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No.

THE
John Gualter
HISTORY

Perlegit hunc Librum. Oct. 27. 37.
OF

MAGICK

By way of
APOLOGY,

For all the Wise Men who
have unjustly been reputed Magicians, from
the Creation, to the present Age.

Written in French by

G. NAUDÆUS

Late Library-Keeper to Cardinal *Mazarin*.

*Multos absolvemus, si caperimus ante judicare
quam irasci. Senec. de ira. lib. 3. c. 29.*

Englified by J. DAVIES.

Printed for *John Streater*, to be sold by the
Book-sellers of *1657.*

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TO THE
Most worthily Honour'd
S^R. RICHARD COMBESK^T.

SIR,

IT is certainly but reason, that *Innocence*, since it so easily meets with *Persecutors*, should at length light on some *Patrons* and *Affertors*, that as those are the *Agents* & *Emis-saries* of *Ignorance* and *Barbarism*, making it their business to *ruine* it, so these might, as the *Guardian-Angells* of restored *Civility* and *Letters*, endeavour to *vindicate* it. You have here the greatest miracles
A 2 of

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of Mankind in their severall times *impeach'd* of a crime, the greatest can be committed against either divine or humane Lawes; *viz.* a *Geotick*, or superstitious & *Diabolical Magick*, violently prosecuted by a sort of people whose design it is, by noise and number to stifle *Truth*, and consequently, to make the most innocent the most guilty. In so much that all the liberty they now seeme to have, is that of saying something for themselves, which is hop'd may prove so considerable as not only to divert the *Sentence*, but knock off the *fetters* they have. so long
groan'd

The Epistle Dedicatory.

groand under; and gain them an absolute *Liberate*.

To which end, Sir, you are in this Countrey the Person they make their appeale to, with a certain confidence, that as the *prejudice* of former Judges hath not a litle contributed to their misfortune, so your integrity may restore them to a reputation among men, great as when they were the light and ornaments of the Ages they liv'd in. This is a trouble you might easily be induc'd to take upon you, did you imagine to your self no other consequences of it; than that, being look'd on as an

The Epistle Dedicatory.

effect of your Goodness, you will oblige all those who cannot but compassionate the undeserved sufferings of such excellent men, & may expect that acclamation and applause, which ever attends the impartial execution of Justice. But when you reflect on the particular advantages accrewing to your self by this *Apology*, you will haply be satisfyed, there is something extraordinary in the address of it to you.

For, what higher motives can Posterity have to believe, that the great perfections you are master of, the general affection you command, the publick fa-

your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

your shines upon you, (which when uncourted ever speaks a certain excels of merit) are not the effects of any thing more than natural, than to find you rescuing the oppressed innocency of men, whom onely a transcendency of abilities made the objects of envy and detraction? What can more satisfy the world, that, when you have done things, exceeding common apprehensions, it proceeds from your vast knowledge and acquaintance with those Sciences whose lustre dazles ordinary capacities, than to find you relieving such as only popular ignorance

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and mistake have made unfortunate? And of this, what other effect can there be than that you live in the fame which they, by your Patronage, are restored unto; and consequently, in the esteem and veneration of all the Sons and Lovers of Learning, but particularly, as the meanest of that number, that of,

Your most humble and

most obliged Servant

J. DAVIES.

The

The AUTHOR'S motive and designe in the present Work.

A Bout four or five years since, there came abroad a little Book in French, intituled, *Nouveau Jugement, &c. New Reflections* on what hath been said and written as well for, as against the Book of the curious Doctrine of the Great Witts of these times. At the end of this Book the Authour inserted two *Invectives*, very short indeed, against Homer and Virgil; to what end or upon what ground it is not much material here to dispute; but in that of Virgil, he represents him as a most eminent Conjuror, and one that had done abundance of strange and incredible things by the assistance of Magick. This he presently remembered was taken verbatim out of the last Book publish'd by de Lancre against Witchcraft; whereupon reflecting on what he had read, and calling to mind that not only Virgil but in a manner all great persons were in like manner charg'd with Magick, he imagin'd the charge might be unjust and groundlesse. This put him upon search of the truth, thinking it an act of piety to right the memory of those great men and an obligation put upon the world, to endeavour their satisfaction, who want either time or conveniences to inform themselves, and so he resolv'd to communicate, what he had found, in this *APOLOGIE*: whereof take this short account.

