they can worke all maner of miracles (saving blew miracles) and this is beleeved of manie to be true:

An ironicall confutation.

Tam credula mens hominis, & arrectæ fabulis aures,

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

So light of beleefe is the mind of man,
And attentive to tales his eares now and than.

432. But if Christ (onelie for a time) left the power of working mi/racles among his apostles and disciples for the confirmation of his gospell, and the faith of his elect: yet I denie altogether, that he left that power with these knaves, which hide their cousening purposes under those lewd and foolish words, according to that which *Peter* saith; With feined words they make merchandize of you. And therfore the counsell is good that *Paule* giveth us, when he biddeth us take heed that no man deceive us with vaine words. For it is the Lord only that worketh great woonders, and bringeth mightie things to passe. It is also written, that Gods word, and not the words of conjurors, or the charmes of witches, healeth all things, maketh tempests, and stilleth them.

2. Pet. 2. Ephes. 5. Ps. 72, & 78.

Sap. 16. Ecclus. 43.

But put case the divell could be fetched up and fettered, and loosed againe at their pleasure, &c: I marvell yet, that anie can be so bewitched, as to be made to beleeve, that by vertue of their words, anie earthlie creature can be made invisible. We thinke it a lie, to saie that white is blacke, and blacke white: but it is a more shamelesse assertion to affirme, that white is not, or blacke is not at all; and yet more impudencie to hold that/ a man is a horsse; but most apparent impudencie to saie, that a man is no man, or to be extenuated into such a quantitie, as therby he may be invisible, and yet remaine in life and health, &c: and that in the cleare light of the daie, even in the presence of them that are not blind. But surelie,

To denie the subsistence or naturall being of a thing materiall and visible is impudẽcie.

313.

he that cannot make one haire white or blacke, whereof (on the other side) not one falleth from the head without Gods speciall providence, can never bring to passe, that the visible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace powred therinto by God the creator of all things.

If they saie that the divell covereth them with a cloud or veile, as *M. Mal. Bodin*, & manie other doo affirme; yet (me thinkes) we should either see the cover, or the thing covered. And though perchance they saie in their harts; Tush, the Lord seeth not, who indeed hath blinded them, so as seeing, they see not: yet they shall never be able to persuade the wise, but that both God and man dooth see both them and their knaverie in this behalfe. I have heard of a foole, who was made beleeve that he should go invisible, and naked; while he was well whipped by them, who (as he thought) could not see him. Into which fooles paradise they saie* he was brought, that enterprised to kill the prince of Orenge./

Ezec. 8. & 9. Isai. 6, & 26 and 30.

* John Jauregui servant to Gasper Anastro both Spaniards. Ann. Dom. 1582. March 18. after dinner upon a sundaie this mischeefe was doone. Read the whole discourse hereof printed at London for Tho: Chard and Will: Brome bookesellers.

The xxii. Chapter. *433.*

A comparison betweene popish exorcists and other conjurors, a popish conjuration published by a great doctor of the Romish church, his rules and cautions.

I SEE no difference betweene these and popish conjurations; for they agree in order, words, and matter, differing in no circumstance, but that the papists doo it without shame openlie, the other doo it in hugger mugger secretlie. The papists (I saie) have officers in this behalfe, which are called exorcists or conjurors, and they looke narrowlie to other cousenors, as having gotten the upper hand over them. And bicause the papists shall be without excuse in this behalfe, and that the world may see their cousenage, impietie, and follie to be as great as the others, I will cite one conjuration (of which sort I might cite a hundred) published by *Jacobus de Chusa*, a great doctor of the Romish church, which serveth to find out the cause of noise and spirituall rumbling in houses, churches, or chappels, and to conjure walking spirits: which evermore is knaverie and cousenage in the highest degree. Marke the cousening devise hereof, and conferre the impietie with the others.

Jac. de Chusæ in lib. de apparitionib. quorundam spirituum.

First (forsooth) he saith it is expedient to fast three daies, and to celebrate a certeine number of masses, and to repeate the seven

Observations for the exorcising preest.

psalmes penitentiall : then foure or five preests must be called to the place where the haunt or noise is, then a candle hallowed on candle-
314. mas daie must be lighted, and in the light/ing thereof also must the seven psalmes be said, and the gospell of S. *John*. Then there must be a crosse and a censer with frankincense, and therewithall the place must be censed or perfumed, holie water must be sprinkled, and a holie stoale must be used, and (after diverse other ceremonies) a praier to God must be made, in maner and forme following :

O Lord Jesus Christ, the knower of all secrets, which alwaies/
434. revealest all hoalsome and profitable things to thy faithfull children, and which sufferest a spirit to shew himselfe in this place, we beseech thee for thy bitter passion, &c : vouchsafe to command this spirit, to reveale and signifie unto us thy servants, without our terror or hurt, what he is, to thine honour, and to his comfort ; *In nomine patris, &c.* And then proceed in these words : We beseech thee, for Christs sake, O thou spirit, that if there be anie of us, or among us, whom thou wouldest answer, name him, or else manifest him by some signe. Is it frier *P.* or doctor *D.* or doctor *Burc.* or sir *Feats*, or sir *John*, or sir *Robert* : *Et sic de cæteris circunstantibus.* For it is well tried (saith the glosse) he will not answer everie one. If the spirit make anie sound of voice, or knocking, at the naming of anie one, he is the cousener (the conjuror I would saie) that must have the charge of this conjuration or examination. And these forsooth must be the interrogatories, to wit : Whose soule art thou? Wherefore camest thou? What wouldest thou have? Wantest thou any suffrages, masses, or almes? How manie masses will serve thy turne, three, six, ten, twentie, thirtie, &c? By what preest? Must he be religious or secular? Wilt thou have anie fasts? What? How manie? How great? And by what persons? Among hospitalles? Lepres? Or beggars? What shall be the signe of thy perfect deliverance? Wherefore liest thou in purgatorie? And such like. This must be doone in the night.

Memorandum that he must be the veriest knave or foole in all the companie.

If there appeare no signe at this houre, it must be deferred untill another houre. Holie water must be left in the place. There is no feare (they saie) that such a spirit will hurt the conjuror : for he can sinne no more, as being in the meane state betweene good and evill, and as yet in the state of satisfaction. *If the spirit doo hurt, then it is a damned soule, and not an elect. Everie man may not be present hereat, speciallie such as be weake of complexion. They appeare in diverse maners, not alwaies in bodie, or bodilie shape (as it is read in the life of S. *Martine*, that the divell did) but sometimes invisible, as onelie by sound, voice, or noise. Thus farre *Jacobus de Chusa.*

These spirits are not so cunning by daie as by night.

*For so they might be bewraied.

For so the cousenage may be best handled.

But bicause you shall see that these be not emptie words, nor

slanders; but that in truth such things are commonlie put in practise in the Romish church, I will here set downe an instance,/ latelie and truelie, though lewdlie performed: and the same in effect as followeth./ *435.*

The xxiii. Chapter. 315.

A late experiment, or cousening conjuration practised at Orleance by the Franciscane Friers, how it was detected, and the judgement against the authors of that comedie.

A cousening conjuration.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1534. at *Orleance* in *France*, the Maiors wife died, willing and desiring to be buried without anie pompe or noise, &c. Hir husband, who reverenced the memoriall of hir, did even as she had willed him. And bicause she was buried in the church of the **Franciscans*, besides her father and grandfather, and gave them in reward onelie six crownes, whereas they hoped for a greater preie; shortlie after it chanced, that as he felled certeine woods and sold them, they desired him to give them some part thereof freelie without monie: which he flatlie denied. This they tooke verie greevouslie. And whereas before they misliked him, now they conceived such displeasure as they devised this meanes to be revenged; to wit, that his wife was damned for ever. The cheefe workemen and framers of this tragedie were *Colimannus*, and *Stephanus Aterbatensis*, both doctors of divinitie; this *Coliman.* was a great conjuror, & had all his implements in a readines, which he was woont to use in such busines. And thus they handled the matter. They place over the arches of the church, a yoong novice; who about midnight, when they came to mumble their praiers, as they were woont to do, maketh a great rumbling, and noise. Out of hand the moonks beganne to conjure and to charme, but he answered nothing. Then being required to give a signe, whether he were a dumme spirit or no, he beganne to rumble againe: which thing they tooke as a certeine signe. Having laid this foundation, they go unto certeine citizens, cheefe men, and such as favoured them, decla/ring that a heavie chance had happened at home in their monasterie; not shewing what the matter was, but desiring them to come to their mattens at midnight. When these citizens were come, and that praiers were begunne, the counterfet spirit beginneth to make a marvellous noise in the top of the church. And being asked what he meant, and who he was, gave signes that it was not lawfull *436.*

* Of this order read noble stuffe in a booke printed at *Frankeford* under the title of *Alcoran. Franciscanorum.*

Note how the Franciscans cannot conjure without a confederate.

O notorius impudencie! with such shamelesse faces to abuse so

worshipfull a companie.

for him to speake. Therefore they commanded him to make answer by tokens and signes to certeine things they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in the vawt, through the which he might heare and understand the voice of the conjuror. And then had he in his hand a litle boord, which at everie question, he strake, in such sort as he might easilie be heard beneath. First they asked him, whether he were one of them that had beene buried in the same place. Afterwards they reckoning manie by name, which had beene buried there ; at the last also they name the Maiors wife : and there by and by the spirit gave a signe that he was hir soule. He was further asked, whether he were damned or no ; and if he were, for what cause, for what desert, or fault ; whether for covetousnes, or wanton lust, for pride or want of charitie ; or whether it were for
316. heresie, or for the sect of *Luther*| newlie sproong up : also what he meant by that noise and stirre he kept there ; whether it were to have the bodie now buried in holie ground to be digged up againe, and laid in some other place. To all which points he answered by signes, as he was commanded, by the which he affirmed or denied anie thing, according as he strake the boord twise or thrise together. And when he had thus given them to understand, that* the verie cause of his damnation was *Luthers* heresie, and that the bodie must needs be digged up againe : the moonks requested the citizens, whose presence they had used or rather abused, that they would beare witnesse of those things which they had seene with their eies ; and that they would subscribe to such things as were doone a few days before. The citizens taking good advise on the matter, least they should offend the Maior, or bring themselves in trouble, refused so to doo. But the moonks notwithstanding take from thence the sweete bread, which they called the host and bodie of our Lord, with all the relikes of saintes, and carrie them to another place, and there saie their masse.

* The confederate spirit was taught that lesson before.

437. The bishops substi/tute judge (whome they called Officiall) understanding that matter, commeth thither, accompanied with certeine honest men, to the intent he might knowe the whole circumstance more exactlie : and therefore he commandeth them to make conjuration in his presence ; and also he requireth certeine to be chosen to go up into the top of the vawt, and there to see whether any ghost appeered or not. *Stephanus Aterbatensis* stiffelie denied that to be lawfull, and marvellouslie persuading the contrarie, affirmed that the spirit in no wise ought to be troubled. And albeit the Official urged them verie much, that there might be some conjuring of the spirit ; yet could he nothing prevaile.

For so might the confederate be found.

Whilest these things were dooing, the Maior, when he had shewed the other Justices of the citie, what he would have them to doo, tooke his

journie to the king, and opened the whole matter unto him. And bicause the moonks refused judgement upon plea of their owne lawes and liberties, the king choosing out certeine of the aldermen of *Paris*, giveth them absolute and full authoritie to make inquirie of the matter. The like dooth the Chancelor maister *Anthonius Pratensis* cardinall and legat for the pope throughout *France*. Therefore, when they had no exception to alledge, they were conveied unto *Paris*, and there constrained to make their answer. But yet could nothing be wroong out of them by confession, whereupon they were put apart into divers prisons : the novice being kept in the house of maister *Fumanus*, one of the aldermen, was oftentimes examined, and earnestlie requested to utter the truth, but would notwithstanding confesse nothing ; bicause he feared that the moonks would afterwards put him to death for staining their order, and putting it to open shame. But when the judges had made him sure promise that he should escape punishment, and that he should never come into their handling, he opened unto them the whole matter as it was doone: and being brought before his fellowes, avouched the same to their faces. The moonks, albeit they were convicted, and by these meanes almost taken tarde* with the deed doing ; yet did they refuse the judges, bragging and vaunting themselves on their priviledges, but all in vaine. For sentence passed upon them, and they were/ condemned to be carried backe againe to *Orleance*, and there to be cast in prison, and so should finallie be/ brought foorth into the cheefe church of the citie openlie, and from thence to the place of execution, where they should make open confession of their trespasses.

An obstinate and wilfull persisting in the denieng or not confessing of a fault committed.

[* = tarred]

317.

438.

Surelie this was most common among moonks and friers, who mainteined their religion, their lust, their liberties, their pompe, their wealth, their estimation and knaverie by such cousening practises. Now I will shew you more speciall orders of popish conjurations, that are so shameleslie admitted into the church of *Rome*, that they are not onelie suffered, but commanded to be used, not by night secretlie, but by daie impudentlie. And these forsooth concerne the curing of bewitched persons, and such as are possessed ; to wit, such as have a divell put into them by witches inchantments. And herewithall I will set downe certeine rules delivered unto us by such popish doctors, as are of greatest reputation.

A parecuasis or transition of the author to matter further purposed.

The xxiiii. Chapter.

Who may be conjurors in the Romish church besides priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be used and not used in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to conjure any thing, differences betweene holie water and conjuration.

In 4 dist. 23. sent.

THOMAS AQUINAS saith, that anie bodie, though he be of an inferior or superior order, yea though of none order at all (and as *Gulielmus Durandus glossator Raimundi* affirmeth, a woman so she blesse not the girdle or the garment, but the person of the bewitched) hath power to exercise the order of an exorcist or conjuror, even as well as any preest may saie masse in a house unconsecrated. But that is (saith *M. Mal.*) rather through the goodnesse and licence of the pope, than through the grace of the sacrament. Naie, there are examples set downe, where some being bewitched were cured (as *M. Mal.* taketh it) without any conjuration at all. Marrie there were certeine *Pater nosters*, *Aves*, and
439. *Credos*/ said, and crosses made, but they are charmes, they saie, and no conjurations. For they saie that such charmes are lawfull, bicause there is no superstition in them, &c.

Et glos. super illo ad coll. 2.

And it is woorth my labour, to shew you how papists define superstition, and how they expound the definition thereof. Superstition (saie they) is a religion observed beyond measure, a religion practised with evill and unperfect circumstances. Also, whatsoever usurpeth the name of religion, through humane tradition, without the popes authoritie, is superstitious: as to adde or joine anie hymnes to the masse, to interrupt anie diriges, to to* abridge anie part of the creed in the singing thereof, or to sing when the organs go, and not when the quier singeth, not to have one to helpe the priest to masse: and such like, &c.

[* *sic*]

Mendaces debent esse memores, multò magis astuti exorcistæ.

These popish exorcists doo manie times forget their owne rules. For they should not directlie in their conjurations call upon the divell (as they doo) with intreatie, but with authoritie and commandement.
318. Nei/ther should they have in their charmes and conjurations anie unknowne names. Neither should there be (as alwaies there is) anie falshood conteined in the matter of the charme of conjuration, as (saie they) old women have in theirs, when they saie; The blessed virgine passed over *Jordan*, and then S. *Steven* met hir, and asked hir, &c. Neither should they have anie other vaine characters, but the crosse (for those are the words:) and manie other

such cautions have they, which they observe not, for they have made it lawfull elsewhere.

But *Thomas* their cheefe piller prooveth their conjuring and charmes lawfull by S. *Marke*, who saith ; *Signa eos qui crediderunt* ; And, *In nomine meo dæmonia ejicient, &c :* whereby he also prooveth that they maie conjure serpents. And there he taketh paines to proove, that the words of God are of as great holinesse as relikes of saints, whereas (in such respect as they meane) they are both alike, and indeed nothing woorth. And I can tell them further, that so they maie be carried, as either of them maie doo a man much harme either in bodie or soule.

Tho. Aquin. super. Marc. ultim. Mark, 16, 17

But they proove this by *S. Augustine*, saieng ; *Non est minus verbum Dei, quàm corpus Christi :* whereupon they conclude thus ; By all mens opinions it is lawfull to carrie about reverentlie the relikes of saints ; *Ergo* it is lawfull against evill spirits, to in/vocate the name of God everie waie ; by the *Pater noster*, the *Ave*, the nativitie, the passion, the five wounds, the title triumphant, by the seven words spoken on the crosse, by the nailes, &c : and there maie be hope reposed in them. Yea, they saie it is lawfull to conjure all things, bicause the divell maie have power in all things. And first, alwaies the person or thing, wherein the divell is, must be exorcised, and then the divell must be conjured. Also they affirme, that it is as expedient to consecrate and conjure porrage and meate, as water and salt, or such like things.

A trimme consequent *440.*

Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 2.

The right order of exorcisme in rebaptisme of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exsufflation and abrenunciation be doone toward the west. Item, there must be erection of hands, confession, profession, oration, benediction, imposition of hands, denudation and unction, with holie oile after baptisme, communion, and induition of the surplis. But they saie that this needeth not, where the bewitched is exorcised : but that the bewitched be first confessed, and then to hold a candle in his hand, and in steed of a surplise to tie about his bare bodie a holie candle of the length of Christ, or of the crosse whereupon he died, which for monie maie be had at *Rome*. *Ergo* (saith *M. Mal.*) this maie be said ; I conjure thee *Peter* or *Barbara* being sicke, but regenerate in the holie water of baptisme, by the living God, by the true God, by the holie God, by the God which redeemed thee with his pretious bloud, that thou maiest be made a conjured man, that everie fantasie and wickednesse of diabolicall deceipt doo avoid and depart from thee, and that everie uncleane spirit be conjured through him that shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen : *Oremus*, &c. And this conjuration, with *Oremus*, and a praier, must be thrise repeated, and at the end alwaies

Rites, ceremonies, and relikes of exorcisme in rebaptising of the possessed or bewitched.

must be said; *Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam,*
319. *&c.* And this order must alwaies be/ followed. And finallie, there must be diligent search made, in everie corner, and under everie coverlet and pallet, and under everie threshhold of the doores, for instruments of witchcraft. And if anie be found, they must streightwaie be throwne into the fier. Also they must change all their bedding, their clothing, and their habitation. And if nothing be found, the partie that is to be exorcised or conjured, must come to the church
441. rath in the morning: and the holier the daie is, the/ better, speciallie our Ladie daie. And the preest, if he be shriven himselfe and in perfect state, shall doo the better therein. And let him that is exorcised hold a holie candle in his hand, &c. Alwaies provided, that the holie water be throwne upon him, and a stoale put about his necke, with *Deus in adjutorium*, and the Letanie, with invocation of saints. And this order maie continue thrise a weeke, so as (saie they) through multiplication of intercessors, or rather intercessions, grace maie be obteined, and favor procured.

Memorandum that this is for one bewitched.

Note the proviso.

There is also some question in the Romish church, whether the sacrament of the altar is to be received before or after the exorcisme. Item in shrift, the confessor must learne whether the partie be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endure this vexation. *Thomas* sheweth the difference betwixt holie water and conjuration, saieng that holie water driveth the divell awaie from the externall and outward parts; but conjurations from the internall and inward parts; and therefore unto the bewitched partie both are to be applied.

Tho. Aquin. supr. dist. 6.

The xxv. Chapter.

The seven reasons why some are not rid of the divell with all their popish conjurations, why there were no conjurors in the primitive church, and why the divell is not so soone cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.

THE reason why some are not remedied for all their con-
1 jurations, the papists say is for seven causes. First, for
2 that the faith of the standers by is naught; secondlie, for
3 that theirs that present the partie is no better; thirdlie,
4 bicause of the sinnes of the bewitched; fourthlie, for the neglecting
5 of meete remedies; fiftlie, for the reverence of vertues going out into
6, 7 others; sixtlie, for the purgation; seventhlie, for the merit of the partie bewitched. And lo, the first foure are proved by *Matthew* the
442. 7. and *Marke* the 4./ when one presented his sonne, and the multitude

wanted faith, & the father said, Lord help mine incredulitie or unbeleefe. Wherupon was said, Oh faithlesse and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? And where these words are written; And Jesus rebuked him, &c. That is to saie, saie they, the possessed or bewitched for his sinnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appeereth, that there were not with Christ good and perfect men: for the pillers of the faith; to wit, *Peter*, *James*, and *John* were absent. Neither was there fasting and praier, without the which that kind of divels could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith maie ap/peare; for that afterwards the disciples asked the cause of their impotencie therin. And Jesus answered, it was for their incredulitie; saieng that if they had as much faith as a graine of mustard seed, they should move mountaines, &c. The fift is prooved by *Vitas patrum*, the lives of the fathers, where it appeereth that S. *Anthonie* could not doo that cure, when his scholar *Paule* could doo it, and did it. For the proofe of the sixt excuse it is said, that though the fault be taken awaie therby; yet it followeth not that alwaies the punishment is released. Last of all it is said, that it is possible that the divell was not conjured out of the partie before baptisme by the exorcist, or the midwife hath not baptised him well, but omitted some part of the sacrament. If any object that there were no exorcists in the primitive church, it is answered, that the church cannot now erre. And saint *Gregorie* would never have instituted it in vaine. And it is a generall rule, that who or whatsoever is newlie exorcised, must be rebaptised: as also such as walke or talke in their sleepe; for (saie they) call them by their names, and presentlie they wake, or fall if they clime: whereby it is gathered, that they are not trulie named in baptisme. Item they saie, it is somewhat more difficult to conjure the divell out of one bewitched, than out of one possessed: bicause in the bewitched, he is double; in the other single. They have a hundred such beggerlie, foolish, and frivolous notes in this behalfe./

Proper proofes of the former seven reasons.

320.

Why there were no conjurors in ye primitive church with other subtill points.

The xxvi. Chapter. 443.

Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers in this matter of conjurations.

SURELIE I cannot see what difference or distinction the witchmongers doo put betweene the knowledge and power of God and the divell; but that they think, if they praie, or rather talke to God, till their hearts ake, he never heareth them; but that the divell dooth knowe everie thought and

imagination of their minds, and both can and also will doo any thing for them. For if anie that meaneth good faith with the divell read certeine conjurations, he commeth up (they saie) at a trice. Marrie if another that hath none intent to raise him, read or pronounce the words, he will not stirre. And yet *J. Bodin* confesseth, that he is afraid to read such conjurations, as *John Wierus* reciteth; least (belike) the divell would come up, and scratch him with his fowle long nailes. In which sort I woonder that the divell dealeth with none other, than witches and conjurors. I for my part have read a number of their conjurations, but never could see anie divels of theirs, except it were in a plaie. But the divell (belike) knoweth my mind; to wit, that I would be loth to come within the compasse of his clawes. But lo what reason such people have. *Bodin*, *Bartholomeus Spineus*, *Sprenger*, and *Institor*, &c: doo constantlie affirme, that witches are to be punished with more extremitie than conjurors; and sometimes with death, when the other are to be pardoned doing the same offense: bicause (say they) the witches make a league with the divell, &/ so doo not conjurors. Now if conjurors make no league by their owne confession, and divels indeed know not our cogitations (as I have sufficientlie prooved) then would I weet of our witch-mongers the reason, (if I read the conjuration and performe the ceremonie) why the divell will not come at my call? But oh absurd credulitie! Even in this point manie wise & learned men have beene & are abused:/ wheras, if they would make experience, or dulie expend the cause, they might be soone resolved; specially when the whole art and circumstance is so contrarie to Gods word, as it must be false, if the other be true. So as you may understand, that the papists do not onlie by their doctrine, in bookes & sermons teach & publish conjurations, & the order thereof, whereby they may induce men to bestowe, or rather cast awaie their monie upon masses and suffrages for their soules; but they make it also a parcell of their sacrament of orders (of the which number a conjuror is one) and insert manie formes of conjurations into their divine service, and not onelie into their pontificals, but into their masse bookes; yea into the verie canon of the masse.

A conjuror then belike must not be timerous or fearefull.

Where a witch cureth by incantation, and the conjuror by conjuration.

321.

444.

The xxvii. Chapter.

Certaine conjurations taken out of the pontificall and out of the missall.

BUT see yet a little more of popish conjurations, and conferre them with the other. In the *pontificall you shall find this conjuration, which the other conjurors use as solemnelie as they : I conjure thee thou creature of water in the name of the fa✠ther, of the so✠nne, and of the Holie✠ghost, that thou drive awaie the divell from the bounds of the just, that he remaine not in the darke corners of this church and altar. ❊ You shall find in the same title, these words following, to be used at the hallowing of churches. There must a crosse of ashes be made upon the pavement, from one end of the church to the other, one handfull broad : and one of the priests must write on the one side thereof the Greeke alphabet, and on the otherside the Latin alphabet. *Durandus* yeeldeth this reason thereof; to wit, It representeth the union in faith of the Jewes and Gentiles. And yet well agreeing to himselfe he saith even there, that the crosse reaching from the one end to the other, signifieth that the people, which were in the head, shalbe made the taile./

* *Tit. de ecclesiæ dedicatione.*

Ibidem, fol. 108.

Durand. de ecclesiæ dedicatione lib. 1. *fol.* 12.

¶ *A conjuration written in the masse booke. Fol.* 1. *445.*

I Conjure thee O creature of salt by God, by the God ✠ that liveth, by the true ✠ God, by the holie ✠ God, which by *Elizæus* the prophet commanded, that thou shouldest be throwne into the water, that it thereby might be made whole and sound, that thou salt [here let the preest looke upon the salt] maist be conjured for the health of all beleevers, and that thou/ be to all that take thee, health both of bodie and soule ; and let all phantasies and wickednesse, or diabolicall craft or deceipt, depart from the place whereon it is sprinkled ; as also everie uncleane spirit, being conjured by him that judgeth both the quicke and the dead by fier. *Resp* : Amen. Then followeth a praier to be said, without *Dominus vobiscum* ; but yet with *Oremus* ; as followeth :

In Missali. fol. 1.

The maner of conjuring salt.

322.

¶ *Oremus.*

ALmightie and everlasting God, we humblie desire thy clemency [here let the preest looke upon the salt] that thou wouldest vouchsafe, through thy pietie, to bl✠esse and sanc✠tifie this creature

A praier to be applied to the former exorcisme.

of salt, which thou hast given for the use of mankind, that it may be to all that receive it, health of mind and bodie; so as whatsoever shall be touched thereby, or sprinkled therewith, may be void of all uncleannesse, and all resistance of spirituall iniquitie, through our Lord, Amen.

What can be made but a conjuration of these words also, which are written in the canon, or rather in the saccaring of masse? This holie commixtion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, let it be made to me, and to all the receivers thereof, health of mind and bodie, and a wholesome preparative for the deserving and receiving of everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus, Amen./

446.

The xxviii. Chapter.

That popish priests leave nothing unconjured, a forme of exorcisme for incense.

ALTHOUGH the papists have manie conjurations, so as neither water, nor fier, nor bread, nor wine, nor wax, nor tallowe, nor church, nor churchyard, nor altar, nor altar cloath, nor ashes, nor coles, nor belles, nor bell ropes, nor copes, nor vestments, nor oile, nor salt, nor candle, nor candlesticke, nor beds, nor bedstaves, &c; are without their forme of conjuration: yet I will for brevitie let all passe, and end here with incense, which they doo conjure in this sort ✠.* I conjure thee most filthy and horrible spirit, and everie vision of our enimie, &c: that thou go and depart from out of this creature of frankincense, with all thy deceipt and wickednes, that this creature may be sanctified, and in the name of our Lord ✠ Jesus ✠ Christ ✠ that all they that taste, touch, or smell the same, may receive the virtue and assistance of the Holie-ghost; so as wheresoever this incense or frankincense shall remaine, that there thou in no wise be so bold as to approch or once presume or attempt to hurt: but what uncleane spirit so ever thou be, that thou with all thy craft and subtiltie avoid and depart, being conjured by the name of God the father almightie, &c. And that wheresoever the fume or smoke thereof shall come, everie kind and sort of divels may be driven awaie, and expelled; as they were at the increase† of the liver of fish, which the archangell *Raphaell* made, &c./

[* ? sort. ✠] A conjuration of frankincense set foorth in forme.

[† *read* incense, *Tobit*, viii. 2, 3.]

The xxix. Chapter. *447.* 323.

The rules and lawes of popish Exorcists and other conjurors all one, with a confutation of their whole power, how S. Martine conjured the divell

THE papists you see, have their certeine generall rules and lawes, as to absteine from sinne, and to fast, as also otherwise to be cleane from all pollusions, &c : and even so likewise have the other conjurors. Some will saie that papists use divine service, and praiers ; even so doo common conjurors (as you see) even in the same papisticall forme, no whit swarving from theirs in faith and doctrine, nor yet in ungodlie and unreasonable kinds of petitions. Me thinks it may be a sufficient argument, to overthrow the calling up and miraculous works of spirits, that it is written ; God onelie knoweth and searcheth the harts, and onelie worketh great woonders. The which argument being prosecuted to the end, can never be answered : insomuch as that divine power is required in that action.

Papists and conjurors cousening compeers.

1. Sam. 16, 7.
1. Reg. 8, 39.
Jere. 17, 10.
Psal. 44, 21.
Psal. 72, 18.

And if it be said, that in this conjuration we speake to the spirits, and they heare us, & therefore need not know our thoughts and imaginations : I first aske them whether king *Baell*, or *Amoimon*, which are spirits reigning in the furthest regions of the east (as they saie) may heare a conjurors voice, which calleth for them, being in the extreamest parts of the west, there being such noises interposed, where perhaps also they may be busie, and set to worke on the like affaires. Secondlie, whether those spirits be of the same power that God is, who is everiewhere, filling all places, and able to heare all men at one instant, &c. Thirdlie, whence commeth the force of such words as raise the dead, and command divels. If sound doo it, then may it be doone by a taber and a pipe, or any other instrument that hath no life. If the voice doo it, then may it be doone by any beasts or birds. If words, then a parret may doo it. If in mans words onlie, where is the force, in the first, second, or third syllable? If *448.* in syllables, then not in words. If in imaginations, then the divell knoweth our thoughts. But all this stuffe is vaine and fabulous.

It is written ; All the generations of the earth were healthfull, and there is no poison of destruction in them. Why then doo they conjure holsome creatures ; as salt, water, &c : where no divels are? God looked upon all his works, and sawe they were all good. What effect (I praie you) had the 7. sonnes of *Sceva* ; which is the great

Sap. 1. 14.
Ecclesi. 9.
Gen. 1.

Act. 19.

objection of witchmongers? They would needs take upon them to conjure divels out of the possessed. But what brought they to passe? Yet that was in the time, whilest God suffered miracles commonlie to be wrought. By that you may see what conjurors can doo.

Where is such a promise to conjurors or witches, as is made in the Mark 16. 17. Gospell to the faithfull? where it is written; In my name they shall 324. cast/ out divels, speake with new toongs: if they shall drinke any deadlie thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall take awaie serpents, they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall recover. According to the promise, this grant of miraculous working was performed in the primitive church, for the confirmation of Christs doctrine, and the establishing of the Gospell.

But as in another place I have prooved, the gift thereof was but for a time, and is now ceased; neither was it ever made to papist, witch, or conjuror. They take upon them to call up and cast out divels; and to undoo with one divell, that which another divell hath doone. If one divell could cast out another, it were a kingdome divided, and could not stand. Which argument Christ himselfe maketh: and therfore I maie the more boldlie saie even with Christ, that they have no such power. For [a] besides him, there is no saviour, [b] none can deliver out of his hand. Who but hee can declare, set in order, appoint, and tell what is to come? He destroieth the tokens of soothsaiers, and maketh the conjecturers fooles, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot witches.

[a] Isai. 43. 11.
[b] verse. 13. cap. 44. verse. 7. verse. 25.

There is no helpe in inchanters and soothsaiers, and other such Isai. 46. 10. cap. 47. vers. 12. 13, &c. vaine sciences. For divels are cast out by the finger of God, which Luke. 11. 20. *Matthew* calleth the spirit of God, which is the mightie power of Matt. 12. 28. God, and not by the vertue of the bare name onelie, being spoken Acts, 8. 19. 449. or pronounced: for then might everie wicked man/ doo it. And *Simon Magus* needed not then to have proffered monie to have bought the power to doo miracles and woonders: for he could speake and pronounce the name of God, as well as the apostles. Indeed they maie soone throwe out all the divels that are in frankincense, and such like creatures, wherein no divels are: but neither they, nor all their holie water can indeed cure a man possessed with a divell, either in bodie or mind; as Christ did. Naie, why doo they not cast out the divell that possesseth their owne soules?

Let me heare anie of them all speake with new toongs, let them drinke but one dramme of a potion which I will prepare for them, let them cure the sicke by laieng on of hands (though witches take it upon them, and witchmongers beleeve it) and then I will subscribe unto them. But if they, which repose such certeintie in the actions of witches and conjurors, would diligentlie note their deceipt, and

how the scope whereat they shoote is monie (I meane not such witches as are falselie accused, but such as take upon them to give answers, &c : as mother *Bungie* did) they should apparentlie see the cousenage. For they are abused, as are manie beholders of jugglers, which suppose they doo miraculouslie, that which is doone by slight and subtiltie.

Monie is the marke whereat al witches & conjurors doo aime.

But in this matter of witchcrafts and conjurations, if men would rather trust their owne eies, than old wives tales and lies, I dare undertake this matter would soone be at a perfect point; as being easier to be perceived than juggling. But I must needs confesse, that it is no great marvell, though the simple be abused therein, when such lies concerning those matters are mainteined by such persons of account, and thrust into their divine service. As for example :/ It is written that S. *Martine* thrust his fingers into ones mouth that had a divell within him, and used to bite folke; and then did bid him devoure them if he could. And bicause the divell could not get out at his mouth, being stopt with S. *Martins* fingers, he was faine to run out at his fundament. O stinking lie !/

325.

S. Martins cõjuration: *In die sancti Martini. lect.* 1.

The xxx. Chapter.

450.

That it is a shame for papists to beleeve other conjurors dooings, their owne being of so litle force, Hipocrates his opinion herein.

AND still me thinks papists (of all others) which indeed are most credulous, and doo most mainteine the force of witches charmes, and of conjurors cousenages, should perceive and judge conjurors dooings to be void of effect. For when they see their owne stuffe, as holie water, salt, candles, &c: conjured by their holie bishop and preests; & that in the words of consecration or conjuration (for so* their owne doctors terme them) they adjure the water, &c : to heale, not onelie the soules infirmitie, but also everie maladie, hurt, or ach of the bodie; and doo also command the candles, with the force of all their authoritie and power, and by the effect of all their holie words, not to consume : and yet neither soule nor bodie anie thing recover, nor the candles last one minute the longer : with what face can they defend the others miraculous workes; as though the witches and conjurors actions were more effectuall than their owne? *Hippocrates* being but a heathen, and not having the perfect knowledge of God, could see and perceive

* To wit, *Vincent. dominica in albis: in octa. pasch. sermone.* 15. *Durand. de exorcist.*

their cousenage and knaverie well enough, who saith ; They which boast so, that they can remoove or helpe the infections of diseases, with sacrifices, conjurations, or other magicall instruments or meanes, are but needie fellowes, wanting living ; and therefore referre their words to the divell : bicause they would seeme to know somewhat more than the common people. It is marvell that papists doo affirme, that their holie water, crosses, or bugges words have such vertue and violence, as to drive awaie divels : so as they dare not approch to anie place or person besmeered with such stuffe ; when as it appeareth in the gospell, that the divell presumed to assault and tempt Christ
451. himselfe. For the divell indeed most ernestlie busieth him/selfe to seduce the godlie : as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and just accompt of them, as of his owne alreadie. But let us go forward in our refutation./

326.

The xxxi. Chapter.

How conjurors have beguiled witches, what bookes they carie about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Joseph.

THUS you see that conjurors are no small fooles. For whereas witches being poore and needie, go from doore to doore for releefe, have they never so manie todes or cats at home, or never so much hogs doong and charvill* about them, or never so manie charmes in store : these conjurors (I saie) have gotten them offices in the church of *Rome*, wherby they have obteined authoritie & great estimation. And further, to adde credit to that art, these conjurors carrie about at this daie, bookes intituled under the names of *Adam*, *Abel*, *Tobie*, & *Enoch* ; which *Enoch* they repute the most divine fellow in such matters. They have also among them bookes that they saie *Abraham*, *Aaron* and *Salomon* made. Item they have bookes of *Zacharie*, *Paule*, *Honorius*, *Cyprian*, *Jerome*, *Jeremie*, *Albert*, and *Thomas* : also of the angels, *Riziel*, *Razael*, and *Raphael* ; and these doubtlesse were such bookes as were said to have beene burnt in the lesser *Asia*. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be and are skilfull and learned in these arts ; to wit, *Ars Almadell*, *ars Notoria*, *ars Bulaphiæ*, *ars Arthephii*, *ars Pomena*,† *ars Revelationis*, *&c.* Yea, these conjurors in corners sticke not (with *Justine*) to report and affirme, that *Joseph*, who was a true figure of Christ that delivered and redeemed us, was

[* See p. *117*.]

A fowle offense to backbite ye absent, & to beelie the dead.

Acts. 19.

[† ? *Pomonæ*]

Just. lib. 16.

learned in these arts, and thereby prophesied and expounded dreames: and that those arts came from him to *Moses*, and finallie from *Moses* to them: which thing both *Plinie* and *Tacitus* affirme of *Moses*. Also *Strabo* in his cosmographie maketh the verie like blasphemous report. And likewise *Apollonius*,/ *Molon*, *Possidonius*, *Lisimachus*, and *Appian* terme *Moses* both a magician and a conjuror: whom *Eusebius* confuteth with manie notable arguments. For *Moses* differed as much from a magician, as truth from falshood, and pietie from vanitie: for in truth, he confounded all magicke, and made the world see, and the cunningest magicians of the earth confesse, that their owne dooings were but illusions, and that his miracles were wrought by the finger of God. But that the poore old witches knowledge reacheth thus farre (as *Danæus* affirmeth it dooth) is untrue: for their furthest fetches that I can comprehend, are but to fetch a pot of milke, &c: from their neighbors house, halfe a mile distant from them./

Plin. lib. 30. cap. 2. Strab. lib. 16. 452.

Dan. in dialog. de sortiariis.

The xxxii. Chapter. 327.

All magicall arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gallus have left written thereof, and prooved by experience.

SURELIE *Nero* prooved all these magicall arts to be vaine and fabulous lies, and nothing but cousenage and knaverie. He was a notable prince, having gifts of nature enow to have conceived such matters, treasure enough to have emploied in the search thereof, he made no conscience therein, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would have given halfe his kingdome to have learned those things, which he heard might be wrought by magicians; he procured all the cunning magicians in the world to come to *Rome*, he searched for bookes also, and all other things necessarie for a magician; and never could find anie thing in it, but cousenage and legierdemaine. At length he met with one *Tiridates*, the great magician, who having with him all his companions, and fellowe magicians, witches, conjurors, and couseners, invited *Nero* to certeine magicall bankets and exercises. Which when *Nero* required to learne,/ he (to hide his cousenage) answered that he would not, nor could not teach him, though he would have given him his kingdome. The matter of his refusall (I saie) was, least *Nero* should espie the cousening devises thereof. Which when *Nero* conceived, and sawe the same, and all

Tiridates the great magician biddeth the emperor Nero to a banket, &c. *453.*

Nero made lawes against conjurors and conjurations.

the residue of that art to be vaine, lieng and ridiculous, having onelie shadowes of truth, and that their arts were onelie veneficall; he prohibited the same utterlie, and made good and strong lawes against the use and the practisers thereof: as *Plinie* and others doo report. It is marvell that anie man can be so much abused, as to suppose that sathan may be commanded, compelled, or tied by the power of man: as though the divell would yeeld to man, beyond nature; that will not yeeld to God his creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they confesse) good angels as well as bad; I would know whie they call up the angels of hell, and not call downe the angels of heaven. But this they answer (as *Agrippa* saith.) Good angels (forsooth) doo hardlie appeare, and the other are readie at hand. Here I may not omit to tell you how *Cor. Agrippa* bewraieth, detecteth, and defaceth this art of conjuration, who in his youth travelled into the bottome of all these magicall sciences, and was not onelie a great conjuror and practiser thereof, but also wrote cunninglie *De occulta philosophia.* Howbeit, afterwards in his wiser age, he recanteth his opinions, and lamenteth his follies in that behalfe, and discovereth the impietie and vanities of magicians, and inchanters, which boast they can doo miracles: which action is now ceased (saith he) and assigneth them a place with *Jannes* and *Jambres*, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vaine toies for a shew. *Carolus Gallus* also saith; I have tried oftentimes, by the witches and conjurors themselves, that their arts (especiallie those which doo

C. Agrip. lib. de vanitat. scient.

328. consist of charmes, impossibilities,/ conjurations, and witchcrafts, whereof they were woont to boast) to be meere foolishnes, doting lies, and dreames. I for my part can saie as much, but that I delight not to alledge mine owne proofes and authorities; for that mine adversaries will saie they are parciall, and not indifferent./

454.

The xxxiii. Chapter.

Of Salomons conjurations, and of the opinion conceived of his cunning and practise therein.

IT is affirmed by sundrie authors, that *Salomon* was the first inventor of those conjurations; and thereof *Josephus* is the first reporter, who in his fift booke *De Judæorum antiquitatibus*, cap. 22. rehearseth soberlie this storie following; which *Polydore Virgil*, and manie other repeat verbatim, in this wise, and seeme to credit the fable, whereof there is skant a true word.

Salomon was the greatest philosopher, and did philosophie about all things, and had the full and perfect knowlege of all their proprieties : but he had that gift given from above to him, for the profit and health of mankind : which is effectuall against divels. He made also inchantments, wherewith diseases are driven awaie ; and left diverse maners of conjurations written, whereunto the divels giving place are so driven awaie, that they never returne. And this kind of healing is very common among my countrimen : for I sawe a neighbour of mine, one *Eleazer*, that in the presence of *Vespasian* and his sonnes, and the rest of the souldiers, cured many that were possessed with spirits. The maner and order of his cure was this. He did put unto the nose of the possessed a ring, under the seale wherof was inclosed a kind of roote, whose verture *Salomon* declared, and the savour thereof drewe the divell out at his nose ; so as downe fell the man, and then *Eleazer* conjured the divell to depart, & to return no more to him. In the meane time he made mention of *Salomon*, reciting incantations of *Salomons* owne making. And then *Eleazer* being willing to shew the standers by his cunning, and the wonderfull efficacie of his art, did set not farre from thence, a pot or basen full of water, & commanded the divell that went out of the man, that by the overthrowing thereof, he would give a signe to the beholders, that he had utterlie forsaken and leaft the man./ Which thing being doone, none there doubted how great *Salomons* knowledge and wisedome was. Wherin a jugling knacke was produced, to confirme a cogging cast of knaverie or cousenage.

Probatum est upon a patient before witnes: *Ergo* no lie.

455.

Another storie of *Salomons* conjuration I find cited in the sixt lesson, read in the church of *Rome* upon S. *Margarets* daie, far more ridiculous than this. Also *Peter Lombard* maister of the sentences, and *Gratian* his brother, the compiler of the golden decrees ; and *Durandus* in his *Rationale divinorum*, doo all soberlie affirme *Salomons* cunning in this behalfe ; and speciallie this tale ; to wit, that *Salomon* inclosed certeine thousand di/vels in a brasen bowle, and left it in a deepe hole or lake, so as afterwards the *Babylonians* found it, and supposing there had beene gold or silver therein, brake it, and out flew all the divels, &c. And that this fable is of credit, you shall perceive, in that it is thought woorthie to be read in the Romish church as parcell of their divine service. Looke in the lessons of S. *Margarets* daie the virgine, and you shall find these words verbatim : which I the rather recite, bicause it serveth me for divers turnes ; to wit, for *Salomons* conjurations, for the tale of the brasen vessell, and for the popes conjurations, which extended both to faith and doctrine, and to shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefullie is stained with lies and fables.

Lib. 4 *dist.* 14. *Decret. aureum. dist.* 21 *Rub. de exorcist.*

329.

Lect. 5. & 6.

The xxxiiii. Chapter.

Lessons read in all churches, where the pope hath authoritie, on S. Margarets daie, translated into English word for word.

HOLIE *Margaret* required of GOD, that she might have a conflict face to face with hir secret enimie the divell; and rising from praier, she sawe a terrible dragon, that would have devoured hir, but she made the signe of the crosse, and the dragon burst in the middest.

Lect. in die sanctissimæ Marg. vir. 5.

Lect. 6. 456. Afterwards, she sawe another man/ sitting like a Niger, having his hands bound fast to his knees, she taking him by the haire of the head, threw him to the ground, and set hir foote on his head; and hir praiers being made, a light shined from heaven into the prison where she was, and the crosse of Christ was seene in heaven, with a doove sitting thereon, who said; Blessed art thou O *Margaret*, the gates of paradise attend thy comming. Then she giving thanks to God, said to the divell, Declare to me thy name. The divell said; Take awaie thy foote from my head, that I may be able to speake, and tell thee: which being done, the divell said, I am *Veltis*, one of them whome *Salomon* shut in the brasen vessell, and the *Babylonians* comming, and supposing there had beene gold therein, brake the vessell, and then we flew out: ever since lieng in wait to annoie the just. But seeing I have recited a part of hir storie, you shall also have the end therof: for at the time of hir execution this was hir praier following.

Looke in the word Iidoni, pag. 383.

Grant therefore O father, that whosoever writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or maketh memoriall of me, may deserve pardon for all his sinnes: whosoever calleth on me, being at the point of death, deliver him out of the hands of his adversaries. And I also require, O Lord, that whosoever shall build a church in the honor of me, or ministreth unto me anie candles* of his just labour, let him obteine whatsoever he asketh for his health. Deliver all women in travell that call upon me, from the danger thereof.

* For the preests profit, I warrant you.

Hir praier ended, there were manie great thunderclaps, and a doove came downe from heaven, saieng; Blessed art thou O *Margaret* the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted unto thee; there/fore come thou into everlasting rest, &c. Then the hangman (though she did bid him) refused to cut off hir head: to whome she said; Except thou doo it, thou canst have no part with me, and then lo he did it, &c. But sithens I have beene, and must be tedious, I

This is cõmon (they saie) when a witch or conjuror dieth. 330.

thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable storie, depending upon the matter precedent, reported by manie grave authors, word for word, in maner and forme following. /

The xxxv. Chapter. *457.*

A delicate storie of a Lombard, who by S. Margarets example would needs fight with a reall divell.

THERE was (after a sermon made, wherein this storie of S. *Margaret* was recited, for in such stuffe consisted not onelie their service, but also their sermons in the blind time of poperie:) there was (I saie) a certeine yoong man, being a *Lombard*, whose simplicitie was such, as he had no respect unto the commoditie of worldlie things, but did altogither affect the salvation of his soule, who hearing how great S. *Margarets* triumph was, began to consider with himselfe, how full of slights the divell was. And among other things thus he said; Oh that God would suffer, that the divell might fight with me hand to hand in visible forme! I would then surelie in like maner overthrow him, and would fight with him till I had the victorie. And therefore about the twelfe houre he went out of the towne, and finding a convenient place where to praie, secretlie kneeling on his knees, he praied among other things, that God would suffer the divell to appeare unto him in visible forme, that according to the example of S. *Margaret*, he might overcome him in battell. And as he was in the middest of his praiers, there came into that place a woman with a hooke in hir hand, to gather certeine hearbs which grew there, who was dumme borne. And when she came into the place, and saw the yoong man among the hearbs on his knees, she was afraid, and waxed pale, and going backe, she rored in such sort, as hir voice could not be understood, and with hir head and fists made threatning signes unto him. The yoong man seeing such an ilfavoured fowle queane, that was for age decrepit and full of wrinkles, with a long bodie, leane of face, pale of colour, with ragged cloathes, crieng verie lowd, and having a voice not understandable, threatning him with the hooke which she carried in hir hand, he thought surelie she had beene no woman, but a divell appea/ring unto him in the shape of a woman, and thought God had heard his praiers. For the which causes he fell upon hir lustilie, and at length threw hir downe to the ground, saieng; Art thou come thou curssed divell, art thou come? No no, thou shalt not overthrow me in visible fight, whome thou hast often overcome in invisible temptation.

Kakozelia.

Mutuall error by meanes of sudden sight.

458.

And as he spake these words, he caught hir by the haire, and drew hir about, beating hir sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his heeles, and sometimes with the hooke so long, and wounded hir so
331. sore, that he/ left hir a dieng. At the noise whereof manie people came running unto them, and seeing what was doone, they apprehended the yoong man, and thrust him into a vile prison. S. *Vincent* by vertue of his holines understanding all this matter, caused the bodie that seemed dead to be brought unto him, and thereupon (according to his maner) he laid his hand upon hir, who immediatlie revived, and he called one of his chaplines to heare hir confession. But they that were present said to the man of God, that it were altogether in vaine so to doo, for that she had beene from hir nativitie dumbe, and could neither heare nor understand the priest, neither could in words confesse hir sinnes. Notwithstanding, S. *Vincent* bad the priest heare hir confession, affirming that she should verie distinctlie speake all things unto him. And therfore, whatsoever the man of God commanded, the priest did confidentlie accomplish and obeie : and as soone as the priest approched unto hir, to heare hir confession, she, whome all *Cathalonia* knew to be dumbe borne, spake, and confessed hir selfe, pronouncing everie word as distinctlie, as though she had never beene dumbe. After hir confession she required the eucharist and extreame unction to be ministred unto hir, and at length she commended hir selfe to God ; and in the presence of all that came to see that miracle, she spake as long as she had anie breath in hir bodie. The yoong man that killed hir being saved from the gallowes by S. *Vincents* meanes, and at his intercession, departed home into *Italie*. This storie last rehearsed is found in *Speculo exemplorum*, and repeated also by *Robert Carocul* : bishop of *Aquinas*, and manie others, and preached publikelie in the church of *Rome*./

S. Vincent raiseth the dead woman to life.

S. Vincent maketh the dumbe to speake.

Dist. 8. *exempl.* 17. *serm.* 59. *cap.* 20.

459. The xxxvi. Chapter.

The storie of Saint Margaret prooved to be both ridiculous and impious in everie point.

FIRST, that the storie of *S. Margaret* is a fable, may be prooved by the incredible, impossible, foolish, impious, and blasphemous matters conteined therein, and by the ridiculous circumstance thereof. Though it were cruellie doone of hir to beat the divell, when his hands were bound ; yet it was courteouslie doone of hir, to pull awaie hir foot at his desire. He

could not speake so long as she troad on his head, and yet he said ; Tread off, that I may tell you what I am. She sawe the heavens open, and yet she was in a close prison. But hir sight was verie cleare, that could see a little dove sitting upon a crosse so farre off. For heaven is higher than the sunne; and the sunne, when it is neerest to us, is 3966000. miles from us. And she had a good paire of eares, that could heare a dove speake so farre off. And she had good lucke, that S. *Peter*, who (they saie) is porter, or else the pope, who hath more dooings than *Peter*, had such leisure as to staie the gates so long/ for hir. *Salomon* provided no good place, neither tooke good order with his brasen bowle. I marvell how they escaped that let out the divels. It is marvell also they melted it not with their breath long before : for the divels carrie hell and hell fier about with them alwaies ; in so much as (they saie) they leave ashes evermore where they stand. Surelie she made in hir praier an unreasonable request. But the date of hir patent is out : for I beleeve that whosoever at this daie shall burne a pound of good candle before hir, shall be never the better, but three pence the worsse. But now we may find in S. *Margarets* life, who it is that is Christes wife : whereby we are so much wiser than we were before. But looke in the life of *S. Katharine*, in the golden legend, and you shall find that he was also married to *S. Katharine*, and that our ladie made the marriage, &c. An excellent authoritie for/ bigamie. Here I will also cite other of their notable stories, or miracles of authoritie, and so leave shaming of them, or rather troubling you the readers thereof. Neither would I have written these fables, but that they are authentike among the papists, and that we that are protestants may be satisfied, as well of conjurors and witches miracles, as of the others : for the one is as grosse as the other.

Secundùm Bordinum Corrigens. Quæsit. Math. tract. 1. *sect.* 77. **332.**

Psellus de operatione dæmonum.

460.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

A pleasant miracle wrought by a popish preest.

WHAT time the *Waldenses* heresies beganne to spring, certeine wicked men, being upheld and mainteined by diabolicall vertue, shewed certeine signes and woonders, wherby they strengthened and confirmed their heresies, and perverted in faith many faithfull men ; for they walked on the water and were not drowned. But a certeine catholike preest seeing the same, and knowing that true signes could not be joined with false doctrine, brought the bodie of our Lord, with the pix, to

In speculo exemplorum, dist. 6. ex lib. exemplorum, Cæsariis, exempl. 69.

Memorandum, it is confessed in poperie that true miracles cannot be joined with false doctrine: *Ergo* neither papist, witch, nor conjuror can worke miracles.

the water, where they shewed their power and vertue to the people, and said in the hearing of all that were present: I conjure thee O divell, by him, whom I carrie in my hands, that thou exercise not these great visions and phantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the preest in a rage threw the bodie of our Lord, with the pix into the river, and by and by, so soone as the sacrament touched the element, the phantasie gave place to the veritie; and they being prooved and made false, did sinke like lead to the bottome, and were drowned; the pix with the sacrament immediatlie was taken awaie by an angell. The preest seeing all these things, was verie glad of the miracle, but for the losse of the sacrament he was verie pensive, passing awaie the whole night in teares and moorning: in the morning he found the pix with the sacrament upon the altar.//

The xxxviii. Chapter.

461. 333. *The former miracle confuted, with a strange storie of saint Lucie.*

HOW glad Sir John was now it were follie for me to saie. How would he have plagued the divell, that threw his god in the river to be drowned? But if other had had no more power to destroie the *Waldenses* with sword and fier, than this preest had to drowne them with his conjuring boxe & cousening sacraments, there should have beene many a life saved. But I may not omit one fable, which is of authoritie, wherein though there be no conjuration expressed, yet I warrant you there was cousenage both in the dooing and telling thereof. ☞ You shall read in the lesson on saint *Lucies* daie, that she being condemned, could not be remooved from the place with a teeme of oxen, neither could any fier burne hir, insomuch as one was faine to cut off hir head with a sword, and yet she could speake afterwards as long as she list. And this passeth all other miracles, except it be that which *Bodin* and *M. Mal.* recite out of *Nider*, of a witch that could not be burned, till a scroll was taken awaie from where she hid it, betwixt hir skin and flesh.

Lect. in die sanctæ Luciæ 7 & 8.

The xxxix. Chapter.

Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds, and of other illusions, of wandering soules: with a confutation thereof.

MANIE thorough melancholie doo imagine, that they see or heare visions, spirits, ghosts, strange noises, &c: as I have alreadie prooved before, at large. Manie againe thorough feare proceeding from a cowardlie nature and complexion, or from an effeminate and fond bringing up, are timerous and afraid of/ spirits, and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their owne shadowes, and (as *Aristotle* saith) see themselves sometimes as it were in a glasse. And some through weakenesse of bodie have such unperfect imaginations. Droonken men also sometimes suppose they see trees walke, &c: according to that which *Salomon* saith to the droonkards; Thine eies shall see strange visions, and mervellous appearances.

See the storie of Simō Davie and Ade his wife, lib. 3. cap. 10. pag. 55, 56, 57. *462.*

In all ages moonks and preests have abused and bewitched the world with counterfet visions; which proceeded through idlenes, and restraint of marriage, wherby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore devised such meanes to compasse and obteine their loves. And the simple people being then so superstitious, would never seeme to mistrust, that such holie men would make them cuckholds, but forsooke their beds in that case, and gave roome to the cleargie. Item, little children have beene so scared with their mothers maids, that they could never after endure to be in the darke alone, for feare of bugs. Manie are deceived by glasses through/ art perspective. **334.** Manie hearkening unto false reports, conceive and beleeve that which is nothing so. Manie give credit to that which they read in authors. But how manie stories and bookes are written of walking spirits and soules of men, contrarie to the word of God; a reasonable volume cannot conteine. How common an opinion was it among the papists, that all soules walked on the earth, after they departed from their bodies? In so much as it was in the time of poperie a usuall matter, to desire sicke people in their death beds, to appeare to them after their death, and to reveale their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulous herein, &c. Therefore no mervell, though the common simple sort of men, and least of all, that women be deceived herein. God in times past did send downe visible angels and appearances to men; but now he dooth not so. Through ignorance of late in religion, it was thought, that everie

Against the counterfet visions of popish preests, & other cousening devises.

churchyard swarmed with soules and spirits : but now the word of God being more free, open, and knowne, those conceipts and illusions are made more manifest and apparent, &c.

The doctors, councels, and popes, which (they saie) cannot erre,
463. have confirmed the walking, appearing, & raising of soules./ But where find they in the scriptures anie such doctrine? And who certified them, that those appearances were true? Trulie all they cannot bring to passe, that the lies which have beene spread abroad herein, should now beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seale, and sweare thereunto never so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who heareth their noises? Who seeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such mone for trentals, whereby to be eased of the paines in purgatorie? Are they all gone into *Italie*, bicause masses are growne deere here in *England*? Marke well this illusion, and see how contrarie it is unto the word of God. Consider how all papists beleeve this illusion to be true, and how all protestants are driven to saie it is and was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that wandered to have buriall for their bodies? For manie of those walking soules went about that busines. Doo you not thinke, that the papists shew not themselves godlie divines, to preach and teach the people such doctrine; and to insert into their divine service such fables as are read in the Romish church, all scripture giving place thereto for the time? You shall see in the lessons read there upon S. *Stevens* daie, that *Gamaliel Nichodemus* his kinsman, and *Abdias* his sonne, with his freend S. *Steven*, appeared to a certeine preest, called Sir *Lucian*, requesting him to remove their bodies, and to burie them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of their death, untill then, being in the reigne of *Honorius* the emperor; to wit, foure hundred yeeres buried in the field of *Gamaliel*, who in that respect said to Sir *Lucian* ; *Non mei solummodo causa solicitus sum, sed potiùs pro illis qui mecum sunt* ; that is, I am not onlie carefull for my selfe, but cheefelie for those my friends that are with me. Whereby the whole course may be perceived to be a false practise, and a counterfet vision, or rather a lewd invention. For in heaven mens soules remaine not in sorow and care ; neither studie
335. they there how to compasse/ and get a worshipfull buriall here in earth. If they did, they would not have foreslowed it so long. Now therefore let us not suffer our selves to be abused anie longer, either with conjuring preests, or melancholicall witches ; but be thankfull to God that hath delivered us from such blindnes and error./

This doctrine was not onlie preached, but also prooved ; note the particular instãces following.

The xl. Chapter.

464.

Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfet visions grow to be credited, of popish appeerances, of pope Boniface.

CARDANUS speaking of noises, among other things, saith thus ; A noise is heard in your house ; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among dishes ; it may be a counterfet or a theefe indeed, or the fault may be in your eares. I could recite a great number of tales, how men have even forsaken their houses, bicause of such apparitions and noises : and all hath beene by meere and ranke knaverie. And wheresoever you shall heare, that there is in the night season such rumbling and fearefull noises, be you well assured that it is flat knaverie, performed by some that seemeth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And hereof there is a verie art, which for some respects I will not discover. The divell seeketh dailie as well as nightlie whome he may devoure, and can doo his feats as well by daie as by night, or else he is a yoong divell, and a verie bungler. But of all other couseners, these conjurors are in the highest degree, and are most worthie of death for their blasphemous impietie. But that these popish visions and conjurations used as well by papists, as by the popes themselves, were meere cousenages ; and that the tales of the popes recited by *Bruno* and *Platina*, of their magicall devises, were but plaine cousenages and knaveries, may appeare by the historie of *Bonifacius* the eight, who used this kind of inchantment, to get away the popedome from his predecessor *Cœlestinus*. He counterfetted a voice through a cane reed, as though it had come from heaven, persuading him to yeeld up his authoritie of popeship, and to institute therein one *Bonifacius*, a worthier man : otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therfore the foole yeelded it up accordinglie, to the said *Bonifacius*, *An.* 1264. of whom it was said ; He came in like a fox, lived like a woolfe, and died like a dog./

H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 15. ca. 92.

Pope *Cœlestinus* cousened of his popedome by pope *Boniface.*

465.

There be innumerable examples of such visions, which when they are not detected, go for true stories : and therefore when it is answered that some are true tales and some are false, untill they be able to shew foorth before your eies one matter of truth, you may replie upon them with this distinction ;

to wit : visions tried are false
visions, undecided and
untried are
true./

Visions distinguished

336.

The xli. Chapter.

Of the noise or sound of eccho, of one that narrowlie escaped drowning thereby, &c.

ALAS! how manie naturall things are there so strange, as to manie seeme miraculous; and how manie counterfet matters are there, that to the simple seeme yet more wonderfull? *Cardane* telleth of one *Comensis*, who comming late to a rivers side, not knowing where to passe over, cried out alowd for some bodie to shew him the foord: who hearing an eccho to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the waie, he passed through the river, even there where was a deepe whirlepoole, so as he hardlie escaped with his life; and told his freends, that the divell had almost persuaded him to drowne himselfe. And in some places these noises of eccho are farre more strange than other, speciallie at *Ticinum* in *Italie*, in the great hall, where it rendereth sundrie and manifold noises or voices, which seeme to end so lamentablie, as it were a man that laie a dieng; so as few can be persuaded that it is the eccho, but a spirit that answereth.

H. Card. lib. de subtilitat. 18.

Idem, ibid.

Of Winchester noise.

The noise at *Winchester* was said to be a verie miracle, and much wondering was there at it, about the yeare 1569. though indeed a meere naturall noise ingendered of the wind, the concavitie of the place, and other instrumentall matters helping the sound to seeme strange to the hearers; speciallie to such as would adde new reports to the augmentation of the woonder. /

466.

The xlii. Chapter.

Of Theurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter sent to me concerning these matters.

THERE is yet another art professed by these cousening conjurors, which some fond divines affirme to be more honest and lawfull than necromancie, which is called Theurgie; wherein they worke by good angels. Howbeit, their ceremonies are altogether papisticall and superstitious, consisting in cleanlines partlie of the mind, partlie of the bodie, and partlie of things about and belonging to the bodie; as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in the vessell and houshold stuffe, in

oblations and sacrifices; the cleanlines whereof, they saie, dooth dispose men to the contemplation of heavenlie things. They cite these words of *Esaie* for their authoritie; to wit: Wash your selves and be cleane, &c. In so much as I have knowne diverse superstitious persons of good account, which usuallie washed all their apparell upon conceits ridiculouslie. For uncleanlinesse (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chaseth awaie cleane/ spirits. 337.
Hereunto belongeth the art of *Almadel*, the art of *Paule*, the art of Revelations, and the art Notarie. But (as *Agrippa* saith) the more divine these arts seeme to the ignorant, the more damnable they be. But their false assertions, their presumptions to worke miracles, their characters, their strange names, their diffuse phrases, their counterfet holines, their popish ceremonies, their foolish words mingled with impietie, their barbarous and unlearned order of construction, their shameles practises, their paltrie stuffe, their secret dealing, their beggerlie life, their bargaining with fooles, their cousening of the simple, their scope and drift for monie dooth bewraie all their art to be counterfet cousenage. And the more throughlie to satisfie you herein, I thought good in this place to insert a letter, upon occasion sent unto me, by one which at this present time lieth as a prisoner condemned for this verie matter in the kings bench, and reprived by hir majesties mer/cie, 467.
through the good mediation of a most noble and vertuous personage, whose honorable and godlie disposition at this time I will forbeare to commend as I ought. The person truelie that wrote this letter seemeth unto me a good bodie, well reformed, and penitent, not expecting anie gaines at my hands, but rather fearing to speake that which he knoweth further in this matter, least displeasure might ensue and follow.

Appendents unto the supposed divine art of Theurgie.

The copie of a letter sent unto me R. S. by T. E.

*Maister of art, and practiser both of physicke, and also in times past, of certeine vaine sciences; now condemned to die for the same: wherein he openeth the truth touching these deceits.**

[* Lines 1, 3, 5 Rom. 2, 4 Ital.]

MAISTER R. SCOT,† according to your request, I have drawne out certeine abuses worth the noting, touching the worke you have in hand; things which I my selfe have seene within these xxvi. yeares, among those which were counted famous and skilfull in those sciences. And bicause the whole

Marke the summe and scope of this letter.

[† This letter in Rom.]

discourse cannot be set downe, without nominating certeine persons, of whom some are dead & some living, whose freends remaine yet of great credit: in respect therof, I knowing that mine enimies doo alreadie in number exceed my freends; I have considered with my selfe, that it is better for me to staie my hand, than to commit that to the world, which may increase my miserie more than releeve the same. Notwithstanding, bicause I am noted above a great manie others to have had some dealings in those vaine arts and wicked practises; I am therefore to signifie unto you, and I speake it in the presence of God, that among all those famous and noted practisers, that I have beene conversant withall these xxvi. yeares, I could never
468. *see anie matter of truth to be| doone in those wicked sciences, but onelie meere cousenings and illusions. And they, whome I thought to be most skilfull therein, sought to see some things at my hands, who had spent my time a dozen or fourteen years, to my great losse*
338. *and hinderance, and could| never at anie time see anie one truth, or sparkle of truth therein. Yet at this present I stand worthilie condemned for the same; for that, contrarie to my princes lawes, and the lawe of God, and also to mine owne conscience, I did spend my time in such vaine and wicked studies and practises: being made and remaining a spectacle for all others to receive warning by. The Lord grant I may be the last (I speake it from my hart) and I wish it, not onlie in my native coũtrie, but also through the whole face of the earth, speciallie among Christians. For mine owne part I lament my time lost, & have repented me five yeares past: at which time I sawe a booke, written in the old Saxon toong, by one Sir John Malborne a divine of Oxenford, three hundred yeares past; wherein he openeth all the illusions & inventions of those arts and sciences: a thing most worthie the noting. I left the booke with the parson of Slangham in Sussex, where if you send for it in my name, you may have it. You shall thinke your labour well bestowed, and it shall greatlie further the good enterprise you have in hand: and there shall you see the whole science throughlie discussed, and all their illusions and cousenages deciphered at large. Thus craving pardon at your hands for that I promised you, being verie fearefull, doubtfull, and loth to set my hand or name under any thing that may be offensive to the world, or hurtfull to my selfe, considering my case, except I had the better warrant from my L. of Leicester, who is my verie good Lord, and by whome next under God (hir Majestie onelie excepted) I have beene preserved; and therefore loth to doo any thing that may*
469. *offend his Lordships eares.| And so I leave your Worship to the Lords keeping, who bring you and all your actions to good end and purpose, to Gods glorie, and to the profit of all Christians. From*

S. John Malbornes booke detecting the devises of conjuratiõ, &c.

the bench this 8. *of March*, 1582. *Your Worships poore and desolate friend and servant, T. E.*

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of *Slangham*, and procured his best friends, men of great worship and credit, to deale with him, that I might borrowe it for a time. But such is his follie and superstition, that although he confessed he had it ; yet he would not lend it : albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire would have given his word for the restitution of the same safe and sound.

The author his conclusion.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, whatsoever heeretofore hath gone for currant, touching all these fallible arts, whereof hitherto I have written in ample sort, be now counted counterfet, and therefore not to be allowed no not by common sense, much lesse by reason, which should sift such cloked and pretended practises, turning them out of their rags and patched clowts, that they may appeere discovered, and shew themselves in their nakednesse. Which will be the end of everie secret intent, privie purpose, hidden practise, and close devise, have they never such shrowds and shelters for the time: and be they with never so much cautelousnesse and subtill circumspection clouded and shadowed, yet will they at length be manifestlie detected by the light, according to that old rimed verse :/

339.

Andræas Gartnerus Mariæmontanus. Eng. by Ab. Fle.

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne revelat :

What thing soever snowe dooth hide,
Heat of the sunne dooth make it spide.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Nazarite, who never told untruth, but who is the substance and groundworke of truth it selfe, saieng ; *Nihil est tam occultum quod non sit detegendum*, Nothing is so secret, but it shall be knowne and revealed./

Matt. 10, 26.
Mark 4 22.
Luke. 8, 17.
*And. 12, 2,
[* =and]

470.

¶ *The xvi. booke.*

The first Chapter.

A conclusion, in maner of an epilog, repeating manie of the former absurdities of witchmongers conceipts, confutations thereof, and of the authoritie of James Sprenger and Henrie Institor inquisitors and compilers of M. Mal.

HITHERTO you have had delivered unto you, that which I have conceived and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principall parts wherof I can see no difference among the writers heereupon ; of what countrie, condition, estate, or religion so ever they be ; but I find almost all of them to agree in unconstancie, fables, and impossibilities ; scratching out of *M. Mal.* the substance of all their arguments : so as their authors being disapproved, they must coine new stuffe, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wives tales, whereof this art of witchcraft is contrived. But you must know that *James Sprenger*, and *Henrie Institor*, whome I have had occasion to alledge manie times, were coparteners in the composition of that profound & learned booke called *Malleus Maleficarum*, & were the greatest doctors of that art : out of whom I have gathered matter and absurditie enough, to confound the opinions conceived of witchcraft ; although they were allowed inquisitors and assigned by the pope, with the authoritie and commendation of all the doctors of the universitie of *Collen*, &c : to call before/ them, to imprison, to condemne, and to execute witches ; and finallie to seaze and confiscate their goods./

The compilers or makers of the booke called A Mallet to braine witches.

471.

[* *sic*]

340. These two doctors, to mainteine their their* credit, and to cover their injuries, have published those same monsterous lies, which have abused all Christendome, being spread abroad with such authoritie, as it will be hard to suppresse the credit of their writings, be they never so ridiculous and false. Which although they mainteine and stirre up with their owne praises ; yet men are so bewitched, as to give credit unto them. For proofe whereof I remember they write in one place of their said booke, that by reason of their severe proceedings against witches, they suffered intollerable assaults, speciallie in the night, many times finding needdels sticking in their biggens,

No marvel that they were so opinionative herein, for God gave

which were thither conveied by witches charmes : and through their innocencie and holinesse (they saie) they were ever miraculouslie preserved from hurt. Howbeit they affirme that they will not tell all that might make to the manifestation of their holines : for then should their owne praise stinke in their owne mouthes. And yet God knoweth their whole booke conteineth nothing but stinking lies and poperie. Which groundworke and foundation how weake and wavering it is, how unlike to continue, and how slenderlie laid, a child may soone discerne and perceive.

them over into strong delusions.

The second Chapter.

By what meanes the common people have beene made beleeve in the miraculous works of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.

THE common people have beene so assotted and bewitched, with whatsoever poets have feigned of witchcraft, either in earnest, in jest, or else in derision ; and with whatsoever lowd liers and couseners for their pleasures heerein have invented, and with whatsoever tales they have heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids, and with whatsoever the grandfoole/ their ghostlie father, or anie other morrow masse preest had informed them ; and finallie with whatsoever they have swallowed up through tract of time, or through their owne timerous nature or ignorant conceipt, concerning these matters of hagges and witches : as they have so settled their opinion and credit thereupon, that they thinke it heresie to doubt in anie part of the matter ; speciallie bicause they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures; which is as to defend praieng to saincts, bicause *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* is written in *Te Deum.*

472.

The definition or description of witchcraft.

And now to come to the definition of witchcraft, which hitherto I did deferre and put off purposelie : that you might perceive the true nature thereof, by the circumstances, and therefore the rather to allow of the same, seeing the varietie of other writers. Witchcraft is in truth a cousening art, wherin the name of God is abused, prophaned and blasphemed, and his power attributed to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a supernaturall worke, contrived betweene a corporall old woman, and a spirituall divell. The maner thereof is so secret, mysticall,/ and strange, that to this daie there hath never beene any credible witnes therof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull; a probable matter to children, fooles,

The formal cause.

341.

The finall cause.

The materiall cause.

melancholike persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes evill, as when thereby man or beast, grasse, trees, or corne, &c; is hurt: sometimes good, as whereby sicke folkes are healed, theeves bewraied, and true men come to their goods, &c. The matter and instruments, wherewith it is accomplished, are words, charmes, signes, images, characters, &c: the which words although any other creature doo pronounce, in maner and forme as they doo, leaving out no circumstance requisite or usuall for that action: yet none is said to have the grace or gift to performe the matter, except she be a witch, and so taken, either by hir owne consent, or by others imputation./

473.

The third Chapter.

Reasons to proove that words and characters are but bables, & that witches cannot doo such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest woonders prooved trifles, of a yoong gentleman cousened.

THAT words, characters, images, and such other trinkets, which are thought so necessarie instruments for witchcraft (as without the which no such thing can be accomplished) are but bables, devised by couseners, to abuse the people withall; I trust I have sufficientlie prooved. And the same maie be further and more plainelie perceived by these short and compendious reasons following.

A necessarie sequele.

First, in that the *Turkes* and infidels, in their witchcraft, use both other words, and other characters than our witches doo, and also such as are most contrarie. In so much as, if ours be bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doo anie thing, ours can doo nothing. For as our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despise his sacraments: so doo the other forsake *Mahomet*, and his lawes, which is one large step to christianitie.

Probatum est, by mother Bungies confessiõ that al witches are couseners.

It is also to be thought, that all witches are couseners; when mother *Bungie*, a principall witch, so reputed, tried, and condemned of all men, and continuing in that exercise and estimation manie yeares (having cousened & abused the whole realme, in so much as there came to hir, witchmongers from all the furthest parts of the land, she being in diverse bookes set out with authoritie, registred and chronicled by the name of the great witch of *Rochester*, and reputed among all men for the cheefe ringleader of all other witches) by good

proofe is found to be a meere cousener ; confessing in hir death bed freelie, without compulsion or inforcement, that hir cunning consisted onlie in deluding and deceiving the people : saving that she had (towards the maintenance of hir credit in that cousening trade) some sight in physicke and surgerie, and the assistance of a freend of hirs,/ 342.
cal/led *Heron*, a professor thereof. And this I know, partlie of mine *474.*
owne knowledge, and partlie by the testimonie of hir husband, and others of credit, to whome (I saie) in hir death bed, and at sundrie other times she protested these things ; and also that she never had indeed anie materiall spirit or divell (as the voice went) nor yet knew how to worke anie supernaturall matter, as she in hir life time made men beleeve she had and could doo.

The like may be said of one *T.* of *Canturburie*, whose name I will not litterallie discover, who wonderfullie abused manie in these parts, making them thinke he could tell where anie thing lost became : with diverse other such practises, whereby his fame was farre beyond the others. And yet on his death bed he confessed, that he knew nothing more than anie other, but by slight and devises, without the assistance of anie divell or spirit, saving the spirit of cousenage : and this did he (I saie) protest before manie of great honestie, credit, & wisedome, who can witnesse the same, and also gave him good commendations for his godlie and honest end.

Againe, who will mainteine, that common witchcrafts are not cousenages, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had stolne credit not onlie from all the common people, but from men of great wisdome and authoritie, are discovered to be beggerlie slights of cousening varlots ? Which otherwise might and would have remained a perpetuall objection against me. Were there not * three images of late yeeres found in a doonghill, to the terror & astonishment of manie thousands ? In so much as great matters were thought to have beene pretended to be doone by witchcraft. But if the Lord preserve those persons (whose destruction was doubted to have beene intended therby) from all other the lewd practises and attempts of their enimies ; I feare not, but they shall easilie withstand these and such like devises, although they should indeed be practised against them. But no doubt, if such bables could have brought those matters of mischeefe to passe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papists ; we should long since have beene deprived of the most excellent jewell and comfort that we enjoy in this world. Howbeit, I confesse, that the feare, conceipt, and doubt of such mischeefous pretenses may breed inconvenience to them that stand in awe of the/ same. And I *475.*
wish, that even for such practises, though they never can or doo take effect, the practisers be punished with all extremitie : bicause therein

[*] J. Bodin in the preface before his booke of *Dæmonomania* reporteth this by a conjuring preest late Curat of Islington: hee also sheweth to what end : read the place you that understād Latine.

is manifested a traiterous heart to the Queene, and a presumption against God.

Note this devise of the waxen images found of late neere London.

But to returne to the discoverie of the aforesaid knaverie and witchcraft. So it was that one old cousener, wanting monie, devised or rather practised (for it is a stale devise) to supplie his want, by promising a yoong Gentleman, whose humor he thought would that waie be well served, that for the summe of fourtie pounds, he would not faile by his cunning in that art of witchcraft, to procure unto him the love of anie three women whome he would name, and of whome he should make choise at his pleasure. The yoong Gentleman being abused with his cunning devises, and too hastilie yeelding to that motion, satisfied this cunning mans demand of monie. Which, bicause he had it not presentlie to disbursse, provided it for him at
343. the/ hands of a freend of his. Finallie, this cunning man made the three puppets of wax, &c : leaving nothing undone that appertained to the cousenage, untill he had buried them, as you have heard. But I omit to tell what a doo was made herof, and also what reports and lies were bruted ; as what white dogs and blacke dogs there were seene in the night season passing through the watch, mawgre all their force and preparation against them, &c. But the yoong Gentleman, who for a litle space remained in hope mixed with joy and love, now through tract of time hath those his felicities powdered with doubt and despaire. For in steed of atchieving his love, he would gladlie have obteined his monie. But bicause he could by no meanes get either the one or the other (his monie being in hucksters handling, and his sute in no better forwardnes) he revealed the whole matter, hoping by that meanes to recover his monie ; which he neither can yet get againe, nor hath paied it where he borrowed. But till triall was had of his simplicitie or rather follie herein, he received some trouble himselfe hereabouts, though now dismissed./

476.

The fourth Chapter.

Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no scriptures but canonicall, of a divel that could speake no Latine, a proofe that witchcraft is flat cousenage.

A strange miracle, if it were true.

HERE I may aptlie insert another miracle of importance, that happened within the compasse of a childes remembrance, which may induce anie resonable bodie to conceive, that these supernaturall actions are but fables & cousenages. There was one, whom for some respects I name not,

that was taken blind, deafe, & dumbe; so as no physician could helpe him. That man (forsooth) though he was (as is said) both blind, dumbe & deafe. yet could he read anie canonicall scriptures; but as for apocrypha, he could read none: wherein a Gods name consisted the miracle. But a leafe of apocrypha being extraordinarilie inserted among the canonicall scriptures, he read the same as authentike: wherein his knaverie was bewraied. Another had a divell, that answered men to all questions, marie hir divell could understand no Latine, and so was she (and by such meanes all the rest may be) bewraied. Indeed our witching writers saie, that certeine divels speake onelie the language of that countrie where they are resiant, as French, or English, &c.

There the hypocrite was overmatcht for all his dissembled gravitie.

Furthermore, in my conceipt, nothing prooveth more apparentlie that witchcraft is cousenage, and that witches instruments are but ridiculous bables, and altogither void of effect; than when learned and godlie divines, in their serious writings, produce experiments as wrought by witches, and by divels at witches commandements: which they expound by miracles, although indeed meere trifles. Whereof they conceive amisse, being overtaken with credulitie.//

The fift Chapter. *477.* 344.

Of the divination by the sive and sheeres, and by the booke and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clocke, of certeine jugling knacks, manifold reasons for the overthrowe of witches and conjurors, and their cousenages, of the divels transformations, of Ferrum candens, &c.*

[* Latin in Ital.]

TO passe over all the fables, which are vouched by the popish doctors, you shall heare the words of *N. Hemingius*, whose zeale & learning otherwise I might justlie commend: howbeit I am sorie and ashamed to see his ignorance and follie in this behalfe. Neither would I have bewraied it, but that he himselfe, among other absurdities concerning the maintenance of witches omnipotencie, hath published it to his great discredit. Popish preests (saith he) as the *Chaldæans* used the divination by sive & sheeres* for the detection of theft, doo practise with a psalter and a keie fastned upon the 49. psalme, to discover a theefe. And when the names of the suspected persons are orderlie put into the pipe of the keie, at the reading of these words of the psalme [If thou sawest a theefe thou diddest consent unto him]† the booke will

Heming. in lib. de superst. magicis.

[* p. *262*]

[† [] in text]

wagge, and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the keie must be the theefe. Hereupon *Hemingius* inferreth, that although conjuring preests and witches bring not this to passe by the absolute words of the psalme, which tend to a farre other scope ; yet sathan dooth nimblie, with his invisible hand, give such a twitch to the booke, as also in the other case to the sive and the sheeres, that downe falles the booke and keie, sive and sheeres, up starts the theefe, and awaie runneth the divell laughing, &c.

The greatest clarkes are not the wisest men.

But alas, *Hemingius* is deceived, as not perceiving the conceipt, or rather the deceipt hereof. For where he supposeth those actions to
478. be miraculous, and done by a divell ; they are in truth/ meere bables, wherein consisteth not so much as legierdemaine. For everie carter may conceive the slight hereof : bicause the booke and keie, sive and sheeres, being staied up in that order, by naturall course, of necessitie must within that space (by meanes of the aire, and the pulse beating at the fingers end) turne and fall downe. Which experience being knowne to the witch or conjuror, she or he doo forme and frame their prophesie accordinglie : as whosoever maketh proofe thereof shall manifestlie perceive it. By this art, practise, or experience, you shall knowe what it is a clocke, if you hold betweene your finger and your thumbe a thred of six or seven inches long, unto the other end whereof is tied a gold ring, or some such like thing : in such sort as upon the beating of your pulse, and the mooving of the ring, the same may strike upon either side of a goblet or glasse. These things are (I confesse) witchcraft, bicause the effect or event proceedeth not of that cause which such couseners saie, and others beleeve they doo. As when they laie a medicine for the ague, &c : to a childs wrists, they also pronounce certeine words or charmes, by vertue whereof
345. (they saie)/ the child is healed : whereas indeed the medicine onelie dooth the feate. And this is also a sillie jugglers knacke, which wanteth legierdemaine, whom you shall see to thrust a pinne, or a small knife, through the head and braine of a chicken or pullet, and with certeine mysticall words seeme to cure him:* whereas, though no such words were spoken, the chicken would live, and doo well enough ; as experience teacheth and declareth.

A naturall reason of the former knacke.

[* p. 346.]

Againe, when such as have mainteined the art and profession of conjuring, and have written thereupon most cunninglie, have published recantations, and confessed the deceipts thereof, as *Cornelius Agrippa* did, whie should we defend it? Also, when heathen princes, of great renowne, authoritie, & learning, have searched, with much industrie and charge, the knowledge & secrecie of conjuration and witchcraft, & finallie found by experience all to be false and vaine that is reported

C. Agripp. in lib. de vanit. scient. & in epistola ante librum de occulta philosophia.

of them, as *Nero*, *Julianus apostata*, and *Valence* did; whie should we seeke for further triall, to proove witchcraft and conjuration to be cousenage? *Plin. lib. natural. hist. 30. cap. 1. Pet. Mart. in locis communibus.*

Also, when the miracles imputed unto them, exceed in quantitie, qualitie and number, all the miracles that Christ wrought here upon earth, for the establishing of his gospell, for the confir/mation of our faith, and for the advancement of his glorious name; what good christian will beleeve them to be true? And when Christ himselfe saith; The works that I doo, no man else can accomplish; whie should we thinke that a foolish old woman can doo them all, and manie more? *479.*

Also, when Christ knew not these witches, nor spake one word of them in all the time of his being here upon earth, having such necessarie occasion (if at leastwise they with their familiars could doo as he did by the spirit of God, as is constantlie affirmed) whie should we suppose that they can doo as they saie, but rather that they are deceivers[?*] When they are faine to saie, that witches wrought not in that art, all those thirtie three yeares that Christ lived, and that there were none in *Jobs* time, and that the cousening oracles are now ceased; who seeth not that they are witlesse, and madde fooles that mainteine it? When all the mischeefes are accomplished by poisons and naturall meanes, which they affirme to be brought to passe by words, it manifesteth to the world their cousenage. When all the places of scripture, which witchmongers allowe for the proofe of such witches, are prooved to make nothing for their purpose, their own fables & lies deserve small credit. When one of the cheefe points in controversie; to wit, execution of witches, is grounded upon a false translation; namelie, You shall not suffer a witch to live (which is in Latine,† *Veneficam non retinebitis in vita*) where the word in everie mans eare soundeth to be a poisoner, rather than a worker of miracles, and so interpreted by the seventie interpretors, *Josephus*, and almost of all the *Rabbins*, which were *Hebrues* borne: whie should anie of their interpretations or allegations be trusted, or well accounted of? When working of miracles is ceased, and the gift of prophesie also; so as the godlie, through invocation of the holie spirit, cannot performe such wonderfull things, as these witches and conjurors by the invocation of divels and wicked spirits undertake, and are said to doo; what man that knoweth and honoureth God will be so in/fatuate as to beleeve these lies, and so preferre the power of witches and divels before the godlie endued with Gods holie spirit? When manie printed bookes are published, even with authoritie, in confirmation of such miracles wrought by those couseners, for the detection of witchcraft; and *480.*

[* text (.)] Note that during all Christs time upon earth, which was 33. yeares, witches were put to silence, &c.

[† Not in Vulg.]

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in fine all is not onelie found false, and to have beene accomplished by cousenage, but that there hath beene therein a set purpose to defame honest matrones, as to make them be thought to be witches: whie should we beleeve *Bodin, M. Mal. &c*: in their cousening tales and fables? When they saie that witches can flie in the aire, and come in at a little coane,* or a hole in a glasse windowe, and steale awaie sucking children, and hurt their mothers; and yet when they are brought into prison, they cannot escape out of the grate, which is farre bigger: who will not condemne such accusations or confessions to be frivolous, &c? When (if their assertions were true) concerning the divels usuall taking of shapes, and walking, talking, conferring, hurting, and all maner of dealing with mortall creatures, Christs argument to *Thomas* had beene weake and easilie answered; yea the one halfe, or all the whole world might be inhabited by divels, everie poore mans house might be hired over his head by a divell, he might take the shape and favor of an honest woman, and plaie the witch; or of an honest man, and plaie the theefe, and so bring them both, or whome he list to the gallowes: who seeth not the vanitie of such assertions? For then the divell might in the likenes of an honest man commit anie criminall offense; as *Lavater* in his nineteenth chapter *De spectris* reporteth of a grave wise magistrate in the territorie of *Tigurie*, who affirmed, that as he and his servant went through certeine pastures, he espied in a morning, the divell in likenes of one whome he knew verie well, wickedlie dealing with a mare. Upon the sight whereof he immediatlie went to that fellowes house, and certeinlie learned there, that the same person went not out of his chamber that daie. And if he had not wiselie boolted out the matter, the good honest man (saith he) had surelie beene cast into prison, and put on the racke, &c.

[* = crack]
[* Cf. p. *91*.]

But Christs argument was undoubted: *Ergo, &c.*

I marvell for what purpose the magistrate went to that fellowes house.

The like storie we read of one *Cunegunda*, wife to *Henrie* the second emperor of that name, in whose chamber the divell (in the likenes of a yoongman, with whome she was suspected to be too familiar in court) was often seene comming in and out. How beit, she was purged by the triall *Candentis ferri*, and prooved innocent: for she went upon glowing iron unhurt, &c. And yet *Salomon* saith; Maie a man carrie fier in his bosome, and his/ clothes not be burned? Or can a man go upon coles, & his feete not scortched? And thus might the divell get him up into everie pulpit, and spred heresies, as I doubt not but he dooth in the mouth of wicked preachers, though not so grosselie as is imagined and reported by the papists and witchmongers. And because it shall not be said that I beelie them, I will cite a storie crediblie reported by their cheefest doctors; namelie *James Sprenger*, and *Henrie Institor*, who saie as followeth, even word for word./

Albertus Crantzius in lib. 4. metropolis. cap. 4.

Prov. 6.

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Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 9.

The sixt Chapter. 347.

How the divell preached good doctrine in the shape of a preest, how he was discovered, and that it is a shame (after confutation of the greater witchcrafts) for anie man to give credit to the lesser points thereof.

ON a time the divell went up into a pulpit, and there made a verie catholike sermon : but a holie preest comming to the good speed, by his holinesse perceived that it was the divell. So he gave good eare unto him, but could find no fault with his doctrine. And therefore so soone as the sermon was doone, he called the divell unto him, demanding the cause of his sincere preaching ; who answered : Behold I speake the truth, knowing that while men be hearers of the word, and not followers, God is the more offended, and my kingdome the more inlarged. And this was the strangest devise (I thinke) that ever anie divell used : for the apostles themselves could have done no more. Againe, when with all their familiars, their ointments, &c : whereby they ride invisiblie, nor with all their charmes, they can neither conveie themselves from the hands of such as laie wait for them ; nor can get out of prison, that otherwise can go in and out at a mouse hole* ; nor finallie can save themselves from the gallowes, that can transubstantiate their own and others bodies into flies or fleas, &c : who seeth not, that either they lie, or are beelied in their miracles? When they are said to transfer their neighbors corne into/ their owne ground, and yet are *482.* perpetuall beggers, and cannot inrich themselves, either with monie or otherwise : who is so foolish as to remaine longer in doubt of their supernaturall power? When never any yet from the beginning of the world till this daie, hath openlie shewed any other tricke, conceipt, or cunning point of witchcraft, than legierdemaine or cousenage : who will tarrie any longer for further triall? When both the common law and also the injunctions doo condemne prophesieng, & likewise false miracles, and such as beleeve them in these daies : who will not be afraid to give credit to those knaveries? When heereby they make the divell to be a god that heareth the praiers, and understandeth the minds of men : who will not be ashamed, being a christian, to be so abused by them? When they that doo write most franklie of these matters, except lieng *Sprenger* & *Institor*, have never seene any thing heerin ; insomuch as the most credible proofe that *Bodin* bringeth of his woonderfull tales of witch- *John. Bodin.*

He should rather have asked who gave him orders and licence to preach.

[* pp. *91*, *222*.]

craft, is the report of his host at an alehouse where he baited : who will give further eare unto these incredible fables ? When in all the new testament, we are not warned of these bodilie appearances of divels, as we are of his other subtilties, &c : who will be afraid of their bugs ? When no such bargaine is mentioned in the scriptures, why should we beleeve so incredible and impossible covenants, being the ground of all witchmongers religion, without the which they have no probabilitie in the rest of their foolish assertions ? When as, if any honest mans conscience be appealed unto, he must confesse he never saw triall of such witch/craft or conjuration to take effect, as is now so certeinlie affirmed : what conscience can condemne poore soules that are accused wrongfullie, or beleeve them that take upon them impiouslie to doo or worke those impossible things ? When the whole course of the scripture is utterlie repugnant to these impossible opinions, saving a few sentences, which neverthelesse rightlie understood, releeve them nothing at all : who will be seduced by their fond arguments ? When as now that men have spied the knaverie of oracles, & such pelfe, and that there is not one oracle in the world remaining : who cannot perceive that all the residue heeretofore of those devises, have beene cousenages, knaveries, and lies ? When the power of God is so impudentlie transferred to a base crea/ture, what good christian can abide to yeeld unto such miracles wrought by fooles ? When the old women accused of witchcraft, are utterlie insensible, and unable to saie for themselves ; and much lesse to bring such matters to passe, as they are accused of : who will not lament to see the extremitie used against them ? When the foolisher sort of people are alwaies most mistrustfull of hurt by witchcraft, and the simplest and dotingest people mistrusted to doo the hurt : what wise man will not conceive all to be but follie ? When it were an easie matter for the divell, if he can doo as they affirme, to give them great store of monie, and make them rich, and dooth it not ; being a thing which would procure him more disciples than any other thing in the world : the wise must needs condemne the divell of follie, and the witches of peevishnesse, that take such paines, and give their soules to the divell to be tormented in hell fier, and their bodies to the hangman to be trussed on the gallowes, for nichels in a bag.

Yet manie that beare the shew of honest men are verie credulous heerein. 348.

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Witches are cōmonlie verie beggers.

The seventh Chapter.

A conclusion against witchcraft, in maner and forme of an Induction.

BY this time all kentishmen know (a few fooles excepted) that Robin goodfellowe is a knave. All wisemen understand that witches miraculous enterprises, being contrarie to nature, probabilitie and reason, are void of truth or possibilitie. All protestants perceive, that popish charmes, conjurations, execrations, and benedictions are not effectuall, but be toies and devises onelie to keepe the people blind, and to inrich the cleargie. All christians see, that to confesse witches can doo as they saie, were to attribute to a creature the power of the Creator. All children well brought up conceive and spie, or at the least are taught, that juglers miracles doo consist of legierdemaine and confederacie. The verie heathen people are driven to confesse, that there can be no such conference betweene a spirituall divell and a corporall witch, as is supposed. For no doubt, all the heathen would/ then have *484.* everie one his familiar divell; for they would make no conscience to acquaint themselves with a divell that are not acquainted with God.

A generall conclusion against them whō the subject of this book concerneth

I have dealt, and conferred with manie (marrie I must confesse papists/ for the most part) that mainteine every point of these 349. absurdities. And surelie I allow better of their judgements, than of others, unto whome some part of these cousenages are discovered and seene: and yet concerning the residue, they remaine as wise as they were before; speciallie being satisfied in the highest and greatest parts of conjuring and cousening; to wit, in poperie, and yet will be abused with beggerlie jugling, and witchcraft.

The eight Chapter.

Of naturall witchcraft or fascination.

BUT bicause I am loth to oppose my selfe against all the writers heerin, or altogither to discredit their stories, or wholie to deface their reports, touching the effects of fascination or witchcraft; I will now set downe certeine parts thereof, which although I my selfe cannot admit, without some

doubts, difficulties and exceptions, yet will I give free libertie to others to beleeve them, if they list ; for that they doo not directlie oppugne my purpose.

Isigonus. Memphradorus. Solon, &c. Vairus. J. Bodinus. Mal. malef.

Manie great and grave authors write, and manie fond writers also affirme, that there are certeine families in *Aphrica* which with their voices bewitch whatsoever they praise. Insomuch as, if they commend either plant, corne, infant, horsse, or anie other beasts, the same presentlie withereth, decaieth and dieth. This mysterie of witchcraft is not unknowne or neglected of our witchmongers, and superstitious fooles heere in *Europa*. But to shew you examples neere home heere in *England*, as though our voice had the like operation : you shall not heare a butcher or horssecourser cheapen a bullocke or a jade, but if
485. he/ buie him not, he saith, God save him ; if he doo forget it, and the horsse or bullocke chance to die, the fault is imputed to the chapman. Certeinelie the sentence is godlie, if it doo proceed from a faithfull and a godlie mind : but if it be spoken as a superstitious charme, by those words and syllables to compound with the fascination and misadventure of infortunate words, the phrase is wicked and superstitious, though there were farre greater shew of godlinesse than appeereth therein.

The ninth Chapter.

Of inchanting or bewitching eies.

With the like propertie were the old Illyrian people indued : if we will credit the words of Sabinus grounded upon the report of Aul. Gell.

MANIE writers agree with *Virgil* and *Theocritus* in the effect of witching eies, affirming that in *Scythia*, there are women called *Bithiæ*, having two balles or rather blacks in the apple of their eies. And as *Didymus* reporteth, some have in the one eie two such balles, and in the other the image of a horsse. These (forsooth) with their angrie lookes doo bewitch and hurt not onelie yoong lambs, but yoong children. There be other
350. that/ reteine such venome in their eies, and send it foorth by beames and streames so violentlie, that therewith they annoie not onlie them with whom they are conversant continuallie ; but also all other, whose companie they frequent, of what age, strength, or complexion soever they be : as *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Philarchus*, and manie others give out in their writings.

J. Bap. Neapol. in lib. de naturali magia.

This fascination (saith *John Baptista Porta Neapolitanus*) though it begin by touching or breathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the eie, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits

through the eies, approching to the hart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Wherby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a yoong man endued with a cleare, whole, subtill and sweet bloud, yeeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapors springing from the purer bloud of the hart. And the lightest and finest/ spirits, ascending into the highest parts of the head, doo fall into the eies, and so are from thence sent foorth, as being of all other parts of the bodie the most cleare, and fullest of veines and pores, and with the verie spirit or vapor proceeding thence, is conveied out as it were by beames and streames a certeine fierie force ; whereof he that beholdeth sore eies shall have good experience. For the poison and disease in the eie infecteth the aire next unto it, and the same proceedeth further, carrieng with it the vapor and infection of the corrupted bloud : with the contagion whereof, the eies of the beholders are most apt to be infected. By this same meanes it is thought that the cockatrice depriveth the life, and a woolfe taketh awaie the voice of such as they suddenlie meete withall and behold.

J. Bap. Neapol. in lib. de naturali magia.

486.

This is held of some for truth.

Old women, in whome the ordinarie course of nature faileth in the office of purging their naturall monethlie humors, shew also some proofe hereof. For (as the said *J.B.P.N.* reporteth, alledging *Aristotle* for his author) they leave in a looking glasse a certeine froth, by meanes of the grosse vapors proceeding out of their eies. Which commeth so to passe, bicause those vapors or spirits, which so abundantlie come from their eies, cannot pearse and enter into the glasse, which is hard, and without pores, and therefore resisteth : but the beames which are carried in the chariot or conveiance of the spirits, from the eies of one bodie to another, doo pearse to the inward parts, and there breed infection, whilest they search and seeke for their proper region. And as these beames & vapors doo proceed from the hart of the one, so are they turned into bloud about the hart of the other : which bloud disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched partie, infeebleth the rest of his bodie, and maketh him sicke : the contagion wherof so long continueth, as the distempered bloud hath force in the members. And bicause the infection is of bloud, the fever or sicknes will be continuall ; whereas if it were of choler, or flegme, it would be intermittent or alterable.//

Non est in speculo res quæ speculatur in eo.

487. 351.

The tenth Chapter.

Of naturall witchcraft for love, &c.

Nescio quis oculus teneros mihi fascinat agnos, saith *Virgil:* and thus Englished by *Abraham Fleming:*

I wote not I
What witching eie
Doth use to hant
My tender lams
Sucking their dams
And them inchant,

BUT as there is fascination and witchcraft by malicious and angrie eies unto displeasure: so are there witching aspects, tending contrariwise to love, or at the least, to the procuring of good will and liking. For if the fascination or witchcraft be brought to passe or provoked by the desire, by the wishing and coveting of anie beautifull shape or favor, the venome is strained through the eies, though it be from a far, and the imagination of a beautifull forme resteth in the hart of the lover, and kindleth the fier wherewith it is afflicted. And bicause the most delicate, sweete, and tender bloud of the belooved doth there wander, his countenance is there represented shining in his owne bloud, and cannot there be quiet; and is so haled from thence, that the bloud of him that is wounded, reboundeth and slippeth into the wounder, according to the saieng of *Lucretius* the poet to the like purpose and meaning in these verses:

Idque petit corpus, mens unde est saucia amore,
Námque omnes plerúnque cadunt in vulnus, & illam
Emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimur ictu;
Et si cominùs est, os tum ruber occupat humor:

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

And to that bodie tis rebounded,
From whence the mind by love is wounded,
For in a maner all and some,
Into that wound of love doo come,
488. *And to that part the bloud doth flee*
From whence with stroke we striken bee,
If hard at hand, and neere in place,
Then ruddie colour filles the face.

Thus much may seeme sufficient touching this matter of naturall magicke; whereunto though much more may be annexed, yet for the avoiding of tediousnes, and for speedier passage to that which remaineth; I will breake off this present treatise.

And now somewhat shall be said concerning divels and spirits in the discourse following.//

A Discourse upon divels and spirits, 489. 351[2].

and first of philosophers opinions, also the maner of their reasoning hereupon; and the same confuted.*

[* This line Ital.]

The first Chapter.

THERE is no question nor theme (saith *Hierome Cardane*) so difficult to deale in, nor so noble an argument to dispute upon, as this of divels and spirits. For that being confessed or doubted of, the eternitie of the soule is either affirmed or denied. The heathen philosophers reson hereof amongest themselves in this sort. First, they that mainteine the perpetuitie of the soule, saie that if the soule died with the bodie; to what end should men take paines either to live well or die well, when no reward for vertue nor punishment for vice insueth after this life, the which otherwise they might spend in ease and securitie? The other sort saie that vertue and honestie is to be pursued, *Non spe præmii, sed virtutis amore*, that is, Not for hope of reward, but for love of vertue. If the soule live ever (saie the other) the least portion of life is here. And therefore we that mainteine the perpetuitie of the soule, may be of the better comfort and courage, to susteine with more constancie the losse of children, yea and the losse of life it selfe: whereas, if the/ soule were mortall, all our hope 490. and felicitie were to be placed in this life, which manie Atheists (I warrant you) at this daie doo. But both the one and the other missed the cushion. For, to doo anie thing without Christ, is to wearie our selves in vaine; sith in him onelie our corruptions are purged. And therefore the follie of the Gentils, that place *Summum bonum* in the felicitie of the bodie, or in the happines or pleasures of the mind, is not onelie to be derided, but also abhorred. For, both our bodies and minds are intermedled with most miserable calamities: and therefore therin cannot consist perfect felicitie. But in the word of God is exhibited and offered unto us that hope which is most certeine, absolute, sound & sincere, not to be answered or denied by the judgement of philosophers themselves. For they that preferre

H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 16. cap. 93.

The Platonists and Stoiks.

The Epicureans and Peripatetiks.

Summum bonum cannot consist in the happines of the bodie or mind.

Morall tẽperance.

temperance before all other things as *Summum bonum*, must needs see it to be but a witnesse of their naturall calamitie, corruption and wickednes ; and that it serveth for nothing, but to restraine the dissolutenes, which hath place in their minds infected with vices ; which are to be bridled with such corrections : yea and the best of them all faileth in some point of modestie. Wherefore serveth our philosophers prudence, but to provide for their owne follie and miserie ; whereby they might else be utterlie overthrowne? And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should have no need/ of such circumspection. The justice whereof they speake, serveth but to keepe them from ravine, theft, and violence : and yet none of them all are so just, but that the verie best and uprightest of them fall into great infirmities, both dooing and suffering much wrong and injurie. And what is their fortitude, but to arme them to endure miserie, greefe, danger, and death it selfe? But what happinesse or goodnesse is to be reposed in that life, which must be waited upon with such calamities, and finallie must have the helpe of death to finish it? I saie, if it be so miserable, why doo they place *Summum bonum* therein? S. *Paule* to the *Romans* sheweth, that it cannot be that we should atteine to justice, through the morall and naturall actions and duties of this life : bicause that never the Jewes nor the Gentiles could expresse so much in their lives, as the verie lawe of nature or of *Moses* required. And therefore he that worketh without Christ, doth as he that reckoneth without his host./

Morall prudence.

Morall justice. 353.

Morall fortitude.

Rom. 2.

491.

The second Chapter.

Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to the disproofe of some writers hereupon.

The question about spirits doubtfull and difficult.

FOR my part doo also thinke this argument, about the nature & substance of divels and spirits, to be so difficult, as I am persuaded that no one author hath in anie certeine or perfect sort hitherto written thereof. In which respect I can neither allow the ungodly and prophane sects and doctrines of the *Sadduces* & *Peripatetiks*, who denie that there are any divels or spirits at all ; nor the fond & superstitious treatises of *Plato*, *Proclus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrie* ; nor yet the vaine & absurd opinions of *Psellus*, *Nider*, *Sprenger*, *Cumanus*, *Bodin*, *Michaël*, *Andræas*, *Janus Matthæus*, *Laurentius Ananias*, *Jamblichus*, *&c* : who with manie others write so ridiculouslie in these matters, as if they were babes fraied

with bugges; some affirming that the soules of the dead become spirits, the good to be angels, the bad to be divels; some that spirits or divels are onelie in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some, that divels are of such gender as they list themselves; some, that they had no beginning, nor shall have ending, as the *Manicheis* mainteine; some, that they are mortall & die, as *Plutarch* affirmeth of *Pan*; some, that they have no bodies at all, but receive bodies, according to their phantasies & imaginations; some, that their bodies are given unto them; some, that they make themselves. Some saie they are wind; some, that they are the breath of living creatures; some, that one of them begat another; some, that they were created of the least part of the masse, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances betweene God and man, and that of them some are terrestriall, some celestiall, some waterie, some airie, some fierie, some starrie, and some of each and everie part of the elements, and that they know our thoughts, and carrie our good works and praiers to God, and returne his benefits backe unto us,/ and that they are to be worshipped: wherein they meete and agree jumpe with the papists; as if you read the notes upon the second chapter to the *Colossians*,/ in the Seminaries testament printed at *Rhemes*, you shall manifestlie see, though as contrarie to the word of God as blacke to white, as appeareth in the *Apocalypse*, where the angell expresselie forbad *John* to worship him.

Plotinus. The Greks. *Laur. Ananias.*

The Manicheis. *Plutarch. Psellus. Mal. malef.* Avicen, and the Caballists.

The Thalmudists.

Psellus, &c.

The Platonists.

The Papists. *492.*

354.

Apoc. 19. 10
Ibid. 22. 8. 9.

Againe, some saie that they are meane betwixt terrestriall and celestiall bodies, communicating part of each nature; and that although they be eternall, yet that they are mooved with affections: and as there are birds in the aire, fishes in the water, and wormes in the earth; so in the fourth element, which is the fier, is the habitation of spirits and divels. And least we should thinke them idle, they saie they have charge over men, and governement in all countries and nations. Some saie that they are onelie imaginations in the mind of man. *Tertullian* saith they are birds, and flie faster than anie fowle of the aire. Some saie that divels are not, but when they are sent; and therefore are called evill angels. Some thinke that the divell sendeth his angels abrode, and he himselfe maketh his continuall abode in hell, his mansion place.

The Sadduces.

The third Chapter.

The opinion of Psellus touching spirits, of their severall orders, and a confutation of his errors therein.

Psellus de operatione dæmonum, cap. 8.

PSELLUS being of authoritie in the church of *Rome*, and not impugnable by anie catholike, being also instructed in these supernaturall or rather diabolicall matters by a monke called *Marcus*, who had beene familiarlie conversant a long time, as he said, with a certeine divell, reporteth upon the same divels owne word, which must needs understand best the state of this question, that the bodies of angels and divels consist not now of all one element, though perhaps it were otherwise before the fall of *Lucifer*; and that the bodies of spirits and divels can feele and be felt, doo hurt and be hurt: in so much as they lament when they are stricken; and being put to the fier are burnt, and yet that they themselves burne continuallie, in such sort as they leave ashes behind them in places where they have beene; as manifest triall thereof hath beene (if he saie truelie) in the borders of *Italie*. He also saith upon like credit and assurance, that divels and spirits doo avoid and shed from out of their bodies, such seed or nature, as whereby certeine vermine are ingendered; and that they are nourished with food, as we are, saving that they receive it not into their mouthes, but sucke it up into their bodies, in such sort as sponges soke up water. Also he saith they have names, shapes, and dwelling places, as indeed they have, though not in temporall and corporall sort.

Such are spirits walking in white sheetes, &c. *493.*

Psellus, ibid. cap. 9.

Idem. cap. 10.

Idem ibid. cap. 11.

Furthermore, he saith, that there are six principall kind of divels, which are not onelie corporall, but temporall and worldlie. The first sort consist of fier, wandering in the region neere to the moone, but have no power to go into the moone. The second sort consisting of aire, have their habitation more lowe and neere unto us: these (saith he) are proud and great boasters, verie wise and deceitfull, and when they come downe are seene shining with streames of fier at their taile. He saith that these are commonlie conjured up to make images laugh, and lamps burne of their owne accord; and that in *Assyria* they use much to prophesie in a bason of water. Which kind of incantation is usuall among our conjurors: but it is here commonlie performed in a pitcher or pot of water; or else in a violl of glasse filled with water, wherin they say at the first a litle sound is heard without a voice, which is a token of the divels comming. Anon the water seemeth to be troubled, and then there are heard small voices,

Oh hethenish, nay oh papisticall follie! **355.**

*

The opinions of all papists.

A cousening knaverie.

wherewith they give their answers, speaking so softlie as no man can well heare them : bicause (saith *Cardane*) they would not be argued or rebuked of lies. But this I have else-where more largelie described and confuted. The third sort of divels *Psellus* saith are earthlie ; the fourth waterie, or of the sea ; the fift under the earth ; the sixt sort are *Lucifugi*, that is, such as delight in darkenes, & are scant indued with sense, and so dull, as they can scarse be mooved with charmes or conjurations.//

H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 16. cap. 93.

The same man saith, that some divels are woorse than other, but yet that they all hate God, and are enimies to man. But the woorser moitie of divels are *Aquei*, *Subterranei*, and *Lucifugi* ;* that is, waterie, under the earth, and shunners of light : bicause (saith he) these hurt not the soules of men, but destroie mens bodies like mad and ravening beasts, molesting both the inward and outward parts thereof. *Aquei* are they that raise tempests, and drowne seafaring men, and doo all other mischeefes on the water. *Subterranei* and *Lucifugi* enter into the bowels of men, and torment them that they possesse with the phrensie, and the falling evill. They also assault them that are miners or pioners, which use to worke in deepe and darke holes under the earth. Such divels as are earthie and aierie, he saith enter by subtiltie into the minds of men, to deceive them, provoking men to absurd and unlawfull affections.

494.

Divels of diverse natures, and their operations.

[* These three Ital.]

But herein his philosophie is verie unprobable, for if the divell be earthie, he must needs be palpable; if he be palpable, he must needs kill them into whose bodies he entereth. Item, if he be of earth created, then must he also be visible and untransformable in that point : for Gods creation cannot be annihilated by the creature. So as, though it were granted, that they might adde to their substance matter and forme, &c : yet is it most certeine, that they cannot diminish or alter the substance whereof they consist, as not to be (when they list) spirituall, or to relinquish and leave earth, water, fier, aier, or this and that element whereof they are created. But howsoever they imagine of water, aier, or fier, I am sure earth must alwaies be visible and palpable ; yea, and aier must alwaies be invisible, and fier must be hot, and water must be moist. And of these three latter bodies, speciallie of water and aier, no forme nor shape can be exhibited to mortall eies naturallie, or by the power of anie creature.//

The former opinion confuted.

495. 356.

The fourth Chapter.

More absurd assertions of Psellus and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein.

Psellus lib. de operat. dæm. cap. 12. If this were spoken of the temptations, &c. of satan, it were tollerable.

MOREOVER, the same author saith, that spirits whisper in our minds, and yet not speaking so lowd, as our eares may heare them : but in such sort as our soules speake together when they are dissolved ; making an example by lowd speaking a farre off, and a comparison of soft whispering neere hand, so as the divell entreth so neere to the mind as the eare need not heare him ; and that everie part of a divell or spirit seeth, heareth, and speaketh, &c. But herein I will beleeve *Paule* better than *Psellus*, or his monke, or the moonks divell. For *Paule* saith ; If the whole bodie were an eie, where were hearing? If the whole bodie were hearing, where were smelling, &c. Whereby you may see what accord is betwixt Gods word and witchmongers.

1. Cor. 12.

The papists proceed in this matter, and saie, that these spirits use great knaverie and unspeakeable bawderie in the breech and middle parts of man and woman, by tickeling, and by other lecherous devises ; so that they fall jumpe in judgement and opinion, though verie erroniouslie, with the foresaid *Psellus*, of whose doctrine also this is a parcell ; to wit, that these divels hurt not cattell for the hate they beare unto them, but for love of their naturall and temperate heate and moisture, being brought up in deepe, drie and cold places: marie they hate the heate of the sun and the fier, bicause that kind of heate drieth too fast. They throwe downe stones upon men, but the blowes thereof doo no harme to them whome they hit ; bicause they are not cast with anie force : for (saith he) the divels have little and small strength, so as these stones doo nothing but fraie and terrifie men, as scarecrowes doo birds out of the corne feelds. But when these divels enter into the pores, than doo they raise woonderfull tumults in the bodie/ and mind of man. And if it be a subterrene divell, it dooth writh and bow the possessed, and speaketh by him, using the spirit of the patient as his instrument. But he saith, that when *Lucifugus* possesseth a man, he maketh him dumbe, and as it were dead : and these be they that are cast out (saith he) onelie by fasting and praier.

Psellus. ibid. cap. 13.

If a babe of two yeeres old throwe stones from Powles steeple, they will doo hurt, &c.

Howbeit I thinke the spirit of tentation to be that divell ; & therefore Christ biddeth us watch and praie, least we be temted, &c.

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Psel. in operat. dæm. cap. 14.

The same *Psellus*, with his mates *Bodin* and the penners of *M. Mal.* and others, doo find fault with the physicians that affirme such

infirmities to be cureable with diet, and not by inchantments; saieng, that physicians doo onlie attend upon the bodie, & that which is perceiveable by outward sense; and that as touching this kind of divine philosophie, they have no skill at all. And to make divels and spirits seeme yet more corporall and terrene, he saith that certeine divels are belonging to certeine countries, and speake the languages of the same countries, and none other; some the *Assyrian*, some the *Chaldæan*, & some the *Persian* toong, and that they feele stripes, and feare hurt, and speciallie the dint of the sword/ (in which respect conjurors have swords with them in their circles, to terrifie them) and that they change shapes, even as suddenlie as men doo change colour with blushing, feare, anger, and other moods of the mind. He saith yet further, that there be brute beasts among them, and yet divels, and subject to anie kind of death; insomuch as they are so foolish, as they may be compared to flies, fleas, and wormes, who have no respect to any thing but their food, not regarding or remembring the hole from out of whence they came last. Marrie divels compounded of earth, cannot often transforme themselves, but abide in some one shape, such as they best like, and most delight in; to wit, in the shape of birds or women: and therefore the Greeks call them *Neidas*, *Nereidas*, and *Dreidas* in the feminine gender; which *Dreidæ* inhabited (as some write) the ilands beside *Scotland* called *Druidæ*, which by that meanes had their denomination and name. Other divels that dwell in drier places transforme themselves into the masculine kind. Finallie *Psellus* saith they know our thoughts, and can prophesie of things to come. His definition is, that they are perpetuall minds in a passible bodie.

Idem. cap. 17

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Beastlike divels.

But *Psellus* sawe nothing himselfe.

To verefie these toies he saith, that he himselfe sawe in a certeine night a man brought up by *Aletus Libius* into a moun/taine, and that he tooke an hearbe, and spat thrise into his mouth, and annointed his eies with a certeine ointment, so as thereby he sawe great troopes of divels, and perceived a crowe to flie into his mouth; and since that houre he could prophesie at all times, saving on good fridaie, and easter sundaie. If the end of this tale were true, it might not onelie have satisfied the Greeke church, in keeping the daie of easter, togither with the church of *Rome*; but might also have made the pope (that now is) content with our christmas and easter daie, and not to have gathered the minuts together, and reformed it so, as to shew how falselie he and his predecessors (whome they saie could not erre) have observed it hitherto. And trulie this, and the dansing of the sunne on easter daie morning sufficientlie or rather miraculouslie proveth that computation, which the pope now beginneth to doubt of, and to call in question.

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Probable and likelie stuffe.

The fift Chapter.

The opinion of Fascius Cardanus touching spirits, and of his familiar divell.

Fasc. Card. operat. de dæmon.

FASCIUS CARDANUS had (as he himselfe and his sonne *Hierome Cardanus* report) a familiar divell, consisting of the fierie element, who, so long as he used conjuration, did give true answers to all his demands: but when he burned up his booke of conjurations, though he resorted still unto him, yet did he make false answers continuallie. He held him bound twentie & eight yeares, and loose five yeares. And during the time that he was bound, he told him that there were manie divels or spirits. He came not alwaies alone, but sometimes some of his fellowes with
358. him. He rather a/greed with *Psellus* than with *Plato*: for he said they were begotten, borne, died, and lived long; but how long, they told him not: howbeit as he might conjecture by his divels face, who was 42. yeares old, and yet appeared verie yoong, he thought they lived two or three hundred yeares; and they said that their soules/
498. and ours also died with their bodies. They had schooles and universities among them: but he conceived not that anie were so dull headded, as *Psellus* maketh them. But they are verie quicke in credit, that beleeve such fables, which indeed is the groundworke of witchcraft and conjuration. But these histories are so grosse and palpable, that I might be thought as wise in going about to confute them, as to answer the stories of Frier *Rush*, Adam Bell, or the golden Legend.

The sixt Chapter.

The opinion of Plato concerning spirits, divels and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of Socrates his familiar divell.

The Platonists opinion.

PLATO and his followers hold, that good spirits appeare in their owne likenesse; but that evill spirits appeare and shew themselves in the forme of other bodies; and that one divell reigneth over the rest, as a prince dooth in everie perfect commonwelth over men. Item, they obteine their purposes and desires, onelie by intreatie, of men and women; bicause

in nature they are their inferiors, and use authoritie over men none otherwise than priests by vertue of their function, and bicause of religion, wherein (they saie) they execute the office of God. Sometimes they saie that the fierie spirits or supreme substances enter into the puritie of the mind, and so obteine their purpose; sometimes otherwise, to wit, by vertue of holie charmes, and even as a poore man obteineth for Gods sake anie thing at a princes hand as it were by importunatnesse.

The other sort of divels and defiled soules are so conversant on earth, as that they doo much hurt unto earthlie bodies, speciallie in lecherie. Gods and angels (saie they) bicause they want all materiall and grosse substance, desire most the pure sacrifice of the mind. The grosser and more terrestriall spirits desire the grosser sacrifices; as beasts and cattell. They in the middle or/ meane region delight to have frankincense, and such meane stuffe offered unto them: and therefore (saie they) it is necessarie to sacrifice unto them, all maner of things, so the same be slaine, and die not of their owne accord: for such they abhorre. Some saie that spirits feare woonderfullie vaine threats, and thereupon will depart; as if you tell them that you will cut the heavens in peeces, or reveale their secrets, or complaine of them to the gods, or saie that you will doo anie impossibilitie, or such things as they cannot understand; they are so timerous, as they will presentlie be gone: and that is thought the best waie to be rid of them. But these be most commonlie of that sort or companie,/ which are called *Principatus*, being of all other the most easie to be conjured.

What kind of sacrifices each spirit liketh best.

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They saie *Socrates* had a familiar divell: which *Plato* relieth much upon, using none other argument to proove that there are such spirits, but bicause *Socrates* (that would not lie) said so; and partlie bicause that divell did ever dissuade and prohibit, not onelie in *Socrates* his owne cases, but sometimes in his freends behalfe; who (if they had beene ruled) might through his admonition have saved their lives. His disciples gathered that his divell was Saturnall, and a principall fierie divell; and that he, and all such as doo naturallie know their divels, are onlie such as are called *Dæmonii viri*, otherwise, Couseners. Item, they saie that fierie spirits urge men to contemplation, the aierie to busines, the waterie to lust; and among these there are some that are Martiall, which give fortitude; some are Joviall, giving wisedome; some Saturniall, alwaies using dissuasion and dehorting. Item, some are borne with us, and remaine with us all our life; some are meere strangers, who are nothing else but the soules of men departed this life, &c./

Of Socrates his private divell or familiar spirit.

500.

The seventh Chapter.

Platos nine orders of spirits and angels, Dionysius his division thereof not much differing from the same, all disprooved by learned divines.

PLATO proposeth or setteth foorth nine severall orders of spirits, besides the spirits and soules of men. The first spirit is God that commandeth all the residue; the second are those that are called *Ideæ*, which give all things to all men; the third are the soules of heavenlie bodies which are mortall; the fourth are angels; the fift archangels; the sixt are divels, who are ministers to infernall powers, as angels are to supernall; the seventh are halfe gods; the eight are principalities; the ninth are princes. From which division *Dionysius* dooth not much swarve, saving that he dealeth (as he saith) onelie with good spirits, whome he likewise divideth into nine parts or offices. The first he calleth Seraphim, the second Cherubim, the third thrones, the fourth dominations, the fift vertues, the sixt powers, the seventh principalities, the eight archangels, the ninth and inferior sort he calleth angels. Howbeit, some of these (in my thinking) are evill spirits: or else *Paule* gave us evill counsell, when he willed us to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spirituall wickednes.

Dionys. in cælest. hierarch. cap. 9. 10.

Ephes. 6.

But *Dionysius* in that place goeth further, impropriating to everie countrie, and almost to everie person of anie accompt, a peculiar angell; as to *Jewrie*, he assigneth *Michael*; to *Adam*, *Razael*; to *Abraham*, *Zakiel*; to *Isaach*, *Raphael*; to *Jacob*, *Peliel*; to *Moses*, *Metraton*, &c. But in these discourses he either folowed his owne imaginations and conceipts, or else the corruptions of that age. Nevertheles, I had rather confute him by M. *Calvine*, and my kinseman M. *Deering*, than by my selfe, or/ mine owne words. For M. *Calvine* saith, that *Dionysius* herein speaketh not as by hearesaie, but as though he had slipped downe from heaven, and told of things which he had seene. And yet (saith he)/ *Paule* was rapt into the third heaven, and reporteth no such matters. But if you read M. *Deering* upon the first chapter to the *Hebrues*, you shall see this matter notablie handled; where he saith, that whensoever archangell is mentioned in the scriptures, it signifieth our saviour Christ, and no creature. And certeine it is that Christ himselfe was called an angell. The names also of angels, as *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *&c*: are given to them (saith *Calvine*) according to the capacitie of

Dionys. in cælest. hierarch.

J. Calv. lib. instit. 1. *c.* 14.

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501.

Edw. Deering, in lect. upon the Hebrues reading. 6.

Mal. 3. 1.

our weakenesse. But bicause the decision of this question is neither within the compasse of mans capacitie, nor yet of his knowledge, I will proceed no further to discusse the same, but to shew the absurd opinions of papists and witchmongers on the one side, and the most sober and probable collections of the contrarie minded on the other side.

The eight Chapter.

The commensement of divels fondlie gathered out of the 14. *of Isaie, of Lucifer and of his fall, the Cabalists the Thalmudists and Schoolemens opinions of the creation of angels.*

THE witchmoongers, which are most commonlie bastard divines, doo fondlie gather and falselie conceive the commensement of divels out of the fourteenth of *Isaie*; where they suppose *Lucifer* is cited, as the name of an Isai. 14. angell; who on a time being desirous to be checkemate with God himselfe, would needs (when God was gone a litle asside) be sitting downe, or rather pirking up in Gods owne principall and cathedrall chaire; and that therfore God cast him and all his confederates out of heaven: so as some fell downe from thence to the bottome of the earth; some having descended but into the midle region, and the taile of them having not yet passed through the higher region, staied even then & there, when God said, Ho. But God knoweth there is no such thing ment nor mentioned in that place. For there is onlie foreshewed the deposing and deprivation of king *Nabuchadnez-zar*,/ who exalting himselfe in pride (as it were above the starres) esteemed *502.* his glorie to surmount all others, as farre as *Lucifer* the bright morning starre shineth more gloriouslie than the other common starres, and was punished by exile, untill such time as he had humbled himselfe; and therefore metaphoricallie was called *Lucifer*.

But forsooth, bicause these great clarkes would be thought methodicall, and to have crept out of wisedomes bosome, who rather cralled out of follies breeches; they take upon them to shew us, first, whereof these angels that fell from heaven were created; to wit, of the left The opinion of the Thalmudists. side of that massie moold, whereof the world was compounded, the which (saie they) was *Putredo terræ*, that is, the rottennesse of the earth. The *Cabalists*, with whome *Avicen* seemeth to agree, saie that one of these begat another :/ others saie, they were made all at once. **361.** The Greekes doo write that angels were created before the world. The Latinists saie they were made the fourth daie, when the starres

Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.

were made. *Laurence Ananias* saith, they were made the first daie, and could not be made the fourth daie, bicause it is written ; *Quando facta sunt sidera, laudaverunt me angeli:* so as (saith he) they were made under the name of the heavens.

Crœavit cælum & terram.*
[* *Creavit*]
[* Gen. 1. 1. Vulg.]

There is also a great question among the schoolemen, whether more angels fell downe with *Lucifer*, or remained in heaven with *Michael.* Manie having a bad opinion of the angels honesties, affirme that the greater part fell with *Lucifer* : but the better opinion is (saith *Laurentius Ananias*) that the most part remained. And of them that thinke so, some saie the tenth part were cast downe, some the ninth ; and some gather upon *S. John*, that the third part were onelie damned ; bicause it is written, that the dragon with his taile plucked downe with him the third part of the starres./

Lau. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.

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The ninth Chapter.

Of the contention betweene the Greeke and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselves herein, a conflict betweene Michael and Lucifer.

THERE was also another contention betweene the Greeke church and the Latine ; to wit, of what orders of angels they were that did fall with *Lucifer.* Our schoolemen saie they were of all the nine orders of angels in *Lucifers* conspiracie. But bicause the superior order was of the more noble constitution and excellent estate, and the inferior of a lesse worthie nature, the more part of the inferior orders fell as guiltie and offenders with *Lucifer.* Some saie the divell himselfe was of the inferior order of angels, and some that he was of the highest order : bicause it is written, *In cherubim extentus & protegens posui te in monte sancto Dei.* And these saie further, that he was called the dragon, bicause of his excellent knowledge. Finallie, these great doctors conclude, that the divell himselfe was of the order of seraphim, which is the highest, because it is written, *Quomodo enim manè oriebaris Lucifer ?*† They of this sect affirme, that *Cacodæmones* were they that rebelled against *Jove* ; I meane they of *Plato* his sect, himselfe also holding the same opinion. Our schoolemen differ much in the cause of *Lucifers* fall. For some said it was for speaking these words, *Ponam sedem meam in aquilone, & similis ero altissimo:*‡ others saie, bicause he utterlie refused felicitie, and thought scorne therof ; others saie, bicause he thought all his strength proceeded from him-

[† Isai. 14. 12]

I will settle my selfe in the north, and will be like the highest.
[‡ Isai. 14. 13, 14]

selfe, and not from God ; others saie that it was, bicause he attempted to doo that by himselfe, and his owne abilitie, which he should have obteined by the gift of another ;/ others saie, that his condemnation 362.
grew hereupon, for that he challenged the place of the Messias ; others saie, bicause he detracted the time to adore the majestie of God, as other angels did ; others saie, bi/cause he utterlie refused it. 504.
Scotus and his disciples saie that it was, bicause he rebelliouslie claimed equall omnipotencie with God : with whom lightlie the *Thomists* never agree. Others saie it was for all these causes together, and manie more : so as hereupon (saith *Laurentius Ananias*) grew a wonderfull conflict betweene *Michaël* and the good angels on the one side, and *Lucifer* and his freends on the other : so as, after a long and doubtfull skirmish, *Michaël* overthrew *Lucifer*, and turned him and his fellowes out of the doores.

Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.

The tenth Chapter.

Where the battell betweene Michael and Lucifer was fought, how long it continued, and of their power, how fondlie papists and infidels write of them, and how reverentlie Christians ought to thinke of them.

NOW where this battell was fought, and how long it continued, there is as great contention among the schoolemen, as was betwixt *Michaël* and *Lucifer*. The *Thomists* saie this battell was fought in the mpereiall* heaven, where the abode is of blessed spirits, and the place of pleasure and felicitie. *Augustine* and manie others saie, that the battell was fought in the highest region of the aier ; others saie, in the firmament ; others in paradise. The *Thomists* also saie it continued but one instant or pricke of time ; for they tarried but two instants in all, even from their creation to their expulsion. The *Scotists* saie, that betweene their production and their fall, there were just foure instants. Nevertheles, the greatest number of schoolemen affirme, that they continued onelie three instants : bicause it stood with Gods justice, to give them three warnings ; so as at the third warning *Lucifer* fell downe like led (for so are the words) to the bottome of hell ; the rest were left in the aire, to tempt man. The *Sadduces* were as grosse the other waie : for they said, that by angels was ment nothing else, but the motion that God dooth inspire in men, or the/ tokens of his power. He that readeth *Eusebius* shall see 505.

[* *sic*]

Instans, viz. punctum temp. nempe individuum Nunc.

Euseb. in ecclesi. histor.

manie more absurd opinions and asseverations of angels: as how manie thousand yeares they serve as angels, before they come to the promotion of archangels, &c.

10000000. *Johannes Cassianus in confessione theolog. tripart.*

Monsieur Bodin, M. Mal. and manie other papists gather upon the seventh of *Daniel*, that there are just ten millians of angels in heaven. Manie saie that angels are not by nature, but by office. Finallie, it were infinite to shew the absurd and curious collections hereabout. I for my part thinke with *Calvine*, that angels are creatures of God; though *Moses* spake nothing of their creation, who onelie applied himselfe to the capacitie of the common people, reciting nothing but things seene. And I saie further with him, that they are heavenlie spirits, whose ministration and service God useth: and in that respect
363. are called angels. I saie yet againe with him,/ that it is verie certeine,
J. Cal. lib. institit. 1. cap. 14. sect. 8. that they have no shape at all; for they are spirits, who never have anie: and finallie, I saie with him, that the scriptures, for the capacitie of our wit, dooth not in vaine paint out angels unto us with wings; bicause we should conceive, that they are readie swiftlie to succour us. And certeinlie all the sounder divines doo conceive and give out, that both the names and also the number of angels are set downe in the scripture by the Holie-ghost, in termes to make us understand the greatnesse and the manner of their messages; which (I saie) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

Mich. And. thes. 107. 101. *Idem thes.* 103. 108.

Furthermore, the schoole doctors affirme, that foure of the superior orders of angels never take anie forme or shape of bodies, neither are sent of anie arrand at anie time. As for archangels, they are sent onelie about great and secret matters; and angels are common hacknies about evere trifle; and that these can take what shape or bodie they list: marie they never take the forme of women or children. Item they saie that angels take most terrible shapes: for *Gabriel* appeared to *Marie*, when he saluted hir, *Facie rutilante, veste coruscante, ingressu mirabili, aspectu terribili, &c:* that is, with a bright countenance, shining attire, wonderfull gesture, and a dredful vissage, &c. But of apparitions I have spoken somewhat before, and will saie more hearafter. It hath beene long, and con-
506. tinueth yet a constant opinion, not one/lie among the papists; but among others also, that everie man hath assigned him, at the time of his nativitie, a good angell and a bad. For the which there is no reason in nature, nor authoritie in scripture. For not one angell, but all the angels are said to rejoise more of one convert, than of ninetie and nine just. Neither did one onelie angell conveie *Lazarus* into *Abrahams* bosome. And therefore I conclude with *Calvine*, that he which referreth to one angell, the care that GOD hath to everie one

Luk. 15, 7. Luk. 16, 23. *J. Cal. lib. institit. 1. cap. 14.*

of us, dooth himselfe great wrong : as may appeare by so manie fierie chariots shewed by *Elizæus* to his servant. But touching this mysterie of angels, let us reverentlie thinke of them, and not curiouslie search into the nature of them, considering the vilenes of our condition, in respect of the glorie of their creation. And as for the foresaid fond imaginations and fables of *Lucifer*, *&c*: they are such as are not onelie ridiculous, but also accomptable among those impious curiosities, and vaine questions, which *Paule* speaketh of : neither have they anie tittle or letter in the scripture for the maintenance of their grosse opinions in this behalfe.

2. Reg. 16. 17

The eleventh Chapter.

Whether they became divels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Jude and Peter; of the fond opinions of the Rabbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof.

WE doo read in *Jude*, and find it confirmed in *Peter*, that the angels kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation, and sinned, and (as *Job* saith) committed follie : and that God therefore did cast/ them downe into hell, reserving them in everlasting chaines under darkenes, unto the judgement of the great daie. But manie divines saie, that they find not anie where, that God made divels of them, or that they became the princes of the world, or else of the aire ; but rather prisoners. Howbeit, divers doctors affirme, that this *Lucifer*, notwithstanding his fall, hath/ greater power than any of the angels in heaven : marrie they say that there be certeine other divels of the inferiour sort of angels, which were then thrust out for smaller faults, and therefore are tormented with little paines, besides eternal damnation : and these (saie they) can doo little hurt. They affirme also, that they onelie use certeine jugling knacks, delighting thereby to make men laugh, as they travell by the high waies : but other (saie they) are much more churlish. For proofe heereof they alledge the eighth of *Matthew*, where he would none otherwise be satisfied but by exchange, from the annoieng of one man, to the destruction of a whole heard of swine. The *Rabbines*, and namelie *Rabbi Abraham*, writing upon the second of Genesis, doo say, that God made the fairies, bugs, *Incubus*, Robin good fellow, and other familiar or domesticall spirits & divels on the fridaie : and being prevented with the evening of the sabboth, finished them not, but left them unperfect ; and therefore, that ever

Jud. vers. 6.
2. Pet. 2. 4.

364.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ 1. cap. 2. 3. 507.