In

In the first place he assigns certain conditions or qualifications necessarily requisite in him, that would judge of Authors, especially Historians and Demographers, who are the chief Architects of this Labyrinth of erroneous opinions, which who is once gotten into cannot well get out without this Clue. Then he divides Magick into severall species, so to confront the charge and the Answer, which consists in the distinction of Magick into Diabollick and Naturall. That done, he comes to certain generall causes whence the suspicion hath been deriv'd, viz. Politicks, extraordinary Learning, Mathematicks, Supposititious Books, superstitious Observations, Heresy, Malice, Emulation, Ignorance, Credulity in Readers, and want of circumspection and Judgment in Writers. This is fully dispatch'd in five Chapters, which are as it were a prelude to XIV more, spent in the particular vindication of Zoroastes, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Democritus, and others, not proceeding so much according to the times wherein they flourish'd as their severall qualities and employments. So that having run through the severall vindications of Philosophers, Physicians, Religious men, Bishops, Popes, all to be done was to close up the treatise with a Chapter discovering the means whereby these Errors are maintained, and what will be the consequences of them if not suppress'd.

So much, as to the Authors designe in this work. That dispatch'd, he thought fit to say something to those who might haply quarrell with him for his checking it so much with sentences and Authorities out of Latine Authors. There are indeed a many and those the most refin'd Writers, who cannot, without a certain scorn and indignation, look on the writings of

of such, as, like them, will not employ themselves so trivially as to compose Love Stories and Romances for the entertainment of women and Children. For those his answer is, that as he quarrels not with them for using a Style proportionable to their capacities to whom they direct their Labours; so does he expect they should be as favourable to him. for not translating those Latine passages as such as are not particularly calculated for the meridian of the Populace, but some of a higher elevation, who measure not truth, by the credit of Historians and Demonomographers, that have almost besotted the multitude with their extravagances. These indeed are a sort of people so much oblig'd one to another, that should we imitate them in the Labours we intend for posterity, we must do as the Rhodians did, who only chang'd the heads of ancients Statues to make them serve for new representations, such a strange art have they of disguising and dismembring one anothers workes. that, strictly examined, there's nothing new but the Titles. For Citations, he thought they only avoided them who never expected to be cited themselves and that it were too great a presumption in any one to think himself so well furnish'd with conceptions as to satisfy so great a diversity of Readers without borrowing any. But if ever there were any such, they were certainly P. uitarch, Seneca, and Montagne, who yet have not blush'd to derive from others whatever they thought contributed to the embellishment of their discourses. To prove this we need only mention the Greek and Latine verses cited almost in every line of their workes, and particularly that of Consolation, consisting but of seven or eight Leaves, sent by the former to Apollonius, wherein there are above 150. verses out of Homer, and near as many out

of Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides.

Nor is he ignorant what these regulators of writing might oppose against this, viz. the authority of Epicurus, who in 300 Volumes left behind him, had not so much as one Citation; but this would make against them, by reason of the contrary consequences of these two different procedures, for the workes of Plutarch, Seneca and Montagne, are daily read, sold, and reprinted, whereas of those of Epicurus, Laertius can hardly furnish us with a Catalogue. Yet would he not have this so understood as to approve their course who conceale the treasures of their own abilities to beg and borrow of others, never appearing but as people at false Musters, and, without any hazard to themselves, carrying other mens Arms. Tedious and fruitlesse discourses are like Forrests of Cypresse trees, fair and flourishing to the eye, but bearing no fruit suitable thereto.