Mal. malef. part. 2. cap. 1. quæst. 1.

Mich. And. Laur Anan. Mal. malef. &c.

Author. lib. Zeor hammor in Gen. 2.

since they use to flie the holinesse of the sabboth, seeking darke holes in mountaines and woods, wherein they hide themselves till the end of the sabboth, and then come abroad to trouble and molest men.

But as these opinions are ridiculous and fondlie collected ; so if we have onelie respect to the bare word, or rather to the letter, where spirits or divels are spoken of in the scriptures, we shall run into as dangerous absurdities as these are. For some are so carnallie minded, that a spirit is no sooner spoken of, but immediatlie they thinke of a blacke man with cloven feet, a paire of hornes, a taile, clawes, and eies as broad as a bason, &c. But surelie the divell were not so wise in his generation, as I take him to be, if he would terrifie men with such uglie shapes, though he could doo it at his pleasure. For by that meanes men should have good occasion & oportunitie to flie from him, & to run to God for succour ; as the maner is of all them that are terrified, though perchance they thought not upon God of long time before. But in truth we never have so much cause to be afraid of the divell, as when he flatteringlie insinuateth himselfe into our harts, to satisfie, please, and serve our humors, entising us to prosecute our owne appetits and pleasures, without anie of these externall terrors. I would weete of these men, where they doo find in the scrip/tures, that some divels be spirituall, and some corporall ; or how these earthie or waterie divels enter into the mind of man. *Augustine* saith, and diverse others affirme, that sathan or the divell while we feed, allureth us with gluttonie : he thrusteth lust into our generation ; and sloth into our exercise ; into our conversation, envie ; into our traffike, avarice ; into our correction, wrath ; into our government, pride : he putteth into our harts evill cogitations ; into our mouthes, lies, &c. When we wake, he mooveth us to evill works ; when we sleepe, to evill and filthie dreames ; he provoketh the merrie to loosenesse, and the sad to despaire./

The grosse dulnesse of manie at the hearing of a spirit named.

508.

Aug. in ser. 4. Greg. 29. sup. Job. Leo pont. ser. 8. Nativit.

365.

The twelfe Chapter.

That the divels assaults are spirituall and not temporall, and how grosselie some understand those parts of the scripture.

UPON that, which hitherto hath beene said, you see that the assaults of sathan are spirituall, and not temporall : in which respect *Paule* wisheth us not to provide a corselet of steele to defend us from his clawes ; but biddeth us put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to stand against

Ephe. 6, 11, 12.

the invasions of the divell. For we wrestle not against flesh and bloud ; but against principalities, powers, and spirituall wickednesse. And therefore he adviseth us to be sober and watch : for the divell goeth about like a roring lion, seeking whome he may devoure. He meaneth not with carnall teeth : for it followeth thus, Whome resist ye stedfastlie in faith. And againe he saith, That which is spirituall onelie discerneth spirituall things : for no carnall man can discerne the things of the spirit. Why then should we thinke that a divell, which is a spirit, can be knowne, or made tame and familiar unto a naturall man ; or contrarie to nature, can be by a witch made corporall, being by God ordeined to a spirituall proportion?

2. Tim. 2, 8, 9.

Idem ibid.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

The cause of this grosse conceipt is, that we hearken more diligentlie to old wives, and rather give credit to their fables, than/ to the word of God ; imagining by the tales they tell us, that the divell is such a bulbegger, as I have before described. For whatsoever is proposed in scripture to us by parable, or spoken figurativelie or significativelie, or framed to our grosse capacities, &c : is by them so considered and expounded, as though the bare letter, or rather their grosse imaginations thereupon were to be preferred before the true sense and meaning of the word. For I dare saie, that when these blockheads read *Jothans* parable in the ninth of Judges to the men of *Sichem* ; to wit, that the trees went out to annoint a king over them, saieng to the olive tree, Reigne thou over us : who answered and said, Should I leave my fatnesse, &c? They imagine that the woodden trees walked, & spake with a mans voice : or else, that some spirit entred into the trees, and answered as is imagined they did in the idols and oracles of *Apollo*, and such like ; who indeed have eies, and see not ; eares and heare not ; mouthes, and speake not, &c./

509.

Judg. 9. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

The xiii. Chapter.

366.

The equivocation of this word spirit, how diverslie it is taken in the scriptures, where (by the waie) is taught that the scripture is not alwaies literallie to be interpreted, nor yet allegoricallie to be understood.

SUCH as search with the spirit of wisedome and understanding, shall find, that spirits, as well good as bad, are in the scriptures diverslie taken : yea they shall well perceive, that the divell is no horned beast. For [a] sometimes in the scriptures, spirits and divels are taken for infirmities of

[a] Exod. 31, 1

the bodie ;[b] sometimes for the vices of the mind ; sometimes also for the gifts of either of them. [c] Sometimes a man is called a divell, as *Judas* in the sixt of *John*, and *Peter* in the xvi. of *Matthew*. [d] Sometimes a spirit is put for the Gospell ; sometimes for the mind or soule of man ; sometimes [e] for the will of man, his mind and counsell ; sometimes [f] for teachers and prophets ; sometimes [g] for zeale to/wards God ; sometimes [h] for joie in the Holie-ghost, &c.

510. And to interpret unto us the nature and signification of spirits, we find these words written in the scripture ; to wit, The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him ; The spirit of counsell and strength ; The spirit of wisedome and understanding ; The spirit of knowledge and the feare of the Lord. Againe, I will powre out my spirit upon the house of *David*, *&c* : The spirit of grace and compassion. Againe, Ye have not received the spirit of bondage, but the spirit of adoption. And therefore *Paule* saith, To one is given, by the spirit, the word of wisedome ; to another, the word of knowledge by the same spirit ; to another, the gift of healing ; to another, the gift of faith by the same spirit ; to another, the gift of prophesie ; to another, the operation of great works ; to another, the discerning of spirits ; to another, the diversitie of toongs ; to another, the interpretation of toongs : and all these things worketh one and the selfesame spirit. Thus farre the words of *Paule*. And finallie, *Esaie* saith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of error. And in another place, The Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slumber.

As for the spirits of divination spoken of in the scripture, they are such as was in the woman of *Endor*, the *Philippian* woman, the wench of *Westwell*, and the holie maid of *Kent* ; who were indued with spirits or gifts of divination, whereby they could make shift to gaine monie, and abuse the people by slights and craftie inventions. But these are possessed of borrowed spirits, as it is written in the booke of Wisedome ; and spirits of meere cousenage and deceipt, as I have sufficientlie prooved elsewhere. I denie not therefore that there are spirits and divels, of such substance as it hath pleased GOD to create them. But in what place soever it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or divell is to be understood spirituallie, and is neither a corporall nor a visible thing. Where it is written, that God sent an evill spirit betweene *Abimelech*, and the men of *Sichem*, we
367. are to/ understand, that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bul-begger. Also where it is said ; If the spirit of gelosie come upon him : it is as much to saie as ; If he be mooved with a gelous mind : and not that a corporall divell assaulteth him. It is said in the Gospell ; There was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmitie 18. yeeres,/
511. who was bowed togither, &c : whome Christ, by laieng his hand upon

[b] Acts. 8, 19. Gal. 3.
[c] John. 6. Matth. 16
[d] 1. Cor. 3. Gal. 3. 1. Cor. 2. 2. Cor. 7.
[e] Luke 9. 1. Cor. 5. Philip 1. 1. Thes. 5.
[f] 1. John. 4.
[g] 1. Tim. 4.
[h] Ephes. 5.
Isai. 11, 2.
Zach. 12, 10.
Rom. 1, 15. 1. Cor. 12, 8, 9, 10.
1. Co. 12, 11.
Isai. 19, 14.
Isaie. 29.
1. Sam. 28. Hest. 16.
Sap. 15, 15, 19.
Judg. 9, 23.
Num. 5, 14.
Luke. 13, 11.

hir, delivered of hir disease. Wherby it is to be seene, that although it be said, that sathan had bound hir, &c: yet that it was a sicknes or disease of bodie that troubled hir; for Christs owne words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some saie was the cause thereof.

There were seven divels cast out of *Marie Magdalen.* Which is not so grosselie understood by the learned, as that there were in hir just seven corporall divels, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seven divels, a great multitude, and an uncerteine number of vices is signified: which figure is usuall in divers places of the scripture. And this interpretation is more agreeable with Gods word, than the papisticall paraphrase, which is; that Christ, under the name of the seven divels, recounteth the seven deadlie sinnes onelie. Others allow neither of these expositions; bicause they suppose that the efficacie of Christs miracle should this waie be confounded: as though it were not as difficult a matter, with a touch to make a good Christian of a vicious person; as with a word to cure the ague, or any other disease of a sicke bodie. I thinke not but any of both these cures may be wrought by meanes, in processe of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physician. But I saie that Christs worke in both was apparentlie miraculous: for with power and authoritie, even with a touch of his finger, and a word of his mouth, he made the blind to see, the halt to go, the lepers cleane, the deafe to heare, the dead to rise againe, and the poore to receive the Gospell, out of whom (I saie) he cast divels, and miraculouslie conformed them to become good Christians, which before were dissolute livers; to whome he said, Go your waies and sinne no more./

Mark. 16, 9.

Levit. 26. Prov. 24. Luk. 17.

Matth. 8, 16.

Luk. 4, 36. Luk. 7, 21.

John 8, 11.

The xiiii. Chapter. *512.*

That it pleased God to manifest the power of his sonne and not of witches by miracles.

JESUS CHRIST, to manifest his divine power, rebuked the winds, and they ceased; and the waves of water, and it was calme: which if neither our divines nor physicians can doo, much lesse our conjurors, and least of all our old witches can bring anie such thing to passe. But it pleased God to manifest the power of Christ Jesus by such miraculous & extraordinarie meanes, providing and as it were preparing diseases, that none otherwise could be cured, that his sonnes glorie, and his peoples

Luke. 8, 14.

Levit. 14, 7, 8
Luk. 7. 17, 4.

faith might the more plainelie appeere ; as namelie, leprosie, lunacie, and blindnesse : as it is apparent in the Gospell, where it is said, that the man was not stricken with blindnesse for his owne sinnes, nor for

John. 9.

368. any offense of his ancestors ;/ but that he was made blind, to the intent the works of God should be shewed upon him by the hands of Jesus Christ. But witches with their charmes can cure (as witch-mongers affirme) all these diseases mentioned in the scripture, and manie other more ; as the gowt, the toothach, &c : which we find not that ever Christ cured.

Mat. 4, 17, &c.

As touching those that are said in the Gospell to be possessed of spirits, it seemeth in manie places that it is indifferent, or all one, to saie ; He is possessed with a divell ; or, He is lunatike or phrentike: which disease in these daies is said to proceed of melancholie. But if everie one that now is lunatike, be possessed with a reall divell ; then might it be thought, that divels are to be thrust out of men by medicines. But who saith in these times with the woman of *Canaan* ; My daughter is vexed with a divell, except it be presupposed, that she meant hir daughter was troubled with some disease? Indeed we saie, and saie truelie, to the wicked, The divell is in him : but we meane not thereby, that a reall divell is gotten into his guts. And if

513. it were so, I marvell/ in what shape this reall divell, that possesseth them, remaineth. Entreth he into the bodie in one shape, and into the mind in another? If they grant him to be spirituall and invisible, I agree with them.

Some are of opinion, that the said woman of *Chanaan* ment indeed that hir daughter was troubled with some disease ; bicause it is

Matt. 15, 28.

written in sted of that the divell was cast out, that hir daughter was made whole, even the selfesame houre. According to that which is

Matt. 12, 22.

said in the 12. of *Matthew* ; There was brought unto Christ one possessed of a divell, which was both blind and dumbe, and he healed him : so as, he that was blind and dumbe both spake and sawe.

But it was the man, and not the divell, that was healed, and made to speake and see. Whereby (I saie) it is gathered, that such as were diseased, as well as they that were lunatike, were said sometimes to be possessed of divels.

The xv. Chapter.

Of the possessed with divels.

HERE I cannot omit to shew, how fondlie diverse writers; and namelie, *James Sprenger*, and *Henrie Institor* doo gather and note the cause, why the divell maketh choise to possesse men at certeine times of the moone; which is (saie they) in two respects: first, that they may defame so good a creature as the moone; secondly, bicause the braine is the moistest part of the bodie. The divell therefore considereth the aptnesse and conveniencie thereof (the *moone having dominion over all moist things) so as they take advantage therby, the better to bring their purposes to passe. And further they saie, that divels being conjured and called up, appeere and come sooner in some certeine constellations, than in other some: thereby to induce men to thinke, that there is some godhead in the starres. But when *Saule* was releeved with the sound of the harpe, they saie that the departure of the divell was/ by meanes of the signe of the crosse imprinted in *Davids* veines. *514.* Whereby we maie see how absurd the imaginations and de/vises of **369.** men are, when they speake according to their owne fansies, without warrant of the word of God. But me thinks it is verie absurd that *Josephus* affirmeth; to wit, that the divell should be thrust out of anie man by vertue of a root. And as vaine it is, that *Ælianus* writeth of the magicall herbe *Cynospastus*, otherwise called *Agla[o]photis*; which is all one with *Salomons* root named *Baaros*, as having force to drive out anie divell from a man possessed.

Mal. malef. quæst. 5. pa. 1.

* A maxime in philosophie, as the sunne *in aridis & siccis.*

Joseph. de antiquitat. Jud. item de bello Jud. lib. 7. ca. 35.

The xvi. Chapter.

That we being not throughlie informed of the nature of divels and spirits, must satisfie our selves with that which is delivered us in the scriptures touching the same, how this word divell is to be understood both in the singular and plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the divell, of tame spirits, of Ahab.

THE nature therfore and substance of divels and spirits, bicause in the scripture it is not so set down, as we may certeinlie know the same: we ought to content and frame our selves faithfullie to beleeve the words and sense there delivered unto us by the high spirit, which is the Holie-ghost,

Num. 27. 16.

who is Lord of all spirits ; alwaies considering, that evermore spirits are spoken of in scripture, as of things spirituall; though for the helpe of our capacities they are there sometimes more grosselie and corporallie expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indeed they are. As for example (and to omit the historie of *Job*, which elsewhere I handle) it is written ; The Lord said, Who shall entise *Ahab*, that he maie fall at *Ramoth Gilead*, *&c*? Then came foorth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said ; I will entise him. And the Lord said, Wherewith ? And he said ; I will go and be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then he said ; Go foorth, thou shalt prevaile, &c./

1. Reg. 18. verse. 23. verse. 4.

515. This storie is here set foorth in this wise, to beare with our capacities, and speciallie with the capacitie of that age, that could not otherwise conceive of spirituall things, than by such corporall demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted, that one spirit, and not manie or diverse, did possesse all the false prophets at once. Even as in another place, manie thousand divels are said to possesse one man : and yet it is also said even in the selfe same place, that the same man was possessed onelie with one divell. For it is there said that Christ met a man, which had a divell, and he commanded the fowle spirit to come foorth of the man, &c. But *Calvine* saith ; Where sathan or the divell is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse, that standeth against the kingdome of justice. And where manie divels are named in the scriptures, we are thereby taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enimies ; least despising the fewnesse of them, we should be more slacke to enter into battell, and so fall into securitie and idlenes.

Luke. 8. 27. 28. Mark. 5. 9. Luk. 8.

J. Cal. lib. instit. lib. 1. *cap.* 14. *sect.* 14.

On the other side, it is as plainelie set downe in the scripture, that some/ are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the divell. Yea sometimes we read, that one good spirit was put into a great number of persons ; and againe, that diverse spirits rested in and upon one man : and yet no reall or corporall spirit meant. As for example ; The Lord tooke of the spirit that was upon *Moses*, and put it upon the seventie elders, and when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied. Why should not this be as substantiall and corporall a spirit, as that, wherewith the maid in the *Acts* of the apostles was possessed ? Also *Elisha* intreated *Elia*, that when he departed, his spirit might double upon him. We read also that the spirit of the Lord came upon [a] *Othniel*, upon [b] *Gedeon*, [c] *Jeptha*, [d] *Samson*, [e] *Balaam*, [f] *Saule*, [g] *David*, [h] *Ezechiel*, [i] *Zacharie*, [k] *Amasay* : yea it is written, that *Caleb* had another spirit than all the Israelits beside : & in another place it is said, that

370.

Num. 11.

Ibid. vers. 25

Acts 16. 2. Reg. 2. Judg. 3. 10.

[a] Judg. 11. 39.
[b] Ibid. 14. 6.
[c] Ibid. 14. 6.
[d] Num. 24. 2
[e] 1. Sam. 16. 13.

[l]*Daniel* had a more excellent spirit than anie other. So as, though the spirits, as well good as bad, are said to be given by number and proportion ; yet the qualitie and not the quantitie of them is alwaies thereby ment and presupposed. Howbeit I must confesse, that Christ had the spirit of God without mea/sure, as it is written in the evangelist *John*. But where it is said that spirits can be made tame, and at commandement, I saie to those grosse conceivers of scripture with *Salomon*, who (as they falslie affirme was of all others the greatest conjuror) saith thus in expresse words ; No man is lord over a spirit, to reteine a spirit at his pleasure.

f 1. Sam. 18. 14.
g Ezec. 11. 5
h 2. Chr. 14.
i 1. Ch. 12. 18.
k Numb. 14.
l Dan. 5. 11. John. 3, 34. *516.*

Eccles. 8. [8.]

[Azariah is omitted in the text, and the margin references are wrong; they are rightly given opposite.]

[a Judg. 3. 10.
b [Judg. 6. 34.]
c Judg. 11. [2]9.
d Ibid 14. 6.
e Num. 24. 2
f [1. Sam. 11. 3.]
g 1 Sam. 16. 13. 1. Sam. 18. 14.
h Ezec. 11. 5
h[c]2 Chr. 14. [15.1. is Azariah.]
i [Zech. 24. 20.]
k 1 Chr. 12. 18. Num. 14. [24.]]

The xvii. Chapter.

Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doo extreamelie contend and varie.

SOME hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume & take unto them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list : of which mind all papists, and some protestants are, being more grosse than another sort, which hold, that such bodies are made to their hands. Howbeit, these doo varie in the elements, wherewith these spirituall bodies are composed. For (as I have said) some affirme that they consist of fier, some thinke of aier, and some of the starres and other celestiall powers. But if they be celestiall, then (as *Peter Martyr* saith) must they follow the circular motion : and if they be elementarie, then must they follow the motions of those elements, of which their bodies consist. Of aier they cannot be : for aier is *Corpus homogenium* ; so as everie part of aier is aier, whereof there can be no distinct members made. For an organicall bodie must have bones, sinewes, veines, flesh, &c : which cannot be made of aier. Neither (as *Peter Martyr* affirmeth) can an aierie bodie receive or have either shape or figure.

For everie naturall motion is either circular or elemẽtarie.

But some ascend up into the clouds, where they find (as they saie) diverse shapes and formes even in the aier. Unto which objection *P. Martyr* answereth, saieng, and that trulie, that clouds are not/ altogether aier, but have a mixture of other elements mingled with them./

371.

517.

The xviii. Chapter.

Certeine popish reasons concerning spirits made of aier, of daie divels and night divels, and why the divell loveth no salt in his meate.

MANIE affirme (upon a fable cited by *M. Mal.*) that spirits are of aier, bicause they have beene cut (as he saith) in sunder, and closed presentlie againe ; and also bicause they vanish awaie so suddenlie. But of such apparitions I have alreadie spoken, and am shortlie to saie more, which are rather seene in the imagination of the weake and diseased, than in veritie and truth. Which sights and apparitions, as they have beene common among the unfaithfull ; so now, since the preaching of the gospell they are most rare. And as among faintharted people ; namelie, women, children, and sicke folkes, they usuallie swarmed : so among strong bodies and good stomachs they never used to appeare ; as elsewhere I have prooved : which argueth that they were onelie phantasticall and imaginarie. Now saie they that imagine divels and spirits to be made of aier, that it must needs be that they consist of that element ; bicause otherwise when they vanish suddenlie awaie, they should leave some earthie substance behind them. If they were of water, then should they moisten the place where they stand, and must needs be shed on the floore. If they consisted of fier, then would they burne anie thing that touched them : and yet (saie they) *Abrahã* and *Lot* washed their feete, and were neither scalded nor burnt.

Gen. 18, 19.

J. Bod. lib. de dæm. 3. ca. 4.

I find it not in the Bible, but in *Bodin*, that there are daie divels, and night divels. The same fellow saith, that *Deber* is the name of that divell, which hurteth by night ; and *Cheleb* is he that hurteth by daie : howbeit, he confesseth that Sathan can hurt both by daie and by night ; although it be certeine (as he saith) that he can doo more harme by night than by daie ; producing for example, how in a night he slew the first borne of *Ægypt.*/ And yet it appeareth plainelie i the text, that the Lord himselfe did it. Whereby it seemeth, that *Bodin* putteth no difference betweene God and the divell. For further confirmation of this his foolish assertion, that divels are more valiant by night than by daie, he alledgeth the 104. *Psalme*, wherein is written, Thou makest darknesse, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forrest creepe foorth, the lions rore, &c : when the sunne riseth, they retire, &c. So as now he maketh all beasts to be divels, or divels to be beasts. Oh barbarous blindnes ! This *Bodin*

518.

Exod. 12. 29.

Psa. 104. 20.

also saith, that the divell loveth no salt in his meate, for that it is a signe of eternitie, and used by Gods commandement in all sacrifices; abusing the scriptures, which he is not ashamed to quote in that behalfe. But now I will declare how the scripture teacheth our dull capacities to conceive what maner of thing the divell is, by the verie names appropriated unto him in the same./

J. Bod. lib. de dæm. 3. ca. 5.

Levit. 1.

The xix. Chapter. 372.

That such divels as are mentioned in the scriptures, have in their names their nature and qualities expressed, with instancies thereof.

SUCH divels as are mentioned in the scriptures by name, have in their names their nature and qualities expressed, being for the most part the idols of certeine nations idolatrouslie erected, in steed, or rather in spight of God. For *Beelzebub*, which signifieth the lord of the flies, bicause he taketh everie simple thing in his web, was an idol or oracle erected at *Ekron*, to whom *Ahaziah* sent to know whether he should recover his disease : as though there had beene no God in Israell. This divell *Beelzebub* was among the *Jewes* reputed the principall divell. The *Græcians* called him *Pluto*, the *Latines Sumanus, quasi summum deorum manium*, the cheefe ghost or spirit of the dead whom they supposed to walke by night : although they absurdlie beleeved also that the soule died with the bodie. So as they did put a difference be/tweene the ghost of a man and the soule of a man : and so doo our papists ; howbeit, none otherwise, but that the soule is a ghost, when it walketh on the earth, after the dissolution of the bodie, or appeareth to anie man, either out of heaven, hell, or purgatorie, and not otherwise. [a] *Nisroch* signifieth a delicate tentation, and was worshipped by *Senacherib* in *Assyria*. [b] *Tarcat** is in English, fettered, and was the divell or idoll of the *Hevites*. [c] *Beelphegor*, otherwise called *Priapus*, the gaping or naked god was worshipped among the *Moabits*. [d] *Adramelech*, that is, the cloke or power of the king, was an idoll at *Sepharvais*, which was a citie of the *Assyrians*. [e] *Chamos*, that is feeling, or departing, was worshipped among the *Moabits*. [f] *Dagon*, that is, corne or greefe, was the idoll of the Philistines. [g] *Astarte*, that is, a fold or flocke, is the name of a shee idoll at *Sydonia*, whom *Salomon* worshipped : some thinke it was *Venus*.

2. Reg. 13.

Matth. 10. & 12. Mark. 3. Luk. 11.

519.

[* Tartac]

[a] 2. Reg. 19.
[b] 2. Reg. 17.
[c] Ose. 9, 11. [10] Num. 25. Deut. 3, &. 4 Josu. 22.
[d] 2. Reg. 17.
[e] Numb. 21. 1. Reg. 11. 2. Reg. 23.
[f] Judg. 16. 1. Macc. 10.
[g] 1. Reg. 11. 2. Reg. 23.

h 2. Reg. 23. 1. Chro. 20. Jerem. 49.

h *Melchom*, that is, a king, was an idoll or divell, which the sonnes of *Ammon* worshipped.

Sometimes also we find in the scriptures, that divels and spirits take their names of wicked men, or of the houses or stats of abhominable persons: as *Astaroth*, which (as *Josephus* saith) was the idoll of the *Philistines*, whome the *Jewes* tooke from them at *Salomons* commandement, and was also worshipped of *Salomon.* Which though it signifie riches, flocks, &c: yet it was once a citie belonging to *Og* the king of *Basan*, where they saie the giants dwelt. In these respects *Astaroth* is one of the speciall divels named in *Salomons* conjuration, and greatlie emploied by the conjurors. I have sufficientlie prooved in these quotations, that these idols are *Dii gentium*, the gods of the Gentiles: and then the prophet *David* may satisfie you, that they are divels, who saith *Dii gentium dæmonia sunt*, The gods of the Gentiles are divels. What a divell was the rood of grace to be thought, but such a one as before is mentioned and described, who tooke his name of his courteous and gratious behaviour towards his worshippers, or rather those that offered/ unto him? The idolatrous knaverie wherof being now bewraied, it is among the godlie reputed a divell rather than a god: and so are diverse others of the same stampe./

Joseph. lib. de antiquit. Judæor. 6. cap. 14. 1. Sam. 7. 2. Reg. 23.

Psal. 96. [Vulg. vers.]

373.

520.

The xx. Chapter.

Diverse names of the divell, whereby his nature and disposition is manifested.

IT hath also pleased GOD to informe our weake capacities, as it were by similitudes and examples, or rather by comparisons, to understand what manner of thing the divell is, by the verie names appropriated and attributed unto him in the scriptures: wherein sometimes he is called by one name, sometimes by another, by metaphors according to his conditions. a *Elephas* is called in *Job*, *Behemoth*, which is, *Bruta*; whereby the greatnes and brutishnes of the divell is figured. *Leviathan* is not much different from *Elephas*; whereby the divels great subtiltie and power is shewed unto us. b *Mammon* is the covetous desire of monie, wherewith the divell overcommeth the reprobate. c *Dæmon* signifieth one that is cunning or craftie. *Cacodæmon* is perverslie knowing. All those which in ancient times were worshipped as gods, were so called. d *Diabolus* is *Calumniator*, an accuser, or a slanderer. Sathan is *Adversarius*, an adversarie, that troubleth and molesteth. e *Abad-*

a Job. 40. Job. 3. Isai. 27.

b Matth. 6. Matt. 4, &c. Marc. 16.

c Jam. 2.

d Matth. 4. John. 8. Apoc. 12.

e. Apoc. 9.

don a destroier. [f] *Legio*, bicause they are manie. [g] Prince of the aire. [h] Prince of the world. [i] A king of the sonnes of pride. [k] A roring lion. [l] An homicide or manslear, a lier, and the father of lies. The [m] author of sinne. [n] A spirit. Yea somtimes he is called the spirit of the Lord, as the executioner and minister of his displeasure, &c. Sometimes, the [o] spirit of fornication, &c. And manie other like epithets or additions are given him for his name. He is also called [p] the angell of the Lord. [q] The cruell angell. The [r] angell of sathan. The [s] angell of hell. The [t] great dragon, for his pride and force. The [u] red dragon for his blouddines. A [x] serpent. An [y] owle, a [z] kite, a satyre, a crowe, a pellicane, a hedghog, a griph, a storke, &c./

[x should reach to Isai. 27. and y Mark Isai. 13. 34.]

[f] Marc. 5. Luke. 8.
[g] Eph. 2.
[h] John. 8. 12. 14. 16.
[i] Job. 41.
[k] 1. Pet. 5.
[l] John. 8.
[m] 1. John. 3.
[n] Acts. 16.
[o] Ose. 4.
[p] Psal. 34. 1. Chr. 21.
[q] Prov. 17.
[r] 2. Cor. 12.
[s] Apoc. 9.
[t] Apoc 12.
[u] Job. 41.
[x] Gen. 3.
[y] Apoc. 12.
[z] Isai 27. Isai. 13. 34.

The xxi. Chapter. *521.*

That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are divels, their diverse names, and in what affaires their labours and authorities are emploied, wherein also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discovered.

AND for so much as the idols of the gentiles are called divels, and are among the unlearned confounded and intermedled with the divels that are named in the scriptures ; I thought it convenient here to give you a note of them, to whome the Gentiles gave names, according to the offices unto them assigned. *Penates* are the domesticall gods, or rather divels/ that were said to make men live quietlie within doores. But some thinke these rather to be such, as the Gentiles thought to be set over kingdomes : and that *Lares* are such as trouble private houses, and are set to oversee crosse waies and cities. *Larvæ* are said to be spirits that walke onelie by night. *Genii* are the two angels, which they supposed were appointed to wait upon each man. *Manes* are the spirits which oppose themselves against men in the waie. *Dæmones* were feigned gods by poets, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. *Virunculi terrei* are such as was Robin good fellowe, that would supplie the office of servants, speciallie of maids ; as to make a fier in the morning, sweepe the house, grind mustard and malt, drawe water, &c : these also rumble in houses, drawe latches, go up and downe staiers, &c. *Dii geniales* are the gods that everie man did sacrifice unto at the daie of their birth. *Tetrici* be they that make folke afraid, and have such ouglie shape, which manie of our divines

Psalm. 96.

Juno and Minerva. 374.

Cousening gods or knaves.

Terra, aqua, aer, ignis, sol, & Luna.

doo call *Subterranei.* *Cobali* are they that followe men, and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, juggling, and such like toies. *Virunculi* are dwarfes about three handfulles long, and doo no hurt; but seeme to dig in mineralles, and to be verie busie, and yet doo nothing. *Guteli* or *Trulli* are spirits (they saie) in the likenes of
522. women, shewing great kind/nesse to all men: & hereof it is that we call light women, truls. *Dæmones montani* are such as worke in the mineralles, and further the worke of the labourers woonderfullie, who are nothing afraid of them. *Hudgin* is a verie familiar divell, which will doo no bodie hurt, except he receive injurie: but he cannot abide that, nor yet be mocked: he talketh with men freendlie, sometimes visiblie, and sometimes invisiblie. There go as manie tales upon this *Hudgin*, in some parts of *Germanie*, as there did in *England* of Robin good fellowe. But this *Hudgin* was so called, bicause he alwaies ware a cap or a hood†; and therefore I thinke it was Robin hood. Frier *Rush* was for all the world such another fellow as this *Hudgin*, and brought up even in the same schoole; to wit, in a kitchen: in so much as the selfe-same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is said to have beene slaine, &c: for the reading whereof I referre you to Frier *Rush* his storie, or else to *John Wierus De præstigiis dæmonum.*

* Hudgin of Germanie, and Rush of England.

[* Hutgin, *Wier.*]

[† See note.]

J. Wier. lib. de præst. dæm. 1. cap. 23.

There were also *Familiares dæmones*, which we call familiars: such as *Socrates* and *Cæsar* were said to have; and such as *Feats* sold to doctor *Burcot.* *Quintus Sertorius* had *Diana* hir selfe for his familiar; and *Numa Pompilius* had *Aegeria*: but neither the one nor the other of all these could be preserved by their familiars from being destroied with untimelie death. *Simon Samareus* boasted, that he had gotten by conjuration, the soule of a little child that was slaine, to be his familiar, and that he told him all things that were to come, &c. I marvell what privilege soules have, which are departed from the bodie, to know things to come more than the soules within mans bodie. There were spirits, which they called *Albæ mulieres*, and *Albæ Silyllæ*, which were verie familiar, and did much harme (they saie) to women with child, and to sucking children. *Deumus* as a divell is worshipped among the *Indians* in *Calecute*, who (as they thinke) hath power given him of God to judge the earth, &c: his image is horriblie pictured in a most ouglie shape. *Thevet* saith,
375. that a divell/ in *America*, called *Agnan*, beareth swaie in that countrie. In *Ginnie* one *Grigrie* is accounted the great divell, and keepeth the woods: these have preests called *Charoibes*, which prophesie, after they have lien by the space of one houre prostrate upon a wench/
523. of twelve yeares old, and all that while (saie they) he calleth upon a divell called *Hovioulsira*, and then commeth foorth and uttereth his

Bawdie preests in Ginnie.

prophesie. For the true successe whereof the people praie all the while that he lieth groveling like a lecherous knave. There are a thousand other names, which they saie are attributed unto divels; and such as they take to themselves are more ridiculous than the names that are given by others, which have more leasure to devise them. In litle bookes conteining the cousening possessed, at *Maidstone*, where such a woonder was wrought, as also in other places, you may see a number of counterfeit divels names, and other trish trash.

Looke in the word (*Ob*) lib. 7. cap. 3. pag. 132, 133.

The xxii. Chapter.

Of the Romanes cheefe gods called Dii selecti, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.

THERE were among the *Romans* twentie idolatrous gods, which were called *Dii selecti sive electi*, chosen gods; whereof twelve were male, and eight female, whose names doo thus followe: *Janus*, *Saturnus*, *Jupiter*, *Genius*, *Mercurius*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Vulcanus*, *Neptunus*, *Sol*, *Orcus* and **Vibar*, which were all hee gods: *Tellus*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Luna*, *Diana*, *Venus*, and *Vesta*, were all she gods. No man might appropriate anie of these unto himselfe, but they were left common and indifferent to all men dwelling in one realme, province, or notable citie. These heathen gentiles had also their gods, which served for sundrie purposes; as to raise thunder, they had *Statores*, *Tonantes*, *Feretrii*, and *Jupiter Elicius*. They had *Cantius*, to whome they praied for wise children, who was more apt for this purpose than *Minerva* that issued out of *Jupiters* owne braine. *Lucina* was to send them that were with child safe deliverie, and in that respect was called the mother of childwives. *Opis* was called the mother of the babe new borne, whose image women with child hanged upon their girdles before their bellies, and bare it so by/ the space of nine moneths; and the midwife alwaies touched the child therewith, before she or anie other laied hand thereon.

[* *Liber*]

A good god and goddesse for women.

524.

If the child were well borne, they sacrificed therunto, although the mother miscaried: but if the child were in any part unperfect, or dead, &c: they used to beate the image into powder, or to burne or drowne it. *Vagianus* was he that kept their children from crieng, and therefore they did alwaies hang his picture about babes necks: for they thought much crieng in youth portended ill fortune in age. *Cuninus*, otherwise *Cunius*, was he that preserved (as they thought)

The names of certeine heathenish gods, and their peculiar offices.

their children from misfortune in the cradell. *Ruminus* was to keepe their dugs from corruption. *Volumnus* and his wife *Volumna* were
376. gods, the one for yoong men, the other for/ maids that desired marriage : for such as praied devoutlie unto them, should soone be married. *Agrestis* was the god of the fields, and to him they praied for fertilitie. *Bellus* was the god of warre & warriers, and so also was *Victoria*, to whome the greatest temple in *Rome* was built. *Honorius* was he that had charge about inkeepers, that they should well intreat pilgrimes. *Berecynthia* was the mother of all the gods. *Aesculanus* was to discover their mines of gold and silver, and to him they praied for good successe in that behalfe. *Aesculapius* was to cure the sicke, whose father was *Apollo*, and served to keepe weeds out of the corne. *Segacia* was to make seeds to growe. *Flora* preserved the vines from frosts and blasts. *Sylvanus* was to preserve them that walked in gardens. *Bacchus* was for droonkards, *Pavor* for cowherds ; *Meretrix* for whores, to whose honour there was a temple built in *Rome*, in the middest of fortie and foure streets, which were all inhabited with common harlots. Finallie *Colatina*, [* *alias* Ital.] **alias Clotina*, was goddesse of the stoole, the jakes, and the privie, A verie homelie charge. to whome as to everie of the rest, there was a peculiar temple edified: besides that notable temple called *Pantheon*, wherein all the gods were placed togither; so as everie man and woman, according to their follies and devotions, might go thither and worship what gods they list./

525.

The xxiii. Chapter.

Of diverse gods in diverse countries.

THE *Aegyptians* were yet more foolish in this behalfe than the *Romans* (I meane the heathenish *Romans* that then were, and not the popish *Romans* that now are, for no nation approcheth neere to these in anie kind of idolatrie.) The *Aegyptians* worshipped *Anubis* in the likenesse of a dog, bicause he loved dogs and hunting. Yea they worshipped all living creatures, Beasts, birds, vermine, fishes, herbs and other trumperie worshipped as gods. as namelie of beasts, a bullocke, a dog, & a cat ; of flieng fowles, Ibis (which is a bird with a long bill, naturallie devouring up venemous things and noisome serpents) and a sparrowhawke ; of fishes they had two gods ; to wit, *Lepidotus piscis*, and *Oxyrinchus*. The *Saitans* and *Thebans* had to their god a sheepe. In the citie *Lycopolis* they worshipped a woolfe ; in *Herinopolis*, the *Cynocephalus* ; the *Leopolitans*, a lion ; in *Lætopolis*, a fish in *Nilus* called *Latus*.

In the citie *Cynopolis* they worshipped *Anubis.* At *Babylon*, besides *Memphis*, they made an onion their god; the *Thebans* an eagle; the *Mændeseans*, a goate; the *Persians*, a fier called *Orimasda*; the *Arabians*, *Bacchus*, *Venus*, and *Diasaren*; the *Bœotians*, *Amphiaraus*; the *Aphricans*, *Mopsus*; the *Scithians*, *Minerva*; the *Naucratits*, *Serapis*, which is a serpent; *Astartes* (being as *Cicero* writeth the fourth *Venus*, who was she, as others affirme, whom *Salomon* worshipped at his concubines request) was the goddesse of the *Assyrians.* At *Noricum*, being a part of *Bavaria*, they worship *Tibilenus*; the *Moores* worship *Juba*; the *Macedonians*, *Gabirus*; the *Pœnians*, *Uranius*; at *Samos Juno* was their god; at *Paphos*, *Venus*; at *Lemnos*, *Vulcane*; at *Naxos*, *Liberus*; at/ *Lampsacke*, 377. *Priapus* with the great genitals, who was set up at *Hellespont* to be adored. In the ile *Diomedea*, *Diomedes*; at *Delphos*, *Apollo*; at *Ephesus*, *Diana* was worshipped. And bicause they would plaie small game ra/ther than sit out, they had *Acharus Cyrenaicus*, to 526. keepe them from flies and flieblowes; *Hercules Canopius*, to keepe them from fleas; *Apollo Parnopeius*, to keepe their cheefes from being mouseaten. The *Greeks* were the first, that I can learne to have assigned to the gods their principall kingdomes and offices: as *Jupiter* to rule in heaven, *Pluto* in hell, *Neptune* in the sea, &c. To these they joined, as assistants, divers commissioners; as to *Jupiter*, *Saturne*, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercurie*, and *Minerva*: to *Neptune*, *Nereus*, *&c. Tutilina* was onelie a mediatrix to *Jupiter*, not to destroie corne with thunder or tempests, before whom they usuallie lighted candels in the temple, to appease the same, according to the popish custome in these daies. But I may not repeate them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by good record, as *Varro* and others report, to the number of 30. thousand, and upward. Whereby the reasonable reader may judge their superstitious blindnesse.

Imperiall gods and their assistants.

The number of gods among the gentiles

The xxiiii. Chapter.

Of popish provinciall gods, a comparison betweene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation everie popish god is.

NOW if I thought I could make an end in anie reasonable time, I would begin with our antichristian gods, otherwise called popish idols, which are as ranke divels as *Dii gentium* spoken of in the psalmes: or as *Dii montium* set foorth & rehearsed in the first booke of the kings; or as *Dii*

1. Reg. 20. 2. Chr. 32. 1. Chr. 16.

Judg. 3. 2. Chr. 33. 2. Reg. 23. &c.

terrarum or *Dii populorum* mentioned in the second of the Chronicles 32. & in the first of the Chronicles 16. or as *Dii terræ* in Judges 3. or as *Dii filiorum Seir* in the second of the Chronicles 25. or as *Dii alieni,* which are so often mentioned in the scriptures.

Surelie, there were in the popish church more of these in number, more in common, more private, more publike, more for lewd purposes, and more for no purpose, than among all the heathen, either
527. heretofore, or at this present time: for I dare undertake,/ that for everie heathen idoll I might produce twentie out of the popish church. For there were proper idols of everie nation: as S. *George* on horssebacke for *England* (excepting whome there is said to be no more horssemen in heaven save onelie saint *Martine*) S. *Andrew* for *Burgundie* and *Scotland*, S. *Michael* for *France*, S. *James* for *Spaine*, S. *Patrike* for *Ireland*, S. *Davie* for *Wales*, S. *Peter* for *Rome*, and some part of *Italie*. Had not everie citie in all the popes dominions his severall patrone? As *Paule* for *London*, *Denis* for *Paris*, *Ambrose* for *Millen*, *Loven* for *Gaunt*, *Romball* for *Mackline*, S. *Marks* lion for
378. *Venice*, the three magician kings for *Cullen*,* and so of other./ Yea, had they not for everie small towne, and everie village and parish,† (the names wherof I am not at leisure to repeat) a severall idoll? As S. *Sepulchre*, for one; S. *Bride*, for another; S. All halowes, All saints, and our Ladie for all at once: which I thought meeter to rehearse, than a bedroll‡ of such a number as are in that predicament. Had they not hee idols and shee idols, some for men, some for women, some for beasts, and some for fowles, &c? Doo you not thinke that S. *Martine* might be opposed to *Bacchus*? If S. *Martine* be too weake we have S. *Urbane*, S. *Clement*, and manie other to assist him. Was *Venus* and *Meretrix* an advocate for whoores among the Gentiles? Behold, there were in the Romish church to encounter with them, S. *Aphra*, S. *Aphrodite*, and S. *Maudline*. But insomuch as long *Meg* was as verie a whoore as the best of them, she had wrong that she was not also canonized, and put in as good credit as they: for she was a gentlewoman borne; whereunto the pope hath great respect in canonizing of his saints. For (as I have said) he canonizeth the rich for saints, and burneth the poore for witches. But I doubt not, *Magdalen*, and manie other godlie women are verie saints in heaven, and should have beene so, though the pope had never canonized them: but he dooth them wrong, to make them the patronesses of harlots and strong strumpets.

Popish gods of nations.

Parish gods or popish idols

[* = Cologne]

[† . in text]

[‡ = bead—]

See the golden Legend for the life of S. Bridget.

Was there such a traitor among all the heathen idols, as S. *Thomas Becket*? Or such a whoore as S. *Bridget*? I warrant you S. *Hugh* was as good a huntesman as *Anubis*. Was *Vulcane* the protector of the heathen smithes? Yea forsooth, and S. *Euloge* was patrone for

ours. Our painters had *Luke*, our weavers/ had *Steven*, our millers had *Arnold*, our tailors had *Goodman*, our sowters had *Crispine*, our potters had S. *Gore* with a divell on his shoulder and a pot in his hand. Was there a better horseleech among the gods of the Gentiles than S. *Loy*? Or a better sowgelder than S. *Anthonie*? Or a better toothdrawer than S. *Apolline*? I beleeve that *Apollo Parnopeius* was no better a ratcatcher than S. *Gertrude*, who hath the popes patent and commendation therefore. The *Thebans* had not a better shepherd than S. *Wendeline*, nor a better gissard to keepe their geese than *Gallus*. But for physicke and surgerie, our idols exceeded them all. For S. *John*, and S. *Valentine* excelled at the falling evill, S. *Roch* was good at the plague, S. *Petronill* at the ague. As for S. *Margaret*, she passed *Lucina* for a midwife, and yet was but a maid : in which respect S. *Marpurge* is joined with hir in commission. *528.* He saints & shee saincts of the old stamp with their peculiar vertues touching the curing of diseases.

For mad men, and such as are possessed with divels, S. *Romane* was excellent, & frier *Ruffine* was also pretilie skilfull in that art. For botches and biles, *Cosmus* and *Damian* ; S. *Clare* for the eies, S. *Apolline* for teeth, S. *Job* for the * pox. And for sore brests S. *Agatha* was as good as *Ruminus*. Whosoever served *Servatius* well, should be sure to loose nothing : if *Servatius* failed in his office, S. *Vinden* could supplie the matter with his cunning ; for he could cause all things that were lost to be restored againe. But here laie a strawe for a while, and I will shew you the names of some, which exceed these verie far, and might have beene canonized for archsaints ; all the other saints or idols being in comparison of them but bunglers, and benchwhistlers. And with your leave, when all/ other saints had given over the matter, and the saints utterlie forsaken of their servitors, they repaired to these that I shall name unto you, with the good consent of the pope, who is the fautor, or rather the patrone of all the saints, divels, and idols living or dead, and of all the gods save one. And whereas none other saint could cure above one disease, in so much as it was idolatrie, follie I should have said, to go to *Job* for anie other maladie than the pox ; nothing commeth amisse to these. For they are good at anie thing, and never a-whit nice of their cunning : yea greater matters are said to be in one of their powers, than is in all the other saints. And these are they : S. mo/ther *Bungie*, S. mother *Paine*, S. *Feats*, S. mother *Still*, S. mother *Dutton*, S. *Kytrell*, S. *Ursula Kempe*, S. mother *Newman*, S. doctor *Heron*, S. *Rosimund* a good old father, & diverse more that deserve to be registred in the popes kalendar, or rather the divels rubrike. * For the Frēch pox or the cō-mon kind of pox, or both ? This would be knowne. 379. *529.* New saints.

The xxv. Chapter.

A comparison betweene the heathen and papists, touching their excuses for idolatrie.

AND bicause I know, that the papists will saie, that their idols are saints, and no such divels as the gods of the Gentiles were: you may tell them, that not onelie their saints, but the verie images of them were called *Divi.* Which though it signifie gods, and so by consequence idols or feends: yet put but an (*ll*) thereunto, and it is *Divill* in English. But they will saie also that I doo them wrong to gibe at them; bicause they were holie men and holie women. I grant some of them were so, and further from allowance of the popish idolatrie emploied upon them, than greeved with the derision used against that abuse. Yea even as silver and gold are made idols unto them that love them too well, and seeke too much for them: so are these holie men and women made idols by them that worship them, and attribute unto them such honor, as to God onelie apperteineth.

Divos vocant Grammatici eos qui ex hominibus dii facti sunt.

The heathen gods were for the most part good men, and profitable members to the commonwealth wherein they lived, and deserved fame, &c: in which respect they made gods of them when they were dead; as they made divels of such emperors and philosophers as they hated, or as had deserved ill among them. And is it not even so, and woorsse, in the commonwealth and church of poperie? Dooth not the pope excommunicate, cursse, and condemne for heretikes, and drive to the bottomlesse pit of hell, proclaming to be verie divels, all those that either write, speake or thinke contrarie to his idolatrous doctrine?

530. *Cicero*, when he de/rided the heathen gods, and inveied against them that yeelded such servile honor unto them, knew the persons, unto whom such abuse was committed, had well deserved as civill citizens; and that good fame was due unto them, and not divine estimation. Yea the infidels that honored those gods, as hoping to receive benefits for their devotion emploied that waie, knew and conceived that the

380. statues and images, before whome with such reverence/ they powred foorth their praiers, were stockes and stones, and onelie pictures of those persons whome they resembled: yea they also knew, that the parties themselves were creatures, and could not doo so much as the papists and witchmongers thinke the Roode of grace, or mother *Bungie* could doo. And yet the papists can see the abuse of the Gentils, and may not heare of their owne idolatrie more grosse and damnable than the others.

Cic. de natur. deorum.

The papists see a moth in the eie of others, but no beame in their owne.

The xxvi. Chapter.

The conceipt of the heathen and the papists all one in idolatrie, of the councell of Trent, a notable storie of a hangman arraigned after he was dead and buried, &c.

BUT papists perchance will denie, that they attribute so much to these idols as I report; or that they thinke it so meritorious to praie to the images of saints as is supposed, affirming that they worship God, and the saints themselves, under the formes of images. Which was also the conceipt of the heathen, and their excuse in this behalfe; whose eiesight and insight herein reached as farre as the papisticall distinctions published by popes and their councels. Neither doo anie of them admit so grosse idolatrie, as the councell of *Trent* hath doone, who alloweth that worship to the Rood that is due to Jesus Christ himselfe, and so likewise of other images of saints. I thought it not impertinent therfore in this place to insert an example taken out of the Rosarie of our Ladie, in which booke doo remaine (besides this) ninetie and eight examples to this effect: which are of such authoritie in the church of *Rome*, that all scripture must give place unto them. And these are either read there as their speciall homilies, or preached by their cheefe doctors. And this is the sermon for this daie verbatim translated out of the said Rosarie, a booke much esteemed and reverenced among papists.

The idolatrous councell of Trent.

531.

A certeine hangman passing by the image of our Ladie, saluted hir, commending himselfe to hir protection. Afterwards, while he praied before hir, he was called awaie to hang an offendor: but his enimies intercepted him, and slew him by the waie. And lo a certeine holie preest, which nightlie walked about everie church in the citie, rose up that night, and was going to his ladie, I should saie to our ladie church. And in the churchyard he saw a great manie dead men, and some of them he knew, of whome he asked what the matter was, &c. Who answered, that the hangman was slaine, and the divell challenged his soule, the which our ladie said was hirs: and the judge was even at hand comming thither to heare the cause, & therefore (said they) we are now come togither. The preest thought he would be at the hearing hereof, and hid himselfe behind a tree; and anon he saw the judiciall seat readie prepared and furnished, where the judge, to wit Jesus Christ, sate, who tooke up his mother unto him. Soone after the divels brought in the hangman

Exempl. 4.

But our ladie spied him well enough: as you shal read.

pinnioned, and prooved by good evidence, that his soule belonged to
381. them. On the/ other side, our ladie pleaded for the hangman, proov-
ing that he, at the houre of death, commended his soule to hir. The
judge hearing the matter so well debated on either side, but willing
to obeie (for these are his words) his mothers desire, and loath to doo
the divels anie wrong, gave sentence, that the hangmans soule should
returne to his bodie, untill he had made sufficient satisfaction;
ordeining that the pope should set foorth a publike forme of praier
for the hangmans soule. It was demanded, who should doo the
arrand to the popes holines? Marie quoth our ladie, that shall yon-
The preests arse made buttons. der preest that lurketh behind the tree. The preest being called
foorth, and injoined to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope
to take the paines to doo according to this decree, asked by what
token he should be directed. Then was delivered unto him a rose
of such beautie, as when the pope saw it, he knew his message was
true. And so, if they doo not well, I praie God we may./

532.

The xxvii. Chapter.

A confutation of the fable of the hangman, of manie other feined and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproofe thereof.

Our B. ladies favor. BY the tale above mentioned you see what it is to worship the image of our ladie. For though we kneele to God himselfe, and make never so humble petitions unto him, without faith and repentance, it shall doo us no pleasure at all. Yet this hangman had great freendship shewed him for one point of courtesie used to our ladie, having not one dramme of faith, repentance, nor yet of honestie in him. Neverthelesse, so credulous is the nature of man, as to beleeve this and such like fables: yea, to discredit such stuffe, is thought among the papists flat heresie. And though we that are protestants will not beleeve these toies, being so apparentlie popish: yet we credit and report other appearances, and assuming of bodies by soules and spirits; though they be as prophane, absurd, and impious as the other. We are sure the holie maide of *Kents* vision was a verie cousenage: but we can credit, imprint, and publish for a true possession or historie, the knaverie used by a cousening varlot at *Maidstone*;* and manie other such as that was. We thinke soules and spirits may come out of heaven or hell, and assume bodies, beleeving manie absurd tales told by the schoolemen and Romish doctors to that effect: but we dis-

[* p. *132.*]
Greg. 4. dialog. cap. 51. Alexand lib. 5. cap. 23. & lib. 2. cap. 9. &c.

credit all the stories that they, and as grave men as they are, tell us upon their knowledge and credit, of soules condemned to purgatorie, wandering for succour and release by trentals and masses said by a popish preest, &c : and yet they in probabilitie are equall, and in number farre exceed the other.

Greg. lib. 4. dialog. ca. 40. idem cap. 55, and in other places elsewhere innumerable.

We thinke that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fathered upon *Luther*; to wit, that he knew the divell, and was verie conversant with him, and had eaten manie bushels of salt and made jollie good cheere with him ; and that he was confuted in a/ disputation with a reall divell/ about the abolishing of private masse. Neither doo we beleeve this report, that the divell in the likenes of a tall man, was present at a sermon openlie made by *Carolostadius* ; and from this sermon went to his house, and told his sonne that he would fetch him awaie after a daie or twaine : as the papists saie he did in deed, although they lie in everie point thereof most maliciouslie. But we can beleeve *Platina* and others, when they tell us of the appearances of pope *Benedict* the eight, and also the ninth ; how the one rode upon a blacke horsse in the wildernesse, requiring a bishop (as I remember) whome he met, that he would distribute certeine monie for him, which he had purloined of that which was given in almes to the poore, &c : and how the other was seene a hundred yeares after the divell had killed him in a wood, of an heremite, in a beares skinne, and an asses head on his shoulders, &c : himselfe saieng that he appeared in such sort as he lived. And diverse such stuffe rehearseth *Platina.*

Micha. And. thes. 151.

533.

382.

Alex. ab Alexand. lib. 4. genealog. dierum. cap. 19. *Plutarch. oratione ad Apollonium. Item. Basiliens. in epist. Platina de vitis pontificum. Nauclerus. 2 generat.* 35.

Now bicause S. *Ambrose* writeth, that S. *Anne* appeared to *Constance* the daughter of *Constantine*, and to hir parents watching at hir sepulchre : and bicause *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* saie, that the *Pontamian* virgine, *Origins* disciple, appeared to S. *Basil*, and put a crowne upon his head, in token of the glorie of his martyrdome, which should shortlie followe : and bicause *Hierome* writeth of *Paules* appearance ; and *Theodoret*, of S. *John* the *Baptist* ; and *Athanasius*, of *Ammons*, *&c* : manie doo beleeve the same stories and miraculous appearances to be true. But few protestants will give credit unto such shamefull fables, or anie like them, when they find them written in the Legendarie, Festivall, Rosaries of our Ladie, or anie other such popish authors. Whereby I gather, that if the protestant beleeve some few lies, the papists beleeve a great number. This I write, to shew the imperfection of man, how attentive our eares are to hearken to tales. And though herein consist no great point of faith or infidelitie ; yet let us that professe the gospell take warning of papists, not to be carried awaie with everie vaine blast of doctrine: but let us cast awaie these prophane and old wives fables. And

Ambr. ser. 90 de passione Agn. Euseb. lib. eccles. hist. 5. Niceph. lib. 5 cap. 7. Hieronym. in vita Pau. Theodor. lib. hist. 5. ca. 24. Athan. in vita Antho.

although this matter have passed so long with generall credit and
534. authoritie : yet manie *grave authors have condemned/ long since all those vaine visions and apparitions, except such as have beene shewed by God, his sonne, and his angels. *Athanasius* saith, that soules once loosed from their bodies, have no more societie with mortall men. *Augustine* saith, that if soules could walke and visit their freends, &c : or admonish them in sleepe, or otherwise, his mother that followed him by land and by sea would shew hir selfe to him, and reveale hir knowledge, or give him warning, &c. But most true it is that is written in the gospell; We have *Moses* and the prophets, who are to be hearkened unto, and not the dead./

* *Melancth. in Calendar. Manlii.* 23. *April.*

Marbach. lib. de miracul. adversus Ins.

Johannes Rivius de veter. superstit. Athan. lib. 99. *quæ.* 11.

August. de cura pro mortu. ca. 13.

Luk. 16.

383.

The xxviii. Chapter.

A confutation of Johannes Laurentius, and of manie others, maintaining these fained and ridiculous tales and apparitions, and what driveth them awaie : of Moses and Helias appearance in mount Thabor.

FURTHERMORE, to prosecute this matter in more words; if I saie that these apparitions of soules are but knaveries and cousenages ; they object that *Moses* and *Helias* appeared in mount *Thabor*, and talked with Christ, in the presence of the principall apostles : yea, and that God appeared in the bush, &c. As though spirits and soules could doo whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to doo, or appoint to be doone for his owne glorie, or for the manifestation of his sonne miraculouslie. And therefore I thought good to give you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this behalfe.

Matth 17. Luke. 9.

Johan. Laur. lib. de natur. dæmon.

And first you shall understand, that they hold, that all the soules in heaven may come downe and appeare to us when they list, and assume anie bodie saving their owne : otherwise (saie they) such soules should not be perfectlie happie. They saie that you may know the good soules from the bad verie easilie. For a damned soule hath a verie heavie and sowre looke ; but a saints soule hath
535. a cheerefull and a merrie countenance : these also are white/ and shining, the other cole blacke. And these damned soules also maie come up out of hell at their pleasure ; although *Abraham* made *Dives* beleeve the contrarie. They affirme that damned soules walke oftenest : next unto them the soules of purgatorie ; and most seldome the soules of saints. Also they saie that in the old lawe soules did

Mich. Andr. thes. 222, *&c*

Idem thes. 235. *&c.* 136.

Idem thes. 226.

Th. Aq. 1. *pa. quæ.* 89. *ar.* 8.

appeare seldome ; and after doomes daie they shall never be seene more : in the time of grace they shall be most frequent. The walking of these soules (saith *Michael Andr.*) is a most excellent argument for the proofe of purgatorie : for (saith he) those soules have testified that which the popes have affirmed in that behalfe ; to wit, that there is not onelie such a place of punishment, but that they are released from thence by masses, and such other satisfactorie works ; whereby the goodnes of the masse is also ratified and confirmed.

Gregor. in dial. 4.

Mich. And. thes. 313. 316. 317.

These heavenlie or purgatorie soules (saie they) appeare most commonlie to them that are borne upon ember daies, and they also walke most usuallie on those ember daies : bicause we are in best state at that time to praie for the one, and to keepe companie with the other. Also they saie, that soules appeare oftenest by night ; bicause men may then be at best leasure, and most quiet. Also they never appeare to the whole multitude, seldome to a few, and most commonlie to one alone : for so one may tell a lie without controlment. Also they are oftenest seene by them that are readie to die : as *Trasilla* sawe pope *Fœlix* ; *Ursine*, *Peter* and *Paule* ; *Galla Romana*, *S. Peter* ; and as *Musa* the maid sawe our Ladie : which are the most certeine appearances, credited and allowed in the church of *Rome* : also they may be seene of some, and of some other in that presence not seene/ at all ; as *Ursine* sawe *Peter* and *Paule*, and yet manie at that instant being present could not see anie such sight, but thought it a lie : as I doo. *Michael Andræas* confesseth, that papists see more visions than protestants : he saith also, that a good soule can take none other shape than of a man ; marie a damned soule may and dooth take the shape of a blacke moore, or of a beast, or of a serpent, or speciallie of an heretike. The christian signes that drive awaie these evill soules, are the crosse, the name of Jesus, and the relikes of saints : in the number whereof are holiwater, holie bread, *Agnus Dei*, *&c.* For *Andrew* saith, that notwithstanding *Julianus* was/ an *Apostata*, and a betraier of christian religion : yet at an extremitie, with the onelie signe of the crosse, he drave awaie from him manie such evill spirits ; whereby also (he saith) the greatest diseases and sicknesses are cured, and the sorest dangers avoided.

Idem thes. 346.

Leo. serm. de jejuniis 10. *mens.*

Gelas. in epistola ad episc.

Mich. Andr. thes. 345.

Greg. dial. 4. *cap.* 1. 12. 14.

Mich. And, thes. 347.

Greg. dial. 4. *cap.* 11.

Mich. And. 384. *thes.* 347.

Mich. And. thes. 341.

Ide. thes. 388.

Ide. thes. 411.

Mal. malef. J. Bod. &c.

Mich. And. these. 412.

536.

Idem. thes. 414.

The xxix. Chapter.

A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced Eve.

THEY that contend so earnestlie for the divels assuming of bodies and visible shapes, doo thinke they have a great advantage by the words uttered in the third of *Genesis*, where they saie, the divell entered into a serpent or snake: and that by the cursse it appeareth, that the whole displeasure of God lighted upon the poore snake onlie. How those words are to be considered may appeare, in that it is of purpose so spoken, as our weake capacities may thereby best conceive the substance, tenor, and true meaning of the word, which is there set downe in the manner of a tragedie, in such humane and sensible forme, as woonderfullie informeth our understanding; though it seeme contrarie to the spirituall course of spirits and divels, and also to the nature and divinitie of God himselfe; who is infinite, and whome no man ever sawe with corporall eies, and lived. And doubtles, if the serpent there had not beene taken absolutelie, nor metaphoricallie for the divell, the Holie-ghost would have informed us thereof in some part of that storie. But to affirme it sometimes to be a divell, and sometimes a snake; whereas there is no such distinction to be found or seene in the text, is an invention and a fetch (me thinks) beyond the compasse of all divinitie. Certeinlie the serpent was he that seduced *Eve*: now whether it were the divell, or a snake; let anie wise man (or rather let the word of God) judge. Doubtles the scripture in manie places expoundeth it to be the divell. And I have (I am sure) one wiseman on my side/ for the interpretation hereof, namelie *Salomon*; who saith, Through envie* of the divell came death into the world: referring that to the divell, which *Moses* in the letter did to the serpent. But a better expositor hereof needeth not, than the text it selfe, even in the same place, where it is written; I will put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seed and hir seed: he shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruse his heele. What christian knoweth not, that in these words the mysterie of/ our redemption is comprised and promised? Wherein is not meant (as manie suppose) that the common seed of woman shall tread upon a snakes head, and so breake it in peeces, &c: but that speciall seed, which is Christ, should be borne of a woman, to the utter overthrow of sathan, and to the

Gen 3. 14. 15.

Gen. 3. 1. 1. Cor. 11. 3.

537.

Sap. 2, 24.

* [= hatred]

385.

redemption of mankind, whose heele or flesh in his members the divell should bruse and assault, with continuall attempts, and carnall provocations, &c.

The xxx. Chapter.

The objection concerning the divels assuming of the serpents bodie answered.

THIS word Serpent in holie scripture is taken for the divell: The serpent was more subtill than all the beasts of the feeld. It likewise signifieth such as be evill speakers, such as have slandering toongs, also heretiks, &c: They have sharpned their toongs like serpents. It dooth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of Christ: As *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wildernesse, so must the sonne of man be lifted up upon the crosse. Moreover, it is taken for wicked men: O yee serpents and generation of vipers. Thereby also is signified as well a wise as a subtile man: and in that sense did Christ himselfe use it; saieng, Be ye wise as serpents, &c. So that by this breefe collection you see, that the word serpent, as it is equivocall, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the good and sometimes in the evill part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceipt: me/ thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the allegorie. Trulie *Calvines* opinion is to be liked and reverenced, and his example to be embraced and followed, in that he offereth to subscribe to them that hold, that the Holie-ghost in that place did of purpose use obscure figures, that the cleare light thereof might be deferred, till Christs comming. He saith also with like commendation (speaking hereof, and writing upon this place) that *Moses* doth accommodate and fitten for the understanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there delivereth; forbearing once to rehearse the name of sathan. And further he saith, that this order may not be thought of *Moses* his owne devise; but to be taught him by the spirit of God: for such was (saith he) in those daies the childish age of the church, which was unable to receive higher or profounder doctrine. Finallie, he saith even hereupon, that the Lord hath supplied, with the secret light of his spirit, whatsoever wanted in plainenes and clearenes of externall words.

Gen. 3, 1.

Psal. 139, 4.

Num. 8. & 9. John. 3, 14.

Matt. 23, 33.

Matt. 10, 16.

538.

J. Cal. in Genes. cap. 3. 1.

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

If it be said, according to experience, that certeine other beasts are

farre more subtill than the serpent : they answer, that it is not absurd to confesse, that the same gift was taken awaie from him, by God, bicause he brought destruction to mankind. Which is more (me thinkes) than need be granted in that behalfe. For Christ saith not ; Matt. 10, 16.
386. Be yee wise as serpents/ were before their transgression : but, Be wise as serpents are. I would learne what impietie, absurditie, or offense it is to hold, that *Moses*, under the person of the poisoning serpent or snake, describeth the divell that poisoned *Eve* with his deceiptfull words, and venomous assault. Whence commeth it else, that the divell is called so often, The viper, The serpent, &c : and that his children are called the generation of vipers ; but upon this first description of the divell made by *Moses*? For I thinke none so grosse, as to suppose, that the wicked are the children of snakes, according to the letter : no more than we are to thinke and gather, that God keepeth a booke of life, written with penne and inke upon paper ; as citizens record their free men./

Isai. 30, 6. Matth 3. 12. 13. Luk. 3, &c. Gen. 3.

539.

The xxxi. Chapter.

Of the cursse rehearsed Gen. 3. and that place rightlie expounded, John Calvines opinion of the divell.

THE cursse rehearsed by God in that place, whereby witchmongers labour so busilie to proove that the divell entered into the bodie of a snake, and by consequence can take the bodie of anie other creature at his pleasure, &c: reacheth (I thinke) further into the divels matters, than we can comprehend, or is needfull for us to know, that understand not the waies of the divels creeping, and is farre unlikelie to extend to plague the generation of snakes : as though they had beene made with legs before that time, and through this cursse were deprived of that benefit. And yet, if the divell should have entred into the snake, in maner and forme as they suppose ; I cannot see in what degree of sinne the poore snake should be so guiltie, as that God, who is the most righteous judge, might be offended with him. But although I abhorre that lewd interpretation of the familie of love, and such other heretikes, as would reduce the whole Bible into allegories : yet (me thinkes) the creeping there is rather metaphoricallie or significativelie spoken, than literallie ; even by that figure, which is there prosecuted to the end. Wherein the divell is resembled to an odious creature, who as he creepeth upon us to annoie our bodies ; so doth

Familie of love.

the divell there creepe into the conscience of *Eve*, to abuse and deceive hir : whose seed nevertheles shall tread downe and dissolve his power and malice. And through him, all good christians (as *Calvine* saith) obteine power to doo the like. For we may not imagine such a materiall tragedie, as there is described, for the ease of our feeble and weake capacities.

J. Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14. sect. 18.

For whensoever we find in the scriptures, that the divell is called, god, the prince of the world, a strong armed man, to whome is given the power of the aier, a roring lion, a serpent, &c : the Holie-ghost mooved us thereby, to beware of the most subtill, strong and mightie enimie, and to make prepara/tion, and arme our selves with faith against so terrible an adversarie. And this is the opinion and counsell of *Calvine*, that we seeing our owne weakenes, & his force manifested in such termes, may beware of the divell, and may flie to God for spirituall aid and comfort. And as for his corporall assaults, or his attempts upon our bodies, his nightwalkings, his visible appearings, his dansing with witches, &c : we are neither warned in the scriptures of them, nor willed by God or his prophets to flie them ; neither is there anie mention made of them in the scriptures. And therefore thinke I those witchmongers and absurd writers to be as grosse on the one side, as the *Sadduces* are impious and fond on the other ; which saie, that spirits and divels are onlie motions and affections, and that angels are but tokens of Gods power. I for my part confesse with *Augustine*, that these matters are above my reach and capacitie : and yet so farre as Gods word teacheth me, I will not sticke to saie, that they are living creatures, ordeined to serve the Lord in their vocation. And although they abode not in their first estate, yet that they are the Lords ministers, and executioners of his wrath, to trie and tempt in this world, and to punish the reprobate in hell fier in the world to come.

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J. Cal. li. inst. 1. cap. 14. sect. 13.

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Aug. de cura pro mort. &c.

The xxxii. Chapter.

Mine owne opinion and resolution of the nature of spirits, and of the divell, with his properties.

BUT to use few words in a long matter, and plaine termes in a doubtfull case, this is mine opinion concerning this present argument. First, that divels are spirits, and no bodies. For (as *Peter Martyr* saith) spirits and bodies are by antithesis opposed one to another : so as a bodie is no spirit,

P. Mart. in loc. com. 9. sect. 14.

nor a spirit a bodie. And that the divell, whether he be manie or one (for by the waie you shall understand, that he is so spoken of in the scriptures, as though there were [a]but one, and sometimes as though [b] one/ were manie legions, the sense whereof I have alreadie declared according to *Calvins* opinion, he is a creature made by God, and that for vengeance, as it is [c] written in *Eccl.* 39. *verse.* 28 : and of himselfe naught, though emploied by God to necessarie and good purposes. For in places, where it is written, that [d] all the creatures of God are good ; and againe, when God, in the creation of the world, [e] sawe all that he had made was good : the divell is not comprehended within those words of commendation. For it is written that he was a [f] murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, bicause there is no truth in him ; but when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his owne, as being a lier, and the father of lies, and (as *John* saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was his creation (so farre as I can find) in that weeke that God made man, and those other creatures mentioned in *Genesis* the first ; and yet God created him purposelie to destroie. I take his substance to be such as no man can by learning define, nor by wisedome search out. *M. Deering* saith, that *Paule* himselfe, reckoning up principalities, powers, &c : addeth, Everie name that is named in this world, or in the world to come. A cleere sentence (saith he) of *Paules* modestie, in confessing a holie ignorance of the state/ of angels : which name is also given to divels in other places of the scripture. His essence also and his forme is so proper and peculiar (in mine opinion) unto himselfe, as he himselfe cannot alter it, but must needs be content therewith, as with that which God hath ordeined for him, and assigned unto him, as peculiarlie as he hath given to us our substance without power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that a spirit can make a bodie, more than a bodie can make a spirit : the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Nevertheles, I learne that their nature is prone to all mischeefe : for as the verie signification of an enimie and an accuser is wrapped up in *Sathan* and *Diabolus* ; so dooth Christ himselfe declare him to be in the thirteenth of *Matthew.* And therefore he brooketh well his name : for he lieth dailie in wait, not onelie to corrupt, but also to destroie mankind ; being (I saie) the verie tormentor appointed by God to afflict the wicked in this world with wicked temptations, and in the world to come with hell fier. But I may not here forget how *M. Mal.* and the residue of that crew doo ex/pound this word *Diabolus* : for *Dia* (saie they) is *Duo*, and *Bolus* is *Morsellus* ; whereby they gather that the divell eateth up a man both bodie and soule at two morselles. Whereas in truth the wicked may be said to eate up and swallowe downe the divell,

[a] 1. Sam. 22. Luk. 8. Joh. 8. Eph. 6. 2. Tim. 2. 1. Pet. 5.
[b] Coloss. 1, verse. 16. 1. Cor. 10. Matth. 8, &, 10. Luke. 4.
[c] Sap. 1. Apocal. 4.
[d] 1. Tim. 4, 4
[e] Gen. 1.
[f] Gen. 8. 44.
1. Joh. 3. 8. Isai. 54. 16.
Edw. Deering, in his read. upon the Hebr. 1. reading the 6.
Eph. 6, 12. Col. 2, 16. Matth. 25.
1. Pet. 5.
Idem ibid.
Matt. 25. 41.
Mal. malef. par. 1. *quæ.* 5.
The etymon of the word *Diabolus.*

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rather than the divell to eate up them ; though it may well be said by a figure, that the divell like a roring lion seeketh whome he may devoure : which is ment of the soule and spirituall devouring, as verie novices in religion may judge.

The xxxiii. Chapter.

Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions concerning corporall divels.

NOW, how *Brian Darcies* he spirits and shee spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and Robin, &c : his white spirits and blacke spirits, graie spirits and red spirits, divell tode and divell lambe, divels cat and divels dam, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of GOD, or true philosophie, let heaven and earth judge. In the meane time, let anie man with good consideration peruse that booke published by *W. W.* and it shall suffice to satisfie him in all that may be required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions : where, though the tale be told onlie of the accusers part, without anie other answer of theirs than their adversarie setteth downe ; mine assertion will be sufficientlie prooved true. And bicause it seemeth to be performed with some kind of authoritie, I will saie no more for the confutation thereof, but referre you to the booke it selfe ; whereto if nothing be added that may make to their reproch, I dare warrant nothing is left out that may serve to their condemnation. See whether the witnesses be not single of what credit, sex and age they are ; namelie lewd, miserable, and envious poore people ; most of them which/ speake to anie purpose being old women, & children of the age of 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. or 9. yeares.

The booke of W. W. published, &c.

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And note how and what the witches confesse, and see of what weight and importance the causes are ; whether their confessions/ be not woonne through hope of favour, and extorted by flatterie or threats, without proofe. But in so much as there were not past seventeene or eighteene condemned at once at S. *Osees* in the countie of *Essex*, being a whole parish (though of no great quantitie) I will saie the lesse : trusting that by this time there remaine not manie in that parish. If anie be yet behind, I doubt not, but *Brian Darcie* will find them out ; who, if he lacke aid, *Richard Gallis* of *Windesor* were meete to be associated with him ; which *Gallis* hath set foorth another booke to that effect, of certeine witches of *Windsore* executed

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At S. Osees 17. or 18. witches cõdemned at once.

at *Abington.* But with what impudencie and dishonestie he hath finished it, with what lies and forgeries he hath furnished it, what follie and frensie he hath uttered in it; I am ashamed to report: and therefore being but a two pennie booke, I had rather desire you to buie it, and so to peruse it, than to fill my booke with such beastlie stuffe.

The xxxiiii. Chapter.

A conclusion wherein the Spirit of spirits is described, by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tried: with a confutation of the Pneumatomachi flatlie denieng the divinitie of this Spirit.

[* [] in text.]

TOUCHING the manifold signification of this word [Spirit]* I have elsewhere in this breefe discourse told you my mind: which is a word nothing differing in Hebrue from breath or wind. For all these words following; to wit, *Spiritus*, *Ventus*, *Flatus*, *Halitus*, are indifferentlie used by the Holie-ghost, and called by this Hebrue word רוח in the sacred scripture. For further proofe whereof I cite unto you the words of *Isaie*; For

Isai. 30, 28. his spirit (or breath) is as a river that overfloweth up to the necke, &c: in which place the prophet describeth the comming of God in heate and indignation unto judgement, &c. I cite also unto you the

Zach. 6, 5. words of *Zacharie*; These are the foure spirits of the heaven, &c.

Gen. 1, 2. Likewise in *Genesis*; And the spirit of GOD mooved upon the waters.

Joh. 3, 8. *544.* Moreover, I cite unto you the words of Christ; The spirit (or/ wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said places infinite more might be added out of holie writ, tending all to this purpose; namelie, to give us this for a note, that all the saiengs above cited, with manie more that I could alledge, where mention is made of spirit, the Hebrue text useth no word but one; to wit, רוח which signifieth (as I said) *Spiritum*, *ventum*, *flatum*, *halitum*; which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

But before I enter upon the verie point of my purpose, it shall not be amisse, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certeine Schoole divine, who distinguisheth and divideth this word [Spirit]* into six significations; saieng that it is sometimes taken for the aier, sometimes for the wind, sometimes for/ the bodies of the blessed, sometimes for the soules of the blessed, sometimes for the power imaginative or the mind of man; and sometimes for God. Againe

Eras. Sarcer. in dictio. Scholast. doctr. lit. S. 390.

he saith, that of spirits there are two sorts, some created and some uncreated.

A spirit uncreated (saith he) is God himselfe, and it is essentiallie taken, and agreeth unto the three persons notionallie, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost personallie. A spirit created is a creature, and that is likewise of two sorts ; to wit, bodilie, and bodilesse. A bodilie spirit is also of two sorts : for some kind of spirit is so named of spiritualnes, as it is distinguished from bodilinesse : otherwise it is called *Spiritus á spirando, id est, á flando*, of breathing or blowing, as the wind dooth.

A bodilesse spirit is one waie so named of spiritualnes, and then it is taken for a spirituall substance ; and is of two sorts : some make a full and complet kind, and is called complet or perfect, as a spirit angelicall : some doo not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incomplet or unperfect, as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certeine subtill or verie fine substance necessarilie disposing and tending unto life. There be moreover spirits naturall, which are a kind of subtill and verie fine substances, disposing and tending unto equall complexions of bodies. Againe there be spirits animall, which are certeine subtill and verie fine substances disposing and tempering the bodie, that it might be animated of the forme, that is, that it might be perfected of the reasonable soule. Thus farre he. In whose division you see a philosophicall kind of proceeding, though not altogether/ to be condemned, yet in everie point not to be approoved. *545.*

Now to the spirit of spirits, I meane the principall and holie spirit of God, which one defineth or rather describeth to be the third person in trinitie issuing from the father and the sonne, no more the charitie dilection and love of the father and the sonne, than the father is the charitie dilection and love of the sonne and Holie-ghost. An other treating upon the same argument, proceedeth in this reverent manner: The holie spirit is the vertue or power of God, quickening, nourishing, fostering and perfecting all things : by whose onlie breathing it commeth to passe that we both know and love GOD, and become at the length like unto him : which spirit is the pledge and earnest pennie of grace, and beareth witnesse unto our heart, whiles wee crie *Abba*, Father. This spirit is called the spirit of GOD, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of him which raised up Jesus from the dead. Rom. 8, 15. 2. Cor. 6, 5.

Erasm. Sar. in lib. loc. & lit. prædictis.

Laurent. à Villavicentio in phrasib. s. script. lit. S. pag. 176.

Jesus Christ, for that he received not the spirit by measure, but in fulnesse, doth call it his spirit ; saieng : When the comforter shall come, whome I will send, even the holie spirit, he shall testifie of me. This spirit hath diverse metaphoricall names attributed thereunto in the holie scriptures. It is called by the name of water, John. 15, 26.

bicause it washeth, comforteth, moisteneth, softeneth, and maketh fruitefull with all godlinesse and vertues the minds of men, which otherwise would be uncleane, comfortlesse, hard, drie, and barren of
Isai. 44. all goodnesse: wherupon the prophet *Isaie* saith; I will powre water
391. upon the thirstie, and floods upon the drie ground, &c./ Wherewith-
John. 7, 38. all the words of Christ doo agree; Hee that beleeveth in me, as saith the scripture, out of his bellie shall flowe rivers of waters of
John. 4, 14. life. And else where; Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never be more a thirst. Other places likewise there be, wherein the holie spirit is signified by the name of water and flood: as in the 13. of *Isaie*, the 29. of *Ezech.* the 146. *Psalme*, *&c.* The same spirit by reason of the force and vehemencie thereof is termed fier. For it doth purifie and cleanse the whole man from top to toe, it doth burne out the soile and drosse of sinnes, and setteth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeale to preferre and further Gods glorie. Which plainelie appeared in the apostles, who when
546. they had re/ceived the spirit, they spake fierie words, yea such words as were uncontrollable, in so much as in none more than in them
Jer. 23, 29. this saieng of the prophet *Jeremie* was verified, *Nunquid non verba mea sunt quasi ignis?* Are not my words even as it were fier? This was declared and shewed by those fierie toongs, which were seene upon the apostles after they had received the holie spirit.

Moreover, this spirit is called annointing, or ointment, bicause that as in old time preests and kings were by annointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and serviceable for the same: even so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training up of the holie spirit, both to live well and also to
1. Joh. 2, 20. glorifie God. Whereupon dependeth the saieng of *John*; And yee have no need that anie should teach you, but as the same ointment doth teach you. It is also called in scripture, The oile of gladnesse
Psal. 44. and rejoising, whereof it is said in the booke of *Psalmes*; God even thy God hath annointed thee with the oile of joy & gladnes, &c.
Cyrill. in evang. Joh. lib. 3. cap. 14. And by this goodlie and comfortable name of oile in the scriptures is the mercie of God oftentimes expressed, because the nature of that doth agree with the propertie and qualitie of this. For as oile doth flote and swim above all other liquors, so the mercie of God doth surpasse and overreach all his works, and the same doth most of all disclose it selfe to miserable man.

Exod. 8. It is likewise called the finger of God, that is, the might and power of God: by the vertue whereof the apostles did cast out divels; to wit, even by the finger of God. It is called the spirit of truth, because it maketh men true and faithfull in their vocation: and for that it is the touchstone to trie all counterfet devises of mans braine,

and all vaine sciences, prophane practises, deceitfull arts, and circumventing inventions; such as be in generall all sorts of witchcrafts and inchantments, within whose number are comprehended all those wherewith I have had some dealing in this my discoverie; to wit, charmes or incantations, divinations, augurie, judiciall astrologie, nativitie casting, alcumystrie, conjuration, lotshare, poperie which is meere paltrie, with diverse other: not one wherof no nor all together are able to stand to the triall and examination, which this spirit of truth shall and will take of those false and evill spirits. Naie, they shalbe found, when/ they are laid into the balance, to be lighter than *547.* vanitie: verie drosse, when they once come to be tried by the fervent heate of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth upon them, driven awaie with a violent whirlewind: such is the per/fection, **392.** integritie, and effectuall operation of this spirit, whose working as it is manifold, so it is marvellous, and therefore may and is called the spirit of spirits.

This spirit withdrawing it selfe from the harts of men, for that it will not inhabit and dwell where sinne hath dominion, giveth place unto the spirit of error and blindnesse, to the spirit of servitude and compunction, which biteth, gnaweth, and whetteth their harts with a deadlie hate of the gospell; in so much as it greeveth their minds and irketh their eares either to heare or understand the truth; of which disease properlie the phariseis of old were, and the papists even now are sicke. Yea, the want of this good spirit is the cause that manie fall into the spirit of perversenes and frowardnes, into the spirit of giddinesse, lieng, drowzines, and dulnesse: according as the prophet *Isaie* saith; For the Lord hath covered you with a spirit Isai. 29, 10. of slumber, and hath shut up your eies: and againe else-where, *Dominus miscuit in medio, &c:* The Lord hath mingled among them Isai. 19, 14. the spirit of giddinesse, and hath made *Aegypt* to erre, as a dronken man erreth in his vomit: as it is said by *Paule*; And their foolish hart Ro. 1, 21, 23. was blinded, and God gave them over unto their owne harts lusts. Which punishment *Moses* threateneth unto the Jews; The Lord shall Deuter. 28, 28, 29. smite thee with madnesse, with blindnesse and amazednesse of mind, and thou shalt grope at high noone as a blind man useth to grope, &c.

The holie spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and uncleane.

In summe, this word [Spirit] dooth signifie a secret force and power, wherewith our minds are mooved and directed; if unto holie things, then is it the motion of the holie spirit, of the spirit of Christ and of God: if unto evill things, then is it the suggestion of the wicked spirit, of the divell, and of satan. Whereupon I inferre, by A question. the waie of a question, with what spirit we are to suppose such to be mooved, as either practise anie of the vanities treated upon in this

booke, or through credulitie addict themselves thereunto as unto divine oracles, or the voice of angels breakeing through the clouds?

548. We cannot impute this motion unto/ the good spirit; for then they should be able to discerne betweene the nature of spirits, and not swarve in judgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindnes and error dooth seduce them; so that it is no mervell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadowes for substances, fansies for verities, &c: for it is likelie that the good spirit of God hath forsaken them, or at leastwise absented it selfe from them: else would they detest these divelish devises of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vaine practises, whereof (I suppose) this my booke to be a sufficient discoverie.

An answer.

A great likelihood no doubt.

Judgement distinguished.

It will be said that I ought not to judge, for he that judgeth shalbe judged. Whereto I answer, that judgement is to be understood of three kind of actions in their proper nature; whereof the first are secret, and the judgement of them shall apperteine to God, who in time will disclose what so ever is done in covert, and that by his just judgement. The second are mixed actions, taking part of hidden and part of open, so that by reason of their uncerteintie and doubtfulnes they are discussable and to be tried; these after due examination are to have their competent judgement, and are incident to the magistrate.

393. The third are manifest and/ evident, and such as doo no lesse apparentlie shew themselves than an inflammation of bloud in the bodie: and of these actions everie private man giveth judgement, bicause they be of such certeintie, as that of them a man may as well conclude, as to gather, that bicause the sunne is risen in the east, *Ergo** it is morning: he is come about and is full south, *Ergo** it is high noone; he is declining and closing up in the west, *Ergo** it is evening. So that the objection is answered.

[* *Ital.*]

Howbeit, letting this passe, and spirituallie to speake of this spirit, which whiles manie have wanted, it hath come to passe that they have prooved altogether carnall; & not savouring heavenlie divinitie have tumbled into worsse than philosophicall barbarisme: & these be such as of writers are called *Pneumatomachi,* a sect so injurious to the holie spirit of God, that contemning the sentence of Christ, wherein he foretelleth that the sinne against the holie spirit is never to be pardoned, neither in this world nor in the world to come, they doo not onelie denie him to be God, but also pull from him all being,

549. and with the *Sadduces* main/teine there is none such; but that under and by the name of holie spirit is ment a certeine divine force, wherewith our minds are mooved, and the grace and favour of God whereby we are his beloved. Against these shamelesse enimies of the holie spirit, I will not use materiall weapons, but syllogisticall charmes. And

* *Josias Simlerus li. 4. ca. 5. adversus veteres & novos Antitrinitarios, &c.*

first I will set downe some of their paralogysmes or false arguments ; and upon the necke of them inferre fit confutations grounded upon sound reason and certeine truth.

Their first argument is knit up in this manner. The holie spirit is no where expresselie called God in the scriptures ; *Ergo* he is not God, or at leastwise he is not to be called God. The antecedent of this argument is false ; bicause the holie spirit hath the title or name of God in the fift of the *Acts*. Againe, the consequent is false. For although he were not expresselie called God, yet should it not therupon be concluded that he is not verie God ; bicause unto him are attributed all the properties of God, which unto this doo equallie belong. And as we denie not that the father is the true light, although it be not directlie written of the father, but of the sonne ; He was the true light giving light to everie man that cõmeth into this world : so likewise it is not to be denied, that the spirit is God, although the scripture dooth not expresselie and simplie note it ; sithence it ascribeth equall things thereunto ; as the properties of God, the works of God, the service due to GOD, and that it dooth interchangeablie take the names of Spirit and of God oftentimes. They therefore that see these things attributed unto the holie spirit, and yet will not suffer him to be called by the name of God ; doo as it were refuse to grant unto *Eve* the name of *Homo*,† whome notwithstanding they confesse to be a creature reasonable and mortall.

1. Objectiõ. The scripture dooth never call the holie spirit God.

* The first answer. A refutation of the antecedent, &c.

[† *Ital.*]

The second reason is this. *Hilarie* in all his twelve bookes of the Trinitie dooth no where write that the holie spirit is to be worshipped; he never giveth therunto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are usuall praiers of the church commonlie called the Collects, whereof some are made to the father, some to the sonne, but none to the holie spirit ; and/ yet in them all mention is made of the three persons. *Hereunto I answer, that although *Hilarie* dooth not openlie call the holie spirit, God :/ yet doth he constantly denie it to be a creature. Now if any aske me why *Hilarie* was so coie & nice to name the holie spirit, God, whom he denieth to be a creature, when as notwithstanding betweene God and a creature there is no meane : I will in good sooth saie what I thinke. I suppose that *Hilarie*, for himselfe, thought well of the godhead of the holie spirit : but this opinion was thrust and forced upon him of the *Pneumatomachi*, who at that time rightlie deeming of the sonne did erwhiles joine themselves to those that were sound of judgement. There is also in the ecclesiasticall historie a little booke which they gave *Liberius* a bishop of *Rome*, whereinto they foisted the *Nicene* creed. And that *Hilarie* was a freend of the *Pneumatomachi*, it is perceived in his booke *De*

2. Objectiõ. *Hilarie* doth not call the spirit God, neither is he so named in the common collects.

395[4].

* The 2. answer.

550.

Hilarius lib. 12. de Triade

The place is long, and therefore I had rather referre the reader unto the booke than heere to insert so many lines.

synodis, where he writeth in this maner; *Nihil autem mirum vobis videri debet, fratres charissimi, &c:* It ought to seeme no wonder unto you deere brethren, &c. As for the objection of the praiers of the church called the collects, that in them the holie spirit is not called upon by name: we oppose and set against them the songs of the church, wherein the said spirit is called upon. But the collects are more ancient than the songs, hymnes, and anthems. I will not now contend about ancientnesse, neither will I compare songs and collects togither; but I say thus much onelie, to wit, that in the most ancient times of the church the holie spirit hath beene openlie called upon in the congregation. Now if I be charged to give an instance, let this serve. In the collect upon trinitie sundaie it is thus said: Almightie and everlasting God, which hast given unto us thy servants grace by the confession of a truth to acknowledge the glorie of the eternall trinitie, and in the power of the divine Majestie to worship the unitie: we beseech thee that thorough the stedfastnesse of this faith, we may evermore be defended from all adversitie, which livest and reignest one God world without end. Now bicause that in this collect, where the trinitie is expresselie called upon, the names of persons are not expressed; but almightie and everlasting God invocated, who abideth in trinitie and unitie; it doth easilie appeare elsewhere also that the persons being not named, under the name of almightie and everlasting God, not onelie the father* to be understood, but God which abideth in trinitie and unitie, that is the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost./

Collecta in die domin. sanctæ Trinit.

[* ? is]

551. A third objection of theirs is this. The sonne of GOD oftentimes praieng in the gospels, speaketh unto the father, promiseth the holie spirit, and dooth also admonish the apostles to praie unto the heavenlie father, but yet in the name of the sonne. Besides that, he prescribeth them this forme of praier: Our father which art in heaven. *Ergo*† the father onlie is to be called upon, and consequentlie the father onelie is that one and verie true God, of whome it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onelie shalt thou serve.

3. Objectiõ. The spirit is not to be praied unto but the father onlie.

[† *Ital.*]

* Whereto I answer first by denieng the consequent; The sonne praied to the father onelie, *Ergo*† the father onlie is of us also to be praied unto. For the sonne of GOD is distinguished of us both in person and in office: he as a mediator maketh intercession for us to the father: and although the/ sonne and the holie spirit doo both togither receive and take us into favour with God; yet is he said to intreat the father for us; bicause the father is the fountaine of all counsels & divine works. Furthermore, touching the forme of praieng prescribed of Christ, it is not necessarie that the fathers

* 3. Answer. The consequent is denied.

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name shuld personallie be there taken, sith there is no distinction of persons made: but by the name of father indefinitelie we understand God or the essence of God, the father, the son, and the Holie-ghost. For this name hath not alwaies a respect unto the generation of the sonne of God; but God is called the father of the faithfull, bicause of his gratious and free adopting of them, the foundation whereof is the sonne of God, in whom we be adopted: but yet so adopted, that not the father onelie receiveth us into his favour; but with him also the sonne and the holy spirit dooth the same. Therefore when we in the beginning of praier doo advertise our selves of Gods goodnesse towards us; we doo not cast an eie to the father alone, but also to the sonne, who gave us the spirit of adoption; and to the holie spirit, in whom we crie *Abba*, Father. And if so be that invocation and praier were restreined to the father alone, then had the saints doone amisse, in calling upon, invocating, and praieng to the sonne of God, and with the sonne the holy spirit, in baptisme, according to the forme by Christ himselfe assigned and delivered.

Another objection is out of the fourth of *Amos*, in this maner. [Am. 4, 13.] For lo it is I that make the thunder, and create the spirit, and/ shew *552.* unto men their Christ, making the light and the clouds, and mounting above the hie places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. Now bicause it is read in that place, Shewing unto men their Christ; the *Pneumatomachi* contended that these words are to be understood of the holie spirit.

4. Objectiõ. Amos saith that the spirit was created.

*But *Ambrose* in his booke *De spiritu sancto, lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. doth rightlie answer, that by spirit in this place is ment the wind: for if the prophets purpose and will had beene to speake of the holie spirit, he would not have begunne with thunder, nor have ended with light and clouds. Howbeit, the same father saith; If anie suppose that these words are to be drawne unto the interpretation of the holie spirit, bicause the prophet saith, Shewing unto men their Christ; he ought also to draw these words unto the mysterie of the Lords incarnation: and he expoundeth thunder to be the words of the Lord, and spirit to be the reasonable and perfect soule. But the former interpretation is certeine and convenient with the words of the prophet, by whom there is no mention made of Christ; but the power of God is set foorth in his works. Behold (saith the prophet) he that formeth the mountaines, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, which maketh the morning darknesse, and walketh upon the hie places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. In this sort *Santes* a right skilfull man in the Hebrew toong translateth this place of the prophet. But admit this place were written of the holie spirit, & were not appliable either to the

* 4. Answer. Spirit in this place signifieth wind.

To create is not him to be made that was not.

wind or to the Lords incarnation : yet doth it not follow that the holie spirit is a creature ; bicause this word of Creating doth not alwaies signifie a making of something out of nothing ; as *Eusebius* in expounding these words (The Lord created me in the beginning of his waies) writeth thus. The prophet in the person of God,/ saieng ; Behold I am he that made the thunder, and created the spirit, and shewed unto men their Christ : this word Created is not so to be taken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, sithence by the same he hath shewed & declared his Christ unto all men. Neither was it a thing of late beginning under the sonne : but it was before all beginning, and was then sent, when the apostles were gathered togither, when a sound like thunder came/ from heaven, as it had beene the comming of a mightie wind : this word Created being used for sent downe, for appointed, ordeined, &c : and the word thunder signifieng in another kind of maner the preaching of the gospels. The like saieng is that of the *Psalmist*, A cleane hart create in me O God : wherein he praied not as one having no hart, but as one that had such a hart as needed purifieng, as needed perfecting : & this phrase also of the scripture, That he might create two in one new man ; that is, that he might joine, couple, or gather together, &c.

Euseb. Cæsariens. li. 3. adversus Marcellum.

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5. Objectiō. All things were made by the son, *Ergo* the spirit was also made by him.

Furthermore, the *Pneumatomachi* by these testimonies insuing endevor to proove the holie spirit to be a creature. Out of *John* the 1. chap. By this word were all things made, and without it nothing was made. Out of 1. *Cor.* 8. Wee have one God the father, even he from whome are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whome are all things, and we by him. Out of the 1. *Coloss.* By him were all things made, things in heaven, and things in earth, visible and invisible, &c. Now if al things were made by the sonne, it followeth that by him the holie spirit was also made.

* 5. Answer. Universall propositiōs or speeches are to be restrained.

* Whereto I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that same universall proposition is restrained by *John* himselfe to a certeine kind of things : Without him (saith the evangelist) was nothing made that was made. Therefore it is first to be shewed that the holie spirit was made, and then will we conclude out of *John*, that if he were made, he was made of the sonne. The scripture doth no where saie that the holie spirit was made of the father or of the sonne, but to proceed, to come, and to be sent from them both. Now if these universall propositions are to suffer no restraint, it shall follow that the father was made of the sonne : than the which what is more absurd and wicked?

6. Objectiō.

Againe, they object out of *Matth.* 11. None knoweth the sonne

but the father, and none the father but the sonne ; to wit, of and by himselfe : for otherwise both the angels, & to whomsoever else it shall please the sonne to reveale the father, these doo know both the father and the sonne. Now if so be the spirit be not equall with the father and the sonne in knowledge, he is not onelie unequall and lesser than they, but also no God: for ignorance is not/ incident unto God.

The spirit knoweth not the father & the sonne.

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* Whereto I answer, that where in holie scripture we doo meete with universall propositions negative or exclusive, they are not to be expounded of one person, so as the rest are excluded ; but creatures or false gods are to be excluded, and whatsoever else is without or beside the essence and being of God. Reasons to proove and confirme this interpretation, I could bring verie manie, whereof I will adde some for example. In the seaventh of *John* it is said ; When Christ shall come, none shall knowe from whence he is : notwithstanding which words the Jewes thought that neither God nor his angels should be ignorant from whence Christ/ should be. In the fourth to the *Galathians* ; A mans covenant or testament confirmed with authoritie no bodie dooth abrogate, or adde anie thing thereunto. No just man dooth so ; but tyrants and truce-breakers care not for covenants. In *John* eight ; Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the middest. And yet it is not to be supposed that a multitude of people was not present, and the disciples of Christ likewise ; but the word *Solus*, alone, is referred to the womans accusers, who withdrew themselves awaie everie one, and departed. In the sixt of *Marke* ; When it was evening, the ship was in the middest of the sea, and he alone upon land : he was not alone upon land or shore, for the same was not utterlie void of dwellers : but he had not anie of his disciples with him, nor anie bodie to carrie him a shipboord unto his disciples. Manie phrases or formes of speeches like unto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures, and in authors both Greeke and Latine, whereby we understand, that neither universall negative nor exclusive particles are strictlie to be urged, but to be explaned in such sort as the matter in hand will beare. When as therefore the sonne alone is said to know the father, and it is demanded whether the holie spirit is debarred from knowing the father ; out of other places of scriptures judgment is to be given in this case. In some places the holie spirit is counted and reckoned with the father and the sonne jointlie : wherefore he is not to be separated. Else-where also it is attributed to the holie spirit that he alone dooth know the things which be of God, and searcheth the deepe secrets of God : wherefore from him the knowing of God is not to be excluded./

* 6. Answer. How exclusive propositions or speeches are to be interpreted.

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555. They doo yet further object, that it is not convenient or fit for God after the manner of suters to humble and cast downe himselfe : but the holie spirit dooth so, praieng and intreating for us with unspeakeable grones : *Rom.* 8. *Ergo* the holie spirit is not God.

7. Objectiō. The spirit praieth for us.

7. Answer. The spirit dooth provoke us to praie.

* Whereto I answer that the holie spirit dooth praie and intreat, in so much as he provoketh us to praie, and maketh us to grone and sigh. Oftentimes also in the scriptures is that action or deed attributed unto God, which we being stirred up and mooved by him doo bring to passe. So it is said of God unto *Abraham* ; Now I know that thou fearest God : and yet before he would have sacrificed *Isaach*, God knew the verie heart of *Abraham* : and therefore this word *Cognovi*, I know, is as much as *Cognoscere feci*, I have made or caused to know. And that the spirit to praie and intreat, is the same that, to make to praie and intreat, the apostle teacheth even there, writing that we have received the spirit of adoption, in whome we crie *Abba* Father. Where it is manifest that it is we which crie, the Holie-ghost provoking and forcing us thereunto.

8. Objectiō. The spirit is sent from the father and the son.

Howbeit they go further, and frame this reason. Whosoever is sent, the same is inferior and lesser than he of whome he is sent, and furthermore he is of a comprehensible substance, bicause he passeth by locall motion from place to place : but the holie spirit is sent of the father and the sonne, *John.* 14, 15, & 16. It is powred foorth and shed upon men, *Acts.* 10. *Ergo* the holie spirit is lesser than the Father and the Sonne, and of a comprehensible nature, and consequentlie not verie God./

8. Answer. How the spirit is sent.

398. * Whereto I answer first, that he which is sent is not alwaies lesser than he that sendeth : to proove which position anie meane wit may inferre manie instances. Furthermore, touching the sending of the holie spirit, we are here to imagine no changing or shifting of place. For if the spirit when he goeth foorth from the father and is sent, changeth his place, then must the father also be in a place, that he may leave it and go to another. And as for the incomprehensible nature of the spirit, he cannot leaving his place passe unto another. Therefore the sending of the spirit is the eternall and unvariable will of God, to doo something by the holie spirit ; and the revealing and

556. executing of this will by the/ operation and working of the spirit. The spirit was sent to the apostles ; which spirit was present with them, sith it is present everie-where : but then according to the will of God the father hee shewed himselfe present and powerfull.

Some man may saie ; If sending be a revealing and laieng open of presence and power, then may the father be said to be sent, bicause he himselfe is also revealed. I answer, that when the spirit is said to be sent, not onlie the revealing, but the order also of his revealing is

declared ; bicause the will of the father and of the sonne, of whom he is sent, going before, not in time, but in order of persons, the spirit dooth reveale himselfe, the father, and also the sonne. The father revealeth himselfe by others, the sonne and the holie spirit, so that his will goeth before. Therefore sending is the common worke of all the three persons ; howbeit, for order of dooing, it is distinguished by diverse names. The father will reveale himselfe unto men with the sonne and the spirit, and be powerfull in them, and therefore is said to send. The sonne and the spirit doo assent unto the will of the father, and will that to be doone by themselves, which God will to be doone by them ; these are said to be sent. And bicause the will of the sonne dooth go before the spirit in order of persons, he is also said to send the spirit.

9. Objectiō. The spirit speaketh not of himselfe.

Yet for all this they allege, that if the spirit had perfection, then would he speake of himselfe, and not stand in need alwaies of anothers admonishment : but he speaketh not of himselfe, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expresselie testifieth *John.* 16. *Ergo* he is unperfect, and whatsoever he hath it is by partaking, and consequentlie he is not God.

* The 9. answer.

* Whereto I answer, that this argument is stale : for it was objected by heretikes long ago against them that held the true opinion, as *Cyrill* saith ; who answereth, that by the words of Christ is rather to be gathered, that the son and the spirit are of the same substance. For, the spirit is named the mind of Christ. 1. *Cor.* 2.: and therefore he speaketh not of his owne proper will, or against his will in whom and from whom he is ; but hath all his will and working naturallie proceeding from the substance as it were of him.

Cyrill. lib. 13. *thesaur. cap.* 3.

10. Objection.

Lastlie they argue thus : Everie thing is either unbegotten or unborne, or begotten and created ; the spirit is not unbegotten,/ for then he were the father ; & so there should be two without beginning : neither is he begotten, for then he is begotten of the father, and so there shall be two/ sonnes, both brothers ; or hee is begotten of the sonne, and then shall he be Gods nephue, than the which what can be imagined more absurd? *Ergo* he is created.

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* 10. Ans. The spirit proceedeth

* Wherto I answer, that the division or distribution is unperfect : for that member is omitted which is noted of the verie best divine that ever was, even Jesus Christ our saviour ; namelie, to have proceeded, or proceeding : That same holie spirit (saith he) which proceedeth from the father. Which place *Nazanzen* dooth thus interpret. The spirit, bicause he proceedeth from thence, is not a creature : and bicause he is not begotten, he is not the son ; but bicause he is the meane of begotten and unbegotten, he shall be God, &c.

* Such were

And thus having avoided all these cavils of the **Pneumatomachi*, a

the Arrians, Tritheits,[e] Samosatentans, &c. [e Tritheists]

sect of heretikes too too injurious to the holie spirit, insomuch as they seeke what they can, to rob and pull from him the right of his divinitie; I will all Christians to take heed of their pestilent opinions, the poison whereof though to them that be resolved in the truth it can doo little hurt, yet to such as stand upon a wavering point it can doo no great good. Having thus far waded against them, and overthrowne their opinions; I must needs exhort all to whom the reading hereof shall come, that first they consider with themselves what a reverend mysterie all that hitherto hath beene said in this chapter concerneth; namelie, the spirit of sanctification, and that they so ponder places to and fro, as that they reserve unto the holie spirit the glorious title of divinitie, which by nature is to him appropriate: esteeming of these *Pneumatomachi* or *Theomachi*, as of swine, delighting more in the durtie draffe of their devises, than in the faire fountaine water of Gods word: yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance than the old philosophers, who though they savoured little of heavenlie theologie, yet some illumination they had of the holie and divine spirit, marrie it was somewhat mistie, darke, lame and limping; neverthelesse, what it was, and how much or little soever it was, they gave thereunto a due reverence, in that they acknowledged and intituled it *Animam mundi*, The soule or life of the world, and (as *Nazanzen* witnesseth) τὸν τοῦ παντος νοῦν, The mind of the universall, and the outward breath, or the breath that commeth from without. *Porphyrie* expounding the opinion of *Plato*, who was not utterlie blind in this mysterie, saith that the divine substance doth proceed and extend to three subsistencies and beings: and that God is chieflie and principallie good, next him the second creator, and the third to be the soule of the world: for he holdeth that the divinitie doth extend even to this soule. As for *Hermes Trismegistus*, he saith that all things have need of this spirit: for according to his worthinesse he supporteth all, he quickeneth and susteineth all, and he is derived from the holie fountaine, giving breath and life unto all, and evermore remaineth continuall, plentifull, and unemptied.

Sus magis in cæno gaudet quàm fonte sereno.

The hethenish philosophers acknowledged the holie spirit.

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Cyrill. lib. 1. contra Julianum.

And here by the waie I give you a note woorth reading and considering; namelie, how all nations in a manner, by a kind of heavenlie influence, agree in writing and speaking the name of God with no more than foure letters. As for example, the *Ægyptians* doo call him *Theut*, the *Persians* call him *Syre*, the *Jewes* expresse his unspeakable name as well as they can by the word *Adonai* consisting of foure vowels; the *Arabians* call him *Alla*, the *Mahometists* call him *Abdi*, the *Greekes* call him *Theos*, the *Latines* call him *Deus*, &c. This, although it be not so proper to our present purpose, yet (because we are in hand with the holie spirits deitie) is not altogether

Marsilius Ficinus in arg. in Cratyl. Plat.

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impertinent. But why GOD would have his name as it were universallie bounded within the number of foure letters, I can give sundrie reasons, which require too long a discourse of words by digression : and therefore I will conceale them for this time. These opinions of philosophers I have willinglie remembred, that it might appeare, that the doctrine concerning the holie spirit is verie ancient; which they having taken either out of *Moses* writings, or out of the works of the old fathers, published and set foorth in bookes, though not wholie, fullie, and perfectlie understood and knowne : and also that our *Pneumatomachi* may see themselves to be more doltish in divine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essentiall and working power of the divinitie wherby all things are quickened : which the heathen did after a sort see ; after a sort (I saie) bicause they separated the soule of the world (which they also call the begotten mind) from the most sovereigne and unbe/gotten God, and imagined certeine differences of degrees, and (as *Cyrill* saith) did Arrianize* in the trinitie. *559.*

[* Arianize]

So then I conclude against these *Pneumatomachi*, that in so much as they imitate the old giants, who piling up *Pelion* upon *Ossa*, and them both upon *Olympus*, attempted by scaling the heavens to pull *Jupiter* out of his throne of estate, & to spoile him of his principalitie, and were notwithstanding their strength, whereby they were able to carrie huge hilles on their shoulders, overwhelmed with those mountaines, and squized under the weight of them even to the death : so these *Pneumatomachi*, being enimies both to the holie spirit, and no freends to the holie church (for then would they confesse the trinitie in unitie, and the unitie in trinitie, and consequentlie also the deitie of the holie spirit) deserve to be consumed with the fier of his mouth, the heate whereof by no meanes can be slaked, quenched, or avoided. For there is nothing more unnaturall, nothing more monstrous, than against the person of the deitie (I meane the spirit of sanctification) to oppose mans power, mans wit, mans policie, &c : which was well signified by that poeticall fiction of the giants, who were termed *Anguipedes*, Snakefooted: which as *Joachimus Camerarius* expoundeth of wicked counsellors, to whose filthie persuasion tyrants doo trust as unto their feete ; and *James Sadolet* interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting overmuch unto their owne wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisedome, that in fine all turneth to follie and confusion : so I expound of heretickes and schismatikes, who either by corrupt doctrine, or by mainteining precise opinions, or by open violence, &c : assaie to overthrow the true religion, to breake the unitie of the church, to denie *Cæsar* his homage, and GOD his dutie, &c : and therefore let *Jovis fulmen*, wherewith they were slaine,

Ovid. lib. metamorph. 1. fab. 5. de gigantib. cœlum obsident.

Jacob. Sadol. in lib. de laud. philosoph. inscript. Phædrus.

assure these that there is *Divina ultio* due to all such, as dare in the ficklenes of their fansies arreare themselves against the holie spirit; of whom sith they are ashamed here upon earth (otherwise they would
401. confidentlie and boldlie confesse him both/ with mouth and pen) he will be ashamed of them in heaven, where they are like to be so farre from having anie societie with the saints, that their portion shalbe even in full and shaken measure with miscreants and infidels. And
560. therefore let us,/ if we will discerne and trie the spirits whether they be of God or no, seeke for the illumination of this inlightning spirit, which as it bringeth light with it to discover all spirits, so it giveth such a fierie heat, as that no false spirit can abide by it for feare of burning. Howbeit the holie spirit must be in us, otherwise this prerogative of trieng spirits will not fall to our lot.

Peter Mart. in loc. com. part. 2. cap. 18. sect. 33. pag. 628.

But here some will peradventure move a demand, and doo aske how the holie spirit is in us, considering that *Infiniti ad finitum nulla est proportio, neque loci angustia quod immensum est potest circumscribi:* of that which is infinite, to that which is finite there is no proportion; neither can that which is unmeasurable be limited or bounded within anie precinct of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent father for Christes sake sendeth him unto us, according as Christ promised us in the person of his apostles; The comforter
John. 14, 26. (saith he) which is the holie spirit, whome my father will send in my name. And as for proportion of that which is infinite to that which is finite, &c: I will in no case have it thought, that the holie spirit is in us, as a bodie placed in a place terminablie; but to attribute thereunto, as dulie belongeth to the deitie, an ubiquitie, or universall presence; not corporallie and palpablie; but effectuallie, mightilie,
John. 16, 14. & 14, 16. mysticallie, divinelie, &c. Yea, and this I may boldlie adde, that

Christ Jesus sendeth him unto us from the father: neither is he given us for anie other end, but to inrich us abundantlie with all good gifts and excellent graces; and (among the rest) with the discerning of spirits aright, that we be not deceived.

And here an end.

FINIS.

[Appendix I.]

[The nine chapters forming the beginning of the fifteenth Book in the third edition, 1665, are numbered Ch. I, etc., and Scot's Ch. I made Ch. X, and so onward]

BOOK XV.

215. [This is the paging of 3rd ed.]

Chap. I.

Of Magical Circles, and the reason of their Institution.

Magitians, and the more learned sort of Conjurers, make use of Circles in various manners, and to various intentions. First, when convenience serves not, as to time or place that a real Circle should be delineated, they frame an imaginary Circle, by means of Incantations and Consecrations, without either Knife, Pensil, or Compasses, circumscribing nine foot of ground round about them, which they pretend to sanctifie with words and Ceremonies, spattering their Holy Water all about so far as the said Limit extendeth ; and with a form of Consecration following, do alter the property of the ground, that from common (as they say) it becomes sanctifi'd, and made fit for Magicall uses.

Imaginary Circles.

How to consecrate an imaginary Circle.

LEt the Exorcist, being cloathed with a black Garment, reaching to his knee, and under that a white Robe of fine Linnen that falls unto his ankles, fix himself in the midst of that place where he intends to perform his Conjurations : And throwing his old Shooes about ten yards from the place, let him put on his consecrated shooes of russet Leather with a Cross cut on the top of each shooe. Then with his Magical Wand, which must be a new hazel-stick, about two yards of length, he must stretch forth his arm to all the four Windes thrice, turning himself round at every Winde, and saying all that while with fervency :

The form of Consecration.

I who am the servant of the Highest, do by the vertue of his Holy Name Immanuel, *sanctifie unto my self the circumference of nine foot*

round about me, ✠ ✠ ✠. *from the East,* Glaurah; *from the West,* Garron; *from the North,* Cabon; *from the South,* Berith; *which ground I take for my proper defence from all malignant spirits, that they may have no power over my soul or body, nor come beyond these Limitations, but answer truely being summoned, without daring to transgress their bounds:* Morrh.* worrah. harcot. Gambalon. ✠ ✠ ✠.

[* ? *Mispr. for* Worrah.]

The time for Conjurations.

Which Ceremonies being performed, the place so sanctified is equivalent to any real Circle whatsoever. And in the composition of any Circle for Magical feats, the fittest time is the brightest Moon-light, or when storms of lightning, winde, or thunder, are raging through the air; because at such times the infernal Spirits are nearer unto the earth, and can more easily hear the Invocations of the Exorcist.

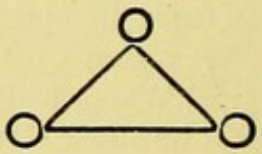
The places for Circles.

As for the places of Magical Circles, they are to be chosen melancholly, dolefull, dark and lonely; either in Woods or Deserts, or in a place where three wayes meet, or amongst ruines of Castles, Abbies, Monasteries, *&c.* or upon the Sea-shore when the Moon shines clear, or else in some large Parlour hung with black, and the floor covered with the same, with doors and windowes closely shut, and Waxen Candles lighted. But if the Conjuration be for the Ghost of one deceased, the fittest places to that purpose are places of the slain,/ 216. Woods where any have killed themselves, Church-yards, Burying-Vaults, *&c.* As also for all sorts of Spirits, the places of their abode ought to be chosen, when they are called; as Pits, Caves, and hollow places, for Subterranean Spirits: The tops of Turrets, for Aerial Spirits: Ships and Rocks of the Sea, for Spirits of the Water: Woods and Mountains for Faries, Nymphs, and Satyres; following the like order with all the rest.

The form of a Circle.

And as the places where, so the manner how the Circles are to be drawn, ought to be perfectly known. First, for Infernal Spirits, let a Circle nine foot over be made with black, and within the same another Circle half a foot distant, leaving half a foot of both these Circles open for the Magitian and his assistant to enter in: And betwixt these Circles round about, write all the holy Names of God, with Crosses and Triangles at every Name; making also a larger triangle at one side of the Circle without on this manner with the names of the Trinity at the seven corners, *viz.* Yehowah,† Ruah Kedesh, Emmanuel, written in the little circles.

[† sic]

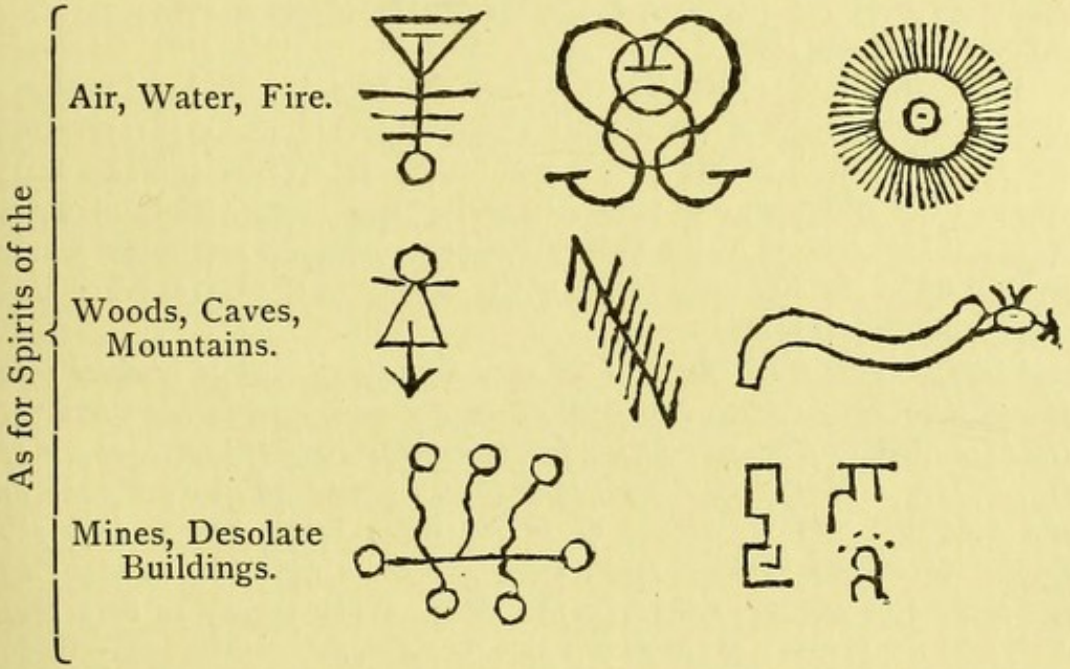


The reason of Circles.

The reason that Magitians give for Circles and their Institution, is, That so much ground being blessed and consecrated by holy Words, hath a secret force to expel all evil Spirits from the bounds thereof; and being sprinkled with holy water, which hath been blessed by the

Master, the ground is purified from all uncleanness; besides the holy Names of God written all about, whose force is very powerful; so that no wicked Spirit hath the ability to break through into the Circle after the Master and Scholler are entered, and have closed up the gap, by reason of the antipathy they possesse to these Mystical Names. And the reason of the Triangle is, that if the Spirit be not easily brought to speak the truth, they may by the Exorcist be conjured to enter the same, where by vertue of the names of the Sacred Trinity, they can speak nothing but what is true and right.

But if Astral Spirits as Faries, Nymphs, and Ghosts of men, be called upon, the Circle must be made with Chalk, without any Triangles; in the place whereof the Magical Character of that Element to which they belong, must be described at the end of every Name./



CHAP. II. 217.

How to raise up the Ghost of one that hath hanged himself.

THis experiment must be put in practice while the Carcass hangs; and therefore the Exorcist must seek out for the straightest hazel wand that he can find, to the top whereof he must binde the head of an Owl, with a bundle of *St. John's Wort*, or *Millièς Perforatum*: this done, he must be informed of some miserable creature that hath strangled himself in some Wood or Desart place (which they seldom miss to do) and while the Carcass

hangs, the Magitian must betake himself to the aforesaid place, at 12 a clock at night, and begin his Conjurations in this following manner.

The ceremonies of Necromancy.

First, stretch forth the consecrated Wand towards the four corners of the World, saying, *By the mysteries of the deep, by the flames of* Baal, *by the power of the* East, *and the silence of the night, by the holy rites of* Hecate, *I conjure and exorcize thee thou distressed Spirit, to present thy self here, and reveal unto me the cause of thy Calamity, why thou didst offer violence to thy own liege life, where thou art now in beeing, and where thou wilt hereafter be.*

Then gently smiting the Carcase nine times with the rod, say, *I conjure thee thou spirit of this* N. *deceased, to answer my demands that I am to propound unto thee, as thou ever hopest for the rest of the holy ones, and the ease of all thy misery; by the blood of Jesu which he shed for thy soul, I conjure and bind thee to utter unto me what I shall ask thee.*

Then cutting down the Carcass from the tree, lay his head towards the East, and in the space that this following Conjuration is repeating, set a Chafing-dish of fire at his right hand, into which powre a little Wine, some Mastick, and Gum Aromatick, and lastly a viol full of the sweetest Oyl, having also a pair of Bellows, and some unkindled Charcole to make the fire burn bright at the instant of the Carcass's rising.

The Conjuration.

The Conjuration is this:

I conjure thee thou spirit of N. *that thou do immediately enter into thy antient body again, and answer to my demands, by the virtue of the holy resurrection, and by the posture of the body of the Saviour of the world, I charge thee, I conjure thee, I command thee on pain of the torments and wandring of thrice seven years, which I by the power of sacred Magick rites, have power to inflict upon thee; by thy sighs and groans, I conjure thee to utter thy voice; so help thee God and the prayers of the holy Church. Amen.*

Which Conjuration being thrice repeated while the fire is burning with Mastick and Gum Aromatick, the body will begin to rise, and at last will stand upright before the Exorcist, answering with a faint and hollow voice, the questions proposed unto it. Why it strangled it self; where its dwelling is; what its food and life is; how long it will be ere it enter into rest, and by what means the Magitian may assist it to come to rest: Also, of the treasures of this world, where they are hid: Moreover, it can answer very punctually of the places where Ghosts reside, and how to communicate with them; teaching the nature of Aerial Spirits and hellish beings, so far as its capacity reacheth.

The answers of the Spirit.

All which when the Ghost hath fully answered, the Magitian ought out of commiseration and reverence to the deceased, to use what means can possibly be used for the procuring rest unto the Spirit.

How to lay the Spirit.

To which effect he must dig a grave, and filling the same half full of quick Lime, and a little Salt and common Sulphur, put the Carcass naked into the same ; which experiment, next to the burning of the body into ashes, is of great force to quiet and end the disturbance of the Astral Spirit.

But if the Ghost with whom the Exorcist consulteth, be of one that dyed the common death, and obtain'd the ceremonies of burial, the body must be dig'd out of the ground at 12 a clock at night ; and the Magician must have a com/panion with him, who beareth a torch in his left hand, and smiting the Corps thrice with the consecrated rod, the Exorcist must turn himself to all the four winds, saying : 218.

By the virtue of the holy resurrection, and the torments of the damned, I conjure and exorcize thee spirit of N. *deceased, to answer my liege demands, being obedient unto these sacred ceremonies on pain of everlasting torment and distress :* Then let him say, **Berald, Beroald, Balbin gab gabor agaba** ; *Arise, arise, I charge and command thee.* Another form.

After which Ceremonies, let him ask what he desireth and he shall be answered.

But as a faithful caution to the practicer of this Art, I shall conclude with this, That if the Magician, by the Constellation and Position of the Stars at his nativity, be in the predicament of those that follow Magical Arts, it will be very dangerous to try this experiment for fear of suddain death ensuing, which the Ghosts of men deceased, can easily effect upon those whose nativities lead them to Conjuration : And which suddain and violent death, the Stars do alwayes promise to such as they mark with the *Stigma* of Magicians. A Caution for the Exorcist.

Chap. III.

How to raise up the three Spirits, Paymon, Bathin, *and* Barma *: And what wonderful things may be effected through their assistance.*

The Spirit *Paymon* is of the power of the Air, the sixteenth in the ranck of Thrones, subordinate to *Corban* and *Marbas.* Their order.

Bathin is of a deeper reach in the source of the fire, the second after *Lucifers* familiar, and hath not his fellow for agility and affableness, in the whole Infernal Hierarchy.

Barma is a mighty Potentate of the order of *Seraphims,* whom 20 Legions of Infernal Spirits do obey ; his property is to metamorphose

the Magician or whom he pleaseth, and transport into foreign Countreys.

These three Spirits, though of various ranks and orders, are all of one power, ability and nature, and the form of raising them all is one. Therefore the Magician that desireth to consult with either of these Spirits, must appoint a night in the waxing of the Moon, wherein the Planet *Mercury* reigns, at 11 a clock at night; not joyning to himself any companion, because this particular action will admit of none; and for the space of four dayes before the appointed night, he ought every morning to shave his beard, and shift himself with clean linnen, providing beforehand the two Seals of the Earth, drawn exactly upon parchment, having also his consecrated Girdle ready of a black Cats skin with the hair on, and these names written on the inner side of the Girdle: Ya, Ya ✠ Aie, Aaie ✠ Elibra ✠ Elohim ✠ Saday ✠ Yah Adonay ✠ *tuo robore* ✠ *Cinctus sum* ✠.

The Utensils to be used.

Upon his Shooes must be written Tetragrammaton, with crosses round about, and his garment must be a Priestly Robe of black, with a Friers hood, and a Bible in his hand.

When all these things are prepared, and the Exorcist hath lived chastly, and retired until the appointed time: Let him have ready a fair Parlour or Cellar, with every chink and window closed; then lighting seven Candles, and drawing a double Circle with his own blood, which he must have ready before hand: let him divide the Circle into seven parts, and write these seven names at the seven divisions, setting at every Name a Candle lighted in a brazen Candlestick in the space betwixt the Circles: The names are these, Cados ✠ Escherie △ Anick ✠ Sabbac ⧖ Sagun ✠ ✠ Aba ✠ Abalidoth △/

The Circle.

219. When the Candles are lighted, let the Magician being in the midst of the Circle, and supporting himself with two drawn Swords, say with a low and submissive voyce; *I do by the vertue of these seven holy Names which are the Lamps of the living God, Consecrate unto my use this inclosed Circle, and exterminate out of, it* all evill Spirits, and their power; that beyond the limit of their circumference they enter not on pain of torments to be doubled,* Yah, Agion, Helior, Heligah, *Amen.*

The Consecration.

[* *transp.* it.]

When this Consecration is ended, Let him sprinkle the Circle with consecrated Water, and with a Chafing-dish of Charcole, perfume it with Frankincense and Cinamon, laying the Swords a cross the Circle, and standing over them; then whilest the fumigation burneth, let him begin to call these three Spirits in this following manner:

The Conjuration.

I Conjure and Exorcize you the three Gentle and Noble Spirits of the power of the North, by the great and dreadful name of Peolphan *your King, and by the silence of the night, and by the holy rites of*

Magick, and by the number of the Infernal Legions, I adjure and invocate you; That without delay ye present your selves here before the Northern quarter of this Circle, all of you, or any one of you, and answer my demands by the force of the words contained in this Book. This must be thrice repeated, and at the third repetition, the three Spirits will either all appear, or one by lot, if the other be already somewhere else imployed; at their appearance they will send before them three fleet Hounds opening after a Hare, who will run round the Circle for the space of half a quarter of an hour; after that more hounds will come in, and after all, a little ugly *Æthiop*, who will take the Hare from their ravenous mouths, and together with the Hounds vanish; at last the Magician shall hear the winding of a Hunts-mans horn, and a Herald on Horseback shall come galloping with three Hunters behind upon black Horses, who will compass the Circle seven times, and at the seventh time will make a stand at the Northern quarter, dismissing the Herald that came up before them, and turning their Horses towards the Magician, will stand all a brest before him, saying; **Gil pragma burthon machatan dennah**; to which the Magician must boldly answer; **Beral, Beroald, Corath, Kermiel**; *By the sacred rites of Magick ye are welcome ye three famous Hunters of the North, and my command is, that by the power of these Ceremonies ye be obedient and faithful unto my summons, unto which I conjure you by the holy Names of God,* **Yah, Gian, Soter, Yah, Jehovah, Emmanuel, Tetragrammaton, Yah, Adonay, Sabtay, Seraphin**; *Binding and obliging you to answer plainly, faithfully and truly, by all these holy names, and by the awful name of your mighty King* **Peolphon.***

The Appearanees. [*sic*]

[* *sic*]

Which when the Magician hath said, the middle Hunter named **Paymon**, will answer, **Gil pragma burthon machatan dennah**, *We are the three mighty Hunters of the North, in the Kingdom of* Fiacim, *and are come hither by the sound of thy Conjurations, to which we swear by him that liveth to yield obedience, if* Judas *that betrayed him be not named.*

The Condition.

Then shall the Magician swear, *By him that liveth, and by all that is contained in this holy Book, I swear unto you this night, and by the mysteries of this action, I swear unto you this night, and by the bonds of darkness I swear unto you this night, That* Judas *the Traitor shall not be named, and that blood shall not be offered unto you, but that truce and equal terms shall be observed betwixt us.* Which being said, the Spirits will bow down their heads to the Horses crests, and then alighting down will call their Herald to withdraw their Horses; which done, The Magician may begin to bargain with all, or any one of them, as a familiar invisibly to attend him, or to answer all difficulties that he propoundeth: Then may he begin to ask them of the frame of the World, and the Kingdoms therein contained, which are

The Magicians Oath.

unknown unto Geographers: He may also be informed of all Physical processes and operations; also how to go invisible and fly through the airy Region: They can likewise give unto him the powerful Girdle of Victory, teaching him how to compose and consecrate the same, which hath/ the force, being tyed about him, to make him conquer Armies, and all men whatsoever. Besides, there is not any King or Emperour throughout the world; but if he desires it, they will engage to bring him the most pretious of their Jewels and Riches in twenty four hours; discovering also unto him the way of finding hidden treasures and the richest mines.

The girdle of Victory.

221. [*i.e.*, 220.]

And after the Conjurer hath fulfilled his desires, he shall dismiss the aforesaid Spirits in this following form.

The form of discharge.

I charge you ye three officious Spirits to depart unto the place whence ye were called, without injury to either man or Beast, leaving the tender Corn untouched, and the seed unbruised; I dismiss you, and licence you to go back untill I call you, and to be alwayes ready at my desire, especially thou nimble Bathin, *whom I have chosen to attend me, that thou be alwayes ready when I ring a little Bell to present thy self without any Magical Ceremonies performed; and so depart ye from hence, and peace be betwixt you and us, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.*

When the Magician hath repeated this last form of dismission, he will hear immediately a horn winding, after which the Herald with the jet black Horses, and the three Spirits will mount upon them, compassing the Circle seven times, with the Herald winding his horn before them, and at every Candle they will bow towards the Horses crest, till coming towards the Northern quarter, they will with great obeysance seem to march away out through the solid wall as through a City gate.

Chap. IV.

How to Consecrate all manner of Circles, Fumigations, Fire, Magical Garments, and Utensills.

What things are to be consecrated.

Consecrations are related either to the person or the thing consecrated. The person is the Magitian himself, whose consecration consisteth in Abstinence, Temperance, and holy Garments. The things consecrated are the Oyl, the Fire, the Water. The Fumigations consisting of oriental Gums and Spices; the magical Sword, Pensils, Pens and Compasses, the measuring Rule

and waxen Tapers, the Pentacles, Periapts, Lamins, and Sigils, Vests, Caps, and Priestly Garments; these are the materials to be consecrated.

Pentacles. The sacred Pentacles are as signs and charms for the binding of Evil Dæmons, consisting of Characters and Names of the Superior order of the good Spirits opposite unto those evil ones whom the Magitian is about to Invocate: And of sacred Pictures, Images, and Mathematical Figures adapted to the names and natures of separated Substances whither good or evil. Now the form of Consecrating such Magical Pentacles is to name the vertue of the holy Names and Figures, their Antiquity and Institution with the intention of the Consecration purifying the Pentacle by consecrated fire, and waving the same over the flames thereof.

Utensils. When the Exorcist would consecrate Places or Utensils, Fire or Water for magical uses, he must repeat the Consecration or Dedication of *Solomon* the King at the building of the Temple, the Vision of *Moses* at the Bush, and the Spirit of the Lord on the tops of the Mulberry-trees, repeating also the sacrifice of it self being kindled; the Fire upon *Sodom*, and the Water of Eternal Life: Wherein the Magitian must still remember to speak of the seven golden Candlesticks, and *Ezekiels* Wheels, closing the Consecration with the deep and mysterious Names of God and holy Dæmons.

Instruments. When particular Instruments are to be sanctified, the Magitian must sprinkle the same with consecrated Water, and fumigate them with fumigations, anoint them with consecrated Oyl: And lastly, Seal them with holy/ Characters; after all which is performed, an **221.** Oration or Prayer must follow, relating the particulars of the Consecration with Petitions to that Power in whose Name and Authority the Ceremony is performed.

How to consecrate. And in like manner shalt thou consecrate and sanctifie every Utensil whatsoever, by Sprinklings, Fumigations, Unctions, Seals, and Benedictions, commemorating and reiterating the sanctifyings in the holy Scripture, of the Tables of the Law delivered to *Moses*; of the two Testaments in the New Covenant, of the holy Prophets in their Mothers wombs, and of *Aholiah*, and *Aholibah*, whom the Spirit of God inspired to frame all sorts of curious workmanship for the Tabernacle. This is the sum of Consecrationn.* [* *sic*]

Chap. V.

Treating more practically of the Consecration of Circles, Fires, Garments, and Fumigations.

Circles how to be made.

IN the Construction of Magical Circles, the hour, day, or night, and season of the year, and the Constellation are to be considered; as also what sort of Spirits are to be called; and to what Region, Air, or Climate they belong: Therefore this method is to be followed for the more orderly and certain proceeding therein. First, a Circle nine foot over must be drawn, within which another Circle three inches from the outermost must be also made, in the Center whereof the name of the hour, the Angel of the hour, the Seal of the Angel, the Angel of the day predominant, wherein the work is undertaken. Note, these attributes are to be inscribed betwixt the Circles round about with *Alpha* at the beginning, and *Omega* at the close.

Fumigations.

When the Circle is composed, it must be sprinkled with holy Water, while the Magician saith, *Wash me O Lord, and I shall be whiter then Snow*: And as for the Fumigations over them, this Benediction must be said; *O God of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *bless these thy subservient creatures, that they may multiply the force of their excellent odors, to hinder evil spirits and phantasms from entring the Circle, through our Lord. Amen.*

An Exorcism for the fire.

Fire.

The Exorcist ought to have an earthen Censer, wherein to preserve the fire for magical uses, and the expiations and fumigations, whose consecration is on this manner.

By him that created Heaven and Earth, and is the God and Lord of all, I exorcize and sanctifie thee thou creature of Fire, that immediately thou banish every phantasm from thee, so that thou prove not hurtful in any kind: Which I beseech thee O Lord to confirm by sanctifying and making pure this creature of fire, that it may be blessed and consecrate to the honour of thy holy Name. Amen.

At the putting on the Garments,

Garments.

Let the Magician say, *By the figurative mystery of this holy Stole or Vestment, I will cloath me with the armour of Salvation in*

the strength of the highest. **Ancor, Amacor, Amides, Theodonias, Anitor.** *That my desired end may be effected through thy strength* **Adonai**, *to whom the praise and glory will for ever belong.*

Which Ceremonies being finished, the Exorcist shall proceed to the practical part of Invocation and Conjuration of all degrees of Spirits, having every utensil and appendix in readiness for the performance, and proceeding according to the method in these following Chapters. Practice.

CHAP. VI. 222.

How to raise and exorcize all sorts of Spirits belonging to the Airy Region.