The surest way therefore were to keep the mean between these extremities, which is for a man to make a certaine allyance between his own conceptions and those of the ancient, when the subject will bear it. For as it belongs only to such elevated and transcendent Souls as have something above the ordinary rate of men, to transmit their conceptions to us pure and naked, without any other convoy than that of Truth, and that it is the indicium of a low & reptile mind to undertake nothing of it self; so is it the proper character of a person unacquainted with vain glory and arriv'd to a considerable knowledge and experience of things to follow the track which the most learned & best esteemed Authors have gone before him, and not so much endeavour to tickle the ears of his Readers, as to neglect what might satisfie their understanding. And this method hath our Author observ'd in this

A P O.

APOLOGIE: which whoever shall examine without prejudice or passion, must certainly conclude it no small performance, especially if he consider the difficulty of the undertaking; the many Authors consulted, the particularities he hath been forc'd to quote, and the novelty of the Subject, which, were there nothing else, were enough to oblige the more ingenious, to countenance and encourage

In nova surgentem, majoraq; viribus ausum,
Nec per inaccessos metuentem vadere saltus.

NAVDE

NAUDÆVS.

*Viris doctis et fautoribus
suis.*

INtactæ virtutis opus,
juvenisq; laborem
Excipite illustres animæ,
doctiq; parentes
Nominis et Genii, ne po-
stera sæcula credant,
Et vos in Magicis pariter
peccâsse fufurris.

The

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MAGICK;

By way of
APOLOGIE,

*For all those eminent Persons, who have un-
justly been reputed Magicians.*

CHAP. I.

*Of the Conditions requisite to Judge of Authours;
especially Historians.*

The learned and judicious (*a*) *Ludovicus* a Lib. 4. de
vradendis
disciplinis. *Vives*, who for his excellent worth, was thought the fittest of all the great Wits of the last age, as another *Plutarch*, to cultivate that of the famous Emperour *Charles the Fifth*, gives us a good Dichotomy of *Prudence*. One part regulates our enjoyments, preserves our health, directs our conversation, acquires charges and employments, and is so much taken up with the procurement of the gods of *Fortune* and the *Body*, that it hath gotten, among the *Fathers*, the title of *Prudentia carnis*, and is called by *Latine* *Authours*, *Vasfricies* & *astutia*. The other, labouring onely the cultivation and ornament of

B

the

the nobler part of man, the *Mind*, and the enriching of it with Sciences and Disciplines, that so it might discover and practise what is most advantageous and reall therein, is particularly employed in the censure and judgement of Authours. This is so truly necessary, and of such importance, that, being once well ordered, it so guides us into the interiour of the persons we deal with, that it discovers the calms or tempests of their passions, the *Enripus* of their severall agitations, and the admirable diversity of their inclinations. The advantage we are to make of it, is like that of a touchstone to distinguish truth from falshood; of a Torch, to light us in the palpable darknesse of Errour, or we must look towards it, as our onely Pole-star, regulating our course and discoveries of Truth. For since she alwayes appears to us masked with the passions of those, who either out of ignorance, or interest, endeavour to disguise her, we must, to enter into familiarity with her, and to be absolutely possessed of her, seek her out, as *Palamedes* did *Ulysses*, or young *Aristeus*, the Sea-god; in those places where she is hidden, and be so importunate with her, that after she lucked under the indiscretion of the ignorant, the envie of the passionate, the extravagancies of the temerarious, the blindnesse of the interested, and an infinite number of fabulous, strange, and ridiculous opinions, she may appear at last restored to her own former shape;

b *Virg.*
Geor. 4.