THe Garment which the Exorcist is cloathed withall at the performance of this action, ought according to the opinions of the chiefest Magicians, to be a Priestly Robe, which if it can no where be procured, may be a neat and cleanly linnen Vest, with the holy Pentacle fastned thereunto upon Parchment made of a Kids skin, over which an Invocation must be said, and then the Pentacle must be sprinkled with holy Water. At the putting on the Magical Garment, this Prayer must be repeated: *By thy holy power* **Adonai Sabaoth**, *And by the power and merit of thine Angels and Archangels, and by the vertue of holy Church, which thou hast sanctified, do I cloath me with this consecrated Garment, that what I am to practice may take effect through thy Name who art for ever and ever.* What sort of Garments must be used.

Now as for the time of operation, and the manner thereof, The Instructions before set down, are sufficient to direct the Exorcist; only the Acter and his Scholar must be mindful in the way, as they go towards the place of Conjuration, to reiterate the sacred forms of Consecrations, Prayers, and Invocations, the one bearing an Earthen Vessel with consecrated fire, and the other the Magical Sword, the Book and Garments, till approaching nigh the place where the Circle is to be drawn, they must then proceed to compose it after the aforesaid manner. And at last Exorcize the Spirits on this following manner: The manner of Conjuring.

Seeing God hath given us the power to bruise the Serpents head, and command the Prince of Darkness, much more to bear rule over every airy Spirit: Therefore by his strong and mighty Name **Jehovah** *do I conjure you,* (naming the Spirits), *and by his secret commands delivered to* Moses *on the Mount, and by his holy Name* The form.

Tetragrammaton, *and by all his wonderful Names and Attributes,* **Sadai, Ollon, Emillah, Athanatos, Paracletos,** &c. *That ye do here immediately appear before this Circle, in humane form, and not terrible or of monstrous shape, on pain of eternal misery that abides you, unless you speedily fulfil my commands,* **Bathar, Baltar, Archim, Anakim, Nakun.** *Amen.*

When the Exorcist hath finished this Conjuration, he and his companion shall continue constantly turning themselves to the East, West, North and South, saying, with their Caps in their hands, **Gerson, Anek, Nephaton, Basannah, Cabon** ; and within a little space they will behold various apparitions upon the ground, and in the air, with various habits, shapes, and instruments ; after that, he shall perceive a troop of armed men with threatning carriage appear before the Circle, who after they are conjured to leave off their phantasms, will at last present themselves before the Exorcist in humane form.

The Apparitions.

Then the Master must be mindful to take the consecrated Sword, and the cup of Wine into his hands ; the Wine he shall pour into the fire, and the Sword he shall brandish in his right arm, being girded about with a Scarlet Ribbon ; after this the Magician shall say, **Gahire, Gephna, Anepheraton** ; then the Spirits will begin to bow unto the Exorcist, saying, *We are ready to fulfil thy pleasure.*

So that when the Magician hath brought the Spirits to this length, he may ask what ever he desireth, and they will answer him, provided the questions belong to that order whereof they are.

What these Spirits can do.

Now the properties wherein they excel, are these ; They can give the gift of Invisibility, and the fore-knowledge of the change of weather ; they can teach the Exorcist how to excite Storms and Tempests, and how to calm them again ; they can bring news in an hours space of the success of any Battle, Seidge, or Navy, how farr off soever; they can also teach the language of Birds, and how to fly through the air invisibly./

223. An example of their power.

'Twas through the assistance of these airy Spirits, that *Chanchiancungi*, the *Tartarian* Emperour did give the *Chinois* such a desperate rout near the year 1646. for it is reported, that he had constantly in his presence two Magicians, named *Ran* and *Sionam*, who perceived every motion of the *China*'s Army, and had intelligence by these Spirits of the Emperours private Counsels and Consultations.

And it is credibly reported by Magicians, that wonderful things may be with facility effected through the assistance of these aforesaid Spirits, so that the Exorcist must be very affable unto them, and gently dismiss them (when he is satisfied) in this following manner ;

How to dismiss them.

Seeing ye have willingly answered all our Interrogations and desires, we give you leave and licence, In the Name of the Father, Son,

and Holy-Ghost, to depart unto your place, and be ever ready to attend our call; Depart, I say, in peace, and peace be confirmed betwixt us and you. Amen. ✠ ✠ ✠.

After all these Ceremonies are finished, the Spirits will begin to depart, making obeysance as they go; and then the Master must demolish the Circle, and taking up all the Utensils repeat the *Pater Noster* as they are going away from the place of Conjuration.

CHAP. VII.

How to obtain the familiarity of the Genius *or* Good Angel, *and cause him to appear.*

How to consult with *Familiars* or *Genii.*

ACcording to the former Instructions in conjuring Spirits, we must proceed to consult with the *Familiars* or *Genii*; first, after the manner prescribed by Magicians, the Exorcist must inform himself of the *name* of his good *Genius*, which he may find in the Rules of *Travius* and *Philermus*; as also, what *Character* and *Pentacle*, or *Lamin*, belongs to every *Genius*. After this is done, Let him compose an earnest Prayer unto the said *Genius*, which he must repeat thrice every morning for seven dayes before the Invocation.

The Magician must also perfectly be informed to what Hierarchy or Order the *Genius* belongs, and how he is dignified in respect of his Superiours and Inferiours; for this form of Conjuration belongs not to the Infernal or Astral Kingdom, but to the Celestial Hierarchy; and therefore great gravity and sanctity is herein required, besides the due observation of all the other injunctions, until the time approach wherein he puts the Conjuration in execution.

When the day is come wherein the Magician would invocate his proper *Genius*, he must enter into a private closet, having a little Table and Silk Carpet, and two Waxen Candles lighted; as also a Chrystal Stone shaped triangularly about the quantity of an Apple, which Stone must be fixed upon a frame in the center of the Table: And then proceeding with great devotion to Invocation, he must thrice repeat the former Prayer, concluding the same with *Pater Noster, &c.* and a *Missale de Spiritu Sancto.*

Then he must begin to Consecrate the Candles, Carpet, Table and Chrystal; sprinkling the same with his own blood, and saying, *I do by the power of the holy Names* Aglaon, Eloi, Eloi, Sabbathon, Anepheraton, Jah, Agian, Jah, Jehovah, Emmanuel, Archon Archonton, Sadai,

The form of Consecration.

Sadai, Jeobaschah, &c. *sanctifie and consecrate these holy utensils to the performance of this holy work, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen.*

The Prayer.

Which done, the Exorcist must say this following Prayer with his face towards the East, and kneeling with his back to the consecrated Table.

O thou blessed Phanael *my Angel Guardian, vouchsafe to descend with thy holy Influence and presence into this spotless Chrystal, that I may behold thy glory and enjoy thy society O thou who art higher*
224. *then the fourth Heaven, and know'st the secrets of*| Elanel. *Thou that ridest upon the wings of the wind, and art mighty and potent in thy celestial and super-lunary motion, do thou descend and be present I pray thee, and desire thee, if ever I have merited thy society, or if my actions and intentions be pure and sanctified before thee, bring thy external presence hither, and converse with thy submissive Pupil, by the tears of Saints and Songs of Angels, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are one God for ever and ever.*

This Prayer being first repeated towards the East, must be afterwards said towards all the four winds thrice. And next the 70. Psalm repeated out of a Bible that hath been consecrated in like manner as the rest of the utensils; which ceremonies being seriously performed; the Magician must arise from his knees, and sit before the Crystal bare-headed with the consecrated Bible in his hand, and the Waxen Candles newly lighted, waiting patiently and internally for the coming and appearance of the *Genius*.

Signs of the appearance

Now about a quarter of an hour before the Spirit come. There will appear great variety of apparitions and sights within the glass; as first a beaten road or tract, and travelers, men and women marching silently along; next there will Rivers, Wells, Mountains and Seas appear: after that a Shepherd upon a pleasant hill feeding a goodly flock of Sheep, and the Sun shining brightly at his going down; and lastly, innumerable shews of Birds and Beasts, Monsters and strange appearances, noises, glances, and affrightments, which shews will all at last vanish at the appearance of the *Genius*.

The Appearance

And then the *Genius* will present it self amidst the Crystal, in the very same apparel and similitude that the person himself is in, giving instructions unto the Exorcist how to lead his life and rectifie his doings.

But especially (which is the proper work of every *Genius*) he will touch his heart and open his senses and understanding, so that by this means, he may attain to the knowledge of every Art and Science, which before the opening of his Intellect was lockt and kept secret from him.

After which, the *Genius* will be familiar in the Stone at the Prayer of the Magician.

CHAP. VIII.

A form of Conjuring **Luridan** *the Familiar, otherwise called* **Belelah.**

The nature of **Luridan.**

LUridan is a Familiar Domestick Spirit of the *North*, who is now become servant to **Balkin**, Lord and King of the *Northern* Mountains, he calls himself the *Astral Genius* of *Pomonia*, an Island amongst the *Orcades* beyond *Scotland.* But he is not particularly resident there ; for in the dayes of *Solomon* and *David*, he was in *Jerusalem*, or *Salem*, being then under the name of **Belilah** ; after that he came over with *Julius Cæsar*, and remained some hundred of years in *Cambria*, or *Wales*, instructing their Prophetical Poets in *British* Rhimes, being then surnamed *Urthin-Wadd Elgin*, from thence he betook himself unto this Island, *Anno* 1500. and continued there for 50 years, after which he resigned his Dominion to *Balkin*, and hath continued ever since an attendant unto this Prince.

His Office

He is a Spirit of the Air in the order of **Glauron**, and is said to procreate as mortals do; He is often sent by his Master upon errands to *Lapland*, *Finland*, and *Strik-finia* ; as also to the most *Northern* parts of *Russia*, bordering on the *Northern* frozen Ocean : His office (being called by Magicians) is to demolish strong holds of Enemies, destroying every night what they build the day before ; to extinguish fires, and make their Gunshot that it hath no power to be enkindled ; for his nature is to be at enmity with fire: and under his Master with many Legions he wageth continual warrs with the fiery Spirits that inhabit the Mountain *Hecla* in *Ise-land*, where they endeavour to extinguish these fiery flames, and the inhabiting Spirits defend the flames from his Master and his Legions./

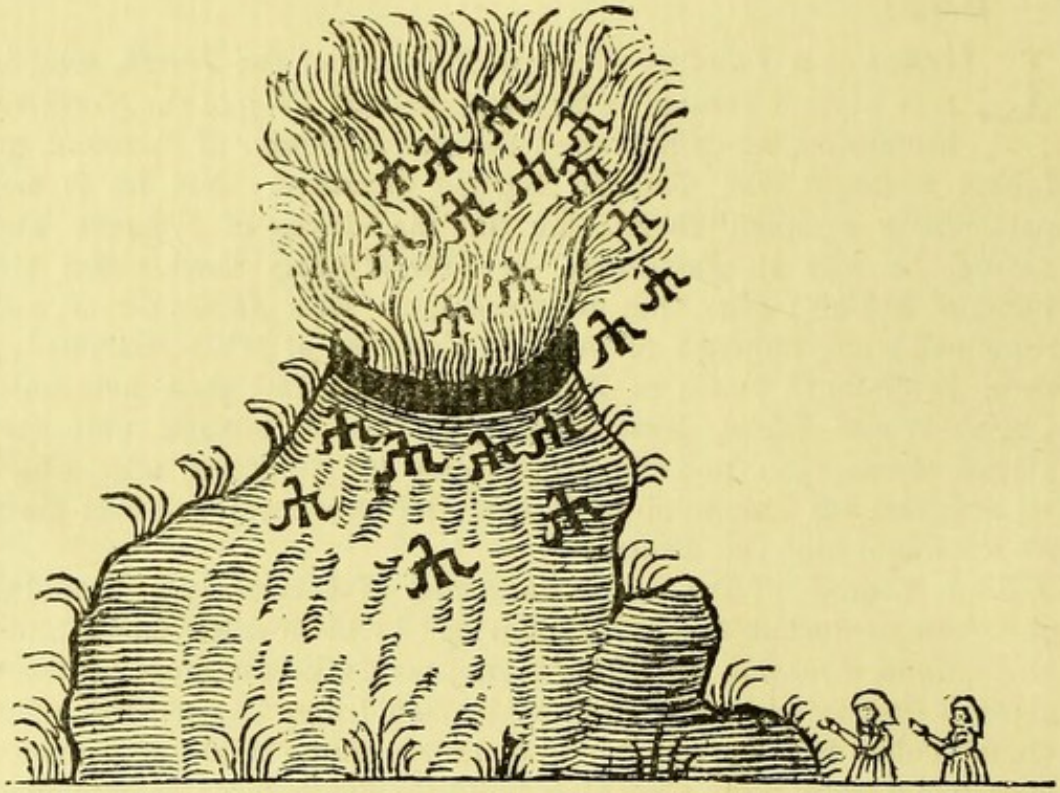
225. The Warrs of Spirits.

In this contest they do often totally extirpate and destroy one another, killing and crushing when they meet in mighty and violent Troops in the Air upon the Sea ; and at such a time many of the fiery Spirits are destroyed, when the Enemy hath brought them off the Mountain to fight upon the water ; on the contrary, when the battle is on the Mountain it self, the Spirits of the Air are often worsted, and then great mournings and doleful noises are heard both in *Iseland* and *Russia*, and *Norway* for many days after.

The form of the Circle and Ceremonies.

But to proceed to the form of conjuring this aforesaid Spirit, the Magician must draw a Circle in a Moonshine night in some solitary Valley ; the Circle must be 18 foot over, and another Circle a foot distance within the same, being both drawn with chalk, and the

Exorcist being girded about with two Snakes skins tyed together, and having many Snakes skins tyed to his cap, and hanging down before and behinde, must also with Chalk draw the form of a fiery Mountain at one side of the Circle on this manner;



The Consecration of the Mountain.

And round about the Mountain these following names must be wrote, **Glauron, Opotok, Balkin, Opotok, Urthin, Opotok, Swaknar, Nalah, Opotok,** ✠ ✠ ✠. After the Mountain is drawn, he must consecrate the same in these following words, **Ofron, Anepheraton, Baron Barathron, Nah halge tour hecla,** *In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen.* ✠✠✠. After the Magician hath consecrated the Mountain, he must write betwixt the circles these following words; **Urthin** ✠ **Malc hii** ✠ ✠ **Kiddal Katttron*** ✠ **Agla** ✠ **Glaura** ✠ **Bashemo** ✠ **Phowah** ✠ **Elohim** ✠ **Emmanuel†** ✠ *Amen.* △ ✠ △ ✠ △ ✠. Which done, he must begin to Invocate the Spirit on this following manner.

[* ? Kattron]

[† Immanuel]

The Conjuration.

O ye Powers of the East, **Athanaton**; *of the West,* **Orgon**; *of the South,* **Boralim**; *of the North,* **Glauron**; *I charge and command you by the dreadful Names here mentioned, and the Consecration of this terrible Mountain, to present your selves one of every sort before this Circle by the power of* **Immanuel,** *and his holy Name.* After this hath with fervency been thrice repeated, the Exorcist will hear great noises of Swords and fighting, Horses neighing, and Trumpets sounding,

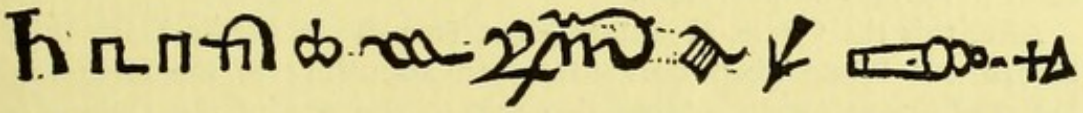
and at last there will appear four little Dwarfs or Pigmies naked before the Circle, their speech will be antient *Irish*; which afterwards being confined to a Triangle, they will interpret; the substance thereof will be from whence they came last, and what wonderful things they can do; Then the Magician must ask them, if they know one Luridan a familiar; they will answer/ Hamah ni trulloh Balkin, he is Secretary or servant unto Balkin, and after the Exorcist hath charged them to bring the said Luridan unto him, they will immediately bring him like a little Dwarf with a crooked nose, and present him before the Magician in the triangle; then the Magician shall bind and tye him with the bond of obligation, and with his own blood, without any contract of conditions to be performed, that he will attend him constantly at his thrice repeating Luridan, Luridan, Luridan. And be ever ready to go whether he will, to the *Turks*, or to the uttermost parts of the Earth, which he can do in an hour, and destroy all their Magazines.

The Apparitions.

226. Luridan.

After the Magician hath so bound him, he shall receive from the Spirit a scrole written in this manner;

The Compact.



which is the Indenture to serve him for a year and a day; and then the Magician shall dismiss him for that time in the form of dismission.

CHAP. IX.

How to Conjure the Spirit Balkin *the Master of* Luridan.

AS in the former Chapter, the Exorcist is instructed to draw the form of the Mountain *Hecla* within the circle, so in this form of Conjuration he must do the same, adding these names to be written round the Mountain *Mathiel*; Rahuniel, Seraphiel, Hyniel, Rayel, Fraciel. These are the names of *Olympick Angels*, governing the *North*, and ruling over every airy Spirit that belongs unto the *Northern* Climate; so that the authority of these names must be used in the calling up of this Spirit, because he is a great Lord, and very lofty, neither will he appear without strong and powerful Invocations.

The names of Olympick Angels.

Therefore the Magician must make upon Virgin Parchment the two Seals of the Earth, and provide unto himself a Girdle made of a

Bears skin with a rough side next his body, and these names wrote round about in the outerside, ✠ Alpha ✠ Coronzon, Yah, Taniah, Adonay ✠ Soncas ✠ Damael ✠ Angeli fortes ✠ pur pur ✠ Elibra, Elohim ✠ Omega ✠ per flammam ignis ✠ per bitam Coronzon ✠ *Amen.* ✠. Also he must provide a black Priestly Robe to reach to his ankles, and a new Sword with Agla on the one side, and On upon the other; having likewise been very continent and chast for three days before the execution of his design: and when the appointed night approacheth, he must take with him an earthen pan with fire therein, and a little Viol with some of his own blood, as also some of the Gum or Rozin that comes from the Firr-tree.

And coming to the appointed place in some solitary Valley, the circle must be drawn with chalk, as the former, one circle within another, and these powerful names in the circumference, Otheos on Panthon ✠ Breschit, Hashamaim, Maharetz Mahayah ✠ Tohu ✠ ba Bohu ✡ ✠ ✠ ✠ ✡ magnus es tu ben Elohim qui super alas bentorum equitaris ✠.

This Circumscription is accounted amongst Magicians of all the most powerful and prevalent.

After this the Circle, Mountain, Fire, Turpentine, Girdle, Garments, Sword and Blood must be consecrated according to the foregoing forms of Consecration, adding also this to the end of the consecration.

Mighty art thou O Adonay, Elohim, Ya, Ya, Aie, Aie, Acimoy, *who hast created the light of the day, and the darkness of the night, unto whom every knee bows in Heaven and on Earth, who hast created the* Tohu *and the* Bohu, *that is stupor or numbness in a thing to be*
227. *admired, and mighty are thy magnificient An|gels* Damael *and* Guael, *whose influence can make the winds to bow, and every airy Spirit stoop; Let thy right hand sanctifie these consecrated utensils, exterminating every noxious thing from their bodies, and the circumference of this Circle. Amen.* Calerna, Shalom, Shalom, Agla on Sassur, Tafrac, Angeli fortes. *In Nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. Amen, Amen, Amen.* After that, he shall sweep the circle gently with a Foxes tayl, and sprinkle the same round with his blood, dipping also the Sword, or anointing it with the same, and brandishing the same in his right hand, he shall begin to conjure the Spirit on this following manner:

I Exorcize and Conjure thee thou great and powerful Balkin, *Lord of* Glauron, *Lord of* Luridan, *and of fifteen hundred Legions, Lord of the Northern Mountains, and of every Beast that dwells thereon by*
[* Athanatos] *the holy and wonderful Names of the Almighty* Jehovah, Athanato* ✠ Aionos ✠ Dominus sempiternus ✠ Aletheios ✠ Saday ✠ Jehovah,

Redesh, El gabor ✠ Deus fortissimus ✠ Anapheraton, Amorule, Ameron ✠ ✠ ✠ Panthon ✠ Craton ✠ Muridon ✠ Jah, Jehovah, Elohim pentasseron ✠ ✠ trinus et unus ✠ ✠ ✠ ✡ *I Exorcize and Conjure, I Invocate and Command thee thou aforesaid Spirit, by the powers of Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, by the mighty Prince* Coronzon, *by the blood of* Abel, *by the righteousness of* Seth, *and the Prayers of* Noah, *by the voyces of Thunder and dreadful day of Judgment; by all these powerful and royal words abovesaid, that without delay or malitious intent, thou do come before me here at the circumference of this consecrated Circle, to answer my proposals and desires without any manner of terrible form either of thy self, or attendants; but only obediently, fairly, and with good intent, to present thy self before me, this Circle being my defence, through his power who is Almighty, and hath sanctified the same, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.*

After the Magician hath thrice repeated this Conjuration, Let him immediately set the fire before him, and put the Rozin thereon to fumigate at the appearance of the conjured Spirits, and at the instant of their appearance he shall hold the Censer of fire in his left hand, and the Sword in his right, still turning round as the Spirits do.

For in a little space after the Invocation is repeated, he shall hear the noise of Thunders, and perceive before him in the Valley a mighty storm of Lightning and Rain; after a while the same will cease, and an innumerable company of Dwarfs or Pigmies will appear mounted upon Chamelions to march towards the Circle surrounding the same.

Next comes Balkin with his Attendants; he will appear like the god *Bacchus* upon a little Goat, and the rest that follow will march after him afoot.

Assoon as they come near the Circle, they will breath out of their mouths a mist, or fog, which will even obscure the light of the Moon, and darken the Magician, that he cannot behold them nor himself; yet let him not be discomfited, or afraid, for that fog will be quickly over; and the Spirits will run round the Circle after Balkin their Lord, who rides upon a Goat; they will continue to surround the Circle, till the Magician begin the form of obligation or binding their Leader or King in this form, with the Sword in his right hand, the Fire and Rozin burning before him.

I conjure and bind thee Balkin, *who art appeared before me, by the Father, by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost, by all the holy Consecrations I have made, by the powerful Names of Heaven, and of Earth, and of Hell, that I have used and uttered in calling upon thee, by the Seals which thou here beholdest, and the Sword which I present* unto thee, by this sanctified Girdle, and all the sanctified and potent things*

[* show, not give]

aforesaid, That here thou remain peaceably, and of thy present shape before the Northern quarter of this Circle, without injury to me in body, soul, or fortune; but on the contrary, to answer faithfully unto my demands, and not hence to remove, till I have licenced thee to depart, In the Name of the Father, Son, and holy Spirit. Amen.|

228. When he is thus obliged, he will alight from his Goat, and cause his Attendants to remove further into the Valley, then will he stand peaceably before the Circle to answer the Magician.

After this the Magician shall begin to demand into his own possession a Familiar to build or pull down any Castle or strong hold in a night; and that this Familiar bring with him the Girdle of Conquest, or Victory, that the Magician being girded with the same may overcome all enemies whatsoever,

And further, the Spirit is able to inform him of all questions concerning Thunder and Lightning, the Motions of the Heavens, the Comets and Apparitions in the air, Pestilence and Famine, noxious and malevolent blasts, as also of the Inhabitants of the *Northern* Pole, and the wonders undiscovered throughout the world.

Likewise if the Exorcist inquire concerning the habitations of starry Spirits, he will readily answer him, describing their orders, food, life, and pasttime truly and exactly.

After the Magician hath satisfied himself with inquiries, and curious questions unto the Spirit, there will come from amongst the company a little Spirit of a span long, like a little *Ethiop*, which the great King **Balkin** will deliver unto the Exorcist to continue as a Familiar with him as long as his life shall last. This familiar the possessor may name at* it pleaseth him.

[* as]

The three last, who had this Spirit into possession, were three *Northern* Magicians, the first *Honduros* a *Norwegian*, who called it **Philenar**, and commanded it at his pleasure with a little Bell.

After him *Benno* his eldest Son injoy'd the same under the same name.

And *Swarkzar* a *Polonian* Priest was the last who enjoy'd it under the Name of **Muncula**; all which names were imposed upon it, according to the pleasure of the Masters; and therefore the naming of this familiar is left to the discretion of the Exorcist.

Now when the Master hath taken this familiar into his custody and service, the Spirit **Balkin** will desire to depart, being wearied if the action continue longer then an hour. Therefore the Magician must be careful to dismiss him in this following form:

Because thou hast diligently answered my demands, and been ready to come at my first call, I do here licence thee to depart unto thy proper place, without injury or danger to man or Beast; depart, I say, and

be ever ready at my call, being duly exorcized and conjured by sacred Rites of Magick ; I charge thee to withdraw with quiet and peace ; and peace be continued betwixt me and thee, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the Spirits company will begin to march about their Prince, and in a formal Troop will march along the Valley, whilest the Magician repeateth *Pater Noster, &c.* until the Spirits be quite out of sight and vanished.

This is a compleat form of conjuring the aforesaid Spirit, according to the Rules of *Vaganostus* the *Norwegian.*

[Appendix II.]

[This second Book of "A Discourse concerning Devils and Spirits", like the Chapters in Appendix I, were added to the third edition, 1665, by some one unknown.]

39.

BOOK II.

Chap. I.

Of Spirits in General; What they are and how to be considered: Also how farr the Power of Magitians and Witches is able to operate in Diabolical Magick.

The reason of this Addition.

1. BEcause the Author in his foregoing Treatise, upon the *Nature of Spirits and Devils*, hath only touched the subject thereof superficially, omitting the more material part; and with a brief and cursory Tractat, hath concluded to speak the least of this subject which indeed requires most amply to be illustrated; therefore I thought fit to adjoyn this subsequent discourse; as succedaneous to the fore-going, and conducing to the compleating of the whole work.

The nature of Spirits.

2. The Nature of Spirits is variously to be considered, according to the source to which each *Caterva* doth belong: for as some are altogether of a divine and celestial nature; not subject to the abominable Inchantments and Conjurations of vitious mankind; so others are the grand Instigators, stirring up mans heart to attempt the enquiry after the darkest, and most mysterious part of Magick, or Witchcraft: neither is this their suggestion without its secret end: that is, that by the private insinuation, and as it were incorporating themselves into the affection, or desire of the Witch, or Magician; they may totally convert him into their own nature: reducing him at last by constant practice, to such obdurateness and hardness of heart, that he becometh one with them, and delighted with their association, being altogether dead to any motions in himself that may be called good.

3. And if we may credit example, which is the surest proof; the

very imaginations, and affection of a Magician, doth create an evil Essence or Devil; which was not before in being: for, as the Astral Spirits are believed by many to Germinate and procreate one another, so likewise are the infernal Spirits capable of multiplication in their power and essence, according to their Orders, Ranks and Thrones; by means of the strong imagination in a Witch, or malevolous person, earnestly desiring their assistance. The original of evil essences.

4. Not that the Spirits or Devils so begotten do any whit add or contribute to the number in general; for as they are capable of increasing into distinct and separated substances, so are they likewise again contracted, and as it were annihilated; when the force of that Imagination is gone, which was the cause of their production: The nature of a spirit, whither heavenly or hellish, being to dilate, or contract themselves into as narrow compass, as they please; so that in a moment they can be as big in circumference as an hundred worlds, and on a sodain reduce themselves to the compass of an atome. Their Germination.

5. Neither are they somuch limited as Tradition would have them; for they are not at all shut up in any separated place: but can remove millions of miles in the twinkling of an eye, yet are they still where they were at first: for, out of their own element, or quality, they can never come: go whither they will, they are in darkness: and the cause is within them, not without them: as one whose mind is troubled here in *England*, can remove/ his Carcase from the place 40. where it was before; but should he go to the utmost bounds of the Earth, he cannot leave his perplexed and tormented minde behind him. Their Habitation.

6. As for the shapes and various likenesses of Devils, It is generally believed, that according to their various capacities in wickedness, so their shapes are answerable after a Magical manner: resembling spiritually some horrid and ugly monsters, as their conspiracies against the power of God, were high and monstrous, when they fell from Heaven: for the condition of some of them is nothing but continual horrour and despair; others triumph in firie might and pomp, attempting to pluck God from out of his Throne; but the quality of Heaven is shut from them, that they can never find it, which doth greatly add to their torment and misery. Their shapes.

7. But that they are materially vexed and scorched in flames of fire, is inferiour to any to give credit to, who is throughly verst in their nature and existence: for their substance is spiritual; yea their power is greater, then to be detain'd or tormented with any thing without them: doubtless their misery is sufficiently great, but not through outward flames; for their Bodies are able to pierce through Wood and Iron, Stone, and all Terrestrial things: Neither is all the Their place of pleasure or torment.

fire, or fewel of this World able to torment them ; for in a moment they can pierce it through and through. But the infinite source of their misery is in themselves, and is continually before them, so that they can never enjoy any rest, being absent from the presence of God : which torment is greater to them, then all the tortures of this world combin'd together.

The cause of their torment.

8. The wicked souls that are departed this life, are also capable of appearing again, and answering the Conjurations of Witches, and Magicians, for a time: according to *Nagar* the *Indian*, and the *Pythagoreans*. And it cannot be easily conceived, that their torment is much different from the rest of the Devils : for the Scripture saith: *every one is rewarded according to their works.* And, *that which a man sows, that he shall reap.* Now as the damned Spirits, when they lived on earth, did heap up vanity, and load their souls with iniquity, as a treasure to carry with them into that Kingdom, which sin doth naturally lead into : so when they are there, the same abominations which here they committed, do they ruminate and feed upon ; and the greater they have been, the greater is the torment, that ariseth before them every moment.

How Magicians deal with them.

9. And although these Infernal Spirits, are open Enemies to the very means which God hath appointed for mans salvation ; yet such is the degenerate and corrupted mind of mankind, that there is in the same an itching after them for converse and familiarity, to procure their assistance, in any thing that their vain imagination suggesteth them with : to effect which, they inform themselves in every Tradition of Conjuration and Exorcism ; as also in the names, natures and powers of Devils in general, and are ever restless, till their souls be totally devoted to that accursed and detestable nature, which is at enmity with God and goodness.

The Orders of heavenly Beings.

10. Now to proceed in the description of these Infernal Spirits and separated *Dæmons*, or *Astral Beings*, as also of those in the Angelical Kingdom ; they that pertain to the Kingdom of Heaven, are either Angels which are divided into their degrees and orders ; or else the righteous souls departed, who are entred into rest : And it cannot be, but that the life of Angels and Souls departed, is the same in Heaven, as also the food that nourisheth them, and the fruits that spring before them : Nor is it possible for any, how expert so ever in Magical Arts, to compel either of them, of what degree soever they be, to present themselves, or appear before them : Although many have written large Discourses and Forms of Convocation, to compel the Angels unto communication with them by Magical Rites and Ceremonies.

That they are

11. It may indeed be believed, that seeing there are infinite num-

bers of Angels, they are also imployed for the glory of God, and protection of man/kind, (but not subject to Conjurations :) And that they accompany many righteous men Invisibly, and protect Cities and Countries from Plagues, War, and infestings of wicked Spirits, against which Principalities and Powers of Darkness, it is their place to contend and war, to the confusion of the Kingdom of Darkness. not subject to conjurations. **41.**

12. But such Spirits as belong to this outward World, and are of the Elemental quality, subject to a beginning and ending, and to degrees of continuance ; These may be solicited by Conjurations, and can also inform Magicians in all the secrets of Nature ; yet so darkly, (because they want the outward organ) ; that it is hardly possible for any that hath fellowship with them, to learn any manual operation perfectly and distinctly from them. What Spirits may be conjured.

13. Many have insisted upon the Natures of these Astral Spirits : some alledging, *That they are part of the faln Angels, and consequently subject to the torments of Hell at the last Judgment:* Others, *That they are the departed souls of men and women, confined to these outward Elements until the Consummation :* Lastly, others, As *Del rio, Nagar* the *Indian* Magician, and the *Platonists* affirm, *That their nature is middle between Heaven and Hell* ; *and that they reign in a third Kingdom from both, having no other judgment or doom to expect for ever.* The nature of the Astral Spirits.

14. But to speak more nearly unto their natures, they are of the source of the Stars, and have their degrees of continuance, where of* some live hundreds, some thousands of years : Their food is the *Gas* of the Water, and the *Blas* of the Air *:* And in their Aspects, or countenances, they differ as to vigour and cheerfulness : They occupy various places of this world ; as Woods, Mountains, Waters, Air, fiery Flames, Clouds, Starrs, Mines, and hid Treasures : as also antient Buildings, and places of the slain. Some again are familiar in Houses, and do frequently converse with, and appear unto mortals. Their degrees. [* whereof]

15. They are capable of hunger, grief, passion, and vexation : they have not any thing in them that should bring them unto God *:* being meerly composed of the most spiritual part of the Elemeuts†: And when they are worn out, they return into their proper essence or primary quality again ; as Ice when it is resolved into Water : They meet in mighty Troops, and wage warr one with another : They do also procreate one another; and have power sometimes to make great commotions in the Air, and in the Clowds, and also to cloath themselves with visible bodies, out of the four Elements, appearing in Companies upon Hills and Mountains, and do often deceive and delude the observers of Apparitions, who take such for portents of great alterations, which are nothing but the sports and pastime of Their actions and affections [† n *reversed*]

these frolick Spirits : as Armies in the Air, Troops marching on the Land, noises and slaughter, Tempest and Lightning, *&c.*

The distinct orders of starry Spirits.

16. These Astral Spirits are variously to be considered ; some are beings separate and absolute, that are not constitute to any work or service : Others are subservient to the Angels that have dominion over the Influences of the Stars : Others are the Astral Spirits of men departed, which (if the party deceased was disturbed and troubled at his decease,) do for many years, continue in the source of this world ; amongst these airy Spirits, to the great disquietness of the soul of the person, to whom they belong : Besides the causes are various that such Spirits rest not ; 1. When by Witchcraft they are inchanted, and bound to wander so many years ; as thrice or fourtimes seven, before they can be resolved into nothing. 2. When the person hath been murthered ; so that the Spirit can never be at rest, till the crime be discovered. 3. When desires and lusts, after Wife, or Children, House, Lands, or Money, is very strong at their departure; it is a certain truth, that this same spirit belonging to the Starrs will be hanckering after these things, and drawn back by the strong desires and fixation of the Imagination, which is left behind it : Nor can it ever be at rest, till the thing be accomplished, for which it is disturbed. 4. When Treasure hath been hid, or any secret thing
42. hath been commit/ted by the party ; there is a magical cause of something attracting the starry spirit back again, to the manifestation of that thing. Upon all which, the following Chapters do insist more largely and particularly.

Chap. II.

Of the Good and Evil Dæmons *or* Genii : *Whither they are ; what they are, and how they are manifested ; also of their names, powers, faculties, offices ; how they are to be considered.*

The office of *Dæmons* or *Genii.*

1. According to the disposition of the mind, or soul, there is a good or evil *Dæmon* that accompanies the party visibly, or invisibly ; and these are of such rancks and orders, and names, as the capacity of the persons soul is, to whom they belong : Their Office is said to be, fore-warning the person of eminent danger, sometimes by inward instinct, sometimes by dreams in the night, and sometimes by appearing outwardly. The *Dæmon* or *Genius* changeth its nature and power, as the person

changeth his: and if from good, the party degenerate to iniquity; then by degrees the good Angel leaves him, and an evil *Dæmon* doth naturally succeed: for each thing draws after that which is like it self.

Three ways of enjoying their society. The first way.

2. Magicians mention three several wayes of enjoying the society of the *Bonus Genius*; first by intellectual association, when secret and mental instigations do arise in their hearts, to do this or that, and to forbear the other: as in the Manuscript of *Nagar* the *Indian*, his own testimony of himself is to this effect: *My blessed Guardian* **Damilkar**, *hath now so sweetly communicated himself unto me*; *That by all the manifestations, whereby a holy* Dæmon *can attend and converse with mankind, he appeareth unto me: first in the intellectual way, he is ever present, and every moment prompts me, what to act, what to forbear from acting*: *Ah had he not rushed up through the powers of my soul, and suddenly warned me in my Travel to* Quiansi *in* China, *through the airy Region, to turn nimbly to the right hand, at an instant, a mighty Troop of Devils, whose Leader was* **Grachnock**, *coming through that tract of air, had crusht me into a thousand peices:* This is the first degree of its appearing.

The second way.

3. Then he proceedeth in the language of *Sina*, describing the second way of its manifestation: *And when the deepest sleep hath over-poured me, I am never without him*; *sometimes my* **Damilkar** *stands before me like a glorious Virgin, administring to me a Cup of the drink of the Gods, which my Intellectual man exhausteth: sometimes he brings cælestial Companies, and danceth round about me*; *and when after the weariness of the Senses, through contemplation I fell into gentle sleep on the holy Mountain of Convocation, which is called* Adan, *he shewed me the motion of the Heavens, the nature of all things, and the power of every evil* Dæmon.

The third way of their appearance.

4. Thirdly, he continueth to describe the External appearance of the *Genius*, to this effect: **Damilkar** *appears before me at my desire*; *for my desires are as his desires*: *When I slept a long space in my private dwelling, he appeared outwardly, and watering me with the dew of the fourth Heaven, I awakned, when he had thrise said* **Nankin Nagar**; *so the time being come, we mounted through the Air, unto the holy Mountain of Convocation.*

Their number.

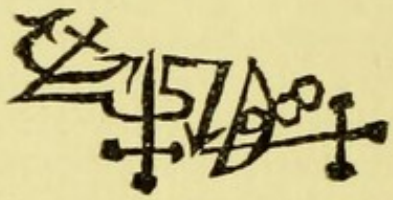
5. In this Example the three degrees of the Apparition of the *Bonus Genius*, or *Good Dæmon* are excellently deciphered, which is also the same in the appearance of the *bad Genius:* and according to the deepest Magicians, there be *seven good Angels*, who do most frequently become particular Guardians, of all others, each to their respective capacities; and also *seven evil Dæmons*, that are most frequent in association with depraved persons, as Guardians to them./

The seven good Angels. 43.

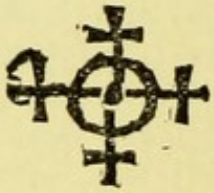
6. These are the seven *good Angels*, or *Dæmons*.

Juhanladace a mighty Prince in the Dominion of Thrones, he cometh unto such as follow national affairs, and are carryed forth unto warr and conquest; he beareth alwayes a flaming Sword, and is girded about, having a helmet upon his head, and appearing still before the party in the Air: he must be sollicited and invocated with Chastity, Vows, Fumes, and Prayers: and this is his* Character to be worn as a Lamin.

[*his is *text*]



Yah-li-Yah one of the Powers, accompanying such as are Virgins, and devoted to Religion, and a Hermits life: he teacheth all the names and powers of Angels, and gives holy Charms against the assaults of *Evil Dæmons*: he must be addrest unto by Prayer, resignation, and fasting, with a celestial Song out of the Canto's of *Nagar*: this is his Character.



Nal-gab appearing to those that are devoted to the knowledge of Magick; teaching them how to exercise Infernal Witchcraft without danger, and in despight to the Devils: he must be sought by hours, minutes, constellations, privacy and blood, *&c.* He hath a bow bent in his hand, and a Crown of Gold upon his head: this is his Character.

Maynom one of the Powers who hath the ability of subservient administration; that is, at one time to be present with many; he resembleth a Ew with Lamb, typifying his nature in that appearance.

Gaonim an Angel, causing his Pupil to go invisible, and transporting him at his pleasure in a moment, to the outmost parts of the earth.

Halanu the Instructer in Manual operations, by whom *Bezaliah*, and *Aholibah* were divinely inspired for the structre* of the Tabernacle. [* *sic*]

Kama-umi who is the Instructer in Cabalistical Magick, and reveals the secrets of numbers, the names of Angels, and the virtue of *Boim*.

7. These are the seven *bad Angels* or *Dæmons*.

The nature of both.

As the power and capacity of the *good*, proceeds from the strength of God, in the quality of heaven ; so is the force of the *evil Genii*, in the hellish quality correspondent : for it is to be noted, that these *evil Angels* did before their fall, enjoy the same places and degrees that now the *good* or *holy Angels* do : so that as their power is to instruct men in Government, Abstinence, Philosophy, Magick, and Mechanick Arts, for a good intent, and for the glory of God : The power of the *evil* ones is the very same to inform and instigate unto the same attainments, as farr as they may be instrumental for the Devil, or the Kingdom of Darkness therein.

The seven evil *Genii*, and the manner of their appearances.

8. Their names are 1. **Panalcarp**, like a Crocodile with two heads. 2. **Baratron** appearing like a Conjurer in a Priestly habit. 3. **Sondennah** like a Hunts-man. 4. **Greitmodal** accompanying his Pupil like a Spaniel-Dog. 5. **Ballisargon** the grand Inticer to theeving and robbery, till he hath brought his followers to destruction. 6. **Morborgran** who can put on various likenesses, especially appearing as a Serving-man. 7. **Barman** who most commonly possesseth the soul of those that are joyned unto him./

44.

9. These are the names of the 7 *good* and *evil Dæmons* ; according to the antient writing, on the Magical Art : who do also to many particular Cities and Countries, ascribe certain good and evil Angels ; the one whereof protects and defends, the other inflicts Pestilence and Famin upon them : Like unto which is the story recorded by *Sigbertus* in *Chronicis* : *That in the* 11th *year of the reign of* Constans, *a good Angel and a bad were seen by the whole City of* Constantinople, *nightly to fly about the City ; and as often as by the command of the good Angel, the other smote any house with a dart in his hand, such was the number that dyed in that house, according to the stroaks given.*

An example.

The uncertainty of communicating with Angels.

10. And indeed it is to be feared, that whosoever have ever pretended, or do at present alledge, that they enjoy familiarity with a familiar Spirit ; I say its greatly to be suspected, that all such familiars belong to the Kingdom of Darkness ; for such are too too officious, and ready to attend the depraved desires of mortal men ;

whereas if communication with Angels, or good and holy Guardians be at all attainable, yet such is the difficulty of the attainment, that the examples thereof, if true, are exceeding rare : But in general, the writings of Magicians and Naturallists do plentifully abound with examples of this nature ; whether good or evil, is yet to be determined. I have been told of a certain Country-man, in these dayes, who was continually pestered with the company of a woman, discerned by none but by himself : If he was upon Horse-back, she would be behind him : if at dinner, she sate at his elbow ; if lying on his bed, there she was also present ; And if at any time he had taken a journey, or gone about some unprofitable business, at such a time she accompanyed him not ; and seldom escaped he some mischief when she was absent : But at last, for all her dutiful pretences, as she accompanyed him, riding through a deep and swift running River, she tumbled him into the deepest part, and lay upon him till she had strangled or drowned him.

Familiars in the time of the *Jews*.

11. Amongst the *Jews* this kind of Idolatry was frequent, to consult with and associate themselves unto familiar Spirits, whom they compelled to do them domestick service, dressing their Camels, lifting their burthens, and doing their messages : for the attaining their service they had many blasphemous Forms, and superstitious Ceremonies and Sacrifices ; making the holy Names of God subservient to their accursed practices : one whose name was Baal-Ben-ammin, was adjudged by the Law of *Moses* to be burnt for the like practices ; being condemned in the time of one *Judah* a high Priest in the Captivity for killing an Infant, and with its blood performing Sacrifice to Baalzebub, with various ceremonies intermixed ; by which means his God had bequeathed unto him a certain Lacky from the Infernal Troop to attend and serve him for his whole life time : this is to be found in *Zoar*'s Coment upon *Berosus*, and *Belus*, who affirms, *That at his tryal he endeavoured to prove, that the same was the good Angel or Genius given unto him by the mercy of God.*

Several men have wrote and methodized the Art of Conjuration.

12. Both the *Hebrew Cabalists* and *Heathen Magicians*, as also those addicted to Magick in Christianity, have all of them laid down certain forms of attaining the company of a good, or evil Angel, by number and astrological Observations, fitted to the rules of Conjuration and Invocations : And many of the superstitious *Rabbi*'s have affirmed, *That they were able by such practices, to cause the ghost of* Adam, Eve, *or any of the holy Patriarchs to appear unto them :* which was surely the delusion of Satan to harden their hearts. But in the Addition to the 15th Book of the *Discovery* this Subject is more practically handled ; where many forms of obtaining the Society of the *Bonus*, or *Malus Genius*, are plainly decyphered : so far as with safety and convenience they could be described./

CHAP. III. 45.

Of the Astral Spirits of men departed: What they are: And why they appear again: And what Witchcraft may be wrought by them.

The spirits of men return again.

1. AS the Astral Spirits separate, which belong not to any deceased person, do for many years survive, or continue; so if the party deceased hath departed in discontent, and melancholy, it is often known that they return again, and causing terrour to families and houses, do wait for opportunity to disburthen themselves, that at length they may come into their desired rest.

All men have starry Spirits.

2. The opinion of many is, *That the Devill in their likenesse is all that appears:* But the more Learned have sufficiently demonstrated, through Example, and Experience; *That the apparition is really proper to the person deceased.* Nor can it easily be denyd, That to every man, and woman, while they live the natural Life, there belongs a *Syderial*, or *starry Spirit*; which takes its original wholly from the Elemental property: And according to the weaker, or stronger capacity of the party, it hath the longer, or shorter continuance, after the bodyes decease.

What sort of persons most frequently reappear.

3. Such persons as are secretly murthered, and such as secretly murthur themselves, do most frequently appear again, and wander near the place where their Carcase is, till the radical moisture be totally consumed: according to the opinion of *Paracelsus*, after the consumption whereof, they can re-appear no longer, but are resolv'd into their first being, or *Astrum*, after a certain term of months, or years, according to the vigour, or force of that first attraction which was the only cause of their returning.

The manner and time of their appearance.

4. The manner and seasons of their appearing are various: Sometimes before the person, unto whom they do belong, depart this life, they do by external presentations forewarn him, near the time, that the day of death approacheth. As it is reported of *Codrus Lacænus*, to whom an empty, meager Ghost appeared at midnight, signifying unto him, *how sad and lachrymable a Tragedy was shortly to attend him*; and also adding, *that he would visit him in the Execution thereof:* which proved not contrary to the words of the apparition; for at the very instant, when his Treacherous Wife had stab'd him at the heart, on a suddain he beheld the same, with preparations for his interment, whilst he yet survived, after the fatall wound was given.

The reason thereof.

5. Sometimes the starry spirit of a person appears to his beloved Companion, many hundred of miles asunder, who was ignorant of the death of the party: And it hath often been heard, that when none of the kindred or family of the said party deceased, have ever been disturbed by it, or in the least been sensible of its appearing; yet to some of its most intimate acquaintance, it discovers it self, and importunes them to perform some ceremony, or other, that it may be returned into rest; or else discovers some treasure, which was hid by the party whilest alive, or else some murther which it had commited: But the most frequent cause of their returning, is when the party hath himself been privately murthered.

The power of Magitians over them.

6. For such is the poysonous malice, and bloudy spirit of the murtherers, that it sufficeth them not to have privately bereaved them of their Lives; but also by certain earnest Wishes, Curses, and Conjurations, they do afterwards adjure them, that for such a term of years, they shall never have power to appear again: Which wishes, being earnestly given forth, from the hellish root in the murtherer, do exceedingly torment the murthered parties spirit, taking deep impression thereon; so that it is alwayes in continual sorrow, and anguish, till the term of years be expired, and till the murther be made manifest to the world: after which discovery, it returns to perfect rest; This is well known to those that are exercised in Witchcraft, and cruell Murthers, though not common to those that murther but once./

46. 7. There be many Ancient families, in *Europe*, to whom the Ghost of their first Progenitor, or Ancestor appears immediately before the departure of some Heir, or chief in the same family: which assertion is confirmed by *Cardan*, in an Example of "an Antient family, in the "Dukedome of *Parma*, called the *Tortells*, to whom there belongs an "ancient Castle, with a spatious Hall; near the Chimney of the said "Hall an old decrepit Woman, for these hundreds of years, is wonted "to appear, when any of the Family is about to dye: And it is "reported amongst them that the same is the Ghost of one belonging "to the same name, and family, who for her Riches, was murthered by "some of her Nephews, and thrown into a pit.

Example.

The cause of the difficulty and paucity of appearances.

8. Many such apparitions do for many years continue to be seen in one particular place; ever watching for opportunity, to discover some murther, or Treasure hid: And the cause of the difficulty of the said discovery, consists in the nature of their substance; for could they make use of the organ of the Tongue, they might quickly discover it: or if they had the outward benefit of Hands, they might produce the said Treasure, or Carcase murthered, but this they are seldome able to accomplish; being destitute of the outward Organs,

and mediation of Hands to hold withall, or Tongue to vent their grievances : And that this is true, the manner of their appearance doth confirm it : For all that they are able to effect, if they have been murthered, is commonly to appear near the very place, where their body lies, and to seem as if they sunk down, or vanished in the same ; or else to appear in the posture of a murthered person, with mangled, and bloudy wounds, and hair dishevel'd : But it is rarely known, that any such apparitions have plainly spoken, or uttered by words, the time of their murther, with the cause, the persons name, or place ; unless the murther, by circumstances hath been more then ordinary, horrid, and execrable : then the remembrance of the same doth sometimes enable the apparition to frame a voice, by the assistance of the Air, and discover the fact.

More particularly of the same.

9. But to speake in general concerning apparitions, why they are so seldome seen ; and why such spirits as appear, can not without mans assistance accomplish their design ; It may easily be apprehended, that all Spirits, or spiritual Substances, and Devills, have their life, breath, and motion in another source, or Element then this external world ; And as any creature, whom the Element of Water hath nourished, and bred, can live but short while upon the Land ; So its with them, when they come out of their proper habitations : which is the cause of the rarity of apparition ; it being as difficult for any spirit to manifest it self in this outward principle, of the four Elements, as for a man to continue with his head under water : yea it is rather pain, then pleasure for any spirit, whether good, or bad, to come into this outward world.

The nefarious practices of *Necromancers* in an example.

10. Great is the villany of Necromancers, and wicked Magicians, in dealing with the spirits of men departed ; whom they invocate, with certain forms, and conjurations, digging up their Carkasses again, or by the help of Sacrifices, and Oblations to the infernal Gods; compelling the Ghost to present it self before them : how this was performed in antient times, by Hags, and Witches, is notably described in the *Æthiopian* History of *Heliodorus*, in the practice " of an antient woman, who coming into the Camp, in the dead of " night ; where amongst many slaughtered bodies, the body of her " Son was also slain ; whose carkase she laid before her, digging a " hole, and making a fire on each side, with the body in the midst ; " Then taking an earthen pot from a three footed stool, she poured " honey out of it, into the pit ; then out of another pot, she poured " milk ; and likewise out of the third : Lastly, she cast a Lump of " hardned dough, in the form of a man into the pit : the Image was " Crowned with Lawrell : then she threw in some of the Shrub called " *Bdellium :* This done, with a sword she ran frantickly up and down,

"cutting herself; and with a Lawrell branch sprinkled of her blood
"into the fire: at length whispering at her Sons ear, she caused him
"to arise, and questioning him of the fortune of his Brother, what was
47. "become of him, he answered dubiously speaking prospe/rity to two
"persons that secretly beheld her, and telling her, That suddain death
"for her impiety attended her, which came to passe ere she left the
"place; after all these predictions, the Carcase ceased to answer any
"more: and tumbled groveling on the ground again.

Example. 11. And although by most men, as also by the Author in his foregoing Discovery, it is constantly believed, that the Witch of *Endor* raised not *Samuel*, nor the Ghost of *Samuel*, as not beleeving that there is an *Astral Spirit* or Ghost belonging unto every Man; yet it is very probable, that by her conjurations she caused his *Sydereal Spirit* to appear: which is possible to be effected: and hath been often done: as *Weaver* in his *Funeral Monuments* records of *Edward Kelly*, "who in the Park of *Walton Ledale* in the County "*Lancaster*, with one *Paul Waring*, Invocated a Devil, and after-"wards digg'd up the Corps of a poor man, that had been buried that "very day, in a place near the same, called *Law Church-yard*: whom "he compelled by Incantations, and Conjurations to speak, and "utter prophetical words, concerning the master of one of his "Assistants.

The state of the Starry Spirit. 12. According to the state and condition wherein a person dyes, so is it with their *Astral Spirit*: for if they died in perfect peace, and had come through the valley of true Repentance; being dead to this Life before it left them; then their *starry Spirit* doth enter into rest, in its proper source, or quality at the instant of their Decease: nor is it possible for all the Conjurations in Hell, to cause them to return, or appear again.

Why the Ghost of *Samuel* appeared. 13. But some might object, That *Samuel was an Holy Prophet, and attaind unto a perfect Life*; which is thus to be answered, that before Christ came into the world, none of the most Holy Prophets of God, did ever attain to that degree of blessednesse, that the Christians after Christ possessed: for in the time of the Law, a covering, or vail was spread over the faces of all people: and something there was that letted, or hindred their souls from any plain and perfect vision, and fruition of God; otherwise then through types, and shaddows, which partition wall, the end of Christs Incarnation was to break down.

The opinions of *Plato*. 14. In the writings of *Plato*, there be many strange Relations of the apparitions of Souls, of their torments, and purgations, of the cause of their returning, what their nature is, what their substance and property is, and what their food, and nourishment is: but he

mistakes the *Soul* for the *Astral Spirit*: for the Soul in its returning and apparition is farr different; if a Holy Soul appear, it is to persons like it self, and that in sleep, warning them of dangers, and discovering heavenly secrets unto them: And if a Damned Soul appear, it is likewise to such as are of a nature like it self: whom it instigates, asleep, teaching them notorious Villanies in Dreams; and provoking them to every wicked cogitation.

Of *Pythagoras.*

15. The sect of *Pythagoras* have strange and antick opinions, concerning Souls, and Ghosts, or starry Spirits: whom they alledge to be frequently converted into *Gods*, or *Dæmons*, or *Demi-Gods*, and *Heroes:* (as the *Platonicks* do,) And that there is a continual traduction, and transmigration of Souls, from one to another, till they attain to be deify'd at last; and then that they do frequently appear, to those that be like themselves; instructing, and forewarning them: It was also the belief of many wise, and antient Philosophers, that the *Oracles* were from such *Dæmons*, as had been the Ghosts, or Souls of wise and excellent men: as *Apollo's Oracle*, and the *Oracle* of *Pallas*, or *Minerva*: which opinions have much of reason and probability.

Of other Philosophers.

16. It is also the opinion of some, that the particular Spirits of famous men do after the death of the body, take up some particular habitations, near such places Cities, Towns, or Countries, as they most do affect, as Tutelaries, and Guardians unto them; Which is reported by *Vopiscus*, of *Apollonius Thyaneus*; That when his City *Thyana* was taken by *Aurelianus* the Emperour: and when he was in his Tent, pondering furiously how to destroy the same; the Ghost of *Apollonius* appeared unto him saying, Aurelianus, *if thou desirest to be a Conquerour, suppose not to slay these my Citizens*: Aurelianus, *if thou wilt be a Ruler, shed no innocent blood*: Aurelianus, *be meek, and gentle, if thou wouldst be a Conquerour.*|

48.

The Raptures of Lunaticks.

17. I have heard many wonderful Relations from Lunaticks or such as are almost natural fools, who have asserted, *That being for many daies together conversant amongst Faeries in Woods, Mountains, and Caverns of the Earth, they have feasted with them, and been magnificently Entertaind with variety of dainties, where they have seen several of their Neighbours or Familiar acquaintance in the habit they were wont to weare, notwithstanding they were known to have been dead some years before.*

Their Entertainments.

18. And many Learned Authors have also insisted upon this particular, alledging, *That when such as the Faeryes have brought into their Society do feast and junket with them, though they have a real and perfect knowledge of their neighbours and acquaintance amongst the rest, yet their Language they are not able to understand, neither*

do these Acquaintance of theirs acknowledge or take notice of them at all, but do either sit (both they and all the rest) in a profound and tedious silence, or else discourse in a most stupendious kinde of Gibberish, not intelligible to strangers.

A strange example.

19. But more particularly to illustrate this conjecture, I could name the person who hath lately appeared thrice since his Decease, at least some Ghostly being or other, that calls it self by the name of such a person who was dead above an hundred years agoe, and in his life time accounted as a Prophet or Prædicter by the assistance of Sublunary Spirits. And now at his appearance did also give out strange Prædictions concerning Famine, and Plenty, Warrs, and Bloodshed, and the end of this world.

20. By the affirmation of the person that had Communication with him, the last of his Appearances was on this following manner ; *I had been*, said he, *to sell a Horse at the next Market Town, but not attaining my price, as I returned home by the way I met this man aforesaid who began to be familiar with me, asking what news, and how affairs moved throughout the Country* ; I answered as I thought fit ; withall I told him of my Horse whom he began to cheapen, and proceeded with me so far, that the price was agreed upon ; so he turned back with me and told me, *that if I would go along with him, I should receive my Money* ; on our way we went, I upon my Horse and he on another milk white beast ; after much discourse I askt him where he dwelt, and what his name was ; he told me, *That his dwelling was about a mile off, at a place called Farran* ; of which place I had never heard though I knew all the Country round about ; he also told me, *That he himself was that person of the Family of* Learmonts *so much spoken off for a Prophet* ; At which I began to be somewhat fearful, perceiving us in a road which I had never been in before, which increased my fear and admiration more. Well on we went till he brought me under ground I know not how into the presence of a beautiful woman that payd me the moneys without a word speaking ; he conducted me out again through a large and long entry, where I saw above 600 men in Armour layd prostrate on the ground as if asleep : at last I found my self in the open field by the help of Moon-light in that very place where first I met him, and made shift to get home by three in the morning, but the money I received was just double of what I esteemed it, and what the woman payd me, of which at this instant I have several pieces to show consisting of nine pences, thirteen pence halfpennies, *&c.*

Apparitions before Christianity, were frequent.

21. The variety of Examples throughout the writings of Learned men may serve as stronge inducements to confirm this particular of *Astral Spirits*, or *Ghosts* that belong unto Mortal men, returning

after death untill the cause of their returning be taken away. In Ancient times before the name of Christianity, there was nothing more frequent than millions of Apparitions in fields where battails had been fought, seeming to fight as they had done at first, which the Ancient Heathens believed to proceed from the want of Burying. And from this arose the Poetical Romance of the *wandring of Ghosts besides the River Styx for an hundred years.* And the custome of Solemn Interment amongst them.

Why Funeral Piles were instituted.

22. But with more probability, The Custome of the Funeral Piles used by the *Romans*, and the Urns to reduce their Corpses into Ashes, was instituted at first to prevent the torment of the Deceased, least his Ghost should wander, or return, which doubtlesse from a natural cause may have the same effect, that the/ reducing of the carcase into Ashes suddainly after its decease may prevent the return of the Astral Spirit; for if it be true what is affirmed by *Paracelsus*, that *the starry Spirit can continue no longer then the radical moisture in the body*; it will naturally follow that its appearance is at an end when the body is burnt, seeing that the moisture is totally exterminate and consumed thereby. And in some sense the Ceremony may be said to be Laudable and Judicious, having so beneficial a consequence. 49.

What the want of Burial causeth.

23. As there is some semblance of a natural cause in the custome of the Antient urns, so likewise may the Interment of slaughtered bodies by the like cause prevent the like Appearances; for many are the examples that I have read of such as appeared to their surviving kindred and acquaintance, after they had been slaughtered in the Warrs, beseeching them to perform unto their bodies the Sacred Funeral Rites that their Ghosts might return into Rest, for which many have consulted with the Oracles to be informed whether the deceased deserved Burial, because they held it unlawful to bury Murtherers, Incestuous and Sacriligious, persons, which Nature her self doth also seem to hold if this following Relation be not false: which was, "That some Learned men returning from *Persia* where "they had been to see the King *Cosroes*, by the way interr'd a dead "Carcase which they found unburied: And in the following night the "Ghost of an Ancient Matron, as if it had been the Spirit of the "World or Madam Nature her self, appeard unto them, saying, *Why* "*Interr ye that nefarious Carcase? let the Doggs devoure it*; *The* "*Earth who is the Mother of us all admitts not of that man that* "*depraves his Mother*: So returning they found the Carcase yet "unburied.

The conclusion of this Chap-

24. To confirm the verity of *Astral Spirits* proper, and their returning, I shall conclude this Chapter with the Example of the

ter with an example.

famous *Aristeus* the Poet who "in the Isle *Marmora* dyed suddainly, "at which instant a certain Philosopher of *Athens* arriving there, "affirmed, *That he had lately been in Company and discourst with him.* "In the mean time going to Bury him they found him yet alive, but "never after that had he any constant residence amongst Mortals. "Seven years after that he was seen at *Proconnesus* his native Town, "and remaind a while composing several Poems and Verses called "*Arimaspei*, and then vanished. In *Metapontis* he was seen 300 "years after that, charging that *Apollo*'s Altar should be erected by "the name of *Aristeus Proconnesius.* The like stories are reported of *Apollonius*, and *Pythagoras*, whom their followers would have to be *Ubiquitaryes*, affirming, *That at one instant of time they were seen in several places thousands of miles in distance.* And though in *Iamblichus* who hath wrote the Life of *Pythagoras*, in *Philostratus* that wrote the Life of *Apollonius Tyanus*, there be many fabulous things reported as to the *Astral Spirits* separation, and return unto the body; Yet I have sufficiently here endeavoured to separate the true from the more Poetical part in this particular Subject of the *starry Spirits* belonging to every individual man and woman, and their returning after the body falls away.

[* sic]

Chap. IV.

Of Astral Spirits or separate Dæmons in all their distinctions, names, and natures, and places of Habitation, and what may be wrought by their Assistance.

Astral Spirits common.

1. HAving in the foregoing Chapter sufficiently illustrated the nature of the *Astral Spirits* proper, that belong to every individual; The subject of this present Chapter shall be of *Astral Spirits separate*; which are not constitute to any peculiar work or service, but do only, according to their nature and temper, haunt such places in the sublunary world as are most correspondent† to their natures, and existence.

[† *sic*]

The Spirits of the Planets.

50. 2. According to the Judgment of Magicians, the Seven Planets have seven starry Spirits peculiar to themselves, whose natures are answerable to that peculiar Planet under which they are constitute. And they are said to be substitute under the seven Cælestial Angels that govern the influences of the superiour Spheres, being equal in

their name and continuance with that planet whose Spirit they are, that is, till the Consummation of all things visible.

The Power of the Planets.

3. And in that houre, month, day or year, wherein their Planet hath the most dominion, then is their efficacy most prevalent, and their operation the most powerful upon inferiour bodies, whether to the destruction or prosperity of that animal vegitative or mineral subject to their Influences, according to the dignification of the Planet at that instant Dominion ; for if ill affected, their nature is to blast with Mildew, Lightning, and Thunder any Vegetative proper to their Planet ; To deprive any Animal of sight or the motion of the nerves under their Dominion ; And lastly, bring Plagues, Pestilence, and Famine, Storms, and Tempests, or on the Contrary to bring sweet and excellent Influences upon Animals, or Vegetatives under their Planetary Regiment, if well and honourably dignified.

Spirits of the Air.

4. Innumerable are the Spirits that inhabit the Aiery Region, germinating amongst themselvs as Magicians affirm, and begetting one another after a Mystical manner. It is their property to be instant in storms and boistrous weather, which is said to be joy and delight unto them ; And in such a season they may with most facility be calld upon, and make their appearance, which they do accordingly to their age, and youthfulness, seeming young or old at their appearance answerable to their years. Besides they march in mighty Troops through the Aiery Region, waging warr amongst themselves, and destroying one anothers beings or Existences, after which they are reduced to the primary source or nature of the Starrs. This is likewise to be observed that according to the Language, Vigour, Life, and Habit of that Region wherein they live, such is their Habit, Language, and Ability, one *Caterva* or Company being ignorant of their Neighbours, or Enemies Language, so that they have need of the Assistance of such Spirits as dwell *in omnibus Elementis*, to be their Interpreters.

Their Actions.

5. And doubtless from hence arise the various deceptions that* men are incident unto in their judgments of Apparitions, perswading themselves that they are portents and foretokens of Warr and Famine, when such numerous Spirits are beheld Fighting or Marching either in the Air, Earth, or Water : whereas it is nothing else but the bare effect of the Natures and Tempers of such Aerial beings to fight and randevouse immediately after sun-set, or else later in the Summer evenings, which is their principal time of such Conventions. And though it must be confest that such Spirits may be, and are the Devils Instruments as appertaining to the Kingdom whereof he is Ruler ; Yet considered in themselves, their Nature is wholly harmless, as to ought that may be called *innate Evill*, having nothing in them

[* thut *text*]

that is eternal as the Soul of Man : and consequently nothing in them that is able to make them capable of enjoying Heaven, or induring the torments of Hell.

Spirits appropriate to the Spheres.

6. And it is believed by some, that according to the motion of the spheres, there are certain companies of Aerial Spirits good and bad that follow them in their motions round the earth, the good distilling influences that are good, and the bad, such influences as are destructive to every thing that is under their Dominion. It is also believed that by the assistance of Devils, and damned Spirits, such Aerial Spirits are given for Familiars to some Magicians add* Witches with whom they are said to have actual copulation, and the enjoyment of every dainty meat through their assistance, being able thereby to go invisible, to fly through the air, and steal Treasures and Jewels from the Coffers of Princes, as also carouse in Wine-sellers, and Pantries of those that are most amply provided with the choisest Daynties.

[* *read*, and]

Terrestial Spirits.

7. Subordinate unto these of the Air are the Terrestrial Spirits, which are of several degrees according to the places which they
51. occupy, as Woods, Mountains, Caves, Fens, Mines, Ruins, Desolate places, and Antient Buildings, calld by the Antient Heathens after various names, as *Nymphs*, *Satyrs*, *Lamii*,* *Dryades*, *Sylvanes*, *Cobali*, *&c.* And more particularly the *Faeries*, who do principally inhabit the Mountains, and Caverns of the Earth, whose nature is to make strange Apparitions on the Earth in Meddows, or on Mountains being like Men, and Women, Souldiers, Kings, and Ladyes Children, and Horse-men cloathed in green, to which purpose they do in the night steal hempen stalks from the fields where they grow, to Convert them into Horses as the Story goes. Besides, it is credibly affirmed and beleev'd by many, That such as are real Changlings, or Lunaticks, have been brought by such Spirits and Hobgoblins, the true Child being taken away by them in the place whereof such are left, being commonly half out of their wits, and given to many Antick practices, and extravagant fancies, which passions do indeed proceed from the powerful influence of the Planet in their nativity, and not from such foolish conjectures.

[* read, *Lamiæ*]

Faeries.

8. Such jocund and facetious Spirits are sayd to sport themselvs in the night by tumbling and fooling with Servants and Shepherds in Country houses, pinching them black and blew, and leaving Bread, Butter, and Cheese sometimes with them, which if they refuse to eat, some mischief shall undoubtedly befall them by the means of these Faeries. And many such have been taken away by the sayd Spirits, for a fortnight, or a month together, being carryed with them in Chariots through the Air, over Hills, and Dales, Rocks and Precipices, till at last they have been found lying in some Meddow or Mountain

bereaved of their sences, and commonly of one of their Members to boot.

Lares, and Domestick Spirits.

9. Certainly the *Lares* and *Penates*, or houshold Gods of the antient Heathens were no other than such like Spirits who for several years would keep their residence in one house till upon some displeasure offered, or offences done by any of the sayd Family, they departed and were never afterwards heard of. There are plenty of such examples to be found in *Olaus Magnus*, and *Hector Boethus** in his History of *Scotland*, relating wonderful passages of *Robin-goodfellows*, and such as have been familiar amongst mankind.

[* *read*, Boethius]

Luridan a famaliar Spirit.

10. **Luridan** a familiar of this kinde did for many years inhabit the Island *Pomonia*, the largest of the *Orcades* in *Scotland*, suplying the place of Man-servant and Maid-servant with wonderful diligence to these Families whom he did haunt, sweeping their rooms, and washing their dishes and making their fires before any were up in the morning. This **Luridan** affirmed, That he was the *genius Astral*, of that Island that his place or residence in the dayes of *Solomon* and *David* was at *Jerusalem*; That then he was called by the *Jewes* **Belelah**, and after that he remaind Long in the Dominion of *Wales*, instructing their Bards in *Brittish* Poesy and Prophesies being called **Arthin, Madd, Elgin**: And now said he, I have removed hither, and alas my continuance is but short, for in 70 years I must resigne my place to **Balkin** Lord of the *Northern* mountains.

Balkin a Familiar.

11. Many wonderful and incredible things did he also relate of this **Balkin**, whom he called the Lord of the *Northern* Mountains, affirming that he was shaped like a Satyr and fed upon the Air, having Wife and Children to the number of 12 thousand which were the brood of the *Northern* Faeries inhabiting *Southerland* and *Catenes* with the adjacent Islands; And that these were the Companies of Spirits that hold continual wars with the Fiery Spirits in the Mountain *Heckla* that vomits fire in *Islandia*. That their speech was antient Irish, and their dwelling the Caverns of the Rocks, and Mountains, which relation is recorded in the Antiquities of *Pomonia*.

A strange example.

12. I have read another wonderful relation in a book *de Annulis Antiquorum*, Concerning a young man from whom the power of *Venus* was taken away so that he could not Company with his new marryed Wife. The Story is briefly thus; "Being busy at play or "exercise with some of his Companions on his marriage day, he put "his wedding Ring on the finger of the Statue of *Venus* that stood "besides the place least it should be lost; when he had done, returning "to take his Ring, the finger was bended inward, so that he could by "no means pluck off/ the Ring to his great amazement, at which 52. "instant he forsooke the place, and in the night the Image of *Venus*

"appeared unto him, saying, Thou hast espoused me, and shalt not "meddle with any other : in the morning returning, the Ring was gone, "and the finger made straight again, which troubled him mightily, so "that he consulted with a Magician, who wrote a Letter to some "Principal Spirit in that Dominion to which *Venus* belong'd, bidding "the party stand watching at such a place at such an houre till he saw "many troops of Spirits pass by him, and describing one in a Chariot, "of stern and terrible Countenance, to whom he bad him deliver the "Letter ; All which he performed, and after the person in the Chariot "had read the contents thereof, he broke out into this expression, "great God, how long shall we be subject to the insolencies of this "accursed Rascal, naming the Magitian : But withal calling to a most "beauteous Woman from amongst the Company, he charged her to "deliver back the Ring which at length she did with much aversness, "and after that he injoyd his Marriage rites without impediment.

Spirits of Woods, and Mountains.

13. Besides the innumerable Troops of Terrestrial Spirits called *Faeryes* there are also *Nymphs* of the Woods, Mountains, Groves, and Fountains, as **Eagle,*** **Arethusa**, **Io**, **Menippa**, **Irene**, &c. who are sayd to be altogether of the fæminine kinde, sporting and dancing, and feasting amongst the trees in Woods, and bathing in clean and limpid Fountains ; such have been seen by many, and are often alluded to, by the *Roman* and *Greek* Poets. There is also a relation of a *German* Prince, "who being exceeding thirsty and weary with hunting and "hawking, lost his Company in the Woods, on a suddain beheld an "opening at a little hillock amongst the trees, and a most beautiful "Maiden offering a Golden Horn full of Liquor, which he received and "drunk, and after rid quite away with the sayd Horn, not regarding the "Virgins tears, who lamented after him ; tis sayd that having spilt "some of the sayd Liquor, it fetcht the hair from off his Horses skin, "and the horn is yet to be seen in *Germany*, which I have been told by "one that hath seen and handled it, affirming, *That the Gold for purity "cannot be paralleld.*

[* read, *Aegle*]

Incubi, and *Succubi*.

14. Another sort are the **Incubi**, and **Succubi**, of whom it is reported, that the Hunns have the original, being begotten betwixt these **Incubi**, and certain Magical women whom *Philimer* the King of the *Goths* banished into the deserts, whence arose that savage and untamed Nation, whose speech seemed rather the mute attempts of brute Beasts, than any articulate sound and well distinguished words. To these *Incubi* are attributed the diseases of the blood called the *Night-hag*, which certainly have a natural cause, although at the instant of time when the party is oppressed, it is probable that certain malevolent Spirits may mix themselvs therein and terrifie the soul and minde of the afflicted party.

15. And amongst such Spirits as are resident amongst mortals, there is a very froward kinde, who take delight to pull down what man hath builded, who have been seen at the building of strong and mighty Castles to come in the night and tumble all to the ground that the workmen had reared the day before ; of this sort were **Byron**, **Stilkon**, **Glaura**, and **Kibbolla**, four pestiferous, and turbulent Animals that for many years infested the first founders of the Emperours *Seraglio* : Till one of the holy Musselmans did by certain Charms, and Exorcisms constrain and bind them, to tell their names, and the cause of their disturbing, which they declared, and were by him confined to destroy the mines of Copper in *Hungaria*. A froward kinde of Spirit.

16. There is also a Relation extant in the life of *Paul* the Hermit of a Satyr appearing to him in the Woods, and discoursing with him that it was a mortal Creature as he, and served the same God, dehorting the people to worship them for demi-Gods, as they had been accustomed to ; Like unto this is the Story of the Death of the great God *Pan* ; That a Mariner sailing by the Island of *Cicilia*, was called by his name from the shore, and by a certain voice was bid to tell the Inhabitants of the next Island, that the great God *Pan* was dead, which he obeyed, and though in the next Island there were no Inhabitants, yet when he approached he proclaimed, towards the shoar that *Pan* was deceased, immediately after which Proclamation he could sensibly hear most doleful and lachrymable Cryes, and noyses, as of those that lamented his departure. Example. Example. 53.

17. **Ianthe**, is sayd by Magitians, to be a water Spirit, who is ever present when any are drownd in the water, being delighted much in the destruction of mankinde, that it may enjoy the Company of their Astral Spirits after their decease ; for according to the four Complexions or Constitutions of the body of Man, The Astral Spirit associates it self with separated substances ; The Phlegmatick, to the watry Spirits : The Sanguine, to those of the Aire ; The Cholerick, to the Fire ; and the Melancholy, to the Terrestrial Spirits. But this is only to be supposed of such persons as dyed in discontent, and restlesness. *Ianthe* a Spir of the water.

18. Of another sort are such *Aquatick Animals* as in former times have conversed, and procreated with mankinde bearing divers Children; And at length snatching all away into the watry Element again, whereof there are variety of Examples in *Cardanus* and *Bodin*. Of this sort was the Familiar of *Paulus* a Mendicant Frier, called by him **Florimella**, and entertaind as his Bed-fellow for forty years, though unknown and unseen to any but himself, till upon some unhandsome carriage of the Fryer, his Companion accompanying him over the *Danube*, leapt into the River and was never after seen. Watry Spirits that procreate.

Apparitions on the water.

19. Innumerable are the reports and accidents incident unto such as frequent the seas, as fisher-men and sailers who discourse of noises, flashes, shadows, ecchoes, and other visible appearances nightly seen, and heard, upon the surface of the water. And as the disposition of the Heavens is according to the constellations, and climates, so are these spectres appropriate to particular parts, and coasts, from the North to the Southern Pole. But more especially, abounding in the North, about *Norweigh Isleland*, *Green Land*, and *Nova Zembla.*

Prophetical rivers, and vocal fountains.

20. Neither are the Storyes of the Greek, and Latine Poets all together to be sleighted in this particular ; for many verities are inter--woven with their fictions, they speak of vocal Forrests, as *Dodona*, of *Talkative* Rivers, as *Scamander*, of sensitive Fountains as *Arethusa*, *Menippa*, and *Æagle* ; Which more credible Historians have partly confirmed in the Relation of *Dodona*, asserting that the trees do seem to speak by reason of the various Apparitions, and Phantasms, that attend the Forrest. And also in the Story of the River *Scamander*, which is sayd at this day to afford plenty of spectres, and prophetical Spirits, that have nightly conversation with the *Turkish* Sailers coming by that way with Gallyes into the *Mediterranean.*

Example.

21. The like is reported of a Castle in *Norweigh* standing over a Lake wherein a Satyr appeareth sounding a Trumpet before the death of any Souldier, or Governour belonging to the same, tis sayd to be the Ghost of some murdered Captain that hath become so Fatal, and Ominous to his Successors. But with more probability may be called a Spectre proper to the place according to the Constellation.

Spirits in *Green-Land*

22. And it hath been the conjecture of eminent speculators that from the Loins of such arise the numerous brood of *Elves*, *Faeryes*, *Lycanthropi* ; And *Pigmyes*, sometimes visible, sometimes invisible in *Green-Land* and the adjacent rocks where they have no concomitants, but bears and scurvy-grass to mix, and make merry withal, except they pass from thence to the *Northern* parts of *America*, where they shall find their off-spring adored for Gods, and Goddesses, by the ignorant Inhabitants about new *Albion*, and as far *South* as *Mexico*, as is amply related in the discourses of *Drake*, *Cortes* and *Purchas* concerning the conquest and discovery of these Territoryes.

Destroying Spirits.

23. By Apparitions upon the water many have been tempted to leap into the Sea in pursuit thereof till they were drowned, of which spectres there is a sort called by *Psellus*, *Ordales*, who do appear like Ducks or other Water fouls, till they by fluttering upon the water, do entice their followers to pursue them so farr that many perish in the
54. attempt, which doth greatly delight these faithless/ Spirits who (as we have said before) do long to accompany their Astral Spirits after their decease. An Example of this kinde I my self knew, besides the

numerous relations I have had from the mouths of others, which confirm the opinions of the antient Magicians concerning these water Spirits, that of all the rest they are the most deceitful, and dangerous, like the flattering Seas, and swift gliding Torrents, that when they have wonn any thing, to admire, and sound them, do carry them violently into the abysse of their own Element.

24. But we will leave the waters and insist a little on the nature of *Igneous* or *Fiery Spirits* that inhabit the Mountains in *Hecla*, *Ætna*, *Propo Champ*, and *Poconzi*; Where the Courts, and Castles of these puissant Champions are kept. The opinion of some is, *That they are not Astral, but Infernal Spirits, and Damned Souls, that for a term of years are confined to these burning Mountains for their Iniquities:* Which opinion although it be granted, yet we may assert, That for the most part the apparitions, sounds, noices, clangors, and clamors, that are heard about the Mountain *Hecla* in *Island* and other places, are the effects of separated Starry beings, who are neither capable of good nor evill, but are of a middle vegetative nature, and at the dissolution of the *Media Natura* shall be again reduced into their primary Æther.

Fiery Spirits.

What these Spirits are.

25. And from natural Causes, it may be easily demonstrated, That there is great Correspondence betwixt such substances, and the Element of fire, by reason of the Internal Flagrat and Central Life proceeding from the Quintessence or* one only Element which upholds them, in Motion, Life, and Nourishment. As every natural, and supernatural being is upheld, and maintain'd out of the self-same root from whence it had its original, or rise; So the Angels feed upon the *Celestial Manna*, The Devils of the fruits of Hell, which is natural to their appetite, as trash for swine; the Astral beings; of the source of the stars, the Beasts, Birds, or Reptiles of the fruits of the Eatth,† and the gas of the Air, the fishes of the blass of the Water; But more particularly, every thing is nourished by its Mother, as Infants at the Breast, either by exhausting or fomentation.

Why they delight in the fiery element.

[* ? of]

[† *sic*]

26. Such Spirits are very officious in the burnings of Towns, or Cole-pits, delighting much to dance and exult amidst the flames, and become Incendiaries worse then the material Cause of the Combustion, often tempting men in drukeness,‡ to burn their own Houses, and causing Servants carelesly to sleep, that such unlucky accidents may happen. As the Story of *Kzarwilwui* a Town in *Poland* doth confirm, which was reduced to ashes by three of these pestilentious Animals, called **Saggos**, **Broundal**, and **Baldwin**, who after many open Threatnings for six months together, that they would destroy the City, and Citizens, did on a dark and stormy night, set all on fire on a

Spirits that burn Cities.

[‡ *sic*]

suddain in twenty or thirty several places, which irrecoverably destroyed the Inhabitants.

Their food and pastime.

27. As for the nourishment of fiery Spirits, it is radical heat, and the influence of the Aery Region ; their sport and pastime consisteth for the most part in tumbling, and fooling one with another when the flames are most impetuous, and violent in the Mountains : And it is likewise credited by some that their office is to cruciate and punish some Evil Livers, retaining, and tormenting their Souls, or Astral Spirits for many years after the Bodies decease, which is too empty a notion to be hearkened unto by any that are well informed of their natures.

Why they delight in the fiery quality.

28. Neither is it to be wondered at that they are so much delighted with the fiery quality in regard of their affinity and appropriation with infernal spirits, whose state and being is altogether damnable and deplorable ; for although they have not the ability of attaining either the Heavenly or Infernal quality, by reason that they are utterly voyd of the innermost Center, and may be rather called bruits, then rational Animals, yet because they belong to the outermost *principle, such is their innate Affinity, and Unity with the dark World, or infernal Kingdome that they do often become the Devils Agents to propagate his works upon the face of the Earth./

* Fire]

Astral Spirits ministers to the devill.

55.

29. By the Instigations of infernal Spirits they are often sent to terrifie men with nocturnal visions, in the likeness of monstrous Beasts or Ghosts of their deceased Friends. They are moreover often abetted to tempt and provoke melancholy people to execute themselves ; besides innumerable wayes they have of executing the pleasures of *iniquous Spirits through malicious Instigations, and secret Stratagems projected by them to the destruction of mortal men, especially when the work to be effected by the Devil is too too hard for his subtle and spiritual nature to bring to pass, because the same belongs to the Astral source or outward principle to which these dubious Spirits do properly belong ; then are they frequently sollicited to mediate in such treacherous actions, as the hellish Spirits have conspired against the Lives of mortal men.

[* *sic*]

Why the devil requires their help.

30. More particularly, These Spirits that belong to the fiery Element, are most officious in this kinde of service, being naturally such as the Antecedent matter hath sufficiently demonstrated ; but according to the ranks and Categoryes to which they belong, some of them are more inveterate, and malicious in their undertakings then the rest. But every kinde of Astral Spirit is obsequious to the Kingdome of darkness, that the devilish Spirits can effect little or nothing without their assistance in this external principle of the Starrs and Elements upon the bodies or possessions of Mankind ; because their bodies are

too crude and rough for the conveyance of their influence, either in Dreams, Raptures, Philtres, Charms, or Constellations, as the following Chapter of the nature of Infernal beings shall make plain, wherein the nature and capacity of every damned Spirit is decyphered according to the truth of the antient Philosophy.

Subterranean Spirits.

31. Leave we now the Spirits of the fire, to illustrate the natures of subterranean Beings, whose Orders, Species, and Degrees, are various; for they consist in these distinctions, *viz.* Spirits of men deceased, Souls of men deceased, separated Spirits Astral, separate Spirits semi-Infernal, Spirits appropriate to the Constellations where any of the seven metals, *viz. Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Sol*, *Luna*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, are found in the bowels of the Earth ; and as farr as the natures of Minerals are distinct one from the other, so much distant are these Subterranean Spirits in Nature and Faculty in respect of their places, shapes, names, and qualities.

Spirits of the Mountains, Caves, and Tombs.

32. But they are not all confined unto the metallick Kingdome ; for there are also Spirits of the Mountains, Vallies, Caves, Deeps, Hiata's, or Chasma's of the Earth, hidden Treasures, Tombs, Vaults, and Sepultures of the Dead. To the last belong the Astral Spirits of deceased Mortals, that delight to hover over the antient Carcases to which they belong'd, seeking still to be dissolved, and diligently enquiring the Cause of their retention ; such are resident in silent Caves, and solitary Vaults, where the deceased lie till the Humidum Radicale be exciccate, and totally dryd up, after which their tricks are no more manifest, but are utterly extinguished, and annihilated.

Spirits of hidden Treasures.

33. To the next, belong such Spirits as are Protectors of hidden Treasures, from a natural Cause, from whence they do exceedingly envy mans benefit, and accomodation in the discovery thereof, ever haunting such places where money is conceal'd, and retaining malevolent and poysonous Influences, to blast the Lives and Limbs of those that dare to attempt the discovery thereof : *Peters* of *Devonshire* with his confederates, who by Conjuration attempted to dig for such defended Treasures, was crumbled into Atomes, as it were, being reduced to Ashes with his Companions in the twinkling of an eye.

The nature of such Spirits.

34. And upon this particular, we have plenty of Examples of the destruction of such as by Magical experiments have discovered hidden Treasures ; which instances do rather seem to prove, That such as haunt these places do more nearly belong to the Infernal, then to the Astral Hierarchy, in regard that they are so infesting and inveterate to Mortal men, that the Grand Intention of the Prince of darkness may be accomplished in their designs./

56. Spirits that infest Mines and Miners.

35. But of all the rest such as haunt Mines and mettle men, are the most pernicious, and frequent from the same Cause with the former.

The nature of such is very violent; they do often slay whole Companies of Labourers, they do sometimes send inundations that destroy both the Mines, and Miners, they bring noxious and malignant vapours to stifle the laborious workmen; briefly, their whole delight and faculty consists in tormenting, killing, and crushing men that seek such Treasures, that mankind may never partake thereof to relieve their Cares, and worldly necessities.

An Example of a turbulent Spirit.

36. Such was *Anæbergius* a most virulent Animal that did utterly confound the undertakings of those that laboured in the richest Silver mine in *Germany*, called *Corona Rosacea*. He would often shew himself in the likeness of a he-goat with Golden horns, pushing down the workmen with great violence, sometimes like a Horse breathing flames, and pestilence at his Nostrils. At other times he represented a Monk in all his *Pontificalibus*, flouting at their Labour, and imitating their Actions with scorn and dedignation, till by his daily and continued molestation he gave them no further ability of perseverance.

Conclusion.

37. Thus, I have hinted the various distinctions, and sub-distinctions of Astral Spirits proper or common, illustrating their natures according to the opinions of the Learned; from thence I proceed to say what the Infernal Hierarchy is, and whereof it doth consist in this fifth Chapter following.

Chap. V.

Of the Infernal Spirits, or Devils, and damned Souls treating, what their Natures, Names, and Powers are, &c.

What this Chapter treats of. 1. LEaving the Astral Kingdome, I will now proceed to describe the natures, and distinctions of Infernal Spirits or Devils, and damned Souls, who are to be considered according to their ranks, and orders, exactly correspondent to the Quires, and Hierarchies of the Angels, or Celestial beings, wherein I will insist upon their names, shapes, places, times, orders, powers, and capacities, proceeding gradually from a general narration, to a particular Anatomy of every sort of Spirit in its proper place and order.

The place of hell or the habitation of devils.

2. As for the Locality or Circumscription of the Kingdome of darkness, it is farr otherwise to be considered then the vulgar account it, who esteem the hellish habitation, a distinct Chasma or Gulph in a

certain place, above, under, or in the Center of the Earth, where innumerable Devils, and wicked Souls inhabit, who are perpetually scorched, and tormented with material flames of fire. This is the opinion which naturally all men are addicted and prone unto. But if we will rightly consider the Kingdome of Heaven and Hell, in respect of one another, we must look upon the similitude of light and darkness in this outward world, who are not circumscribed, nor separate as to Locality from one another ; for when the sun arises, the darkness of the night disappeareth, not that it removes it self to some other place or Country, but the brightness of the light overpowereth it, and swallows it up, so that though it disappeareth, yet it is as really there as the light is.

Illustrated by a similitude.

3. This is also to be considered in* the description of the Habitations of good, or evill beings, that they are really in one another, yet not comprehended of one another, neither indeed can they be, for the evil Spirits if they should remove ten thousand miles, yet are they in the same quality and source, never able to finde out or discover where the Kingdome of Heaven is to be found, though it be really through, and through with the dark Kingdome, but in another quality which makes them strangers to one another.

[* *text* in]

The differerence [*sic*] betwixt heaven and hell.

4. A similitude hereof we have in the faculties of the humane Life, as to the indowments of the Soul considered in the just, and in the wicked ; for to be good, pure, and holy, is really present as a quality in *potentia* with the depraved/ soul, although at that instant the Soul be cloathed with Abominations, so that the eye which should behold God or Goodness is put out. Yet if the soul would but come out of it self, and enter into another source or principle, in the center it might come to see the Kingdome of Heaven within it self, according to the Scripture, and *Moses*, †*The word is nigh thee, in thy heart, and in thy Mouth.*

57.

[† Deut. 30, 19]

How the Devils can come into this World.

5. True it is that the Devils and damned Souls cannot sometimes manifest themselvs in this Astral World, because the nature of some of them is more near unto the external quality then of others, so that although properly the very innermost and outermost darkness be their proximate abode, yet they do frequently flourish, live, move, and germinate in the Aery Region, being some of them finite and determinate Creatures.

The great difficulty of their appearance.

6. But according to their fiery nature, it is very difficult for them to appear in this outward world, because there is a whole principle or gulph betwixt them, to wit, they are shut up in another quality or existence, so that they can with greater difficulty finde out the being of this World, or come with their presence into the same, then we can remove into the Kingdome of Heaven, or Hell with our intellectual

man ; for if it were otherwise, and that the Divels had power to appear unto Mortals as they list, how many Towns, Cities, *&c.* should be destroyed, and burnt to the ground, how many Infants should be kild by their malicious power ! yea few or none might then escape in Lives, or Possessions, and sound minds, whereas now all these enjoyments are free amongst mortals, which proves, that it is exceeding hard for evill Spirits to appear in the third principle of this world, as for a man to live under water, and fishes on the Land. Yet must we grant, that when the imaginations, and earnest desires of some particular Wizards, and envious Creatures have stirr'd up the center of Hell within themselvs, that then the Devil hath sometimes access to this world in their desires, and continues here to vex, and torment so long as the strength of that desire remains which was the first attractive Cause.

The cause of few appearances now.

7. For the very cause of the paucity of appearances in these dayes, is the fulness of time, and the brightness of Christianity, dispelling such mists, as the sun doth cause the clouds to vanish, not by any violence or compulsion, but from a natural cause ; even so the Kingdome of Light as it grows over mans soul, in power and dominion, doth naturally close up the Center of darkness, and scatter the influences of the Devil so that his tricks lye in the dust, and his will at length becomes wholly passive as to man.

The Devils power in the time of the Law.

8. In the time of the Law, when the wrath and jealousie of the Father, had the dominion in the Kingdom of Nature, all Infernal Spirits had more easie access unto mankind then now they have ; for before the Incarnation of Christ, the anger of God had more dominion over the soul of Man, and was more near in nature unto the same ; so that the Devils could with more facility spring up in the element of Wrath, to manifest themselves in this outward principle, because the very Basis and Foundation of Hell beneath, is built and composed of the Wrath of God, which is the channel to convey the Devil into this sublunary World.

His power under Christ in the flesh.

9. But when Christ began to be manifest unto the World, the multiplicity of Appearances, and possessed with Devils, began insensibly to decay and vanish. And if any should object, *That betwixt the space of his Incarnation and his Suffering, such accidents were rather more frequent than in the times before:* To this I answer, That the Devil knowing well that his time was but short ; and also knowing, that till the great Sacrifice was offered up, he had leave to range and rove abroad the Kingdom of this World ; therefore he imployed all his forces and endeavours to torment those miserable souls and captives to whom Christ came to Preach Deliverance.

Under Christianity.

10. But after the Partition wall was broken down, and the vail of

Moses, and of the anger of God from off the soul in the death of Christ, there was a sensible and visible decay of the Devils prancks amongst mortals, and that little remnant/ of Lunaticks and Possessed, which 58. continued after Christ, did the Apostles relieve and set at liberty, through the influence and virtue of the promise of the Son of God (to wit) *the Holy Ghost*, or *the Comforter*, which could not come until he went away: And on the day of *Pentecost*, whilst they waited in humility for the fulfilling of his promise, the very effect of Christs birth and sufferings did first manifest it self, when the Holy Ghost sprung up amongst them, to the destruction of Sin and Satan.

Under Apostacies.

11. And so long as the purity of Christianity continued in the Primitive Church, there were very few that the Devil could personally or actually lay hold of in the Astral Man, for the space of two hundred years after the death of Christ, until that from Meekness and Abstinence, the Christians began to exalt themselves in Loftiness and Worldly Honours; then the Devil began to exalt his head amongst the Lip-Christians, bewitching them into every Lust; and captivating their inward and outward faculties at his pleasure. As all along in Popery is clearly seen.

Under Idolatry.

12. Yet notwithstanding, the coming of Christ hath prevented the Devils force in general. Such Nations as have never embraced the Christian Faith, are still deluded and bewitched by him; because the center hath never been actually awakened in any of them, so that the Devils power prevails over them mightily, to seduce them to worship things visible, and not the true God: For where the most darkness is in Religion and Worship, or in natural understanding, there his power is most predominant; As in *Tartary*, *China*, and the *East-Indies*; also in *Lapland*, *Finland*, and the *Northern Islands*.

How power in new-discovered Lands.

13. In the *West-Indies* or *America*, his access is very facil and freequent to the Inhabitants, so that by custom and continuance they were at the first discovery thereof, become so much substitute and obsequious to his power, that though they knew him to be a power of Darkness, yet they adored him lest he should destroy them and their Children. And unto such a height were they come at the Landing of *Cortes*, *Drake*, and *Vandernort*, that they could familiarly convert themselves into Wolves, Bears, and other furious Beasts; in which Metamorphosis their *Enthusiasms* and *Divinations* were suggested, and such were held in greatest esteem.

His power in *America*.

14. Till upon the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, the greater evil drove out the less, and the cruel Murthers of that Antichristian tradition, did both depopulate the Islands and most of the Continent; and also by accident, though not through any good intention, extirpate

the race of such as addicted themselves to this infamous sort of Divination. In which devastation, and bloody inquisition, their Idols were discovered with their Oracles and Inchantments, far different from the *European* Conjurers, and any of their Ceremonies.

The variety of Conjurations according to the Countries.

15. But that which is the most remarkable in the Infernal proceedings, is this, That there is not any Nation under the Sun, but the Devil hath introduced himself amongst them through their Ceremonies and Worship, though quite opposite to one another: For in the Kingdom of *China*, by the sacrifice of *Blood* and *Panaak*, he is Conjured and Exorcized through the repetitions of several Superstitious Invocations to the Sun and Moon. In *Tartary* the Magicians go quite another way to work, with Offerings to the Ocean, to the Mountains, and the Rivers, fuming Incense, and divers sorts of Feathers; by which means the Devils are compelled to appear. So that we see how this *Proteus* can dispose himself in the divers Kingdoms of this World; being called by other names in *Tartary*, *China*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, &c. then amongst the *European* Conjurers. Likewise the *Greeks* and *Romans* could Invocate Spirits by Prayers unto the Moon, and divers Sacrifices of Milk, Honey, Vervine, and Blood. And those that are addicted to Conjurations in Christianity, have attained to a more lofty and ample manner of Incantation and Conjuring with Magical Garments, Fire, Candles, Circles, Astrological Observations, Invocations, and holy Names of God, according to the *Kaballa* of the *Jews*.

Why few are able to raise Spirits.

59. 16. So that every distinct Nation hath conformed its Conjuration unto the Ceremonies of that Religion which it professeth: And it is to be observed, That from a natural cause every Nation hath its Conjurations and Names of Devils, from the Constellation under which the Countrey lyeth, and from the Air or Wind to which such particular Dominations do belong; so that no effect would follow, if one Countrey should traditionally inure themselves to the Forms and Exorcisms that are used by another Nation. And therefore is it that so many attempts are offered in vain amongst professed Christians to raise Spirits, because they have little or nothing from their own Constellation, but make use of what they have borrowed from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, or the ancient Imbecillity of the *Ægyptians* Priests; I mean, their simple forms of Invocation.

The Names of Devils in the time of the Law.

17. But because we are rather upon the discovery of the Infernal Kingdom, as it hath no dependence upon the doings of mortal Men; therefore we will proceed to discover what the Antients have said concerning it: So the next which we fall upon after the description of their Habitations, and the manner of their Appearances, is their Names and Appellations diversly considered. First, from the

Creation of the World to the coming of Christ, they retained the *Hebrew* names, as Belial, Baal, Baalzebub, Lelah, Ador, Abaddon, &c. according to the *seculum* under which they were Invocated; assuming names according to the present occasion about which they were imployed.

Their Names in *China*.

18. Under the Constellation of *China*, they are Invocated by the Names Ran, Sinoam, Nantam, Bal, Baltal, Sheall, the six Governours or Presidents: Chancangian, the chief of the Devils: Po, Paym, Nalkin, Nebo, the Devils of the four Winds: Lean, Lan, Pan, Adal, the Devils of the four Elements. And according to the nature of their language or words which do all consist of no more then one syllable, so are the Devils named. Yea, as it is conjectured by many learned Magicians, this language of the *Chinenses* is more Magical and adapted to Conjurations, then all the *Oriental Tongues*, because of the consonancy and copiousness thereof, together with the numerous and various Characters used by them.

In the *East-Indies*. *Tartaria*. *Greece*. *Italy*. *West Indies*.

19. In the *East-Indies*, and in *Tartary*, the Names are the same with those of *China*, though the Ceremonies differ. In *Persia*, *Arabia*, *Natolia*, *Ægypt*, *Æthiopia*, the Names are the same with the *Jewish Rabbins*. But the *Greeks* and *Romans* have different from the rest, according to their Language and Superstitions. The *Turks*, *Muscovites*, *Russians*, *Lapponians*, and *Norwegians*, make use of the *Sclavonian* tongue in all their Conjurations. The *West-Indians* have very strange and antick Names and Ceremonies of their own, nothing depending on the Traditions and Practices of the old World; for, as is related before, the Devil is sufficiently capable of introducing himself through the Religious Superstitions of any Nation whomsoever, according to the Constellations, although strangers to the Rites and Ceremonies of others.

The nature of their Names.

20. But though their Names be conformable to the Language and Climate of that Nation where they are raised or called; yet have they divers Names, suppose twenty or thirty to one Devil, according to the several ministrations they have had from the Creation to this day, leaving a several name behinde them at each of their appearances upon the earth; for, according to the testimony of the Devil himself, if credit may be given to Devils, they, as they are abstractively considered in their own Kingdom, have no imposed Names of distinction, but are forced to assume them when they rise up in the external principle of this World: although in some measure it must be granted, that there be some principal Kings and Dukes in the Infernal Hierarchy, that have Names establish'd upon them which cannot be transferr'd or altered.

The names of

21. As for the Names that are recorded in this precedent *Discovery*

of [*sic*] Devils in *Scot.* 60.

of Witchcraft by *Reginald Scot* Esq ; being a Catalogue of Devils in their Rancks/ and Hierarchies, they are supposed to be fictitious and totally imaginary, being taken out of *Bodin* or *Wyerus*, which they recorded from the mouth of Tradition, and obscure Manuscrips :* And indeed were there any certainty in this List of Devils, it were to be preferred as the most ample and exact delineation that is extant. But it is the rather to be suspected, because of the little coherence it hath with the former received Names of Devils eitheir in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*.

[* *sic*]

The names of Damned souls.

22. But if we would speak of Damned Souls and their Names or Appellations, they are farr otherwise to be considered then the Devils; for such as their imposed Names were here on earth, such is the Name they have in the Kingdom of Darkness, after a Magical manner, according to the language of nature in the first principle of Darkness ; as the Saints in heaven retain their Names in a Cœlestial manner : And also, as the Astral Spirit of a Man deceased, retains its antient Name according to the Astral source in the principle of the one only Element.

Whence the names of Devils are.

23. For as the language of Nature is found in the second Principle, it is likewise manifest in the dark Worlds property, according to the first Principle of Wrath ; as also the monstrous shapes of Devils and Damned Souls is correspondent to the Magical postures of their Souls whilst they were alive ; of which I shall speak more largely when their Shapes are to be described. According unto which, as also according to the rest of their attributes, *viz.* their *Rancks, Numbers, Times, Powers, Places*, &c. their Names are fitted and conformed according to the uniformity of name and thing in the principles of the eternal and external nature.

The names of Devils in the Kingdom of *Fiacim.*

24. And as all other Nations have their various Appellations for Devils and Damned Souls, like their natural tone or language; so we can mention one Kingdom more admirable then the rest, *viz.* the Kingdom of *Fiacim* at the *Northern Pole*, where all the Counsellors are Magicians ; and the Names which they use in Invocations, are Mathematically disposed in a wonderful harmony and efficacy, to the performance of Magical operations. So much of the Places and Names of Infernal Beings ; the next to be considered is their Shapes and Likenesses.

The Shapes of Devils.

25. The Shapes of Devils are answerable to the cause of their Fall, and the Dominions to which they belong. Those that belong to the Supreme Hierarchy, when they are called by Magicians, do at first appear in the form of fierce and terrible Lyons, vomiting fire, and roaring hideously about the Circle ; from thence they convert themselves into Serpents, Monkies, and other Animals, till the Magi-

cian do repeat the form of Constriction or Confinement to a Trine or Triangle, as before is mentioned in the Fifteenth Book of the *Discovery*.

As they appear to Magicians in the highest rank.

26. After the Conjuration is repeated, they forsake these bestial shapes, and *indow the humane form at first like troops of Armed Men; till at last by frequent repetitions of other Ceremonies, they appear as naked Men of gentle countenance and behaviour. Yet is the Magician to take care that they deceive him not by insinuations; for their fraudulency is unspeakable in their appearance and dealings with Mankind; because we may be assured they appear not willingly, but are by forceable Conjurations compelled: so that they will ever minde their own ends in medling with man; that is, to deprave his minde, or subvert the Lives and Estates of others through his means and assistance.

[* = indue]

In the lower orders.

27. The rest of the Infernal Dominions have various appearances. The two next Orders affect to represent the beautiful colours of Birds, and Beasts, as Leopards, Tygers, Pecocks, *&c.* But by Conjurations they may be likewise reduced to a Manlike form, wherein they will readily answer every demand within the compass of their capacity, answerable to the Order unto which they belong: Yet many of them appear in Monstrous forms, and can hardly be conjured to desert them. Though the Exorcist Charm them never so wisely,/ they will 61.
shew him a pair of Crocodiles jaws, or a Lyons paw, with other dreadful menaces, enough to terrifie any Novice from such Damnable Injunctions as the practice of Magick.

That the Devils are answerable to the unclean Beasts.

28. But more especially, the opinion of the antients is, That according to the division of the clean and unclean Beasts in the Law given unto *Moses*, the Shapes of Devils are disposed in the Infernal Kingdom: So that the most perverse and potent amongst the Devils represent the most ugly and mischievous amongst the Beasts, according to this following division; *viz.* such Devils as **Astaroth**, **Lucifer**, **Bardon**, **Pownok**, who incline men and instigate them to pride and presumptuousness, have the shapes of Horses, Lyons, Tygars, Wolves Such as instigate to Lust and Covetousness have the forms of Hogs, Serpents, and other filthy reptiles or envious Beasts, as Dogs, Cats, Vultures, Snakes, *&c.* Such as incline to Murther, have the shapes of every Bird and Beast of prey. Such as Answer Questions humane in Philosophy, or Religion, have more tolerable shapes, almost manly, but with crooked Noses, like Mermaids, or Satyres. And of all the rest it is to be observed, that as not one single Lust or Vice hath dominion without mixture in the evil Spirits, so they are not of a distinct shape lik one single Beast, but compounded into Monsters, with Serpents-tails, four eyes, many feet and horns, *&c.*

The shapes of Damned Souls.

29. And as in general, these are the shapes of Devils, so the particular shapes of Damned Souls are to be considered in the same manner with the rest, only with this difference, that they are more addicted to metamorphose themselves and vary their appearances. Though, for the most part, the Damned Souls retain the humane shape after a Magical manner, so that the greatest part of that numberless number are in their antient shapes, especially when they appear in sleep to their surviving acquaintance. Their aspects are very dismal and melancholy like the Ghosts of the Astral source.

Their times and seasons.

30. Now to speak of the Times and Seasons of their Appearance. The better sort of Magicians to square their times with Astrological hours, especially of *Saturn*, *Luna*, and *Venus*, in the Moons increase, and the middle of the night, or twelve a clock at noon : In which hours they do likewise compose their Garments, Caps, Candlesticks, Figures, Lamins, Pentacles, and Circles for Conjuration. As for the Times in respect of their Infernal Courses, the fittest are when they spring up in the Wrath, or when they sink in the Dispair, which is a mystery to the learned Conjurers of *Europe*.

Their places of appearance.

31. In respect of this exterior World, they can most easily appear in solitary places, when the Sun is down ; for they are naturally at enmity with the Sun, because it stands as a type of the Mediator, or Heart and Centre which they lost utterly in their fall, and now are destitute of, like a wheel without an axletree. And indeed, the want of this is the chief cause of all their torment, and of the rising of the gnawing Worm, when they consider of their irrevocable sentence, and irrecoverable loss.

When Tempests reign.

32. In storms of Hail, or Snow, Wind, Tempest, and Lightning, is accounted amongst Magicians, a time for Conjuring at an easie rate. And they say, That such Ceremonies will prove very effectual, if a Conjurer begin his Exorcisms in the hour and day of *Luna*, in the middest of a furious storm of Lightning, Rain, and Thunder, in a low Vault or Celler that is close and retired. Also when the Wind blows high, without Rain, they say, the Devils are more near the Kingdom of this World, and may with great facility be sollicited or raised at such a season, because they delight in all extremities of weather, being themselves the first cause of the disorder of the properties in the Kingdom of Nature.

According to the situation of Regions.

33. But in some Countries they can more easily appear then in others, according to the Constellations, for they delight much in the extremities of the two Poles toward *Lapland*, *Nova Zembla*, *Greenland*, *Tartary* ; and in the *South* towards the Islands scattered about the confines of *Terra Incognita*. They are likewise easily Invocated on the shoar amongst lofty Rocks and Precipices, or in/

Deserts and Wildernesses far from Towns or Inhabitants. And it is said, they do much respect the motion of the Seas in their appearance unto such as solicite them in places *Maritime* or *Plagiary*. 62.

34. As for their Rancks or Orders, there is some difficulty in the true discovery thereof, by reason that we know not certainly of what Orders they were that *Fell.* The opinion of most men is, *That of every Order many fell.* But those that better know the nature of the Heavenly Hierarchies, have sufficiently proved, *That of any Ranck or Order none can fall unless all do follow.* Therefore with more reason may it be judged, That before the Devils fell, the Hierarchy of Heaven did consist of three Rancks or Orders ; to wit, the Order of Uriel, of Michael, of Lucifer : That of Lucifer is totally in *Hell:* The other which is under Michael, is the dominion of *Heaven* : The last which is Uriels, are more in the dominion of this third principle of the *Stars*, having the *Planets* in their dominion, with the influences thereof. Their Ranks and Orders.

35. So that the foregoing Catalogue, transcribed by the Author of this *Discovery*, is utterly feigned and fictitious, because it makes these many sorts of Devils to have Dominion over several Legions in several distinctions of *Seraphims*, *Powers*, *Thrones*, *Dominations*, *Cherubims*, &c. Whereas the whole Kingdom of Hell consists but of one only Hierarchy, which is that of Lucifer and his *Legions*, reduced by their exorbitances into that Lacrymable posture wherein they now are and shall be for ever. Which Doctrine seriously weigh'd will prove the attempts of Conjurers and Magicians to be utterly vain, and their forms of Invocation vanity and falshood. In three distinctions.

36. Their number may be thought upon more narrowly, if we consider that they consist of one Hierarchy and no more ; yet must we confess that the limit is not to be put thereunto, because their nature is to Germinate and Multiply as they please, contracting and dilating themselves according to the force of their imaginative powers and faculties. But although this be granted, yet there is a setled number of Devils that varyeth not. Though of Damned Souls the number is numberless and unfathomable ; yet as to their extent of room or place, it is never the more because of their multitude, they being able to truss a thousand Legions into the carcass of a man. As for the opinions of Authors, they are various ; it is believed by some, *That the Starrs are answerable to their number* ; others speak of *the Sands upon the Sea-shore* : however it be, this is certain, *They are even innumerable in respect of humane Capacities.* Their numbers.

37. Their Natures are now to be considered as they belong to the hellish source or quality. In themselves they rest not, neither are they capable of the length or shortness of time, nor of the alternate courses of day and night. The wickedness which they committed in Their natures and properties.

this life, are their continual torment, which do Magically gnaw and corrode them, rising and boyling up perpetually within them, all the refrigeration which they have, is by intercourse when the height of Wickedness begins to stirr them in blasphemies against God, and towring up above heaven and goodness, in their adulterated Imaginations, which is unto them as sport and pastime with one another, and lasteth such a space as with us makes up forty minutes. Neither doth this any whit advantage them, but rather adds to their torment ; for pain discontinued is the greater : neither would vexation be vexation, if it had no respite or forbearance ; That the contrary might be also manifest, *Nam contraria juxta se posita majus elucescunt.* Yet is their torment exceedingly different, so that the torment of one, in respect of another, is but a Dream or Phansie ; I mean, amongst the Damned Souls, and not the Devils, for the pain and sorrow of the Devils is greater then the greatest of the lost Souls, by many thousand degrees, according to the course of nature and reason ; for that which falls highest, suffers most, and *optima corrupta fiunt pessima.*/

Their torments

The Variety thereof. **63.** 38. But wonderful and manifold are the torments which all in general of the Infernal troops, do suffer according to the various lusts they reigned in whilst they lived upon the earth. The cruel Murtherers that died in the boyling source of blood and envy, their torment is the greatest, they are continually Murthering in their imaginations, and seeking, like dreaming men, to do what the want of the Organ will not suffer them ; for according to the saying of the wisest upon this Subject, this is the torment and misery of all the Damned, *That they are continually wishing and woulding; and in wouldings they generate Ideas and representations, which are the species of their continual aggravations and deceiving phansies.*

The Nature thereof. 39. Those that were buryed in Lust and Gluttony, Drunkenness and Lasciviousness, are also in miserable torments, yet much inferiour to the first ; they are continually imagining their former pleasures in the *Magia* as in a dream, which when they wake, torments them cruelly ; they are often hanging, stabbing, and mangling themselves for love, and perpetually sinking down in sorrow and despair, if they were such as died in love, or in the height of their Astral affections, leaving behind them a heap of desires and lusts, which are the only cause of all their torment. And we may well compare the passions of Melancholy persons, or such as in Deserts, Woods, and Mountains, pine away for love of Women, unto their torments ; which indeed being the trouble of the mind, are absolutely the greatest and heaviest that the source or property of this World affordeth, I mean, the perturbations of the minde in general.

Their torment 40. Such souls in whom the boyling source of Anger and Rage,

hath had a dwelling or receptacle, if they depart unmortified, do also enter into a most dreadful kind of torment, which continually ariseth as a biting Worm and hungry fire to double and accumulate the excess of despair upon them, if they have much domineered therein whilst they lived in this World. Also these that reigned in Pride and Envy, are ever seeking to pluck God from his Throne, and towring up in their Imaginations, as men that dream, still seeking for the Kingdom of heaven, to insult and boast therein ; but the quality thereof is utterly occult and estranged from them ; so that they can never finde, taste, hear, nor see it, though it be through and through with their own peculiar principle. This adds perpetually to their misery, and ariseth at times with horrible pangs and gnawings, like the irksome and vexatious pains and aches subject to Mans body, which cease a while and then begin to shoot and ake by intercourse, as the Gowt, Tooth-ach, Head-ach, Convulsion, Gripings, and the Stone.

in the source of Anger.

41. Thus their torments are in brief described, but indeed the capacity of Man is not able to reach the description of their cruel miseries, and continual pangs which they contracted upon themselves; for every faculty is sufficiently plagued. The Sence of Hearing is disturb'd with harsh and rugged sounds, which are as an antipathy to that Organ ; as rough and scraping sounds externally offend the ears, and set the teeth on edge, by affecting the tender fibres of the same. Their Sight is likewise cruelly offended and affrighted with monstrous appearances and Ideas represented continually to their imaginations. And there is not any loathsome taste in the Kingdome of this World, either Animal, Vegetative, or Mineral, which they are at any time void of, being continually pestered and suffocated with filthy fumes and smoaks of hellish fruits, as of Sulphurean stinks, and abominations.

In all the five Senses.

42. Neither are the other Sences of the Touch and Smell behind in participation of the like Torments, which their own iniquities do perpetually excite and create unto them ; besides, they are ever vexing one another ; and if any be in the same misery with whom they had acquaintance here on *eath, the very Magical knowledge, and perceivance, or remembrance thereof, doth beyond utterance or conception, most miserably afflict and macerate their Souls and all their Sences./

By their acquaintance on earth.

[* *read*, earth]

43. For the nature of their habitation is such, that their torment is exceedingly aggravated thereby, because the extremity of the four Elements is there converted into a whole Principle of wrath and vexation. The excess of cold and heat, drought and moisture, are continually raging amongst them by intercourse. Neither is there any light or lustre to be seen within their Courts, but that which

64. The Nature of Hell.

comes from their fiery Eyes, as a deadly glance or glimmering, being sudden fiery flashes and sparkling, as the enkindling of Gunpowder, or *Aurum fulminans* for a similitude.

The food of Devils.

44. And as every kinde of Being feeds upon somewhat of its own nature, property, and element, whither it be Plant, Animal, or Metalline kinde; so the Devils are neither destitute of meat, drink, nor cloathing, according to their own Kingdom and quality, having fruits springing and growing before them of hellish, sour and poysonous natures, which are real and palpable unto them, and not imaginary or typical, though to us magical and invisible; neither is this to be wondered at, if we consider the nature of Man's Soul, *In Media Natura*; for if it feed not upon the internal* and substantial Word, which is the very Bread of Life it self, it must of necessity ruminate on something else, *viz.* the fruits of Iniquity, which it takes in and drinketh up as the Oxe drinks water, so that to the soul the sin becomes palpable, glutting, and satiating; yea, so substantial unto the Soul, as Dirt or Ink upon fair white Linnen is to our external Eyes; neither can the Soul be freed from these spots till the water above the Firmament wash them away.

[* ? eternal]

Their food in the Astral source.

45. Also in respect of the Astral source they are not destitute of food, when they bring themselves into the same; for the gas of the air and blas of the water is their nourishment, while they stay here, as is before alledged: These influences of the air and water they take into their *Limbus*, and convert into their own poysonous natures; as of sweet and wholsome herbs the filthy Toads and other venemous Beasts do make their poyson, converting them into a nature like themselves. And on the contrary, the poysonous herbs are converted into good and wholesome nourishment by other cleanly Beasts.

Their Speech.

46. And as the Infernal Troops are considered in respect of the four Elements, they have a distinct and peculiar tone or language, which they exercise and speak one amongst one another, as mortals do. But they have utterly lost the dignity of their sounds according to the eternal nature. And are likewise totally corrupted in their pronouncing, or Dialect, since they fell from their first cælestial glory; so that their speech is harsh, doleful, and terrible, like the fruits they feed upon, and the life they dwell in. Which depravation is very apparent in the Kingdom of this World in the divided Languages of every Region, according to the Constellation under which they are situated: The true and magical Language of nature being hid from all the Countreys of the earth.

What Language they affect.

47. But when they appear in the outward Elements, they do many times express themselves in *Irish*, *Welch*, *Latine*; or *Russian*, which

are the Languages most affected by them to answer unto Conjurations, or Compacts. So that if any Magician, who is ignorant of these aforesaid Languages do at any time Raise or Exorcise such Spirits, he must be mindful to confine them to his mother tongue ; least their gibberish prove altogether unintelligible ; for as every thing appears in what it most affecteth, or is addicted to ; even so the Spirits have their distinct affections, passions, and postures, both in word, habit, shape, and gesture ; so that the Magician must be wary in Exorcizing with them, that he confine them to a different place, posture, shape, and language, to answer their intentions without impediment.

Their unconstancy.

48. For they are very variable and unconstant in their dealings with mankind, nor will they stand to any thing that hath not bound them by the obligations of Words, Characters, and Imprecations, except the skill of the Exorcist be such, that he is able to confine them into a Magical Triad, which hath the certain force of obliging or compelling them to utter truth, and nothing false in/ all their 65. Answers, or Informations. But with such miserable men and women as they have made Covenants and Indentures for body, soul, and works ; with such I say, they keep no faith, nor are they lyable to their commands ; but on the contrary, have them hampered and subjected to their will and power, till they have terminated their lives in their destruction.

Their Power.

49. Yet have not any of the most potent Princes in the Hellish Power, the least ability to destroy the least of the sons of men, without the consent of the mind and senses of the Soul ; for until the will of the Soul be opened unto him, his threatnings, sleights and stratagems are without any power or force, as the nerves of a dead man. Although naturally every evil Spirit boasteth, as if all the world were at its command, and every Soul were subject to its authority and beck, with the Goods or Possessions of the external World.

When they are called up.

50. When any evil Spirit is raised up by Conjurations, without League, or Compact ; these Spirits so raised, are exceeding fraudulent and deceitful, as stubborn servants that do their Masters will by constraint, and not by any natural act of obedience unto his Commands. But with such as they have compacted, they are frequent and officious, imploying them as Agents for the destruction of others and their substance : and being marryed unto such, they are even become one with them, being incorporated into them, so that they are nothing different from incarnate Devils, save that the spark of divine Light, which was the gift of God unto repentance, is not totally eradicated until the body fall away.

Fumigations

51. From such as Covenant with these unconstant Spirits, do they

made unto them.

daily obtain Fumigations, Odours, and Offerings, or Sacrifices of Blood, Fire, Wine, Ointments, Incense, Fruits, Excrements, Herbs, Gums, Minerals, and other Ingredients, by which from a Magical cause, they have more influence and authority over the bewitched party to insinuate into their affection, peircing even through their bones and marrow, till they have so habituated them to their service, that the same becomes their daily bread and sole delight in accomplishing every villany and abomination which the malicious and subtle instigation of Satan leads them to.

The Conclusion.

52. Thus have I Essayed to illustrate the Natures of Infernal Beings, which notwithstanding is a Subject so intricate and copious in it self, that great difficulty accompanies the Explication thereof; by reason of the variety of their natures in the source of darkness, wherein they live, move, eat, breath, and inhabit, having qualities, actions, and passions innumerable, to us men-kinde utterly unknown and incomprehensible: So that to attempt an ample demonstration of this present Subject, would require deeper speculation then the matter doth deserve, in regard that there be so many *Protei* and Changlings in that gloomy Kingdom, who do never stay or continue in the same nature, property, and form for an hour together; but may be compared to the swiftness of the Windes, or the likeness and form of swift running Waters, that pass away as a thought; and are no more remembered. So it is with the Spirits of Darkness, whose life is a meer anguish and inconstancy from one sorrow to another unto all Eternity./

66.

Chap. VI.

Treating of the Nature, Force and Forms of Charms, Periapts, Amulets, Pentacles, Conjurations, Ceremonies, &c.

Shews before Spirits appear.

1. BEfore Appearances are made, after forms of Conjuration are repeated, the Infernal Spirits make various and wonderful shews, noises, and attempts as fore-runners to their appearance: At the first attempts of novices in Conjuration, they are accompanyed with noises, tremblings, flashes, howlings, and most dreadful shriekes, till after further progress and experience therein they approach nearer unto this Elemental nature, till by degrees they can manifestly be apparent unto their Exorcist.

A Relation of a Magician.

2. When *Chiancungi*, and his sister *Napala*, did first attempt to

call up Spirits, they begun with the Spirit Bokim, in the twentieth degree : they hung a vault under ground with black both on the top and bottom, lining it therewith ; and having drawn the Circle of the Order of Thrones, with the seven Planets, and their Magical Characters in the Center, they proceeded to the Ceremonies of Conjuration after they had frequently repeated the forms of calling, and nothing as yet appeared ; they were grown so desperate therein, that forsaking the Circle, and every defensive Character or Ceremony, they at last betook themselves to the most accursed and detestable branch of Magick, which consists of Compacts, or Confederacy ; and having by a solemn League summoned the aforesaid Spirit Bokim, they obtain'd 155. years from the Spirit, Covenanting therewith for body, soul, and works.

His Actions.

3. In which damned life they continued exercising strange wonders in every Countrey. By the help of this Magician the *Tartars* did destroy above 100 sail of Ships belonging unto *China* ; many losses did he bring upon that Kingdom in their Children, Fruits, Corn, Silk, and Navigation ; he could frequently transport himself through the Air, and carry in one hand a thousand pound weight, to the astonishment of all that knew him. He had many publick contests with Magicians of other Countries, being tryals of skill in Magical Art, wherein he was said to excel all that ever went before him.

Another Magician.

4. Such another was *Lewis Gaufridi* a *French* Priest, who had compacted with the Devil, and served him 14 years in these detestable works, sacrificing Infants unto him, worshipping him in a filthy shape, and tempting others to their Magical society or nocturnal Conventions ; in which, as it is reported, they did ever feast and junket with varieties and dainties, which though they did seem delectable, were yet notwithstanding gustless and unsavoury.

What Charms are.

5. Leaving these relations, something shall be said of *Charms* and *Spells*, as they are divided in this following manner ; first, such Amulets as being engraven and molded in the fashion of Money, or Coyn, do serve to provoke any one desired unto love and familiarity, being hung about the neck in certain Planetary hours. Secondly, Spells or Charms in Parchment with Magical Characters, as Periapts to Cure diseases ; to make one valiant, memorative, and constant. Thirdly, Corselets, which are an ancient *Danish* Charm of Neck-laces, composed of Thunderstones ingraven with Magical Letters, to resist all noxious influences, and the danger of Lightning.

Pentacles.

6. *Pentacles* are a fourth sort of appendix, which Conjurers, Charmers, and Magicians use, being made with five corners, according to the five Senses, and the operation thereof inscribed upon the corners ; the matter whereof they are composed, is fine Linnen

doubled, and done with Cere-cloth between. This figure the Magician holds in his hand, lifting it up from the skirt of his Garment to which it is annexed, when Spirits that are raised are stubborn and rebellious, refusing to be conformable unto the Ceremonies and Rites of Magick.

Their force.

7. Also by the holding forth of *Pentacles*, with these words, Glauron, 67. Amor,/ Amorula, Beor, Beorka, Beroald, Anepheraton, repeated at the instant. The evil Spirits that possess the bodies of bewitched people are cruelly tortured and amazed, being by the frequent repetition thereof forced at last to depart by the assistance of the Exorcism of the sixth Cannon for the order of Seraphims.

Telesms.

8. When Magicians exercise Conjuration by Moon-light in the Mountains or Valleys, they have another sort of Charm by way of Telesms, which they bury within a hundred paces of the place where the Circle is composed towards the *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*; For such spells have the secret power to hinder any living creature for coming near them, till their Exercize be done, except the Infernal Spirit, whose presence they do so ardently desire.

For Diseases.

9. Such *Spells* as are made in some *Edible matter*, with *Characters upon them*, are given for *Agues*, *Head-ach*, *Epilepsie*, *Mother*, &c. Especially being powerful in operation, when the party is ignorant of the Charm taken in; many such I know have taken wonderful effect. But as for *Philtres*, *Potions*, and *Love-cups*, they proceed rather from a natural cause; whether their effects be to afflict with Diseases to Poyson, or to provoke unto Love of a Party whom they disdain: Neither are such to be numbered amongst Charms; because their effect is meerly natural, from a natural cause.

Fumigations.

10. But to insist further upon the nature of Conjuration, Magicians do much exercise their time in *Fumigations* unto those Spirits whom they are about to provoke; their fumes being distributed according to the nature of the Spirit under any of the seven Planets, which the antient Conjurers were very punctual in observing, though in these days it be much forgot, as superfluous, or rather dangerous to insert amongst the Ceremonies of Conjuration. A division of Fumigations according to the Influence of the Planets, and Orders of Spirits, we will here set down in this manner.

For *Saturn*.

11. *Fumigations* for *Saturn* are made of Frankincense Trees, Pepper-wort Rooots,* Storax, and Galbanum; by these the Spirits Marbas, Corban, Stilkon, Edos, &c. And all of the first order in the astringency are appeased and provoked, when the *fumes* are put upon a *Tripod* in the hour of *Saturn* according to the Planetary division. These *Fumigations* make these Spirits appear like old men, with promiss beards, and meager looks; like Serpents, Cats, Wolves, Badgers, Panthers; like old Men in Armour; like Trumpeters in many ranks and divisions.

[* *sic*]

12. For Spirits under *Jupiter*, they take Lignum Aloes, Ashen-Keys, Benjamin, Storax, Peacocks-feathers, and *Lapis Lazuli*, mixing the same with the blood of a Stork, a Swallow, or a Hart ; the brains being also added. The *fumes* are kindled in *Jupiters* hour, and in a place appropriate to his nature. And by this sacrifice the Spirits of the next order are called up, like glorious Kings with many attendants, and mighty pomp ; with Heralds before them, and Ensign-bearers, Trumpeters, Guards, and all sorts of musical Instruments. *Jupiter.*

13. They make *Fumigations* unto such Spirits of the order of Powers, as are under *Mars*, in the Planetary division with Aromatick Gum, Bdellium, Euphorbium, Load-stone, Hellebore white and black, and an addition of Sulphur to make them into an Amalgama, with Man's blood, and the blood of a black Cat ; which mixtures are said to be exceeding magical : so that without any other addition, they say, this *fumigation* is able of it self to make such Spirits to appear before the Exorcist ; at their appearance they come with weapons brandishing, and shining Armour, being terrible in their looks ; yet of power inferiour to the Spirits of *Saturn*, though they can likewise shew themselves as Lions, Wolves, Tygers, Bears, and all other cruel or ravenous Beasts. *Mars.*

14. They do likewise unto the Spirits under *Sol*, being of the order of Thrones, *Suffumigate* Saffron, Musk, Laurel, Cinnamon, Ambergriece, Cloves, Myrrhe, and Frankincense, Musk, and the Balsamick Tree mixed up together with the brain of an Eagle, and the blood of a white Cock, being made up like Pills, or little Balls, and put upon the *Tripod* ; their appearances are Castles, Gardens,/ Mountains, 68. Rivers, Fisher-men, Hunters, Reapers, Dogs, Sheep, Oxen, and other domestick Beasts. *Sol.*

15. Under *Venus* are the Spirits of the sixth order in the Powers ; their appearances are very stately, like the nature of the Planet ; like Courtiers, Ladies, Princes, Queens, Infants, Children, and fragrant smells. The *fumigations* appropriate unto them are Roses, Coral, *Lignum Aloes*, and *Sperma Ceti* made up with Sparrows, brains and blood of Pidgeons to be fumigated with a Song. *Venus.*

16. *Mercury* sendeth Horsemen, Fishers, Labourers, Priests, Students, Servants, *&c.* Also, Foxes, Serpents, Dogs, Hares, Hyena's, Hydra's, and other Monstrous Animals ; unto him they *fumigate* Frankincense, Mastick, Cinkfoyl, incorporated with the brain of a Fox, and the blood of a Mag-Pye. *Mercury.*

17. Spirits under *Luna* are like Ghosts and shadows, very gastly to behold ; though in humane shape sometimes male, sometimes female. *Fumigations* are offered unto them of Frogs dryed, white Poppy-seed, Bulls Eyes, Camphire, and Frankincense, incorporated with Gooses blood, and the menstruous blood of Women. *Luna.*

Why such Ceremonies are of force.

18. These are the divisions of *fumigations*, neither can it be denyed, but that in many Ceremonies of this kind, there is great inherent virtue according to the Doctrines of Sympathy and Antipathy, whereby every thing is drawn by its like in the Idea, whither by words or actions, according to the saying, *In verbis, herbis & lapidibus latet virtus*, so that the Ceremonies and Charms, with other circumstances used by Magicians, are doubtless prevalent to the accomplishment of that work which they undertake ; to wit, *The calling up and Exorcizing of Infernal Spirits by Conjurations.*

Chap. VII.

Being the Conclusion of the Whole ; wherin divers antient Spells, Charms, Incantations and Exorcisms are briefly spoken of.

Charms.

1. BEsides what the Author hath set down, there be many other *Spells* and *Charms*, which Tradition hath left unto Posterity, being many of them effectual for the thing intended by them, as in the precedent Chapter is set down, wherein the *Orders* of *Fumigations* are described. Besides there are *Magical Characters* attributed to the Planets, whereof *Telesms*, *Periapts*, *Amulets*, and *Philters*, are composed by *buryings*, *writings*, *bindings*, *engravings*, *alligations*, &c. to effect various purposes in Astrological hours. To conquer Enemies, cure diseases, overturn Cities, stop Inundations, render bodies Invulnerable, and the like ; which are all effected by medium's of this kind, with the assistance of Imagination.

Natural Operations.

2. Yet are there many natural Compositions, which have very stupendious effects of themselves, without assistance of Superstition ; for the commixtion of things is of two-fold force or vertue : First, When the Celestial vertues are duly disposed in any natural body ; so that in one thing are couched various Influences of superiour Powers. The second is, from Artificial mixtures and Compositions of natural things amongst themselves, in a certain proportion to agree with the Heavens under certain Constellations. This proceeds from the correspondence of natural things amongst themselves, whereby things are effected even unto admiration, as *Agrippa* declares, *Cap.* 35. *lib.* 1.

Places ascribed to the seven Planets.

3. And as unto every Planet certain *fumigations* are ascribed ; so unto such Spirits as are under them, certain *Places* are adopted for the Ceromonies* of Conjuration, which Magicians chose when they set

[* *sic*]

upon their works of Darkness. Unto *Saturn* are ascribed dark melancholy *Places*, Vaults, Tombes, Monasteries, empty Houses, Dens, Caves, Pits. Unto *Jupiter*, Theaters, Schools, Musick houses, Judgment seats. To *Mars*, Fields where Battels have been fought, Bake--houses, Glass-houses, Shambles, Places,* of Execution. To *Sol*, [* *sic*]
Palaces,/ Mountains, Meddows, Sunshine, Groves, and upper Rooms. 69.
To *Venus*, Fountains, Meadows, Gardens, and the Sea-shore. Unto *Mercury*, all publick places belonging unto Cities. To *Luna*, Wildernesses, Woods, Rocks, Forrests, Ships, High-wayes, *&c.*

4. In like manner are *Spells* and *Charms* adapted to the thing which they must effect, according to the matter, form and place of their composition ; as for the *procuring of Love*, they bury Rings, Ribbons, Seals, Pictures, Looking-Glasses, *&c.* in Stews, Baths, Beds, that in such places they may contract some Venereal faculty : When they gather Herbs or other Ingredients ; they chuse the hour and place, when such Planets have Dominion as are over these Herbs, which they collect, ever remembring to turn their faces to the *East*, or *South*, when *Saturnine*, *Martial* or *Jovial* Herbs are gathered, because their Principal houses are Southern signs ; for *Venereal*, *Mercurial*, or *Lunary* herbs, they must look towards the *West* or *North*, because their houses are chiefly Northern signs. Yet in any *Solar* or *Lunar* operations the body of the Sun and Moon must be respected in the operation. Spells.

5. Colours are also much regarded amongst Magicians, according to the Planet, as black, leaden, brown, unto *Saturn* ; saphire, vernal, green, purple, golden, unto *Jupiter* ; red, burning, violet, bloody, and iron colours unto *Mars* ; golden, saffron, scarlet, *&c.* unto the *Sun* ; white, fair, green, ruddy, pleasant mixed colours unto *Venus*, *Murcury*, and *Luna*. In like manner they ascribe colours unto the twelve Houses, and according to the Planets have also certain compositions for fire that produce wonderful operations ; as Lamps of Serpents skins will make Serpents to appear. Oyl that hath stood under Grapes, being lighted, presenteth the Chamber full of Grapes. Centaury and the Lapwings blood makes people seem like Gyants, and in the open air will make the Stars seem to move up and down in the Elements. The fat of a Hare lighted in a Lamp, will cause Women to be exceeding merry and facetious. And Candles composed of things that are *Saturnine*, raise terrours and melancholy in the party that lights them, and in those that are lighted by them. Secret Conclusions.

6. Such wonderful effects have natural things being fitted unto their Hours and Constellations, as also when they are used to prove such effects as the nature of the things doth produce of it self, though in a weaker degree. To raise *Tempests* Magicians burn the Liver of a The Candle of life.

Camælion on the house top. To cause *strange sights* they hang the Gall of a Ox over their Beds ; to bring *Apparitions* and *Spirits*, they make a strange fume of a Mans Gall, and the Eyes of a black Cat ; *Which, Agrippa* saith, *he hath often made experience of.* There is also a strange Magical Candle described amongst *Chymical* Authors, which being lighted, foretells the death of the party to whom it belongs : The manner thereof is thus ; *They take a good quantity of the venal blood luke-warm as it came out of the vein, which being Chymically prepared with Spirit of Wine and other Ingredients, is at last made up into a Candle, which being once kindled, never goes out till the death of the party whose blood it is composed of*; *for when he is sick, or in danger, it burns dim and troubled* ; *and when he is dead, it is quite extinguished*; of which Composition a Learned man hath wrote an intire Tractate, *De Biolychnio*, or, *The Lamp of Life.*

That Characters are compacts.