(b) *Et quanto illa magis formas se vertet in omnes,
Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincula,
Donec talis erit, mutato corpore, qualem
Videris incapto, segeret cum lumina somno,*

To do this, we must shake off all the insinuating titles, the Panegyricks, the manifest gratulations, which are ordinarily bestowed on those, who are the most able to disguise her with the greatest Artifices and Palliations. For we should be more tender of our liberty, than to be fooled out of it by the number of their suffrages, as if we were obliged, as a packed Jury, to approve whatever they are pleased to tell us, and had not the freedom of a diligent disquisition and censure, to consider whether it be just and rational. To our discare, as to this point, may we justly attribute all the fables, impertinencies, and superstitions, that have to this day crept into the writings and imaginations of abundance of people, especially that simple and ridiculous opinion of a many, who have thought the most eminent men that ever were, even to the highest Magistrates of the Ecclesiasticall State, Sorcerers and Magicians. But as this discare hath been extremely prejudiciall to us, so must we endeavour to make it as advantageous, and use it as *Telephus's* spear, which only could cure the wounds it made; or as the Sun, who onely disperses those clouds and mists which were risen in its absence.

This task is indeed too difficult and subtle to be indifferently accommodated to all persons, and therefore *Experience*, which is onely acquired by Time, the *Reflection* men ought to make on what they have conceived, the carefull *observation* of the excellent sayings, and prudent actions of others, and above all things, that *Indifference* which should alwayes carry the light before us in this disquisition of Truth, give a certain dispensation to weak, inconstant, and obstinate minds,

as also to young men, such for the most part, as he whom *Virgil* describes,

Ense velut nudo; parmâq; inglorius alba,

from employing themselves in this censure, whereof a riper age, and a well-settled constitution of mind, acquits it self with better successe, and lesse difficulty. Nor can we but observe, that *Erasmus*, *Vives*, *Scaliger*, *Bodin*, *Montaigne*, *Camus*, *Possevin*, and many more, who reserved this employment for their more serious studies, have proved so fortunate in this kind, that we must needs (if with *Seneca* we acknowledge, that *Bona mens nec emitur, nec commodatur*) adde something to it by their examples, and by the assistance of those precepts, which may be generally given for the regulation and refining of the judgement: whereof,

1. The first is, to be very well versed in those Authors, who have been most excellent in this kind; as for instance, *Seneca*, *Quintilian*, *Plutarch*, *Charon*, *Montaigne*, *Vives*; as also in those admirable and great Genius's of History, *Thucydides*, *Tacitus*, *Guicciardine*, *Comines*, and *Sleidan*. Adde to this an acquaintance with those who have been Authors of politicall and rationall *Discourses*, and all such as are eminent for new discoveries and conceptions, such as *Cardan*; and the great Chancellour of England, *Verulam*, in all their books.

The second requires the knowledge of *Logick*; to be able with more readinesse and facility, to distinguish between true and false, simple and compound, necessity and contingence; which
does

does (as it were) open the way to

The third and last, which is a certain familiarity with the most profitable Sciences, and the most universall and generall account of the affairs of this World that may be had, which is to be gained, partly by our own industry, partly by the endeavours of those who have gone before us, such as may be those of Historians. But in this the choice is of such consequence, that there cannot be too much circumspection used, especially in the present age, wherein self-love does so easily triumph over the industry of men, to force upon the world the fruits of their ignorance,

— (c) *Sic dira frequentes
Scribendi invasit scabies, & turpe putatur
In nullis penitus nomen præstare tabernis.*

c *Nab-
georgus,
Sat. 1.*

In so much, that we may justly say of the Mystery of Printing, the Mint of all these rampant imaginations, what *Seneca* said upon such an occasion in Nature, as this is in Art, *Si beneficia natura utentium pravitate perpendimus, nihil non nostro malo accepimus.* This is no more than what was foreseen above an hundred and twenty years since, by the learned *Hermolaus*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*, and *Perrot*, Bishop of *Sipontum*, and to which alone, as to their cause, we are to attribute the sudden dissemination of our modern Heresies, with this complaint into the bargain, that with all the advantages we derive from the Ancient, we are much inferior to them in point of learning. I therefore think it extremely necessary, amidst such a multitude of Authours, to be curious in the choice and selection of those, the diligent reading