7. But to proceed to the nature of *Characters*, *Sigils*, and other *Ceremonies*, we find that not only such as pretend to command over all sorts of Spirits ; but also they that do make Compacts, and have sold themselves unto him, do make use of such ; which instance is sufficient to prove what a wise man hath asserted, that although Evil Spirits have so blinded Mens Eyes, as to make them believe they are defended by such Ceremonies, and that these Characters are as Munitions against the Devils malignancy ; Yet these very *Characters*, *Sigils*, *Lamins*, &c., are *Compacts* themselves, which the Devils did at first cunningly disguise with strange Repetitions in uncouth Language.

8. So that we have grounds to believe, that none is able absolutely without *Compact* to call up any *Spirit.* But that whosoever hath pre-
70. tended to be famous in/ the Art of Magick or Conjuration, hath (to himself unknown) *compacted* with and *worshipped the Devil,* under strange *Repetitions* and mystical *Characters*, which to him seemed to have effects quite contrary to what they really had.

The force of Words and Characters.

9. Neither is this to be admired, that without the Knowledge or Consent of the Magician, a *Contract* is made with *Evil Spirits* ; when we consider the magical strength of *Words* and *Characters*, which of themselves can cure Diseases, pull down, infect, save, destroy, charm and inchant without the Parties assistance, either in knowledge of the Cause, or in belief of the Consequence or Effect.

The vanity of Conjuration.

10. But on the contrary, I could instance a multitude of Examples of such as have spent much time in *Conjurations* to no purpose, still attempting by Exorcisms and Defensive Prayers to conjure a Spirit, or cause Personal Appearances, with severe Imprecations and powerful Charges, and yet notwithstanding have never attain'd their purpose, nor at any time heard, or seen any Beeing, which may be called *Spectre*, or *Apparition.*

11. Which is nothing wonderful, if we minde the *sympathy* of things in Nature, how each desires its *like*, and hunteth after it as the Loadstone draws Iron ; the male coveteth the female ; the evil after the evil, and the good after the good ; which is seen in wicked Men and their Association, in Birds and Beasts of prey ; while on the contrary, the Lamb delights not in the Lyon, nor the Sheep in the society of the Wolf ; neither doth the nature which is totally depraved and estranged from God, care to be forced or drawn compulsively by another contrary nature, *viz.* innocent, just, and harmless. By Similitude.

12. Neither doth it consist with natural reason, That *Evil Spirits* should affect the society of those that are their Enemies, who make use of the dreadful and holy Names of God in Conjurations to call them up; whereas they are rather antidotes against Apparations,* as may be seen in various Examples of holy Men, who by Prayers and Exorcisms have banished *Evil Spirits* in all Ages, which is also further evident, in that the very form of *Dispossessing* and *Exorcising* is made up of divers Prayers and Defensive Blessings against the obnoxious influences of *Infernal Spirits.* Exorcising, or casting out. [* *sic*]

13. Therefore though I would be far from describing an undenyable course of Conjuring Spirits, or of causing Apparitions : Yet this I must assert conclusively from what is before alledged, That if any thing would be called or wrought upon, it must be with something which is of its own nature, as a bait to catch or tempt it ; for in catching Birds, Beasts, or Fishes, such esculents as are properly for these Animals, are made use of to allure them, neither can mankinde command them by any threats to come into his custody. Like desires its like.

14. How much less is mankind able to compel the *Infernal Spirits*, the very least of which Kingdom, is able, if let loose, to exterminate a thousand lives, and utterly over-turn poor mortals and their doings, as various by-past accidents can evince : But whosoever hath compacted with them for body, soul, and works, such they are at unity with, and unto such they appear for the advancement of their Kingdom in the destruction of others ; for they are grafted into them and incorporated into their very heart and soul, which unavoidably becomes their wages when the body falls away. Nothing is compelled by contraries.

15. Yet many wayes there be by *Images*, *Telesms*, and *Amulets*, which have little or no dependance upon Conjuration, or the strength thereof, being rather effectual from sympathetical Causes, as many natural conclusions prove. And *Paracelsus* speaks of a way by the Image of any Bird or Beast to destroy that Animal, though at a distance ; so by hair, fat, blood, excrements, excrescences, *&c.* of any Animal or Vegetable, the ruin or cure of that thing may be effected.

16. Which is seen in the Armary Unguent, and the Sympathetical

Powder. In the instance of divers Histories, of such as used Waxen Images, composed in divers postures, and under certain Constellations, whereby several have been tormented and macerated even unto death; and according to the punishment or torment which the Magician
71. intends to afflict, accordingly do they dispose the/ hour of the Composition, and the posture or semblance of the Image.

Of Images of Wax, and what is wrought by them.

17. For if a malitious minded Witch intends to consume and pine away the Life or Estate of any miserable Man or Woman, she makes his Image of Wax in such an ominous aspect as may conduce to her design, making several magical Characters upon the sides of the head, describing the Character of the hour or Planetary time upon the breast of the Image; the name of the party on his forehead; the intended effect to be wrought upon him upon his back. When they cause aches, pains, and violent pangs in the sinews and the flesh, they stick thorns and pins in divers places of their arms, breasts, and legs. When they cast them into Feavers and Consumptions, they spend an hour in every day to warm and turn the Image before a doleful and lingring fire, composed of divers exotick Gums, and magical Ingredients of sweet Odours, and strange Roots of shrubs, efficient for their purpose.

Further concerning Images.

18. Wonderful are the various postures and pranks which Magicians play with Images; neither will I mention the most perfect and prevalent part of the practice of Images, and the powerful operations thereof, least the evil minded should work abominations therewith upon the Persons or Possessions of their neighbours.

Of Images provoking Love.

19. According to the nature of what they would effect they frame their Images; if by Images they would provoke two parties to love, or be enamoured on one another, they frame their Images naked, with Astrological Observations and Imbraces of those that are Venereal; to provoke unto enmity they place malignant Characters and Aspects, and the Images in a fighting posture.

20. If their intentions be for good, all their Characters are engraven upon the foreparts of the body. But if they would afflict the party with Consumption, or with death, they thrust Needles through the hearts, and engrave their Characters upon their Posteriors, or upon their shoulders, using all their Conjurations retrograde, and repeating every Charm opposite to the former.

21. Thousands of strange and uncouth Charms might be here described, according to the exact form wherein Tradition hath left them; But I have only insisted upon the description of the natures in General; And as by *Images* and *Telesms*, the *Europeans* have effected admirable things: so the *Tartars* have a wonderful ways* of producing the like effects, by *Botles*, *Sheep-skins*, *Rods*, *Basins*,

[e *sic*]

Forms of

Letters, or *Missives*, unto certain Spirits, and many otherwayes unheard of in *Europe*. Charms in *Tartary*.

22. As for the *Tying of the Point*, which is a strong impediment in Conjugal Rites, to restrain the acts of secresie betwixt two marryed persons ; This knot or ligament is become so notorious both in the practice and effect throughout *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, as also in all the *Eastern* Countries, that the Laws of several Nations have prohibited the performance thereof ; neither is it fit to be openly described in this place. The tying of the Point.

23. Other stratagems they have by *turning the Sive* with a pair of Sizzers by *voices uttered* out of *skins*, which is in common amongst the *Turks* by *Letters* wrote unto certain Spirits, which by due appointments will have their answers returned. By the *Turning* of the *Cord* with several names wrapped round the same, which with certain repetitions will of it self be tyed into several strange knots which unty themselves again. Besides the many wayes by *Lots*, in extractings* Scrolls, consulting with the Staff and the empty Pot, with others tedious to be enumerated. Charming by the Sive. By Bottles, Skins, Letters, Cords, Lots. [* *sic*]

24. The *Art of Transplantation* is also reckoned amongst *Charms* with the vulgar. And indeed one member thereof, *viz.* the Transferring of Diseases is really Magical, and much in practice amongst Witches ; for by certain baits given to any domestick Beasts they remove Feavers, Agues, and Consumptions from Martial men, or from one to another by burying certain Images in their neighbours ground they bring all evil fortune to the owner of the ground, yet/ though they add strange Words and Conjurations in the practice, the effects thereof are more from Nature then Conjuration. Transplantation, Ceremonious.† [† Ceremonies] 72.

25. For, by the same Cause, those that are profound, can destroy diseases, take off Warts, and other Excrescences, kill, cure, purge and poyson at a distance from the party, by their hair, fatt, blood, nails, excrements, *&c.* or by any root, or carnuous substance, rubbed upon their hands, breasts or leggs, by burying which, they free them from Diseases, which experiments take effect according to the *Mediums* and their Consumption under ground. And meerly natural.

26. And as by natural reason every Magical Charm or Receipt had its first institution ; In like manner have Magicians disposed the Matter and Manner together with the times of their Utensils and Instruments, according to the Principles of Nature : As the Hour wherein they compose their Garments, must either be in the hour of *Luna*, or else of *Saturn*, in the Moons increase. Magical Instruments :

27. Their *Garments* they compose of White Linnen, black Cloth, black Cat-skins, Wolves, Bears, or Swines skins. The Linnen because of its abstracted Quality for Magick delights not to have any Their matter,

Utensils that are put to common uses. The skins of the aforesaid Animals are by reason of the *Saturnine* and *Magical qualities* in the particles of these beasts: Their sowing thred is of silk, Cats-guts, mans Nerves, Asses hairs, Thongs of skins from Men, Cats, Bats, Owls, Moles, and all which are enjoyn'd from the like Magical cause.

Substance,

28. Their Needles are made of Hedge-hog prickles, or bones of any of the abovesaid Animals: Their *Writing-pens* are of Owls or Ravens, their *Ink* of Mans blood: Their *Oyntments* Mans fat, Blood, Usnea, Hoggs-grease, Oyl of Whales. Their *Characters* are ancient *Hebrew* or *Samaritan*: Their *Speech* is *Hebrew* or *Latine.* Their *Paper* must be of the Membranes of Infants, which they call *Virgin-parchment*, or of the skins of Cats, or Kids. Besides, they compose their *Fires* of sweet Wood, Oyl or Rosin: And their *Candles* of the Fatt or Marrow of Men or Children: Their *Vessels* are Earthen, their *Candlesticks* with three feet, of dead mens bones: Their *Swords* are steel, without guards, the poynts being reversed. These are their Materials, which they do particularly choose from the Magical qualities whereof they are composed.

And Form.

29. Neither are the peculiar shapes without a natural cause. Their *Caps* are Oval, or like Pyramids with Lappets on each side, and furr within: Their *Gowns* reach to the ground, being furr'd with white Fox-skins, under which they have a Linnen Garment reaching to their Knee. Their *Girdles* are three inches broad, and have many Cabalistical Names, with Crosses, Trines and Circles inscribed thereon. Their *Knives* are Dagger-fashion: and the *Circles* by which they defend themselves are commonly nine foot in breadth, but the *Eastern* Magicians give but seven. And these are the matter and manner of their Preparations, which I thought fit here to insist upon, because of their affinity with the *Instruments* of *Charms*, for both which a natural cause is constantly pretended.

The Conclusion.

30. Thus I have briefly spoken of the Nature of every Spirit *good* or *evil*, so farr as *safety* or *convenience* would permit; adding also this last Discourse of *Charms* and *Conjurations*, in their *speculative part*, forbearing to describe the *Forms themselves*, because many of them are not only *facil*, but also of *mighty power* when they are seasonably applyed: So that to describe distinctly, by what means Magicians *kill*, *cure*, or *conquer*, were to strengthen the hands of the Envious against their Neighbours Lives and Fortunes. And therefore the Readers must rest contented with what is here related of the *Nature* of *Astral* or *Infernal Spirits.*

FINIS.

SHAKESPEARE NOTINGS.

P. 99. Bodin's "asseheaded man". N. Drake, in his *Shakespeare and his Times*, vol. ii, p. 351, suggested that Bottom's "translation" was derived from p. 315 in Scot, where a receipt for such transformations is given. This may in part have been in Shakespeare's memory, as may the commonly received belief that magicians could do such things. He may, too, have remembered another tale, told at p. 533, of Pope Benedict IX having been condemned after death to walk the earth (I presume at night, after his purgatorial day) in a bear's skin, with an ass's head *in such sort as he lived.* But I incline to think that these after-statements only caused him to remember the more this first, full, and remarkable M. Mal-Bodin-Cyprus tale ; and more especially this passage, for in iv, i, 30, Bottom declares—"Methinks I have a great desire to a bottle of hay : good hay, sweet hay hath no fellow." So acute and ready an observer may have the more remembered the epithet "asseheaded" because, as most readers must observe, Scot uses this word, though the sailor in the tale is an ass from his snout and ears down to the end of his tail and the tips of his hoofs.

P. 542. His "white spirits". Because in the 1623 folio *Macbeth* we have in iv, 1, *Musicke and a Song. Blacke Spirits, &c.*, and because in Middleton's *Witch* the words are given at length, it has been held that Middleton was either Shakespeare's coadjutor, or his after interpolator, that these lines were his, and were first used in his *Witch.* But, according to most of Malone's arguments—for one certainly is not sound—the *Witch* was some years later than *Macbeth*, as is also likely from Middleton's age. And that it was later is in especial shown by a hitherto unnoticed passage in ii, 1:

> "Some knights' wives in town
> Will have great hope upon his reformation," etc.

For it is clear that this must have been written when the price and quality of knighthood had much come down, and its commonness increased beyond what it was in 1605. Secondly, it is an assumption, and a most unlikely one, that the *Macbeth* MS. intimation of the song was due to the players' knowledge of it through the *Witch.* It presupposes that the supernumeraries who played the witches' parts were the same in both plays. Also that the writers of the MS. knew that these would be the same, and would certainly remember the words: for a playhouse copy is either for the use of the prompter, or a text whence the players' parts can be extracted. Moreover, the *Witch*

had been, as the author himself tells us, "an ignorantly ill-fated labour", in other words, a failure.

But in reference to the supposed right of Middleton to these lines, we now find, in 1584, when Middleton was a boy, that the first of the two lines—or, if one chooses, the first two of the four, the words being in each half phrase inverted, possibly to vary the too great sing-song of the sentence—was copied by Scot as part of a known series of rhyming lines. Shakespeare, who wrote later, has the "Black spirits", etc.; Middleton, in his *Witch*, where we find passages taken verbatim and almost verbatim from Scot, has these and the other rhymes given by Scot very slightly altered in i, 2, and the "Black spirits", etc., with "Mingle, mingle", and some of the other rhymes in v, 2. Hence they are neither Shakespeare's nor Middleton's. Whose then are they? Scot gives them as from W. W.'s booklet on the Witches at St. Osees, Essex. But certainly the lines, nor any of them, are not in that booklet. These things, however, are there. Ursula Kempe's little boy deposes, and she herself, on promise from the Justice, Brian Darcie, Esq., of favour being shown her—which promise, by the way, both in her case and that of others, was carried out by their being hanged—that she had two he- and two she-spirits, the shes being Tyffen, in the shape of a white lamb, and Pigine, black like a toad; the hes, Tittie, like a little grey cat, and Jacke, black like a cat. Nor are these merely thus mentioned by each, but the old woman specifies their doings through three or four of the earlier pages (A 3, v—A 8). Mother Bennet's spirits were two, Suckin, like a black dog, and Lyerd, redde like a Lyon (B 3, etc., B 7). Besides these, but less prominently brought forward, were these. Mother Hunt had two little things like horses, one white and one black, kept in a pot amongst black and white wool (A 5, v and 6). Ales Hunt had also two spirits, one white and one black, like little colts, and named Jacke and Robbin (C 3). Marg. Sammon had a Tom and a Robyn, but these were like toads. H. Sellys, aged nine, deposes that his mother had two imps, one Herculus sothe hons [*sic*] or Jacke, black, and a he, who, in the night, and in the likeness of his sister, pulled his younger brother's leg and otherwise hurt him so that he cried out; the second, Mercurie, a she and white (D v). Ales Baxter says that the cow while being milked was viciously unruly, and that something like a white cat struck at her heart, so that she became so weak that she could not stand, and being found leaning against a style, was carried home in a chair (D 4, v). Ales Mansfield had given her by margaret Grevell (elsewhere Gravell)—for these imps seem to have been given away without will of their own, like brute beasts, and being hungry were fed on milk, beer, bread, oats, hay, straw, and especially a sup of blood sucked from the body—two he- and two she-spirits, named Robin, Jack, William, and Puppet, alias Mamet, like black cats (D 6). Mother Eustace also had three imps, like white, gray, and black cats. Annis Dowsing, aged seven, base daughter of Annis Herd, tells B. Darcie that her mother had six Avices or Blackbirds, black speckled with white or all black. Also six imps like cows, but "as big as rattes", one of which, black and white, and named Crowe, had been

given to her, while Donne [? Dun], another, was red and white (G. 4. v). I have, perhaps, overlengthened this tale through wishing to show that these imps, besides being hungry, generally took a white or black, and sometimes a red or grey, colour, and because these notings from this unique book and authentic record might be otherwise acceptable. So much do the names and the notice of the colours of the imps strike a reader, that Bishop Hutchinson, in his Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, 1718, says, p. 29, "An account of them was written by Brian Darcie, with the Names and Colours of their spirits." But here an end after the remarks. First, that the chief witnesses, and leaders up to these confessions, were their own children of from 6¾ to 9 years of age. Secondly, that these confessions were, as plainly as possible, first made by some and then followed by others through promises of favour, promises lyingly carried out to condemnation and death. Thirdly, that, as shown by such instances as "[she] desired to speake alone with me, the said Bryan Darcey, whereupon I went into my garden", etc., and by the frequent use of "before mee"—the initials W.W. were either fictitious, or not improbably those of his clerk, and that the real author was Brian Darcie, Esq., Justice of the Peace, who desired to gain favour from his kinsman, Lord Darcie, to whom the book was dedicated, or possibly, through him and it, the notice of her Majesty, as a clever, zealous, and trustworthy seeker-out of these old-new things.

It need hardly be added that ballading was then a profession, and that its professors seized upon anything of interest,—an atrocious murder, the last words of the murderer (spoken or not), unusual floods or storms, the effects of lightning, the cruise of an adventurous vessel, shipwrecks, the story of a strange fish "in forme of a woman from the wast upward", that appeared "forty thousand fathom above water [or otherwise], and sang as followeth". How then should the condemnation of some sixteen old women for horrible crimes escape being "balletted"? It was new, rare, came home to all, and was in more senses than one deadly. The very rhymes in Scot prove it, for they could not be Scot's own words, and they have the very rhythm, or rather lilt, of a ballad. On looking calmly, therefore, at the evidence, I am convinced that neither Shakespeare nor Middleton could have been the one who tacked together these rhymes between 1582 and 1584, but that Shakespeare did here, as he sometimes did, and notably in Ophelia's madness, quote such lines as "Black spirits and white", etc., because the words suited his scene of devilish enchantment, and gave it reality; while Middleton, in a Magical Tragi-Comedy, gave, with very slight variation, the whole of the words quoted by Scot.

I trust my reader will not merely excuse it when it regards Shakespeare and *Macbeth*, if I go a little out of my present road and add the few words following. As it has been held that Middleton wrote "Black spirits", etc., so it has been supposed that the lines on the "Touching for the Evil" were interpolated by Middleton or some other, because negative evidence seemed to show that James did not take upon himself this custom till a date much later than 1605. Lately, however, Prof. S. R. Gardiner has discovered that James

"touched" and was almost compelled to "touch" as early as 1603. Its efficacy had been believed in, and was set forth in books; so that the very assumption of this prerogative proved its efficacy, and thus proved his rightful heirship to the English crown,—a proof, I suspect, not lost sight of by the astute counsellors who counselled its adoption, nor by James himself. And I think that he must be blind who cannot see how this, added to the other evidence set forth in the play, and to the true, though somewhat, and of purpose, indirectly exposed intent of *Macbeth*, proved both James's heirship and set forth the certain overthrow of all such devilishly contrived plots,—such as, to name but three, the attempt at the Carse of Gowrie; the plot in which Raleigh was, or was supposed to be, concerned; and lastly, the gunpowder plot—as would alter the predestinate decree of Heaven, that James I and VI should be King of Great Britain. Unless, too, I am much mistaken, the fears of James were the direct or indirect instigators of Shakespeare's play, and the cause of that autograph letter to the poet, for which no shadow of a reason can otherwise be assigned.

For convenience' sake I here include some notings illustrative of either Shakespeare's indebtedness to Scot, or of those beliefs and forms of expression which led both to write as they did.

P. 10. "They can pull down the moon." This belief, derived from classic times, is authority for Prospero's "A witch . . . so strong That could control the moon" (v, i). So also ii, 1, 174.

——— "Corne in the blade." There is frequent reference to this in Scot, as here and at pp. *A* iiii, *v*, 49, 58, 63, 219, 221, 482, and elsewhere. But as Staunton saw, this is the nearest to *Macbeth's* "though bladed corn be lodged" (iv, 1). Also, though this happens more or less in several of the instances, yet especially here, the context agrees with the thoughts and context-words of *Macbeth*.

P. 33. "Anthropophagi and Canibals." Associated synonymes probably suggested to both by the same heading in p. 1100 of Seb. Münster's *Cosmography* (Basil, 1550).

P. 42. "Never faile to danse." An authority for the dancing of *Macbeth's* witches, and a probable authority for the dancing of the latter with broomsticks headed with brooms in their hands.

P. 54. The "Monarcho" of *L. L. Lost* appears from this to have been a madman.

P. 64. "Rime either man or beast to death." An extension of the Shakespearean and general belief that they rhymed (Irish) rats to death. *As You Like It*, iii, 2.

P. 77. "No power to occupy." Proof that this last word was used in the sense of to use or be busied with, from which general use it came to be employed as common slang for a disreputable and vile using.

P. 170. "Chattering of pies and haggisters." A haggister is the Kentish term for a pie, or magpie. The passage explains why Duncan (i, 5) is not welcomed by these, but by the ill-omened raven that is hoarse with croaking his approach. W. Perkins on *Witchcraft*, works, ed. 1613, says: "When a raven stands on a high place and looks a particular way and cries, a corse comes thence soon."

P. 187. "A thousand for one that fell out contrary." We would more correctly write—"A thousand that fell out contrary for one that fell out rightly or correctly." But this and others are examples of what we would call a more than loose way of expressing oneself, though then it was allowable, for Scot was an educated and intelligent man, who wrote well. "Each putter out of five for one", *Tempest*, iii, 2, is an almost exactly similar instance. The putting out of five for one is considered as one action, and is—*pace* Dyce—the receiving, as Malone says, at the rate of five for one, the putter out being he who puts out in the hope of receiving five for one.

P. 212. "The blind man . . . in killing the crow." Green's *Defence of Cony-Catching*, p. 70, ed. Grosart, gives this proverbial saying—"as blinde men shoote the crowe". *Hamlet*, 4to., 1603, has the variant—"as the blinde man catcheth the hare".

"A green silk curtain." These words, also in Middleton's *Witch*, i, 2, illustrate the custom which led Sir Toby (*Tw. N.*, i, 4) to say, "Wherefore have these gifts a curtain before 'em? Are they like to take dust like Mistress Moll's picture?" And these last words, by the way, prove that this same Moll had, for her own purposes, the portrait exposed in some painter's shop, or painters' shops, or rather free fronts, without a curtain.

P. 269. "If a soule wander . . . by night." Proof that the wandering of Hamlet's father's ghost was strictly in accordance with traditional folk-lore. So, p. 462, we have, "How common an opinion . . . reveale their estate"; and p. 535, "They affirme . . . soules of saints".

P. 347. "Bodkin." The text and margin show that this was used for a small dagger, and the woodcut on the next page that it was sometimes at least a rod-like and pointed weapon. Being thus shaped it was small, more easily carried at the waist, and less readily broken either by a bone or by an adversary's stroke.

P. 382. "*Beliall.*" This goes to show that he was "the other devil" whose name had escaped Macbeth's porter. Its being less common in men's and preachers' mouths would account for his non-remembrance.

P. 416. "*Lignum aloes.*" Against any argument drawn from the italic use of *Hews* in Son. 20, and its not being italicised in its first use in the same line, nor anywhere else in Shakespeare, the fact that *Alloes* appears in *The Lover's Complaint*, as well as do other words in the Sonnets, has been brought forward. But without entering in detail into the question, I would note that three substantives, all names of vegetables, are here mentioned, and that this alone is placed in italics. So, in the Appendix II, 1665, pp. 67-8, we have a number of aromatics named, but this only, and only on its second occurrence, is with *Sperma Ceti* placed in italics—the reason, I presume, being, that as a medicine, a more strange and less-known name to the commonalty, and a Latin one, it was treated as a quoted proper name.

P. 497. "He burned his booke." A precedent, as was Acts ix, 19, for Prospero's "I'll drown my book", when he left his island.

P. 498. "Bicause they want." One example, among many, from Elizabethan and present authors, and from provincial use, where want = "be", or "are without". This in part explains *Macbeth*, iii, 6, where Lennox exclaims, "Who cannot want the thought?" The true difficulty lies in the use of the negative "cannot". But while a more correct style would have "can", the more colloquial and hasty use of the former was, I think, permissible, just as was the use of the double negative where it was not meant to be, as it usually was, emphatic. Moreover, it gives here a double or ambiguous sense, such as, I think, Lennox wanted to express.

P. 504. "One instant or pricke of time." Illustrates somewhat differently than I think is usually explained, "the prick of noon". *R. and Jul.*, and other places.

P. 516. "Diverse shapes and forms." Shakespeare follows this ruling when he makes Ariel and his co-spirits assume different shapes, though some modern critics find fault because he being on some occasions invisible, these changes are, in their opinion, unnecessary. But the appearance of these spirits, sometimes as invisible, sometimes as visible, sometimes in spirit form, sometimes as Juno or Ceres, sometimes as harpies, is not only in accordance with the then beliefs as to airy spirits, but to me, and to those who have seen their representatives, it is more pleasant to see them in forms appropriate to their office, besides bringing their spiritual existence and power more vividly before us. Critics here, as well as elsewhere, too often insist on considering Shakespeare as the author of books to be read, and not of plays to be acted and seen.

P. 518. "This devil Beelzebub." So seems to have thought *Macbeth's* porter.

P. 520. "The cruell angel." Here in Prov. 17 [11] we have one of the principles on which *Macbeth* was planned and executed.

P. 533. "Soules appeare oftenest by night; . . . never to the whole multitude, also may be seene of some[,] and of some other in that presence not seene at all." Here is proof of the folk-lore correctness of the ghost appearing only when Marcellus and Bernardo were alone on watch, and of his being afterwards invisible to the Queen in her own chamber, though visible to Hamlet while there in obedience to her summons.

Appendix II, p. 46, par. 8. "*But it is rarely known.*" Though this is after Shakespeare's time, the belief, in all probability, was in existence in his day, and shows how the writer of the first and unknown *Hamlet* followed in *Hamlet's* ghost the beliefs of his day.

"*Feature.*" An example of its being used for the make of a man, and not merely of the features of his countenance, to which it is now appropriated; but till I can find—and as yet I have found none, though I have looked out for it—an example of feature used for things inanimate, I cannot accept the interpretation of song or sonnet in Touchstone's *As You Like It*, iii, 3, 3. Feature here, as any shape or proportions, is perfectly intelligible. Did it refer to verse we should expect "features". From no man, as Touchstone is depicted by Shake-

speare, could we less expect verse-making, and all his reference to it in this passage may readily have arisen from his reference to his new situation as like that of the *honest* poet Ovid among the Goths. Had he been poetical and given her verses, he could not have explained to Aubrey that he, being a poet, only feigned to love her.

P. 198. "*Primus secundus.*" This goes far to show—proves, I think—that the Clown's "Primo, secundo, tertio is a good play" (*Tw. N.*, v, 1), a passage on which no commentator known to me has touched, thinking it a merely jocular remark, is, in fact, taken from a well-known "play" or game. What the game was is unknown to me, but children still use various numerals, provincial or otherwise, mingled with rhyme, to settle anything, as, for instance, who shall hide in the game of hide and seek.

P. 471. "Biggins." Shows, as does 2 *Hy. IV*, iv, 5, 27, that, if not nightcaps, they meant, among other significations, caps worn at night and in bed, and that "homely" was not a generic epithet.

Introd. Rainolde Scot's Will "bank or pond". I note this because it may possibly help to some future interpretation of Iris's words in the *Tempest*, iv, 1, 64, "The banks with pioned . . . brims."

MIDDLETON'S "WITCH".

P. 117. "*Marmaritin*", etc. In i, 2, he copies these names, altering only their order for the sake of the verse, and probably for the same reason omitting "Mevais".

> "I could give thee
> Chirocinata, adincantida,
> Archimedon, marmaritin, calicia,
> Which I could sort to villainous barren ends."

P. 124. "Needles wherwith dead bodies are sowne or sockt into their sheetes." [Noted amidst charms procuring love and hate.] In i, 2, following the marmaritin passage, we find—

> "More I could instance
> As, the same needles *thrust into their pillows*
> That sews and socks up dead men in their sheets."

This is the more noteworthy, as to sock a corpse seems to have been a Kentish phrase. "A privy gristle", etc., as given by Middleton, was, I presume, one of the other things which, "for reverence of the reader", Scot omits, though whence the former got it I know not.

——— Among other "toies which procure love" are, "a little fish called Remora". In the same scene of the *Witch*, we find—

> "*Hæc.* Thou com'st for a love charm now
> * * * * * *
> I'll give thee a remora, shall bewitch her straight.
> * * * * * *
> . . . . . a small fish."

——— Scot also gives "the bone of a greene frog, the flesh thereof being consumed with pismers or ants". And Middleton's Hecate adds—

> "The bones of a green frog too, wondrous precious,
> The flesh consum'd by pismires."

——— "The haire growing on the nethermost part of a woolves taile . . . the braine of a cat." In ii, 2, Almachildes, speaking of love charms, says: "The whorsom old hellcat would have given me the brain of a cat . . . and a little bone in the hithermost part of a wolf's tail." In the words "bone" and "hithermost" he may have erred in memory, or there may in the latter word have been a copyist's error.

P. 153. Hecate, i, 2, enumerates "Urchins, Elves, Hags, [fairies]

Satyrs, Pans, Fauns, Sylvans, Kitt-with-the-candlestick, Tritons, Centaurs, Dwarfs [giants], Imps [. . . . .], the Spoo[r]n, the Mare, the Man-i-the-oak, the Hellwaine, the Fire-drake, the Puckle!" [. . . .]. These, except the omissions marked by . . . . and by [ ], are exactly those mentioned by Scot, and in the same order.

P. 184. Scot, from J. B. Porta. Neap., gives a receipt to be used by witches when they would transport themselves through the air. "℞ The fat of yoong children and seethe it [etc., etc.] . . . They put there, into Eleoselinum, Aconitum, Frondes populeas and Soote . . . Another receipt . . . ℞, Sium, acarum vulgare, pentaphyllon, the bloud of a flittermouse, solanum somniferum, & oleum."

In i, 2, we have these bits almost verbatim—

> "*Hec.* There take this unbaptised brat,
> Boil it well; preserve the fat:
> You know 'tis precious to transfer
> Our 'nointed flesh into the air
> In moonlight nights,
> * * * *
> I thrust in eleoselinum lately,
> Aconitum, frondes populeas and soot—
> * * * *
> Then sium, acorum vulgare too,
> Pentaphyllon, the blood of a flitter-mouse
> Solanum somni*ficum* et oleum."

——— "By this means (saith he) in a moonlight night [see fifth line of i, 2, just quoted] they seeme to be carried through the air, to feasting, singing, dansing, kissing, colling, and other acts of venerie, with such youthes as they love and desire most." In i, 2, just after the previous lines, are these—

> "When hundred leagues in the air, we feast and sing,
> Dance, kiss, and coll, use everything:
> What young man can we wish to pleasure us,
> But we enjoy him in an incubus."

P. 186. "frier Bartholomæus" [Spinæus] saith that . . . "the witches before they annoint themselves do heare in the night time a great noise [=band or troop] of minstrels, which flie over them, with the ladie of the fairies, and . . . to their journie." In iii, 1, Firestone says . . . "Hark, hark, mother, they are over the steeple already, flying over your head with a noise of musicians."

P. 222. "It is constantlie affirmed in *M. Mal.* that *Stafus* . . . had a disciple called *Hoppo*, who made Stadlin a maister witch, and could all when they list, invisiblie transferre the third part of their neighbors doong, hay, corne, &c: into their own ground, make haile, tempests, and flouds, with thunder and lightning." Bodin also, bk. ii, c. 6; but he makes Hoppo and Stadlin co-disciples of Stafus and master witches. Compare i, 2, *ad init.* for Hoppo and Stadlin, while further on comes—

"Stadlin's within :
She raises all your sudden ruinous storms
That shipwreck barks, and tear up growing oaks.
* * * * *
I'll call forth Hoppo, and her incantation
Can straight destroy the young of all his cattle ;
Blast vineyards, orchards, meadows ; or in one night
Transport his dung, hay, corn, by reeks, whole stacks,
Into thine own ground."

P. 244. "*A ab hur hus.*" A charm against the toothache. Hence it is most probable, especially if the ! of "Puckle !" be in the original, that Hecate, after reaching that name, is interrupted by a sudden spasm of toothache, which she would exorcise by this "*A ab hur hus*". The sudden pause, the contortions of her haggard visage, and the grotesque movements of the 117-year-old hag would greatly add to the comedy of the scene.

P. 542. When this mortal witch Hecate—not the Queen of Hell and of Witchdom, as was the Hecate of antiquity and of Shakespeare, and others in the middle ages, for, says one of the after writers given in the later editions of M. Mal., "Hecate artem magicam doceret"—uses in i, 2, the very rhymes spoken of under this page in the Shakespeare writings, some [ands] and [&c., his] being omitted, and "devil-lambe" being changed to "devil-ram". In v, 2, she again mentions "Titty and Tiffin, Leaid and Robin", and thistime "Pucky", for the rhyme's sake. Hellwin and Prickle are—as shown by her other mention of them (see note, p. 153), as well as her mention of them elsewhere—mere copyists' or printers' errors for Hellwain and Puckle.

P. 222. One would here add the quotation from Ovid's *Metam.* made by Hecate, the first line running in Scott, Middleton, Corn. Agrippa (*Occult Phil.*, l. 1, c. 72), and in Bodin, *Dæmono*, l. 2, c. 2 : "Cum volui . . . ipsis mirantibus" instead of "Quorum ope cum . . . mirantibus"; but that from the accidental dropping of the line "Vivaque saxa", etc., in Bodin, and its omission also in Middleton, it would seem, as Dyce remarks, that Middleton took it from Bodin. In concluding, I would state that most, but not all, of these references are taken from Dyce's *Middleton.*

EXTRACTS FROM WIER.

I.

Besides those noted by Scot in the margins, I have gathered the following from Wier, though very possibly some may have been overlooked. By far the greater number occur in the 12th Book of Scot; that is, they consist chiefly of various charms and illustrative tales.

I would not be understood, however, as thinking that Scot in all these cases copied from Wier, any more than I would assert that some later Astronomer Royal has quoted from Herschel, without mentioning him, the fact "that the earth revolves around the sun". The reference in both to the *Homerica medicatio* from Ferrerius (in Scot, Ferrarius) is a notable one in point, and two other instances will be found in Notes on the Text. I quite agree, also, with Prof. W. T. Gairdner when he says, *Insanity*, p. 61: "Nothing, however, is more evident than that Scot, however indebted to Wier (and both of them probably to Cornelius Agrippa . . .), was far in advance of either in the clearness of his views and the unwavering steadiness of his leanings to the side of humanity and justice."

N.B.—"&c." for the words following in the page has been omitted, as unnecessary.

P. 7. The reader may compare the first, and the first part of par. 2 of ch. 3 with Wier, *De Lamiis*, c. 5, "Quocirca eam", etc., and judge whether the remembrance of this latter did not suggest Scot's words.

P. 53. "One *Bessus*." From Plutarch. Also given by Wier; but I have lost the reference.

P. 111. "*Chasaph*." Scot seems to have remembered Wier ii, 1, § 2, but not to have copied him. Wier gives Exod. 22, 18. οὐ περιβιώσατε; Scot, οὔκ επιζεώσετε, a variant I know not whence obtained, not being in the Oxford 1821 ed. of the Sept.

P. 123. "*Eusebius* . . . poison." Wier iii, 38, § 2 and 4. Both call Lucilia Lucilla. Scot omits § 3 regarding Alphonso of Arragon.

P. 126. "This word *Ob* . . . *Ventriloqui*." Wier ii, 1, § 12.

P. 177. "Onen . . . to the interpretation of dreames." Wier ii, 1, § 8, "aliquando observara somnia."

P. 183. "The art . . . in digging for monie [. . . omit]. There must . . . treasure awaie." Wier v, 11, § 1. Scot adds "bona" after "videre".

P. 184. "R The fat . . . impudentlie affirmed them" [close of ch.]. Wier iii, 17, § 2, 3. But from the first and last words of Scot's chapter, he, as well as Wier, took these things from J. B. Porta, though he may have been led by Wier to consult Porta.

P. 230. "*Balsamus.*" Scot's words at the beginning of the chapter were suggested by Wier v, 9, § 4, though he has added some descriptive particulars; then these words are given by both, Wier adding that three Agnus Dei's were sent by Pope Urban.

P. 231. "*A wastcote of proofe.*" Wier v, 8, § 2. Scot's "little virgine girl" is a "junioribus notæ castitatis puelles", his "hat" is "galea".

——— "*Gaspar.*" These verses, with a longer proem, are in Wier v, 8, § 1.

P. 240. "*Homerica medicatio.*" Wier v, 19, § 1. See note in its place. Wier quotes at length from Ferrarius, § 2, 3, and 4, gives his name rightly, and rightly reads in the present passage *verbis*, and not as Scot, *verbi*.

——— "*Nos habitat.*" Wier v, 19, § 3, from Ferrarius.

P. 242. "For the falling evil . . . no more." Wier v, 8, § 2; but he finishes the charm with "In nomine [etc.]. Amen."

P. 243. "*Ananizapta*", v, 9, § 6. Wier gives *Ananisapta*, has "quæ" instead of "dum", l. 1, and adds "contra febres a quodam nebulone . . . offerantur".

——— "Write upon a piece of bread" [for the bite of a mad dog]. This Scot gives from v, 8, § 6. But Wier has ". . . Khiriori essera . . . fede". Afterwards, "Vel hoc scriptum in papiro, aut pane, homini sive cani in os inseritur". In the *O rex*, etc., there are crosses after each person of the Trinity, and a "prax" after Gaspar, while "I max" is "ymax".

P. 244. "Against the toothache." "*Galbes, etc. . . . persanate.*" These two charms, omitting the intervening one, are in Wier v, 8, § 6, adding to the *persanate* one, "hoc scriptum appenditur". The second, "At saccaring", etc., is given v, 4, § 2.

——— "Let a virgine", v, 8, § 3. Wier preceding this with the words, "Ita antiquitas credebat, verbascum cum sua radice tusum, vino aspersum, folioque involutum, & in cinere calefactum, strumisque impositum, eas abigere, si hoc fecisset virgo jejuna jejuno, & manu tangens supino dixisset."

P. 246. "A gentlewoman", v, 18, § 1. But the charm is a versification, probably by Scot himself, of a German prose sentence, and it was given and the story told "a viro Ecclesiastico, non infimi nominis Theologo". Scot evidently thought that this description of the perpetrator of so indecorous a jest might better be omitted, even though he were a German.

——— "*To open locks . . . .* Take a peece . . . *Amen*", v, 11, § 2; but "hinder" is anteriore. The essential part of the words just marked as omitted is in v, 11, § 3.

——— "*A charme to drive . . . house.*" This and the marginal note are in v, 14, § 4. But Wier places "vel" between each of the Bible sentences, therefore Scot's "this sentence" should have been "any of these sentences".

P. 247. "*Another for the same*", v, 14, § 2, beginning "Item". Scot has shortened his "fiftlie", and omitted that the beggar must pray with all attention. Also in his haste he omits that the conjuror gave doses of rhubarb and other herbs twice daily.

P. 247. "The sicke man", v, 23, § 6. Wier gives the words of the "gospell" that is to be carried about his neck—"Hoc genus dæmonii non ejicitur, nisi jejunio & oratione"—taken, though apparently by memory only, from Matt. 17, 20, Vulg. The names in Scot's margin are in Wier, Gualterio, Bernhardo.

Pp. 247-8. "This office or conjuration." The paragraph is from v, 22, § 6, with a slight condensation of the first words.

P. 248. "*A charme for the bots*", v, 4, § 8. Scot only omitting the "sanctus" before "Job".

P. 249. "There are also", v, 4, § 7. Wier commences—"Vidi, haud ita pridem apud magnæ authoritatis virum nobilem, librum conscriptum execrabilem, flammis dignissimum, plenum exorcismis, frequenti crucis consignatione, & ex sancta Scriptura formulis in nomine Patris [etc.] finitis, contra equorum non modo morbos quoslibet," etc. But he has not "as it . . . Rome."

——— "Item, the Duke of Alba", v, 4, § 5. "Equo item Vice-regis in sacello suum fuisse locum ubi celebraretur Missa. Continebat & dux exercitus vexillum in manu, quamdiu sollennibus ritibus idipsum uti campanæ solent, baptizaretur. Ornabat & hunc actum effigies D. Virginis Mariæ cum filiolo in eodem volans, & duæ complicatæ manus ad stipulantium morem."

——— "That wine", v, 4, § 9. Scot omitting after eager, "eo anno".

P.252. "*Mahomets* pigeon", i, 19, § 3, 4. Scot omitting all notice of the apostate confederate Sergius, of the trained bull, and of the words before rex esto, viz., "Quicunque tauro jugum imponat".

P. 253. "At Memphis in Aegypt", i, 19, § 1, faithfully yet freely.

P. 254. "I conjure thee O serpent . . . unto the Jewes", v, 4, § 10. But Wier has no "otherwise", nor any signs of the whole being two conjurations. After Jewes he has, "te vermem a me discedere oportet, velut a Judæis discessit Deus noster". His magical words are "Eli lass eiter, . . . eitter, . . . eitter". Scot's second "I conjure" is "exorciso", and for fear of error, Wier's "Divam Mariam" becomes "S. Mary".

P. 257. "A charme . . . with images of wax . . . afterwards in another." P. 258, l. 1, is in Wier v, 11, § 6, 7, 8, except that "And if they were inserted", etc., is Scot's. The charm words in Wier are "Alif cafiel zaza . . ." adding "leviatan leutatace". Scot also gives a sentence which perplexed me till I turned to Wier, "& ferrum, quo homo necatus fuit, traditur alteri imagini, [of wax] ut alterius necandi simulachri caput transigat". Also, after "angell must be mentioned", Wier adds, "Non absimile monstrum fingitur, ut quis tibi in omnibus obsequatur".

P. 259. "*Imparibus* . . . breake a bone of him", v, 12, § 1. I doubt, however, Scot's dividing "*Jesus autem*" [etc.] from "You shall not" [etc.] by the last "otherwise", for Wier does not, and in § 3 tells of one who silently submitted to all tortures, and on whom was found —"sub scruffiam inter crines quandam parvam schedulam", containing "✠ Jesus autem transiens ✠ per mediam illorum ✠ os non comminueris ex eo ✠".

P. 260. "*Charmes to . . . theefe*", to end of second paragraph, except from "even as plainlie" to "confutation hereof", will be found in v, 5, § 1, 2. But there are some additions in Wier (it may be from Cardan) which I leave to the student reader to look up.

P. 261. "*Another waie . . . theefe*", v, 5, § 6. Wier adds, "ex sacrifici libro clam a me subtracta". Scot's "sea side" is "fluentem aquam", the "forme of conjuration" is "per Christi passionem, mortem, & resurrectionem (quam propter impie curiosus celo)".

P. 262. "*To put out the theeves eie*", v, 5, § 7. "A coopers hammar, or addes", is "malleo cypressimo".

P. 263. "*Saint Adelberts cursse*" to "*in morte sumus*", Wier, v, 6, § 1. Scot, evidently by accident, omits after *made orphanes*: "sint maledicti in civitate", and by a press or other error the "*& odio habeantur*", etc., becomes "or hated of all men living", a change slightly injuring the sense. I know not whether it be due to the more frequent repetition of *maledicti* in the Latin, but this curse reads to me more horrible in the original than when translated. I would also note that here, as sometimes elsewhere, Wier speaks more, and more strongly, against some of these things than does Scot.

P. 266. "They naile a wolves head", v, 20, § 3.

P. 267. "*Terque*", given in Wier, v, 21, § 1.

——— "*Adveniat*", v, 21, § 6.

——— "*Baccare*", v, 21, § 4.

P. 269. "*To spoile a theefe*", v, 5, § 8. But the strange words are in Wier, "Droch, myrroch esenaroth", and in the next set of unintelligible words "*Eson* ✠" is "✠ eson" and "*age*" is "ege". He also explains more clearly, I think, that all these conjuring terms are to be thrice repeated.

P. 270. "Say three severall times", v, 4, § 6, the final Amen and some ✠s being omitted.

——— "*Charmes against a quotidian*", v, 8, § 7. With these differences, the three pieces, "the jejunus", should "easdem tribus diebus edat". Instead of Scot's "Otherwises" we have "Si minus successerit, in pane missali scribitur: O febrem omni laude colendam: in altero, . . . in tertio . . . Si nec hic modus juverit, denuo in pane dicto toties pingatur: . . . quem diebus, ut supra, mane absumat." Whence it would seem that three massecakes were in each instance to be used, and not one divided into three, a thought probably suggested by the three pieces of apple.

——— "*For . . . agues intermittent.*" The whole paragraph is in v, 8, § 7.

P. 271. "*S. Barnard*", Wier i, 16, § 6.

——— "Take three consecrated . . . Trinitie", v, 4, § 2, "Recipe tres panes Missales", etc.

P. 272. "In the yeere." This paragraph is, with a little freeness of translation and a slight addition, both in the unimportant parts, from v, 4, § 5.

P. 273. "Take a cup of cold water." This paragraph is from v, 4, § 3. Scot's English verses are thus in Wier: "✠ In sanguine Adæ orta est mors: ✠ in sanguine Christi redempta est mors: ✠ in eodem

sanguine Christi præcipio tibi ✠ ô sanguis, ut fluxum tuum cohibeas". Wier then goes to "Aliud: De latere ejus" [etc.], and continues: "Item (Otherwise) ex quacunque corporis parte profluentum sanguinem cohibere nituntur his verbis: Christus natus est in Bethlehem" [etc.]; and then, without any Aliud, Item, or other sign that it is not a continuation of the same charm, "Tene innominatum digitum in vulnere, & fac cum eo" [etc.]; Scot's "five wounds" being "sanctorum quinque vulnerum".

P. 273. "There was a jollie fellowe" to "This dooth Joh: Wierus", etc., is from v, 15, § 1. Wier begins, "Ad insignis malitiæ chirurgum", but Scot's "jollie" seems to have been taken from his drinking habits, which in Wier are spoken of in a more pronounced manner.

P. 275. "This surgion", v, 15, § 2. But Scot's "ague" is in Wier "febrem", and it is added that not long afterwards the patient died, in his (Wier's) opinion of an empyema. I marvel that Scot omitted this last.

P. 276. "Otherwise: Jesus Christ", v, 15, § 3. Scot omits the ✠ after the first Christ.

——— "Another such cousening", v, 15, § 4.

P. 282. "At Easter", v, 40, § 4. Note, in the margin I have placed [? or] for the "on" of text. The "?" is unnecessary, for in Wier it is "infra cornua vel aures".

——— "Otherwise *Jacobus*", v, 40, § 3.

P. 294. "The corral", v, 21, § 5. But Scot refers to Avicenna, though Wier does not; nor do the names of the precious stones spoken of, nor the remarks upon them, coincide with those in Wier at the above reference.

P. 303. "Also that a woman", Wier vi, 9, § 1, gives this, but his words differ so much, that it can only be that both happened to notice this common superstition.

P. 421. "*Exorciso te creaturam aquæ . . . apostatis*", v, 21, § 16, giving "apostaticis". But Scot's giving the whole form, both of this and of the exorcism of salt, and his italics, show that he took it from, I suppose, the *Missale* or other R. C. book of devotions, though Wier may have given the idea.

P. 433. "*Jacobus de Chusa*", i, 13, § 1, to middle of 6. Scot's first paragraph is different; in the rest he sometimes amplifies, sometimes condenses, sometimes omits Wier's words, and Wier says that he gives J. de Chusa's *verba fideliter*. The first prayer at its close is in Scot shortened.

P. 445. "I conjure thee." This, like the ". . . creaturam salis", 421, is given in Latin by Wier, v, 21, § 27, down to "adjuratus". Both the Latin and English in Scot are the same, except a slight difference after "judicare", arising from Scot, in this second instance, giving the sense rather than the *verba ipsissima*.

P. 507. "*Rabbi Abraham* . . . collected." Translated from i, 6, § 7.

P. 518. "For *Beelzebub* . . . *manium*", i, 5, § 3.

519. Nisroch (5); Tartac [not Tarcat] (4); Beelphegor (1); Adramalech (2); Chamos (6); Dagon (8); Astarte (7); Melchom (7); are in Wier i, 5, § 3, with other gods, and in the order here marked. The

wording after each is also Wier's, as is the error "Ozee 9, 11" for 9, 10. Both also make the same mistake as to the duality of Astarte and Astaroth, because in 1 Kings ii, 5, she is called Astarthe in the Vulg., whence Wier took his names, and Scot followed him, and not his English Bible. Both mention that the word means "riches, &c.", and that it was a city of Og; though both, curiously enough, here forget the observation they had made elsewhere as to other cities, that it was dedicated to, and therefore called after, the deity. Scot omits also Wier's supposition that both Beelzebub and Beelphegor were Priapus.

P. 520. This chapter, from the "heading" to the end, is derived from i, 21, § 1, to § 25, but is much abbreviated; some titles also are omitted; but except for a slight change in the positions of both *Diabolus*, and his last names, "owle", etc., Scot follows the order of Wier.

P. 521. "*Lares* . . . cities", i, 6, § 6, except that Wier has "cuam agere" for both "trouble"—an odd word here—and "set to oversee".

——— "*Virunculi terrei* . . . drawe water." Follows generally, though not quite literally, i, 22, § 5.

——— "*Dii geniales* . . . birth", i, 6, § 6, shortened.

P. 522. "*Tetrici* . . . *Subterranei; Cobali; Guteli* or *Trulli* (the etymology being Scot's); *Virunculi* [*montani*, Wier]; *Dæmones montani*." These being in the same order, are adopted from Wier i, 22, § 8-11, but much shortened. "*Hudgin*" immediately follows as "Hutkin", § 12.

——— "*Hudgin*. . . . ware a cap", i, 22, § 12. Here it is said—"pileo caput opertus unde & vulgo Pileatum eum appellabant rurales, hoc est, ein Hedeckin, lingua Saxonica."

——— "*Familiares Dæmones* . . . Simon Samareus . . . to come", etc.—but of course omitting *Feats* and *Dr. Burcot*—are from i, 22, § 7. Also "Albæ mulieres and Albæ Sibyllæ", though shortened. The "did much harm" is from Wier. "*Deumus*, *Agnan*, *Grigii*, *Charoibes*" and "*Hovioulsira*" follow in order, § 23-26. See note on *Deumus*.

P. 523. "Raise thunder . . . *Elicius*", i, 6, § 6, but in the enumeration of the "*Dii selecti*" Wier and Ennius are not followed, but Varro.

P. 525. "As namelie of beasts . . . *Latus*", is, I believe, from Strabo originally, but by Scot was taken, I think, from Wier i, 6, § 2.

P. 533. "Pope Benedict the eight and ninth", i, 16, § 3 and 4. But Scot's "seen a hundred years after", whereas Wier only has "postea", seems to show that the former had referred to Platina.

II.

SCOT ON THE NAMES, ETC., OF DEVILS FROM WIER,

BUT PROBABLY THROUGH T. R., MENTIONED P. *393*.

P. 377, l. 13. "Seventie and nine." The list given by Scot is 68 + 1 accidentally omitted + Beelzebub not mentioned + the 4 kings of the N., S., E. and West = 74. Wier himself gives no total, but the discrepancy in Scot may perhaps have arisen from his copying 79 from T. R., from whom, as an intermediary, and not directly from Wier, or from some other, I think, from facts presently to be mentioned, it will be rendered probable that he copied.

P. 378. "*Marbas*." After this name Scot omits from Wier's list— "Purflas, alibi invenitur Busas, magnus Princeps & Dux est, cujus mansio circa turrim Babylonis, & videtur in eo flamma foris, caput autem assimilatur magno nycto-coraci. Autor est et promotor discordiarum, bellorum, rixarum et mendaciorum. Omnibus in locis non intromittatur. Ad quæsita respondet abunde. Sub sunt huic legiones vingenti sex, partim ex ordine Throni, partim Angelorum." The edition of Wier that I have used, I may here remark, is chiefly that of 1660, but where any doubt arose, that of 1583. But from whence did Wier obtain these things? Under *Belial* (I give Scot's English) he says: "Without doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my master Salomon; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them up so. But I beleeve it was for the pride of this *Beliall*." Secondly, under *Gaap*, he says: "I may not bewraie how and declare the meanes to conteine him, bicause it is abhomination [nefandam], and for that I have learned nothing from Salomon of his dignitie and office". And Wier has in his margin "Scelerati necromantici verba sunt". Thirdly, Wier, in his address before his Pseudomonarchia, says: "hanc . . . ex Acharonticorum Vasallorum archivo subtractam"; and at the close of this address: "Inscribitur vero a maleferiato hoc hominum genere Officium spirituum, vel, Liber officiorum spirituum, seu Liber dictus Empto.[rium] Salomonis, de principibus & regibus dæmoniorum, qui cogi possunt divina vertute & humana. At mihi nuncupabitur Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum."

Pp. 377–93. Scot, in these second, third, and fourth chapters, follows Wier, but for these reasons did not, I think, directly translate him:

1. As stated under *Marbas*, p. 378, *Purflas* is omitted.

2. Three sentences are retained in their original Latin, as though the translator could not understand them. (*a*) Under *Barbatos*, ". . . in signo sagittarii sylvestris", he probably knowing Sagittarius, but not sure as to what sign or who sagittarius sylvestris might be. (*b*) Under *Leraie*, ". . . quos optimos objicit tribus diebus". Wier here places "optimos" as the third word, but the sense to me and my friends is an unsolved puzzle. (*c*) Under *Oze*, ". . . Duratque id regnum ad horam" (but Wier omits the "ad"), "And this sovereignty lasts an hour [and no longer], differing in this from ordinary mono-

mania." 3. Under *Bileth* Scot and Wier say, ". . . as for *Amaimon*", and Scot in the margin has "Vide Amaimon"; yet neither mentions him under a heading, nor more than by name, as "Amaymon king of the East", in chap. iv. 4. Under *Murmur*, Scot ends with "and ruleth thirtie legions", but Wier omits this, as do both in the cases of *Oze*, *Vine*, and *Saleos*. 5. There are differences and slips of translation which Scot could not, I think, have made. (*a*) Scot invariably, in the rest of his works, speaks of "the order of virtutes", but in this chapter, where it is used five times under *Agares*, *Barbatos*, *Purson*, and *Belial*, and ch. iv, p. 395, it is "vertues". (*b*) *Barbatos* is said to come "with foure kings, which bring companies and great troopes". But Wier has "cum quatuor regibus tubas ferentibus". From this it is clear that the translator read "tubas" as "tribus". (*c*) "Ugly viper" is the translation of "viperæ species deterrima". (*d*) "He giveth answers of things present, past, and to come", is in Wier "Dat perfecte responsa vera de . . . futuris & abstrusis"; Scot omitting both "perfecte" and "abstrusis". See under *Botis* for both (*c*) and (*d*). (*e*) "*Bune* Muta loquitur voce", rendered in Scot, "he speaketh with a divine voice". The translator apparently looked out for "mutus" in a dictionary, such as Th. Cooper's, where in Old English he found "dumme", and read it—as I at first sight did, and with great astonishment, though I confess my thoughts were running on the puzzle—"divine". (*f*) Under *Bileth*, ". . . before whome go trumpets and all kind of melodious musicke", Scot has, "or if he have not the chaine of spirits [the book called *Vinculum Spirituum*], certeinelie he will never feare nor regard him after", but Wier has, ". . . sciet haud dubie exorcista, malignos spiritus postea eum non verituros, et semper viliorem habituros". (*g*) "Sitri . . . willinglie deteineth secrets of women", is in Wier, "secreta libenter detegit fæminarum". Here there are in the English two gross blunders, as is evident on reading the rest of the Latin text. "Ludificansque", also, is not "mocking", but "toying with them", "ut se luxuriose nudent". (*h*) Under *Paimon*, Wier's "in Empto.[rium] Salomonis" is "in *Circulo Salomonis*". "Aquilonem" is "North-west", though Th. Cooper and Holyokes Rider, and, I believe, all dictionaries, only give it and its adjectives as North, North-east, and Northern. "Accedant", also, is translated "may be reckoned", to the complete extinction of the sense. (*i*) *Belial* is, "eorum qui ex Ordine [Potestatum] ceciderunt", and is translated, "of them which fell being of the orders". (*j*) "He is found in the forme of an exorcist in the bonds of spirits", is, in more ways than one, a strange and most ambiguous rendering, altogether unlike Scot, of "Forma exorcistæ [the form of exorcising that is to be used] invenitur in [the book] *Vinculo Spirituum*". (*k*) "Si autem se submittere noluerit Vinculum Spirituum legatur, quo sapientissimus Salomon", etc., becomes "If . . . let the bond of spirits be read, the spirits chaine [apparently an unintentional doubling of the previous words], is sent for him wherewith wise Salomon", etc. I might add that twice in the course of this chapter "sapientissimus S." becomes "wise S.", in "vase vitreo' "in a brazen vessel", and "in puteum grandem" "into a deep lake or hole", and twice afterwards "lake" only. (*l*) Under *Furfur*, "fulgura,

coruscationes & tonitrua" is translated "thunders and lightnings, and blasts". (*m*) In *Malphas*, "artifices maximos" is "artificers". (*n*) Under *Vepar*, "Contra inimicos exorcistæ per dies tres . . . homines inficit" becomes, without qualification, "he killeth men in three days". (*o*) Under *Sydonay*, "Cum hujus officia exercet exorcista", instead of "When the exorcist would make use of the offices [the incantations for] of this [spirit]", or "When the exorcist would make use of the forms of invocation proper to this spirit", it is translated, "When the conjurer exerciseth this office". The next words, "fit [? sit] fortis", become "let him be abroad", "foris" having been read instead of "fortis". "If his cap be on his head", Wier has "si coopertus", "if he be overwhelmed" [with fear, etc.], the translator possibly wishing to express this by "if his cap be so far on his head" [through fear as to cover his eyes], then, etc. Besides this, there is an ambiguity in Wier which is fully followed in the translator. In Wier we have: "si vero coopertus fuerit, ut in omnibus detegatur, efficiet: Quod si non fecerit exorcista, ab Amaymone in cunctis decipietur:" I can only suppose from the punctuation that the "Quod si non", etc., was intended to refer to his not being "fortis", and (as in Scot) "warie and standing on his feete". (*p*) Under *Gaap*, Scot says, "if anie exorcist . . . nor see him"; Wier has the same, but follows it up with "nisi per artem". On the other hand, Wier has no equivalent for "insensibility". (*r*) *Shax:* ". . . there he speaketh divinely" is "loquitur de divinis rebus", an error Scot could not have made, and which is not made elsewhere in this chapter. (*s*) *Procell:* ". . . in the shape of an angell, but speaketh darkly of things hidden", is in Wier, "in specie angelica, sed obscura valde: loquitur de occultis". (*t*) *Raum:* ". . . he stealeth wonderfully out of the kings house"; Wier, "mire ex regis domi *vel alia* suffuratur". (*v*) In *Vine*, "lapideos domos" is translated "stone walles". (*w*) *Flauros:* Wier says, "vere respondet. Si fuerit in triangulo mentitur in cunctis." Scot follows the same punctuation, but had he translated it, he, as a man of intelligence, must have seen that the (.) before "Si" should have been struck out and placed after "triangulo", or a "non" inserted after "Si", for this triangle was made specially for the exorcist's safety and the spirit's obedience and truthful speaking (see under *Bileth*, *Furfur* and *Shax*). It must, however, be confessed to be a mark of haste in Scot to have admitted such mistakes, even though he only copied, the more so as he must have known the *Pseudomonarchia*. "And deceiveth in other things, and beguileth in other business", is a duplicate translation of "et fallit in aliis negotiis". The omission of "twentie" (viginti) before "legions" may be a press error, but the "de divinitate", translated "of divinity", must be, I think, a translator's error, for it really means "of the Divinity" (see "Purson"). (*x*) Under *Buer*, Wier has "conspicitur in signo*"; under *Decarabia*, "venit simili*"; under *Aym*, "altero [capiti, simili] homini duos * habenti." Clearly the book or MS. used by Wier was in these places illegible, or more likely the copier had been unable to fill in the wanting word or words, and indicated this by a *. But Scot's authority did not understand it on its first occurrence under *Buer*, and, not mentioning any sign, translates it, "is seene in this sign;"! (*y*) The names of the fiends differ also sometimes in

spelling; omitting such instances as "i" for "y", "c" for "k", etc., I give Wier first, followed by Scot's form. "Bathym", alibi "Marthim"—"Bathin", "Mathin"; "Pursan"—"Purson"; "Loray"—"Leraie", this latter being wrong, because his alias is "Oray". Wier, by the way, also shows that "Leraie" was not pronounced "Leraje", as given in the second edition of Scot. "Ipes", alias "Ayperos"—"Ipos", "Ayporos"; "Naberus"—"Naberius", probably the wrong form; "Roneve"—"Ronove"; "Forres"—"Foras"; "Marchocias"—"Marchosias"; "Chax"—"Shax"; "Pucel"—"Procell"; "Zagam"—"Zagan"; "Volac"—"Valac"; "Androalphus"—"Andrealphus"; "Oze"—"Ose"; "Zaleos"—"Saleos"; "Wal, 1660", is "Vual (as Scot), 1583". It will be noticed that "e" is five times used for "o", a MS. copyist's error.

I think I had some other proofs in a MS. sheet since lost; but these are now overmany to prove that Scot had access to some other copy than Wier's *Pseudomonarchia*, and made use of it, and that his translator was not very conversant with Latin. Wier, it may be added, puts "Secretum . . . horum" in one line, and without a capital to the "Tu", and gives no explanation of the words in any way, and Scot confirms our conclusion from these facts by the marginal, "This was | the work of | one T. R." | etc., and the words "written [&c.] vpō parchment" seem to show that this 1570 translation was in MS. (See also General Notings, p. 418.)

P. 379. "*Eligor.*" I do not understand the double titles here and elsewhere given, nor why "miles" should here be translated "a knight", while under *Zepar*, *Furcas*, *Murmur*, and *Allocer* it is "soldier". In chapter iii, p. 393, is given the time when knights ("Milites", Wier) may be bound, but nothing, of course, is said of "soldiers".

P. 383. "Tocz.", like a contraction, but Wier has "Tocz" without any stop.

P. 384. "*Astaroth.*" Scot, merely copying, is not responsible for her being a male. At p. 519 and p. 525, he writing, calls Astarte a "she idoll".

P. 389. "*Valac* . . . with angels wings like a boie", cannot, I think, be Scot's translation of "uti puer alis angeli".

——— "*Gomory.*" Wier says "ducali corona", but the rest is the same; and it must be remembered that a fiend (as in Incubus and Succubus) could be of either sex.

P. 390. "*Aym* . . . a light firebrand." Here (as elsewhere in Scot) we find, as was then often done, the past of verbs ending in t or d elided the ed, or, rather, coalesced them. Wier has "ingentem facem ardentem".

P. 391. "*Flauros* . . . if he be commanded." Wier adds "virtute numinis".

P. 392. "*Note that a legion.*" Wier simply has "Legio 6666". The rest is, in all probability, Scot's own.

P. 393. "Ch. 3" is "§ 69" of Wier.

——— "Ch. 4" is "Citatio Prædictorum Spirituum", and though not marked as a new chapter, is one having § 1, § 2, etc.

——— These are the variations between Wier and Scot in this chapter 4, or Citatio, Wier being in Latin, Scot in English. (*a*) "For

one [companion] must always be with you"; "si præsto fuerit". (*b*) 394,"effect"; Wier adds," imo tuæ animæ perditione". (*c*) "And note", etc., is Scot's own. (*d*) The ✠ before "holie trinitie" is in Scot only. (*e*) Scot omits ✠ after "holie crosse". (*f*) Wier's "anathi Enathiel" is in Scot "Anathiel". (*g*) The "Heli, Messias", after "Gayes" in Scot, are in Wier at the end of the list. (*h*) Scot's "Tolimi" is Wier's "Tolima". (*i*) [Second list of names.] Scot's "Horta" is Wier's "hortan"; his "Vege dora", "vigedora", Wier's letters, in 1583, being several of them so separated that they could easily be read as two words; Scot's "Ysesy" is "ysyesy". (*j*) [Third list.] Scot's "Elhrac" is Wier's "Elhroc"; Ebanher", "eban her". (*k*) P. 666, Scot's "Cryon" is "irion"; "Sabboth" is, as before, more rightly "sabaoth". And I may add that while every word in Scot is capitalised except "dora", really the sequel of "Vige", only "Deus Sabaoth", "A" and "Ω", "Rex", "Joth", "Aglanabrath", "El" "Enathiel", "Amazim", "Elias", and "Messias" of the first list, none of the second list, "Elhroch" the first of the third list, and none of the fourth list are capitalised.

P. 395. "As is conteined in the booke called", etc. This ambiguous sentence is better explained by Wier's "Continua ut in libro * Annuli Salomonis continetur", that is, continue the "etc." as etc. It may be added that the *, the mark of an omission, is omitted in the English.