whereof

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whereof may convince us, that they have been furnished with all the conditions required in a perfect Historian, such as was for the English, *Polydore Virgil*; for the Germans, *Rhenanus*; and for the French, *Paulus Amilius*, and discard all the rest; who (as the fore-mentioned) have not the mark of truth. But if we are desirous to read them, let it be on the same conditions, as *Seneca* permitted his friend *Lucilius*; *Nec te prohibuerim* (says he) *aliquando ista agere, sed tunc cum voles nihil agere*. For my part, it should be my censure, that they be all suppressed, or that, as anciently all under forty years of age were forbidden the reading of the *Apocalyps*, and the last chapter of the Prophet *Esdras*, to they, whose judgements are not settled by the reading of good books, should not be permitted to surfeit on those abortive fruits of ignorance, whereof there is no end, but that of degenerating and bastardizing the spirits of those that trouble themselves with them, *Nam qui omnes etiam indignas lectione schedas excutit, anilibus quoque fabulis accommodare operam potest*.

But before we dilate any further upon the censure and precaution we are to make of them, it will not be amisse, by the way, to lay open the extravagance of, I know not what, persons, who are of a faith, that *Painting* and *Poesie* are two sworn sisters, exercising an Empire over our *Belief*, equivalent to that of the most impartial *Histories*. For though it be presumed they may happily take their rise from a true Relation, yet taking the liberty to disguise it, as they please, with their Chimericall imaginations, they have long since incurred the same sentence;

*Namq, unum soltantur iter, & inania rerum
Somnia concipiunt, & Homerus, & acer Apelles,*

That person might very deservedly be laugh'd at, who should be perswaded that *Turnus*, little *Tydeus*, and *Rodomon*, flung quarters of mountains at their enemies, meerly upon the reputation of Poets; or that *Jesus Christ* ascended into Heaven upon an (d) Eagle, because he is so represented in the Metropolitane Church of *St. Andrew*, in the City of *Bourdeaux*; and that the Apottles play'd on cymbals at the funerall of the blessed Virgin, because a capricious Painter thought fit to paint them so: which considered, we may well excuse the Satyricall retort of *Beza*, to the pictured argument, which *Dr. De Sainctes* thought so prevalent at the conference of *Poissy*. Nor shall I be too forward to give any more credit to so many other fabulous narrations, as have crept into the world (if it may be permitted to observe some, even in the Ecclesiasticall History) under the banners of such insinuating and specious titles, as those of, *De infantia Salvatoris*, *The Conformity of St. Francis*, *The Golden Legend*, *The Proto-Evangelium*, *The nine or ten Gospels*, and a many such like, which having been at first printed in the *Micropresbyticon*, have been since prudently left out of the *Orthodoxographia*, and the *Library of the Fathers*. Those who would have *Pliny*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Vincent de Beauvais*, *Cardan*, and some others not inferiour to them, accounted fabulous Secretaries of Nature, are in my judgement extremely insensible of the obligation we owe these great persons, for their excellent obser-

d Flor: de Remond. c.13. of Pope Joas.

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various. It were much more rationally to blast with this breath the impostures of *Maunebanks*, the reveries of *Alchymists*, the fooleries of *Magicians*, the riddles of *Cabalists*, the combinations of the *Lullists*, and other like extravagancies of certain Engrossers, and Collectours of Secrets, since they do not contribute any thing more solid to naturall History, than all those old and rotten monuments of *Olaus*, *Saxo-Grammaticus*, *Turpin*, *Neubrigensis*, *Merlin*, *Nauclerus*, *Phreculphus*, *Sigebert*, *Paulus Venerus*, and a multitude of others, do to Policie and civill Society. For these, bestowing their time rather in gleaming what was scattered up and down, than in weighing the authority of the Authours from whom they borrowed their notes, have not onely advanced an Iliad of chimericall and ridiculous stories, but with the same labour, brought upon the Stage some more improbable than the other, reporting them as most true & certain. Of this, one reason or motive is obstinacie, in that having once exposed them, they could not imitate *St. Augustine* in his *Retractions*, *Quamvis enim*, saith *Seneca*, *vana nos concitaverim, perseveramus, ne videamur capisse sine causa*. Another, haply more likely is that being content to follow the common track of those, who when they write, make it their onely businesse, to prove and make good what they have undertaken, by what means they care not, they bring in reasons and arguments by head and shoulders, and take hear-sayes for certain truth, and old wives tales for demonstrations :

e Prudent.
in Symach.