——— Scot (*i.e.*, his authority) wholly omits Wier's final § 5: "Hæc blasphema & execranda hujus mundi fæx & sentina pœnam in magos prophanos bene constitutam, pro scelerato mentis ausu jure meretur." Scot, I think, would be unlikely not to translate this, or be incited by it to write something similar, but it would be wholly against the purport of T. R. Some of the differences entered into, both just above and previously, seem to favour the belief that two independent copies of the *Empto. Salomonis* were used, but very many merely show carelessness, and possibly no great amount of Latin. The giving of the name "✠ Secretum secretorum", etc., at the same place, viz., just at the end of the enumeration, etc., of the principal devils, might seem to favour a copying from Wier; but we must remember that the *Empto. Salomonis* from which these leaves are copied may itself, and possibly by way of proving its genuineness, have copied these details from an earlier, or supposedly earlier, "Secretum secretorum".

Additions to Part I, p. 558.

Wier, i, 7, § 10. "Similiter ex parte postica & uteri collo novit implicatos crines, arenæ copiam, clavos ferreos, ligna, vitra confracta, stupam, lapides, ossa, et similia præstigiis movere, offuscata interim oculorum acie: insecta auribus furtive immittere, quæ postea vel prodeant, vel evolent." See also iv, c. 7, § 1-4. Cf. Scot, p. 132. In all probability a mere coincidence of thought.

Wier, iv, c. 11, § 8. "In lacte tres sunt substantiæ commixtæ, nimirum butyrum, caseus & serum." Cf. Scot, p. 281, copied verbatim.

GENERAL NOTINGS ON SCOT'S TEXT.

For words not given here see Glossary.

P. 2. "Ring bells." Still done in Switzerland, and, I think, elsewhere.

P. 10. "As *Merlin*." Cf. p. 72.

P. 14. "That cause . . . taken away." The mediæval Latin saying, "ablata causa tollitur effectus". Repeated p. 319.

P. 17. "W. W. 1582." [In his preface.] A proof that witches were not then burnt in England; but it shows how the question of witchcraft was then exercising the people that Ade Davie, the wife of a husbandman, pp. 55-7, thought that she was to be burnt. W. W. says also that Mr. Justice Darcie, persuading Eliz. Bennett to confess, said: "As thou wilt have favour confesse the truth. For so it is, there is a man of great learning and knowledge come over lately into our Queenes Majestie, which hath advertised her what a companie and numbers of Witches be within Englande: whereupon I and other of her Justices have received Commission for the apprehending of as many as are within these limites, and they which doe confesse the truth of their doeings, they shall have much favour: but the other they shall be burnt and hanged" (B. 6). She and others that confessed had the favour of being hanged like the rest; possibly they had the additional favour of being hanged first. The first notice that I have yet come across of burning is that of Mother Lakeman at Ipswich, 1645. W. W., in his Dedication, speaks of these witches as "rygorously punished. Rygorously, sayd I? Why it is too milde and gentle a tearme for such a mercilesse generation. I should rather have sayd most cruelly [? civilly] executed: for that no punishment can be thought upon, be it never so high a degree of tormēt, which may be deemed sufficient for such a divelishe & dānable practise"; and again, "the magistrates of forren landes . . . burning them with fire, whome the common lawe of Englande (with more mercie then is to be wished) strangleth with a rope." The burning was, I presume, inflicted under the ecclesiastical law, De hæret. comburendo.

But burning was not at first universally adopted (a proof that it was not imposed by the common law), for at the Assizes at Maidstone, 1652, they were hanged, but "Some . . . wished rather they might be burnt to Ashes: alledging that it was a received opinion amongst many [for in some cases it was held as proof against a witch that her mother had been burnt for the same crime] that the body of a witch being burnt, her blood is prevented thereby from becomming hereditary to the Progeny in the same evill, which by hanging is not."

P. 19. "Excommunicat persons." Evidence of Scot's haste, and of

his trusting to his memory. Wishing to find the Latin for "runnawaie", I looked into M. M. and found: "Nota quod excommunicati, item participes & socii criminis, item infames, et criminosi nec servi contra dominos admittentur ad agendum, & testificandum in causa fidei quacunque." It will be observed that he remembered "infames" as "infants", and, as there might have been a misprint in his copy, I have consulted all—not a short list—in the British Museum. Possibly he was influenced by W. W.'s book, which had taken a strong hold on him, if it were not one of the causes of his writing, for there, children from 6¾ to 9 years (infants in law) were taken as witnesses against their mothers, while one woman's proof was that her infant in arms pointed to the house!

P. 24. "To the God speed." This, by the context, might be taken as meaning that he came to a fortunate issue. But it was, and is, in use as given to a person setting forth on a journey, etc. Hence, here, and especially at p. 481, it seems to mean that he came at the commencement, when one receives or gives this salutation. As is recorded in an instance at Windsor, "R. S. probably gave the God speed at the assembly, and God's name so frayed the witches that they fled, and so frayed the devil that he was conquered in a hand-to-hand fight."

——— "At shrift." This was laid down by Roman Catholic priests, though it was, and is, a rule with them that no confessor can reveal a confession, even before a court of law!

P. 41. "But bargained to." The sense requires "[not] to observe". Probably a slip of the printer, possibly through the "but", and the concurrence of two t's.

P. 42. "*La volta.*" A fact strangely overlooked (as is David's dancing) by the damners of dancing.

——— "Socke the corps." The same in p. 124 explains that this is sewing the body in its winding-sheet or sheets. The phrase is Kentish.

P. 45. "Young maister", *i.e.*, their new master, they having just come under the devil's sway.

P. 48. "Of fiftie." In Scot, as in others, we find uses of "of" which are to us strange. Here is a clearer example than usual of its synonymity with our "by". Cf. also p. 76, and Auth. Ver., 1 Cor. xv, 5–8.

P. 50. "The veines have passage." For as little, others—as Paracelsus, by R. Browning, etc.—have been credited—to the discomfiture of Harvey—with the knowledge of the circulation of the blood. Even Shakespeare is so credited by some whose knowledge will assert positively that the moon is *not* made of green cheese.

P. 60. "Their not fasting on fridaies." Scot's Protestantism here went beyond the ordained Protestantism of his age, as did that of B. Jonson's Cob.

P. 78. "Clime up and take it." Not the nest, but his own belongings. A good example of the pronoun not referring to its grammatical antecedent, but to the antecedent which was most in the mind of the narrator.

P. 80. "Away withall" = "Companion with" here, in other places "agree with". An expression that sounds odd to us, but then used practically and metaphorically, from the idea of companionship on a journey, when companionship was almost or altogether necessary.

P. 84. "The [night]mare." Most, I suppose—among them I myself—have known that these occur at times to a person in a deep sleep. My fourth nightmare, a horrible, troubled, and inconsequent dream, so far as I can remember, occurred some two years ago; three, at only a month or two's interval between each, occurred years ago, when in a snake country. Then one appeared to be on and in my primitive bed, or wriggling about my wattle and daub bedroom, the only room I had. I thought myself wide-awake, bed, bedroom, and furniture being plainly visible, and my thoughts and conclusions were as coherent, and myself as self-possessed as at any moment of my life, until a sense of unreality came upon me, and by two or more vigorous efforts of both mind and body I awoke myself. My experience, and that recorded p. 84, will explain various ghostly stories—I do not say all—wherein the sufferer asserts positively, and believes, that he was wide-awake.

——— "As sure as a club." The derivation and meaning—as sure as is a tangible club that can or will strike you—is obvious; but I have heard it at the card-table, as though derived from the sureness of the cards thus named. An example of a false application arising from the apparent sameness of the words, and possibly in the first instance from a jocular use of the phrase.

P. 85. "Hampton." Folk-lore worth recording. I conjecture, but only conjecture, that this word was suggested by the hempen or flaxen garments laid for his use, its sequent "hamten" being coined to rhyme with "stampen".

P. 87. "To her that night." I have placed "him" in the margin, my own conjecture and the reading of the British Museum MS. of parts of Scot. But in Fletcher's *M. Thomas*, iv, 6, we have the same spell, with some slight variations, and ending—

> "She would not stir from him [St. George] that night",

which more agrees with Shakespeare's quotation in *Lear*, iii, 4—St. Withold

> "Bid her alight
> And her [the nightmare's] troth plight."

——— "*Viderunt*", etc. Altered, apparently, from Vulgate, which has "Videntes . . . essent pulchræ", etc.

——— "*Filios Dei.*" Scot here alters "*Filii*" to the objective, because it follows "doo interpret". He does the same elsewhere, whether it be English verb or preposition that precedes. Thus, 422, we have "*Vitas Patrum*", because it follows "prooved"; 458, "in *Speculo exemplorum*"; and 381, "in *Circulo Salomonis*; 544, "Spiritum", because the words follow "signifieth". We find one instance of the same in Nash's *Summers Last Will and Test.*

P. 90. "He accuseth." Bodin, ii, 6.

P. 91. "A faggot maker." Bodin, ii, 6.

P. 94. "In the western ilands", as in the "still vexed Bermoothes".

P. 95. "Saccaring bell" = a sacring bell, the bell rung at the elevation of the host, when all true, *i.e.*, Roman Catholic, worshippers fall on their knees.

——— "A morrowe masse"—a morning mass. All masses, except, I think, on Christmas Day and Good Friday, and except in certain churches, where the older usage was by prescription allowed, being in Scot's time, and now, celebrated before noon. This rule was made by the Pope in 1550–58.

P. 99. "(His reason onelie reserved)." Not Bodin's reason, but that of the sailor.

P. 104. "*Abacuck.*" *Bel and the Dragon*, 36, 37.

——— "One syllable nor five words." A curiously sounding phrase; but he seems to have used "syllable" as we do, figuratively, meaning, "in the same sense", while the five words are, "not even differing five words in the form of expression".

P. 107. "Witch is disposed", [to plague] being understood.

P. 110. "Make so foolish a bargaine or doo such homage to the devill." We would more exactly say "bargaine [with] or".

P. 111. "Exod. 22" [18]. Did Scot quote from memory? The Sept., φ ου ποιησετε [var.] περιβιωσετε Ox. ed., nor have I found Scot's verb as a recognised variant.

P. 113. "Eccl." is twice in the margin put for "Ecclus.", the Apocryphal Book. In p. 145, by, I suppose, a printer's error, "Eccle." is put for "Ecclus." Elsewhere, Scot rightly gives "Ecclus."

P. 115. "Osee 6" [1, 2]. Vulg. has "2. Quia ipse cepit, et sanabit nos; percutiet, et curabit nos. 3. Vivificabit nos post duos dies." The "ego", etc., is only found in Deut. xxxii, 39, where the Vulg. has "vivere faciam".

——— "If you looke into [what I have written concerning] *Habar*", etc.

P. 119. "Besmearing with an ointment." Such beliefs then current justify more than is now supposed the beliefs of Elizabeth and her counsellors, and the execution of her would-be murderer.

——— "Wolves doong." A bit of folk-lore, which has, I think, sufficient *vraisemblance* as to be worthy of trial, the more so as it is said to this day that a young dog shows fear at the smell of a dried piece of wolf's skin.

P. 126. "*Eliz. Barton.*" See Froude's *Hist.*, v, 1. She was of Aldington, Kent, and a servant of the father or grandfather of Jane Cobbe, Reg. Scot's first wife.

P. 127. "In his mightie power." Either the "in" of the line above brought about its insertion here, or, more likely, it was used as it is "in his name", though in such a case as this we should say "through" or "by".

P. 132. "1572." This booklet is not known, I believe; nor is it in the Stat. Regs.

P. 142. "Eccle" [Ecclus, 49, 16, 17].

P. 145. "Covered himself with a net." An excellent example that this phrase meant disguising himself, or trying to conceal himself. It may seem odd, that "with a net" should mean this, because one naturally thinks of a single fold; but a fisherman conceals his head and body in folds of netting.

P. 146. "Finger in a hole." I presume it is meant that Saul shut himself out of all means of knowing what really went on, as much as if he had closed up a hole in a shut door or window-shutter, through which alone he could see—or have light thrown upon—the subject.

P. 147. "She saith to herself" [but intentionally loud enough for Saul to hear].

P. 150. "Right ventriloquie." This excellent investigation of the Bible story might be read with advantage by those who even now hold that Samuel really appeared by God's allowance or command. Such a belief involves three impossibilities. First, that God having repeatedly declined to answer Saul by lawful means, now by an afterthought changed His mind. Secondly, that He who from the time of Moses had so condemned witchcraft, that Saul had put it down as far as he could, and that with blood, now favoured the action of a witch, and that in so notorious a case that it could not but be, as it was, known to all Israel. Thirdly, that the Deity must have put a lying spirit into the mouth of a true and God-blessed prophet, since the prophecy did not come true in more than one important point.

P. 151. "*Aias* and *Sadaias*." Here he rightly distinguishes the two; but in 141, and in his list of authors consulted, he gives "Rabbi Sedaias Haias". "Haias Hai", or "Haja", was a celebrated Babylonian Rabbi, born 969 A.D.; died 1038. Sedaias or Saadja flourished *circa* 900-40.

P. 155. "Called Pythonissa." Not by that exact word, either in Sept., or Vulg., or Greek N.T. Vulg., 1 Sam. xxviii, 7, has "mulier pythonem habens"; and in Acts xvi, 16, the Greek, the Vulg., and Beza have similar wordings.

——— "Liber pater." "Liber" is "Bacchus" in Scot himself; but Porphyrius—whom Th. Cooper and Calepine follow—says of "Liber pater": "Eundem Solem apud superos: Liberum patrem in terris: Apollinem apud inferos."

P. 158. "Then a cousening queane"=Than [believe that], etc. I note: 1. That the (.) before "Then" should probably be a (,), though occasionally we have (;) where only (,) is required. 2. That as in this book we rarely have "then" for "than", I conjecture that this mode of spelling was not at the time universal, but only commencing.

P. 159. "*Nemo scit.*" Slightly altered from the question. 1 Cor. ii, 11, and not the Vulgate words, but apparently more those of Beza.

——— "*Tu solus*" [2 Chron. vi, 30]. Vulg. reads, "tu *enim* solus nosti *corda filiorum* hominem"; it has also "corda", where David speaks to Solomon similarly, 1 Chron. xxviii, 9; but "universas mentium cogitationes" follows it.

——— "*Ego Deus*" [Jer. xvii, 10]. He omits "*probans*" before "*renes*" in Vulg.

P. 162. "Epotherses." Rightly, in 163, "Epitherses".

P. 166. "By revolution." I presume by revolution of the planets (and stars, as was then thought), until they came into a certain "constellation", *i.e.*, position as regards one another. This I gather from a previous page.

——— [Margin] "Zach. 10." We have here a further example of the loose references, common in those days, to the Bible made by both Roman Catholics and Protestants. The first clause is in sense is given Zach. 10[,2], and somewhat, Isai. 44 [9, 10]; but the remainder from Ps. cxxxv, 16, 17; though "months", etc., is placed third instead of first, while "let them shew" is, I take it, a variant of Isai. xli, 23.

P. 168. "Firmament." His error in writing "earth" shows his haste, and explains in part the wording of his Scripture quotations. Cf. pp. 19, 174. But see also note, p. 503.

P. 169. "The increase of the moon." This, his doubtful doubt as to the Remora, his belief that the bone in a carp's head staunched blood, show that Scot was not naturally sceptical in matters of knowledge, but that he only gave up the beliefs of his day after investigation.

P. 171. "*Mahomets* dove." He would express his belief, as Wier does more openly, that it (as the eagle) was taught to do its feats.

P. 173. "ηχὼ". In those days the H, now confined to the capitals, was used, as here in the original, for the small letter η.

P. 174. "Pharaoh the Persian kings." Other references to the Pharaohs in this book show that these curious transpositions were due to haste of composition and of revisal both of his MS. and of the printed copy.

P. 176. "Manacies." Not having met with this form, I presume that it is a press error for "menacies". It is so changed in the second edition.

P. 180. "Faile to dreame by night." Scot's general statement may be true, but must in some instances be modified. From my youth, for many—say at least twenty—years, I tried to remember my dreams for this very purpose, and could remember them for a short while very well; but never could I find that what I had thought on during the day, or the days before, gave even a suggestion to my dreams. Thrice, however, of late years, I have been able to trace my dream to something I had casually thought of, though not meditated on. This edition of Scot, as well as the question of witchcraft, has occupied both my mind and time since November, and it is now October, yet not a single dream has had reference to anything connected with these subjects. Similarly, family matters have both busied me and worried me for some months, and yet these matters have never intruded themselves, not even when my dreams, and at one time a near approach to nightmare, showed that my digestion was out of order. From my own instance, I should rather say that dreams most frequently seem to be natural reliefs to the thoughts that I had indulged in, or that might have beset me, in my waking hours.

P. 182. "Of physicall dreames." I suppose he means dreams from physical causes.

P. 182. "*Melancholicall.*" Proceeding from "black bile", which, in the opinions of that day, produced melancholy, that form of madness called melancholia. I would add that "melancholy" is often used in Scot for mad melancholia, and for the supposed humour melancholy or black bile, and that, unless this is borne in mind, some of his sentences will be misunderstood.

P. 183. "De Profundis." Ps. cxxix; Vulg. cxxx; Prayer Book. All that follow are given consecutively, I think, in the *Rit. Rom. Officium Defunctorum.*

——— "Pleasant and certain dreams." Formerly an at least English notion, as expressed by the servant-lover of Bombastes :

"And morning dreams, they say, come true."

P. 184. "Eleoselinum." Translated in the second edition as "mountain parsley."

——— "Sium" in the second edition is "yellow water-cress".

——— "Acarum vulgare", "common acorus"—our "Asarum Europ."

P. 185. "An errand . . . from farre countries." A similar tale is told—in some English work against witchcraft after Scot—of an Italian judge who thus tried a supposed witch.

P. 187. "A thousand for one that." Here the "that" does not, as with us, refer to the "one" but to the "thousand" ="he might have cited a thousand that fell out contrarie" for one that fell out truly. A thousand for one, though four words seem, as it were, to have been considered one thought. See Shakespearean noting under this page.

P. 190. "To offer . . . to Moloch." Curious that Scot, knowing that fire was accounted holy, should not have seen that this idolatrous rite was in its essence a purifying, and possibly an expiatory, one.

P. 198. "*Menehas*" (example, Deut. xix, 10). Hebr. מנחש. Here he does not quite agree with Wier, i, § 9.

——— "Philosophers table." Cf. Strutt, *s. n.* The philosopher's game, played on a "table" or board.

——— "Sober writer." Of course, ironical.

——— "Of each letters." Either misprint for letter, or rather, perhaps, a loose way of saying "of each [set of] letters", or "of the letters of each person's name or names".

——— "Unequal number of vowels." A bit of folk-lore as yet, I think, unnoticed.

P. 200. "Added the Apocrypha." Council of Trent, 1550, made them of equal authority with those which the Church of England defines as "Canonical Scriptures".

P. 202. "True loves." Garden pansies, viola tricolor, L. (Britten and H.), four-leaved grass, occasional variations of the three-leaved grass, trefoil.

——— "To our left side." So far an explanation why horse-shoes, salt, etc., are thrown against ill-luck over the left shoulder.

P. 205. "*Sero rubens.*" P. 169, Scot quotes this in English as a

lawful divining from natural causes, in fact, as a weatherwise observation.

P. 206. "*Stella errans.*" I presume he means a planet, partly because a comet was then thought a portent, differing in origin and nature from a star, partly because Cicero uses the plural in the sense of planets.

——— "*Non est.*" Not from Vulg. or Beza; probably his own rendering.

P. 209. "Milvus" [Jer. viii, 7]. Sentence as in Vulg., while the Geneva version, like our Authorised version, has storke.

P. 210. "Significators", *i.e.*, of the planets which have meanings according to their positions and co-positions or "constellations".

P. 212. "Sapiens." A sop of flattery for their client.

P. 213. "Maketh themselves cuckoldes."=Who by their negligence and ignorance cause themselves to be made cuckolds, while pretending to know every other person's future.

P. 225. "Phaers Virgil" [B. 4, *ad fin.*]. Scot, however, has printed each line as two.

P. 230. "Balme", etc. Note that each longer line has an extra syllable at the end.

P. 232. "This is as true a copy." Apparently a press error for "This is a true copy", as given in the second edition, the printer having, inadvertently, almost reduplicated the "is".

P. 233. "✠ Thomas." His and our "N." (or sometimes "John", etc.), anyone who may be the invoker.

——— "A popish periapt." The distances between these letters are somewhat variable, the "ka" and "am" are near enough to be syllables. But I have not misspent my time in a search for the true original.

P. 234. "Whistle for a pardon." An expression still used for other things than pardon. Possibly founded on an ironical reference to the nautical idea, that when you whistle for a wind you get it, and more of it than you want. I have been spoken to for whistling on board ship. More probably, however, because whistling denoting want of care and thought, as in bench-whistler, one might as well expect a pardon or the thing wished for, after merely whistling for it, as expect larks to drop into one's mouth.

P. 238. "Plumme." I know not whether Scot meant to translate "*Stircus*" literally, but it would be curious to know whether this signification was formerly given to "plum". It could well bear it.

P. 240. "Constant opinion"=firm belief or firm faith.

——— "*Homerica Medicatio.*" The physician was "Ferrerius", alias "Auger", or "Oger Ferrier"—not "Ferrarius", as given throughout the text, in his list of authors, and in his contents—born at Toulouse, 1513, physician in ordinary to Catherine de Medicis, and afterwards returned to his birthplace, where he died in 1588. B. 2, ch. ii, of his *Vera medendi modus* is headed "De Homerica Medicatione". And here I would at once say, that for the discovery of "Ferrerius" and of the following passages, and of the cause of Scot's curious blunder, the reader and myself are indebted to my ever-ready Shakes[illegible]

friend, the Rev. W. A. Harrison. "When," says Ferrier, "patients will not yield to ordinary treatment, one must have recourse to another kind," which he describes generally in the margin as "Amuleta". And first he speaks of "appensiones et physicæ alligationes", then of "Caracteras & Carmina". These, he says, Galen (and Trallianus) at first ridiculed, but that Trallian had seen (I believe in his mind's eye) a tractate of Galen's in which, as the heading of a chapter, or somewhere else, were the words "Homericam medicationem; *quod Homerus suppressum verbis sanguinem, et mysteriis sanatos effectus prodiderit.*" The italicised passage is that nonsense-sentence of Scot's at the end of the chapter. It could only have arisen from Scot's haste, but was also due to the fact that, as in the British Museum copy of the Lyons edition, 1574, the "s" of "verbis" is so faint as to give the not careful reader the form "verbi". But Ferrier, like Scot, attributed such cures to imagination or a "fixed fansie", or "constant opinion"; on which also I would refer to Sir H. Holland's book on the *Effect of Imagination in Disease.* Thus he continues: "Deprehendi itaque curationis hujus eventum non a caracteribus non ex carmina permanare. Sed tanta est vis animi nostri, ut si quid honesti sibi persuaserit, atque in ea persuasione firmiter perseveravit, idipsum quod concepit agat, & potenter operetur. . . Si neque fidentem, neque diffidentem nihilominus vis animi agentis operabatur. Id in dentium doloribus . . aperte videre licet. Nam præcantator ita movet non reluctantis ægroti animum, ut dolor . . . sensim extinguatur. . . At si forte æger diffidet, aut plane ridiculum existimet remedium . . præcantante vis nulla erit. . . Non sunt ergo carmina, non sunt caracteres quo talia possunt, sed vis animi confidentis, & cum patiente concordis." Wier v, 19, §1-4, gives the Ferrerius quotation, as well as his name, rightly. The staunching of blood by words refers to the cure in the *Odyssey.*

P. 242. "Through sudden feare." Similar cases are known to physicians at the present day, whether through fear or some other sudden emotion. A Protestant medical man can well believe *some* of the tales of diseased pilgrims cured at, say, the shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes, though no more believing in such miracles than do Roman Catholics when Protestant anointers anoint and sometimes cure through the same cause.

P. 243. "Hearbe Alysson." So called because it cured hydrophobia (Pliny). Phil. Holland says, "Some take it to be *Asperula*, the wood-rose"; Holyokes Rider gives "rubia minor, cannabis agrestis".

P. 244. "Scarifie." Might be done with a gum lancet; but the magical tooth might have the advantage in some instances of affecting the thoughts, and through them the body, as noted, p. 240.

——— "*Os non.*" This, preceded by "✠ Jesus autem transiens ✠ per medium illorum ibat ✠", with a ✠ after "eo", was, according to Paulus Grillandus, who twice witnessed it, a charm producing taciturnity and insensibility under torture! Something, either this or something else, being repeated by the prisoner in an inaudible voice,

a scroll containing these words and signs was found "in capite sub scruffia scilicet inter crines" (Wier v, 12, § 3).

P. 244. "Throwe." He might have added, "when you have got it", before which time she would have been released, if not one way yet by another.

P. 245. "Tye." Is like the "scarifie"; as one generally uses a handkerchief.

P. 248. "That thou hereby . . patient as Job." This is to me one of the oddest examples I have seen of the confusion of two or more pronouns as to their subject; for though the "thou" a line above clearly refers to the worm, this one cannot refer to anything but to the horse; for after exorcising the worm in the name of the Trinity, he surely would not exhort it to be as "patient as Job" and as "good as St. John", particularly as the exorcism was made that the worm might be expelled and die.

P. 251. "Remeeve." An excellent example of the devices had recourse to by Elizabethan versifiers to obtain a rhyme.

P. 257. "Certeine name." I presume this caution is inserted lest one hurt Tom instead of Harry.

——— "Each image must have in his hand." For the true reading cf. "Extracts from Wier". Scot must, I think, have trusted too much to his memory.

——— "Domine Dominus", etc. Pss. 8. 27. 102. 109. Prayer Book numbering.

P. 264. "Bladder." Clearly a press error for bladders.

——— "Ribbes and genitals." Conjoined, apparently, from a remembrance of the procreation of Eve, Genesis ii, 21, 22.

P. 265. "Sir *John* . . . pulpit." As the story was told of "as honest a man . . . whereof mention was lately made", he was of the Church of England; see under p. 461 for "Sir". And since, I have found that Bishop Hutchinson in his Dedication calls him Sir John Grantham. Seemingly we thus have evidence of the dress in the pulpit; but one unwilling to be convinced might retort that the very mention of his sacerdotal dress is proof that he went into the pulpit exceptionally attired, and not to preach, but to perform a quasi-sacerdotal office.

P. 266. "Hundred and eight." Here, from the "sayers of the charm", the authority is, in all probability, the Vulg. Its 108 is our 109, Scot not having in this instance changed the numbering.

——— "Seachers." Probably "Sea[r]chers", as given in the second edition, but it may have been a form of seekers, since seche=seek.

——— "Horsse shoo." This superstition probably had its origin from Stonehenge times and before, since the inner stones there, apparently the more sacred portion, and, so far as one can now judge, the corresponding part at Avebury, each form a horse-shoe. Sir H. James first, I believe, noticed the true shape at Stonehenge, and I afterwards independently observed it, both there and then at Avebury, and connected it with this horse-shoe superstition in *The Antiquary*, vol. ii, Oct. 1880.

——— "*Alicium.*" Have not as yet found this.

P. 267. "Herbe betonica." "Stachys betonica", Plin., b. 25, c. 8.

——— "Pullein", etc. "Verbascum"; "Thapsus", L., "bullock's lungwort" (Kent). Tusser, like Scot, calls it "Longwort", a variant of "Lungwort".

P. 268. "Baccar." "Nardum rusticum", or, according to Sprengel, "Valeriana Celtica", L.; others "foxglove", or "asarabacca".

——— "Browze". Gives us the meaning of Bowze=boughs, it being so spelt to accord, as was the custom, not only in rhyme but in spelling.

——— "Vervain." "Verbena officinalis", L. (and other verbenas?), used, according to Park, "against poison, venom of beasts, and bewitched drinks".

——— "Palma." Willows in England were used as the palm on Palm Sunday; sometimes the yew; but here I incline to think he means Palma Christi, a flat-hand rooted orchis.

——— "Antirchmon." I suspect a misprint for "antirrhinum", calf's snout, snap-dragon, A—. Linn. Pliny, b. 25, c. 8, says it is much esteemed by enchanters.

——— "Lappoint." Minshen gives "Lapouin", as the French for lapwing, but I have been unable to find this word. Wier v, 21 § 6, says, as Scot, "Dicuntur & pennæ upupæ suffitæ, phantasmata fugare", and the upupa, then as now, was taken to be the lapwing, though Th. Cooper says, "Wherefore [from his crest as described] it cannot be our lapwing . . . it is rather . . . an Houpe" [hoopoe], which it is likely from the names, both being onomatopeiatic. The daughter of the vicar of Oare, near Faversham, Kent, Miss K. P. Woolrych, says that an old man, when young, heard lappoint as the common name for the still-abounding lapwing.

P. 269. "Cleave an oken branch." One is tempted to think this bit of folk-lore is a reminiscence of Druidical times.

P. 271. "Ps. *Exaltabo.*" Ps. 245, Pr. B. vers.

P. 273. "Nameles finger." Wier, "innominatum". From this last, which is not so much nameless as "unhappy", etc., I think the middle finger is meant, "digitus impudicus", "famosus", "infamis", under which latter epithet, cf. Persius, Sat. ii, for the reason. At 325 he calls the middle finger the long, and at 326 the middle, at 329 the longest finger.

P. 275. "Made room." Gave occasion or opportunity.

P. 284. "*Finallie.*" This is in italics, the mark of a quotation, but it is not from the Rhemish Test. of 1582, given as one of the books he consulted, nor have I yet found from what Protestant version he took it.

P. 289. "Eccle. 1. & 1." Probably a press error for 1 & 13, the words being a remembrance of the sense of verses 13 and 17. It is not Ecclus.

P. 294. "The corral." Can we see in this the origin of the almost universal coral for children when teething?

——— "Dinothera." Cannot find it.

——— "Aitites." Properly "Aetites", a stone said to be found in the eagle's nest. Plin., b. 7, c. 3.

P. 294. "Droonke as apes." An expression readily understood by those who have watched the purposeless doings of apes and their throwing themselves about.

——— "Amethysus." This occurs twice, but I know it not as a variant of amethystus. "Corneolus." Various descriptions are given of this by Pliny, Bartholome, Th. Cooper, Minshen, and Holyokes Rider, but I presume (as given by Bailey) it is our cornelian.

P. 295. "Smarag." The emerald. "Mephis." Unknown to me.

P. 296. "Whereby . . . concluded." It is improbable that this is, as elsewhere, concealed irony. Much more probably Scot was not free from a belief in the influences of the stars on the formation of these stones, just as he believed in the influence of the moon in the sowing of seeds, though he did not believe in astrology.

P. 300. "Academicall discourses." He refers to the disputations held by students and candidates at the colleges, as these, of course, naturally set forth the opinions of others.

P. 301. "Serpent abandon." Is this fabulous folk-lore or not?

P. 302. "Celondine, Chelidonius", cf. p. 293. It appears from Dioscorides and Pliny, 25, 8, that the Chel. majus, L., is that spoken of.

P. 303. "Reneweth bleeding." This variant, that it does so either at "the presence of a deare friend or mortall enimie", and not merely at that of the murderer, is worthy of note.

P. 304. "Our Princess doth." This, vouched for by one such as Scot, shows the real piety and wisdom of Elizabeth as against the scandals of the then times and the beliefs of after times.

P. 312. "Black children." I put this down either to looseness of writing or to that want of discrimination (or colour blindness) which led Elizabethans to speak of things as black, etc., which approached that colour. "As black as a toad."

P. 314. "Two manner of todes." An example of the universal belief that all insects, and some eels, serpents, and toads, were not begotten, but produced by the action of the sun on inanimate matters, in fact by spontaneous generation. Even the generation of man was held to require the co-operation of the sun.

——— "Of the fat of a man . . . lice." He means, I presume, of fat beneath the skin of a living person, a belief apparently confirmed by the death of persons from lice; for Bartholome, Batman's alias Trevisa's translation, says, l. 18, c. 88: "Lice and nits gender in the head or in the skinne"; and just before, they are engendered "of right corrupt air & vapoures that sweate out betweene the skinne and the flesh by pores."

P. 316. "Aqua composita." Not in Ovid's sense, but, I presume= spirits of wine or rectified wine, etc., though I have not come across the term elsewhere. I may add that Aqua was used=Succus.

P. 319. "The cause being taken away." See note, p. 14.

P. 333. "Nether card." Scot evidently did not know "the pass"; possibly his age did not.

P. 338. "Gaggle of geese." The then correct term for a flock of geese. Cf. *The Boke of St. Albans*, at the end of "Hawking".

P. 339. "Send them to Pope." Unable to refer "them" to the "horses" or to the "neighbors", I am forced to believe it an error for "then".

——— "Unto the doore." This (.) should be (,) the "W" marking, as usual, the beginning of (the purport of) his speech.

P. 342. "You meane to cut." He would say, "which you would make believe to cut".

P. 367. "Extraordinary." Beyond the number of his ordinary lemans.

P. 374. "Had I wist." A proverbial saying, at one time much in fashion=had I known. Used here for an uncertainty which turned out an ill certainty.

P. 386. "Goeth before." Takes precedency of.

——— "Be abroad." Cf. "Extracts from Wier II."

——— "If his cap be on his head." Cf. "Extracts from Wier II."

P. 390. "*Duratque.*" When Dr. Fian was examined, James VI being present, he, after the two torturings of the rope, and boots, confessed, among other things, that he had bewitched a gentleman—a rival lover—and "caused the sade Gentleman that once in xxiiii howers he fell into a lunacie and madnes and so continued one hower together". The gentleman was brought before the king, and went violently mad for an hour, leaping so high that he touched the ceiling with his head, and behaving so violently that the gentlemen present had to get assistance and bind him hand and foot. Fian became penitent, and renounced the devil; next day said the devil had appeared and would again have persuaded him, but he resisted him. However, he, Fian, obtained the key of his prison door and fled. Re-captured, he denied all his confession, saying that he had only made it through fear of torture. Then "His nailes upon all his fingers were riven and pulled out with . . . a payre of pincers, and under everie naile there was thrust in two needels over even up to the heads. [Here, I presume, there is a hysteron proteron.] Then was he . . . convaied again to the torment of the bootes wherein he continued a long time, and did abide, so many blowes in them, that his legges were crusht and beaten together as small as might bee, and the bones and flesh so brused, that the bloud and *marrow* spouted forth in great abundance, wherby they were made unserviceable for ever," he still declaring that what he had said before "was onely done and said for feare of paynes which he had endured". He was strangled, and his body burnt, according to law, towards the end of Jan. 1591. The italicising is mine. Can anyone read this without a shudder, and without feelings of indignation that will express themselves?

The gentleman who went mad for an hour, and then said he had been in a sound sleep, doubtless acted a part to confirm the tale of his friend. This is confirmed by the fact that, violently as he behaved, he seems to have hurt no one, not even himself.

P. 406. "Common copulation." Used as "friendly conjunction" or working together, in opposition to "carnal copulation", a phrase he employs when necessary.

——— "To whome be honour." Is there an omission here of (as

seems most likely) "In the name", etc., or are we to look back as far as "Tetragrammaton", etc., for antecedents? a course in which I cannot myself believe.

P. 413. "My verie name." Cf. App. II, p. 60, § 22, though I know not that this phrase is there explained, we may conjecture from it that we have, while alive, spiritual "names after a Magical manner", whatever that may mean.

P. 414. "ffalaur" (Diagram). If one were really wanted, a most excellent example—whether we look to Scot's other uses of this word, or to the names of the other three spirits in the diagram—that "ff" was merely "F".

P. 416. "Ps. xxii and li." Prayer Book numbers and version.

P. 418. "Are written in this booke." It is clear, therefore, that Scot took this experiment of Bealphares, and in all probability from ch. 8 inclusive to this one, from some conjuring book, not improbably T. R.'s.

P. 419. "*In throno.*" Neither this nor its English equivalent is to be found in any of these conjurations. In p. 417 we have, "which conteinest the throne of heaven"; but unless the true translation be "which are conteined in the throne of the heavens", this cannot be "in throno". On the whole, I think that it refers to some conjuration not copied by Scot, thus strengthening the supposition set forth under Extracts from Wier II, and p. 418.

——— "Then say *In throno.*" I feel by no means content with the change of "then" to "thou". "And" may be an = "if", but I do not remember an instance of Scot's use of "and" in this sense. Or this "and" may be an accidental insertion by the printer, when after "*throno*" we might understand [adding] "that thou depart", etc.; and this, I suspect, is the sense intended, whatever the emendation may be.

P. 421. "Ch. xv." The making of the holy water is the Latin form of that Englished from the Missal at p. 445. Hence, I presume, the blessing of the salt is from the same.

P. 423. "In such a place N." There being no (,) N. seems here to be used for any place, as it has been used for any man or spirit. So "this N.", p. 424, refers to a bond or document. In pp. 425–6, where "N." occurs four times, it can, so far as I can see, mean nothing else but the place, the crystal or other matter, in which the spirit is to appear. In p. 428, we have also "to your N.", explained just afterwards as "into your christall stone, glasse", etc. And in p. 429, "anie N." = gold, silver, etc. "N." was therefore a general indefinite, not used, as now, for a man only; still, its most likely etymon seems to be the initial of "Nomen".

——— "On thy booke." In 424 we have "by the holie contents in this booke", and "kisse the booke". From these, and from the statements in the additions to the third edition that the conjuror is to consecrate and take a Bible with him, I presume, that one is here meant to be used.

P. 425. "Other bond." That, I presume, which follows on this page.

P. 425. "Made a man for ever." I note this 1584 use of the phrase.

P. 426. "I constreine the spirit of N." The after text might induce one to suppose that "the"=thee, but the phrase is repeated seventeen times in this chapter, and "thee spirit of N." not once, though we have "the spirit of thee N." once, and "thou spirits of N." thrice. Our Elizabethan ancestors were apt thus to mingle up the second and third persons.

P. 428. "Proove this." Try it ; put it to the proof.

P. 431. "(Blew miracles)." A friend suggests "trew"; but though this is probably the sense, yet I hesitate to change the word. W. B., in *Notes and Queries*, fully explains this as "*blaues wunder*", an "amazing or wonderful wonder", the adjective being intensative, as is perhaps "blue" in the phrase, "once in a blue moon," *i.e.*, never.

P. 434. "Doctor Burc." The Burcot cozened into buying a familiar from Feats, p. 522.

——— "He strake." Spirit-rapping, therefore, is older than this century, though the manner was different.

P. 436. "Matins at midnight." The Franciscans solemnise matins directly midnight is passed.

P. 437. "Officiall." The French name. Cf. Cotgrave and Du Cange.

P. 439. "To to abridge." A printer's repetition ; one being at the end of a line, the second at the beginning of the next.

P. 441. "*Deus in adjutorium.*" Ps. lxx. Prayer Book.

——— "Excommunicate." 479. "Infatuate." The form originated *circa* 1400, from "infatuatus", etc., before the verbs existed, and are not examples of "ed" eliding or coalescing when the verb ends in "d" or "t". This last, however, is found in Scot, and in a work at least ten years older.

P. 442. "Vitas." See note 87. 458. Ditto.

P. 444. "Except in a plaie." Probably, therefore, had witnessed Moralities, etc.

P. 446. "Increase." Error for "incense". *Tobit* viii, 5. (W. A. Harrison.) Vulg. has no word for this in viii, 2 ; "Fumus", in vi, 8. Genevan version, "perfume". Whether "incense" be Scot's own word, or the rendering of some English version, I know not.

P. 459. "Sunne . . . is 3966000." The nearest to this computation that I can find is that of Archimedes, who made the sun's distance 1,160 times the earth's semi-diameter, that is, 3,985,760 miles. Scot, however, must have taken some later computation, as he speaks of the sun's "neerest" distance.

——— Note, a pound of good candles, such as were offered in church, cost threepence.

P. 461. "Sir John"=the aforesaid priest. Cf. 265, 361, and "Sir Lucian", 463 ; also 468, the translation of "Dominus".

P. 466. "Kings bench." Note, still so called in 1583.

P. 467. "Most noble and vertuous personage." Probably Leicester. Cf. close of letter.

P. 468. "Sir John Malborne," 1384. Hence an Englishman, and not a German, was in all probability the first to raise his voice against the cozenages of mediæval witchcraft.

P. 471. "Collen." Cologne.

P. 474. "Three images." As pointed to by the text, it appears from Bodin that, "Un Prestre Sorcier curé d'Istincton [Islington] demi lieuë pres de Londres, a esté trouvé saisis 1578 de trois images de cire conjurées, pour faire mourir la Reyne d'Angleterre, & deux autres proches de sa personne."

P. 476. "Wherein a Gods name." =Wherein in God's name. No oath, but he means to explain that the miracle consisted in his being able to read the canonical scriptures written in God's name, or inspired by Him, but not the fabulous Apocrypha.

——— "The good speed." See note, p. 24.

GLOSSARY.

The numbers refer to the pages of the first edition, and refer to an occurrence of the word, but not necessarily to the only occurrence of it. Should the inquirer fail to find any word, he should consult the Notings.

A.

Abhominable. He always uses the "h" as did Holofernes, Gab. Harvey, etc., from the false derivation "ab homine".

Abrenunciation, 440. A word used probably, as Richardson suggests, as a stronger form of renunciation. It was used as a technical for the renunciation of the devil and all his works in the baptisms of the Roman Catholic Church.

Accloied, 79. As cloyed=encumbered, satiated.

Achate, 297. The more Latinate form of agate (achates).

Acyron, 371. Greek unauthorised.

Addicted, 298. Joined or attached to.

A doo, 475. The "a" = at in this and like words was then frequently printed apart, or according to them—a part.

Ægyptians, 197. Gypsies.

Alligations, 239. Spells, or the like, bound to one's arm, etc.

Anatomie, 430. A skeleton.

Apparentlie, 511. Clearly, evidently.

Appensions, 239. Spells, or the like, hung about one.

Applicable, 582. Able to be applied.

Appointed, 415. Dressed in order, or conformably, as we still use the word appointments.

Appose, 51. Our pose.

Aqua composita, 316. See note.

Assotted, 5. Adsotted; our besotted.

Astonnied, 309. Astonished in the original sense, *i.e.*, astounded, or so lying in a swoon, that she lay as dead.

Avoid, 240, 493. To void or empty, either "make void" or "void from". This use is as early at least as Trevisa, or *circa* 1397.

Axes, 232. The French *Accès*. Hence in Sussex and the North =agues. But I am told that in Kent it bears the secondary sense of aches.

B.

Bables, 166. Toys, trifling childish things.

Baggage tode, 377. A foul tode. The epithet is now only used of an ill-conditioned woman of low degree.

Bat, 380. A staff.

Bedstaffe, 79. The Johnson-Nares explanation is, I believe, wrong. With Miss Emma Phipson, I rather take it to be a staff to summon attendance, a substitute for the modern bell still

used by invalids and others. Cf. *Ev. M. in his Humour*, i, 4. It has been also suggested that it is the staff used to beat up the bed, etc.

Become. Used as then in 126, 158, 323, 329, as equivalent to "gone to". Cf. 3 *Henry VI*, ii, 1, 9, 10. And in a law of Henry VIII (ann. 33, ch. 8) are the words "where things lost or stolen should be become", when it speaks of the acts of magicians, fortune-tellers, etc.

Beetle-head, 66. = Our hammer-headed fellow, a beetle being such a hammer or rammer as paviors now use and so call.

Bench whistlers, 528. Idle, sottish fellows, who spend their time on ale-benches rather than seek occupation, and whistling from want of thought or occupation. A then-known phrase.

Bewraieth, 69, and frequent. Betray. Also, though a different word and not in Scot, to befoul. In 328 the verb is used thus: "the thing shall be so well and perfectly done, that a stranger, though he handle it, shall not bewraie it" [*i.e.*, discover the fraud either to himself or others].

Biggin, 471. Fr. *béguin*. Cf. Cotgrave. Properly, according to Minsheu, a child's [close] covering for the head or cap. Also generally a close or skull cap; here, as in Sh., 2 *Henry IV*, iv, 4, used for a night-cap.

Bile, 203. A boil.

Blisse, 157, *ad fin.* Being opposed to "cursse" seems=blessing.

Boolted, 480. A miller's, etc. technical for sifted.

Bowt, 337, 347. This (or bout) and bight are still nautical for the bending, or loop, of a rope. Scot uses it for the loop, or bending, of any thing.

Bowze, 268. Boughs.

Bucklers, laie down the, A iii. Submit, own themselves defeated. The origin of this and similar phrases is unknown. From the words "Clypeus salvus in Cic." and "Clypeum abjicere", it may be from the usages of classic times,—or it may be mediæval.

Bugges, 288. Frightful and unnatural appearances, as in bugbears, a now equivalent word.

Bulbeggers, B 2. Terrifying goblins. I see no difficulty in the derivation from *Bul*, a bull, or bull's face, it being terrifying enough, especially when, enraged or mad, it is directly opposed to you; and a bulbegger is an over-bold beggar, etc.

Bum card. I believe a card slightly longer or wider than the rest, so that the trickster, etc., may distinguish it.

Bum leaf. A leaf similarly distinguished.

By and by, 460. Immediately. Elsewhere he thus translates Wier's "mox" and "statim".

C.

Carter, 478. Used, as in "carter's logic", for a dull-witted ignoramus, much in the sense in which we depreciatingly use costermonger. Carter's logic is not the logic of physical persuasion, but the ergo of the first gravedigger in *Hamlet*.

Castrell, 302. Kestrel, Tinunculus. The hovering hawk, a wild kind not tamable, that frightens other hawks (possibly by its loud, ringing voice), and whose effigy was placed near doves, etc., to deter other hawks. Hence, probably, arose the fable spoken of in the text.

Cautelousness, 469. Artful caution.

Censure, A viii. Sentence, or judgment.

Chapman, 485. Generally the seller, but also, as here, the buyer; he that chaps or cheapens.

Choine cough, 211. Chin-cough, the hooping-cough.

Choler, 205. One of the supposed four humours. The compound humour generated in the liver was divided into two parts, one going to the blood, the other to the gall, as this choler or bile. It differed from melancholy, or black bile, for the reservoir of this was the spleen. Cf. *Batman on Barth.*, iv, 10, and v, 39.

Circumstance, 24. Elsewhere, as 75, used for round-about or superfluous means. Here it has a greater ill-meaning—a round-about statement that would evade declaring the truth.

Clam, 208. To stick on; various dialects.

Claweth, 67. Scratcheth (where he itcheth), pleaseth, and therefore flattereth. Cf. the proverb, "Claw me, claw thee", or "K. me, K. thee", a polite abbreviation, which, I think, betokens the odious origin of the phrase.

Clubhutchins, 372. Old Kentish, now, I believe, almost obsolete, for a plain, rough countryman.

Coate card, 335. Our court card.

Cold prophet, B ii. v. 170. One whose prophecies are far from the mark, just as children at play are hot or cold, when near or far from the thing sought. Others say that cold, as in Chaucer = col.

Commend, 134. Commit to, in the sense of giving, entrusting, or setting forth for his examination. Latinate.

Complexion, 461. The four complexions or dispositions were supposed to be due to the excess of (1) blood, (2) phlegm, (3) choler, (4) melancholy. Here it is used more generally for disposition.

Compline, 393. Part of the Romish even-song (Cotgrave), which, said just after sunset, completes the offices of the day.

Conceipts, 326. Merry or strange tricks.

Cone, 227. I found, I forget where, "to cone findere", hence marginal note.

Confirmed, 429. Apparently "made firm"; placed or stationed together, each in his fixed place.

Constellation. Is sometimes used in old books, seemingly as denoting the co-ordination or co-position of the heavenly bodies (as regards one another) at any particular time. It was from these constellations that nativities were calculated.

Constreineth. In its primary or literal sense of drawn together.

Contagion of weather, 269. For = against.

Convenient (with). Coming together with, agreeing with.

Convented, 16. Brought together with (*i.e.*, before) the judge, or other.

Convinced, 70, 131. Overcome.

Corrupt, 16. Corrupted; the "ed" being assimilated by, or made to coalesce with, the "t". Cf. note, p. 441.

Countrie, A iiii. Used, as occasionally then, for county.

Cousen, A vii. v. Used then as a term implying relationship of any kind, or simply between royal personages as a term of courtesy and friendliness.

Credit, 498. Belief; we should say crediting, etc.

Croslet, 357. A crucible.

Crosse of a coin, 388. The reverse

bore a cross. Now called the tail in "heads or tails".

Curious, 333. As frequently in those days, "curiosus", full of care, careful; those who would inquire carefully or curiously into the matter.

Cushion, missed the, 490. Nares says it evidently alludes to archery: an unsupported guess, and not, I think, a probable one. More likely the reference is to some game, such as a variant of stool ball, or possibly to the cushion dance. Or it may simply mean missed his seat.

D.

Dangerous of, 146. Fearful of [showing], or, as some say it is in Chaucer, shy.

Detected, 27. Uncovered.

Determination, 153. Termination, or ending.

Detracting, 94. Drawing out, spinning out.

Dilection. A choosing, preferring, loving.

Diriges, 439. Dirges; a word derived from the Latin *dirige.*

Disagreeable to, 98. Disagreeing with, differing from.

Dish, laid in my, 130. For me to chew upon.

Dismembred, 313. There being no talk of the members of an animal being taken away, I take it that he means diversely membered from what it was naturally, as was the serpent with "manie legs".

Dizzards, 291. Evidently fool or blockhead. That it was a name for the vice or fool of a play is by no means a proof of its prater or diseur origin, for he was not so much a prater as a funny lout who bore himself apishly, and "moved his body as him list". Rather cognate to dizzy.

Donee, 148. Noted as an early use of the word.

Doubt in, 482; *doubted*, 6. Two excellent examples of the then frequent use of these words for fear and feared.

Duplex s. s., 282. Should have been duplicis, but the writer probably thought that this would be liable to a misrendering. S[piritus] S[ancti] is of course meant.

E.

Eager, 249. Sour; French, *aigre*, as in vinegar.

Earnest pennie, 542. The small sum given as part payment in earnest that, or as assurance that, the bargain had been made.

Embossed, 316. [Spoken of glasses in "perspective" devices.] Convex (?).

Enabled, 164. Made able, strengthened.

Eversed, 316. [As under *Embossed.*] Possibly concave (?).

Exchange, 218. To change or transform.

Excourse, 43. Lat. *excursus*, outgoing.

Expend, 444. Hang, or rather weigh out.

Experiment, 82. Trial, or mode of proof; the verb is similarly used.

Exsufflation, 440. In Roman Catholic baptism the devil is rejected by exsufflando (blowing him away) and by abrenunciation (the renouncing) of him and his works.

Extermination, 485. A driving out beyond the boundary or terminus.

Eybitten, 64. "Master Scot in his *Discovery* telleth us, That our English people in Ireland, whose posterity were lately bar-

barously cut off, were much given to this Idolatry in the Queen's time, insomuch that there being a Disease amongst their Cattel that grew blind, being a common Disease in that Country, they did commonly execute people for it, calling them eye biting witches" (*A Candle in the Dark*, by Th. Ady, M.A., 1656, p. 104). Scot did not tell him this, but the explanation prevents erroneous guesses.

F.

Fautor, 528. (Lat.) Favourer, supporter.

Fetches, 110. Devices, ruses, trickeries.

Fitten, 538. Make fit.

Flawed, 57. Flayed.

Foine, 257. A rapier, or, more generally, the thrust (or parry) made by a rapier. But see note on passage.

Fond, 204. Foolish, as commonly then.

Footed, 340. A rather awkward way of describing a box with two covers (opposite one another) and double-bottomed.

Foreslowed, 365. Slowed overmuch, *i.e.*, omitted at times. So we have other words in fore—foregrown, etc. *Forespoken*, has been said to be a compound of our fore, meaning bespeak or predict (Rich.). But it is not to predict, but to do. Hence, I rather take it as equal to speak over-much against, *i.e.*, bewitch.

Frote (A. N.). To rub.

G.

Gissard, 528. A goose-herd.

Graffing, 290. A form, an older form, of "grafting", and so the verb graff.

Griphes, 202. Vultures here, though in some authors it is the griffin or dragon.

Gudgins, 257. Gudgeons. This fish is a bait, and is easily caught. From this latter circumstance it is here, as frequently, and as in Shakespeare, used for a fool.

H.

Hagging, went to, 25. I suppose went to perform her part or duty as a witch. From hag-ridden, hag-tracks, and hag-worn, hag seems to have been used as a synonyme for wicked or witch.

Haggister, 82. Kentish for the magpie.

Hailed, 196. Haled, hauled.

Hair, against the, 9. Contrary to the inclination, a phrase which might readily be drawn as to other animals, but which, I think, arose from dressing a horse.

Hair, hang her up by the, 257. Seems from the word "utterly" to have been used metaphorically for make away with. Perhaps because Absalom was, and is popularly supposed to have so died; or possibly from this it was a civiller synonyme for being hung.

Hallowe, 316. Hollow.

Handle, 368. Used in one instance for to go about, or carry on, in a good sense; in the second, as to make a passive instrument of, as the monkey when he used the cat's paw for the hot chestnuts.

Heeles, by the, 65. Arrested and confined him, because offenders were often put for safety into the stocks.

Hickot, 242. Hiccough.

Ho, 501. Our "woa".

Honestie, 81. Chastity. Frequently used of mental as well

as bodily chastity. We still speak in this sense of an "honest woman".

Hot, 255. Preterite of hit. An old, and also frequent, Kentish form of the past in many verbs.

Houseled, be, 265. Receive the Eucharist.

Hugger mugger, 433. An early example, explained by "secret-lie"; but it also means, I think, as a consequence of the secrecy, in a hurried, tumbling, indecorous fashion.

Hundreth, 338. A then common variant for hundred.

I.

Idol, 390. Ειδολον, similitude.

Illuded, 69. Cozened, deceived.

Impugnable, 492. Not able to be imposed. This ——able form not in our dictionaries.

Incestuous, 124. In Latinate sense, full of pollution.

Indifferent (freq.). Impartial.

Infirnalles, 426. Used as *s*.

Insensible, 216. Without sense or meaning.

Intend, 430. Attend.

Intermedled, 490. Intermingled.

Intricate. Entangle.

Inversed, 316. Qy., inverted or turned upside down. But several of these terms I cannot explain.

Irremissable, 70. Not able to be sent away, remitted or forgiven.

J.

Jamme (of a window), 91. The jamb, supporter, or side-post of, here, a window.

Jetting, a, 265. Jet, to fling, strut, etc., from the Fr. *jeter*, and though I have not found a similar phrase, it seems here used in the sense of having a fling, or a spree.

John, Sir, 265. Cf. note.

Jollie, 197, 273. We find its use in Scot, explaining, as it were, how the French *joli*, pretty, became our jolly, as in the phrase, "a pretty fellow". Sometimes, as in the last phrase, it seems to have a somewhat lowering sense. In 273 he seems called jollie because he drank.

Jumpe with, 492. Equally or exactly with.

Jurat, 258. One sworn to administer justice, a magistrate or sheriff.

K.

Knable, 346. To nibble.

L.

Lane, 340, 357. From the latter reference I gather that it=layer.

Lapidaries, 295. Early use.

Learne a lewd man, 359. Chaucer, to teach.

Leaze (asses), 264. Sense pretty evident, but I know not the word. Qy., same as lees, or leese, losings or leavings.

Lewd, Lewdness, 19, 358, 359, (Chaucer) 8, etc. Sometimes ignorant; sometimes in a similar sense as lay, opposed to clerkly or learned; sometimes wicked or nefarious. Lewdness, in 8, seems to equal uselessness, or doing nothing for their living.

Limitors, 88. Chaucer, Begging friars, because their limits were appointed.

Loose, lose. These spellings are used interchangeably in this work, but, I think, are spelled the more frequently as they now are. Cf. *Than* and *Then*. *Naught* and *Nought*.

M.

Martinists. Those who followed Martin Mar-Prelate.

Masse cake, 270. As shown by Wier, the Roman Catholic wafer

used in the celebration of the mass.

Meane stuff, 499. Not mean in our sense, but middle or midway, as explained in the line before. Sacrifices of frankincense are a mean between sacrifices of the mind and those of cattell. So mean sense, 60, is used for ordinary or middling sense.

Meere, A ii. v. Unmixed, therefore pure.

Melancholie. See note, p. 182.

Mends, 373. Our 'mends, or amends, or rather requital.

Merchant, B ii, 368. Dealer or go-between, without reference to commodities or goods.

Miser, 160 (bis). Latinate, a wretched one.

Moralitie, 308. The underlying meaning, as in the Moralities.

Morrowmasse, 232. See note.

N.

Nall, a, 335. An awl.

Nameles finger, 273. See note.

Namelie. By name, and therefore especially.

Naught and *Nought.* Either is spelled as itself or as the other.

Neezing, 201. Sneezing.

Nephue, 557. This use of nephew as grandson was then the rule, just as was the French *neveu*, and the Latin *nepos*. Cf. Minsheu, Cotgrave, Baret, etc. Grand-child is used by Cotgrave, but hardly appears to have been in use. Sh. uses grandam, etc., tolerably frequently, but grand-child only once, in *Coriolanus*, and grandson, etc., never.

Netherstocke, 84. Stocking.

O.

Obeie, s., 380.

Obscure, 380. "Leone obscurior & turpis", Wier; *i.e.*, he appears *specie angelica*, but not white, but darker than a lion, and filthy.

Occupy, 77;——*ied*, 415. See note.

Onely, 114. A good example of the position then commonly given to the word in a sentence. He does not mean that this is the only work of God, but the work of God only.

Orient, 297. This word was then oddly used. An orient pearl was so called by the Romans because it was large, and large pearls generally came from the East. So here, easterly seems to be used as an equivalent for hot. The eastern regions being in his astronomy nearer the sun's rising, they were hotter, —a false explanation of a true fact.

Orizons, 41. Orisons.

Other. Frequently here, as contemporarily, used for others.

Overtaken, 324. Here, surprised. But in another passage it is deceived.

P.

Pack, 339. Agreement, and though not a mere variant of it, pact.

Paire of cards, 335. Our pack. So a pair-royal is composed of three aces, kings, etc.

Palme, 268. See note.

Passible, 496. Passable, able to pass away, temporary.

Peevishness, 483. Foolishness. Greene seems sometimes to use the adjective for perverse or rascally, *Planetomachia*, 40, 22 —95, 18, etc., ed. Grosart.

Perbreake, 310, or *Parbreak.* Vomit.

Perceived, 131. Seen through, truly understood.

Periapts, 230. Cf. text. Περιαπτω, I bind, wrap around, attach to.

Perish, 407. Causal sense, make to perish.

Perspective, 315, etc. Not our perspective, but the arrangement of glasses and mirrors so as to show other things than you expect to see, etc.

Perspicuous, A v. Perspicacious.

Philosophie, did, 454. See note.

Pile, 385. Pile and crosse=our heads and tails.

Pioners. Diggers. The word is now confined to military diggers.

Pitie, 369. Verb used in causal sense.

Plashes, water, 64. Pools, puddles.

Plumme, 238. Was this word then used in this way? Scot was not too squeamish. Cf. "etish", p. 246, etc.

Podware, 223. Agricultural produce producing pods.

Points, 341. Tags or tying laces.

Pollusions, 447. Pollutions.

Practive, 326, marg. Able to practise readily, practised.

Pregnancy, 358. Ability to conceive or understand.

Pregnant, 75. Able to become pregnant.

Prelacies, 390. Wier's *prælaturæ* seems to have been used by him generally, but Du Cange makes it specific as the office of a dean, and Holyokes Rider as that of an archdeacon.

Present, 238. Immediate.

Prest, in, 360. In readiness, therefore in loan, in advance.

Pretended, 474. Latinate, set forth. Under 20 this is its main meaning, but the sentence shows how it came to mean our pretend.

Prevent, 417. Latinate, come or go before. Its lapse into our sense is well shown in 30.

Progeny, 32. Offspring. Noted because Shakespeare and others sometimes used it as progenitors.

Proposeth, 361. Setteth forth.

Proprieties, 210, 303. Properties. So *Trevisa on Barthol.* 1379 (t. page, I think).

Prove, 255. *Proved*, 21. Try, attempt.

Purchase, 430. Obtain. The same usage (found in other authors) shows that the thieves' cant ridiculed in Shakespeare was but an appropriation of this.

Q.

Question be made, 25. Torture applied.

Quezie, 239. Squeamish, apt to vomit.

Quick, 415. Live, springing, running.

R.

Rank, 279. Thick, full, abundantly fertile.

Rath, 441, Early.

Reall, sometimes = *Royal.*

Recount, 170. Qy., to say (or esteem), in reference to the spelling, etc.; or is it equal to account?

Recreations, 93. Re-creations, creations over again.

Reere banquet, 66=a rere-supper, or eating and drinking after supper.

Regiment, 378. Rule, as often then.

Remorse, 171. Pity, as often then.

Remove, 242. Used as our move, the joint being looked on as passive, and different from the moving power.

Resiant, 476. Fr. *reseant*, resident, Cotgrave, who gives also the Engl. resiant.

Resistance, 445. Not resistance of or from, but resistance [to God] proceeding from, or belonging to, spirituall iniquitie.

Rest, 344. Remain, but here unusually used.

Rish, 341. Rush.

Roome, made, 275. Made way, *i.e.*, gave opportunity.

S.

Saccaring, etc., 95. Sacring, consecrating. The sacring bell is the bell rung at the time of consecrating and elevating the host.

Safeguard, 51. A skirt or outside petticoat worn when riding.

Scantling, 358. Dimension. Nautical; is properly dimensions of timber when reduced to its proper size, but sometimes the piece so reduced.

Scot free, 71. Primarily, free from charge; secondarily, from punishment.

Seelie, 35. Harmless, thence simple.

Severall, 527. Separate.

Shepens, 88. Stalls for cows. Some say also for sheep.

Shouldered, *A* vi. v. Here, supported, as when one shoulders another for that purpose.

Shrewdly, 79. Maliciously or keenly.

Sinewes, 47, 241. Probably from the want of knowledge of anatomy, this was used both for our sinews, but more generally, I think, for nerves. We find it, certainly in this, and, I think, in both senses, in Batman, or rather *Trevisa upon Barth.*, and for nerves in medical writers, as in Boord, and in the translation of Vigo. In 248, where "marrow" precedes, it is most probably=nerves. Wier in the same passage has "a nervis".

Sir John, 265, etc. See note.

Sithens, 458. Since.

Skils not, it, 335. It matters not.

So. Frequently used where we use as.

Sock a corpse, 42, 124. To sew a corpse in its winding sheet. Kentish.

Sort, 374. Set, or company.

Spie him, 46. Spy him out.

Spoil a witch, 269. Injure a witch.

Square, 410. Used for an unequal-sided parallelogram [].

Sterne, *A* iii. Used, as not unfrequently then, for helm.

Sterven. Punished by any means, though not intentionally killed. *Starved up*, 124, is used for starved to death.

Straught, 144. Our distraught.

Strumpet, 145. Used as a term of reproach without reference to its sexual sense. So he uses incestuous.

Success, 196, 197, 272. Event or sequel, whether bad or good. Hence we still speak of "good success".

Suffocate, 223. Qy., to choke with weeds.

Suffrages, 434, 444. Du Cange (8). Prayers by which the help of God is implored.

T.

Temper with them, 20. May be variant or error for tamper; may perhaps be our temper them, work them up fittingly, etc.

Temporall, *B* v. Carnally or materially bodied.

Tester, or *Testor*, 340. Sixpence.

Testifie, 374. Not to testifie to, but to make themselves witnesses of.

Than, then. See note, p. 158.

Therefore, 528. On that account, or for that thing.

Thomas, 233. Anyone, as John, or N. or M.

Thropes, 88. Thorps or villages.

Travel, *A* ii. Travel and travail were both so spelled.

Treene, *A* vi. Tree-en, wooden.

Trench master. He — says G. Markham, *Soldier's Grammar*, p. 128—"hath command over all the pyoners . . . and by his [the master general of the ordnance] directions seeth all man-

ner of trenches cast up, whether it be for guard and inclosing of the campe, or for other particular annoyance to the enemye, or for the building of sconces or other defence or offence, as directions shall be given." Grose, *Mil. Antiq.*, i, 223-4, who adds, "This officer seems sometimes to have been stiled Devisour of the fortifications to be made."

Tried, 66, 211, 453. Proved, as gold is tried by touchstone, etc.

Trish trash, 523. A reduplicate, and therefore emphatic, form.

Tuition, 415. Defence. Lat. *tuere.*

Turbinall, 316. Qy., top-shaped, from Lat. *turbo.*

U.

Undermeales, 88. Intermediate meals after dinner, and thence, as here=in the afternoon.

Unproper, 371.

Untame, 252.

V.

Vade, 169. Used contemporarily as fade, but generally as a strengthened or more emphatic form, as shown here by "utterly wither".

Valure, 130. Valour.

Virtutes. Virtues, *i.e.*, the order of angels so called. Pl. of Lat. *virtus.*

Void=Avoid, and so Trevisa, 1397.

W.

Wag, 324. Probably used in an ill sense, as a chatterer who makes himself conspicuous by his interference.

Wax, 249. To increase and thence to grow, and to grow or become, whether the growth be increase or not.

Wealth, *A* iii. Weal.

Wheeking, 301. An onomatopæic word.

Where, 429. Whether.

Whereas, 419. Whereat, at which.

Whitmeats, 281. Milk-whitepots, custards, cheese-cakes, butter, cheese (Bailey). In fact, any thing or any dish made of milk. *Lactucaria* (Th. Cooper, Holyokes Rider).

Wist, had I, 374. See note.

Witch. Used by Scot and others for both wizards and witches, though the former word was known in English in 1582 (*Witches at St. Osees*, by W. W.). So used till at least 1670.

Witchmonger. (*a*) Those who dealt with witches, as with wise women. (*b*) Those who sought them out for punishment.

Wreath, 225. Translation of Lat. *vertere*, to wrest or twist violently.

Wrote, 199. Wrought.

X.

Xenophilus, 378. Wier's Zenophilus. A friend suggests same as φιλοξενος, a friend to strangers, hospitable. The difficulty is, what is such a one's outwardly distinctive form?

Y.

Yaw, 228. To go, or stray, out of their course. Now nautical only.

Yer, *A* vii. Ere.

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