—— (e) *Et sic observatio crescit*

*Ex atavis quondam male capta, deinde sequentis
Tradita temporibus, serisq, nepotibus aucta.*

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This certainly must needs be an impertinent kind of writing, and proper to sheepy mindes, such as willfully quit the bark of *Truth*, to cast themselves one after another into the Sea of *Error*.

But to avoid all these absurdities, we are only to consider the method & designe of such as entertain us with these fine conceptions, and make an ascent from one to another, till we come to discover the first advancer of them, and haply the only man from whom all the rest derived them. For instance; It is out of all controversie, that all our old *Romances* took their rise from the *Chronicles* of Bishop *Turpin*; all the *Stories* of *Pope Joan*, from one *Marianus Scotus*; the *Salvation* of *Trajan*, from one *John Levit*; the opinion of *Virgil's* being a *Magician*, from *Helimundus* the *Monk*. This man once found out, we must diligently consider his quality, the party he inclin'd to, and the time wherein he first writ; and thence bethink our selves, whether we ought not to give greater credit to those who have had the managment of Affairs, than to *Monks* and private men; to persons of honour and worth, than to the dreggs of ignorance and the populace.

In the second place, we are to look on *Historians*, (these only who are perfectly *Heroick* excepted) as a sort of people seldome or never representing things truly and naturally, but shadowing and masking them according as they would have them appear, and such as to gain their judgment a reputation, and to insnare others therein, spare not either abilities or eloquence, *Stretching*, *Amplifying*, *byassing* and *disguising* all things, as they think most proper to their

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design. Hence it is that we find Heathens and Idolaters have spoken many things against the first Christians, out of the aversion they had to the Religion; that the adherents of some Emperours broach'd many indignities against the Popes; that the English represented the Mayd of Orleans as a witch and Sorceresse; and that modern Heretiques have vented so many fables against the dignity of the Church, and the main Pillars of it.

In the Third place, we are to make that judgment of Books which *Paterculius* made of Learned men, experience teaching us, that in a manner, all Histories within seven or eight hundred years past are so hydropically swoln with lying legends, that a man would think the Authors of them had made it their main strife, who should advance the greatest number. From these severall conditions requisite to the censure of Historiāns, it may be inferr'd that they will signifie little as to the direction of those dull & earthly souls, which are represented to us in the *Egyptian Hieroglyphicks* by the *Oncophalus*, a Creature that stirres not from the same place, that is to say, such as are not acquainted with any thing beyond the limits of their own Country, who read no Histories, who trouble not themselves, with any thing done elsewhere, and who are unletter'd and ignorant to that degree, that when they hear some great person nam'd, they think the discourse is about some African monster or something of the new world. For these having nothing either to contradict or oppose, make no difficulty to admit or reject what suits or suits not with their humour, quite contrary to the procedure of a prudent man, (e)

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cui si plura nōsse datum est, majora eum sequuntur dubia; and of the old-men represented to us by *Aristotle*, *qui rerum vitis longo usu detectis et cognitis, nihil impudenter asseverant*, and of whom he says in the same place, that their long practice and experience makes them commonly incredulous, and suspecting all things: A qualification, which indeed must alwayes be supposed in those who expect to make any advantage of their Readings!

CHAP. II.

Of Magick and its Species.

The famous (a) *Civilian* hath in his Emblemes, ^{a *Alciat*} taken occasion to represent the three *causes* ^{*Embl. 1871*} of ignorance by the image of *Sphinx*; pleasure, by her face; inconstancy, by her feathers; and pride, by her feet. Methinks it is not hard to add something to this representation, by observing the effect of ignorance by the cruelty of the same Monster. For as that took a certain pleasure in casting down from the top of the Rock the fate on, all those who either could not or would not resolve her Riddles; so Ignorance hath ever made it her businesse to precipitate those out of all credit and reputation, who, better employd, would not mind those fooleries and legerdemaines. Nor indeed can we but perceive, that, before Humanity and Learning became common and generally attainable by the happiness of this last age, all those who endeavoured their propagation and advancement, were (infamously) terru-
ed

ed *Grammarians* and *Hereticks*; those who made stricter scrutines into the knowledge of naturall causes incur'd the censure of *Scepticks* and *Atheists*; he who was more then Ordinarily verid in the Hebrew tongue, went for a *Jew* or an *Apostate*; and those who studied the *Mathematicks*, and more hidden Sciences, were suspected to be *Conjurers* and *Magicians*; A Calumny that had no other ground then either popular Ignorance, or the envy which the multitude bears to the vertue of eminent persons, because of the little correspondence there is between the incli-

b *Epist. 29.* nations of the one and the other, as (b) Seneca ingenuously acknowledges in this passage; *Nunquam volui populo placere: nam que ego Scio, non probat populus, & que probat populus; ego nescio.*

But since the former have, through the discoveries of time, and the endeavours of those who have undertaken their just cause, outliv'd and trampled on the censures of envy and Ignorance; I cannot sufficiently wonder, that amidst such a multitude of writers, there is not any one hath taken pen in hand to relcve the honour of all those hegemonick and predominant soules, and particularly the greatest Lights of Religion, even Popes and Prelates, from a vanity the most ridiculous and opposite to their state that can be imagin'd, which is; that of their having been *Magicians, Sorcerers, and Conjurers*. This taske I shall without much difficulty undertake, yet hope to unskale the eyes of vulgar Ignorance, scrupulous simplicity and zeal, and Hereticall malice: all which combine together to keep up these fables and erroneous opinions, to the pre-

judice of accused innocence, Truth, as to matter of fact, and the honour and integrity of Religion, which certainly never could so far miscarry in the choice of her principall Ministers, as that they should make an unnaturall conjunction between the Prince of Light and that of Darknesse, God and the Devil, Christ and Lucifer, Heaven and Hell, and the Sacrifices of the Creatour and those of the most vile and abominable creature in the world. It is certainly not onely to be admired, but deplored, that this opinion, kept above water by some vain and triviall conjectures, should have taken such rooting, that it now concerns us to maintain the piety of those great Souls, whose lives and actions should rather be an example by which to regulate ours, than afford us occasions of Apologies and Vindication.

We shall then lay our foundation with the distinction of Magick into *lawfull*, and *unlawfull* or *prohibited*: whereof if every one were but intensive to observe the severall species and effects, me thinks it were not very difficult to comprehend them. Let us then consider Man, as a perfect and accomplished creature, made after the image of his Creatour, the noblest production of all Nature, such as she thought fittest to shed her favours on, and to furnish with her greatest excellencies, that so he might be Lord Paramount over all the rest, and exercise dominion over them, it being the inherent right of his excellencie,

(c) *Et quod dominari in cetera possit*
Natus homo,

c Ovidi
 Met. I. 1.

ordering and regulating his extraordinary actions,

ons, either by the particular grace of Almighty God, or by the assistance of an Angel, or by that of a Dæmon, or lastly, by his own industry and ability. From these four different wayes, we infer four kinds of Magick: *Divine*, relating to the first; *Theurgick*, to the second; *Geotick*, to the third; and *Naturall*, to the last.

The first is that sacred and divine Magick, which being absolutely happy and accomplished, exceeds our forces, and wholly depends on that Spirit, *qui quò vult spirat*, and which discovers it self in its noble and supernaturall operations, such as Prophecie, Miracles, the gift of Tongues, by means whereof it forces its knowledge upon mankind, affords it matter both of instruction and entertainment, so to chastize and mind men of their duties, and to raise a veneration for the Ministers of its Commandments. Magicians of this kind were *Moses*, *Jashua*, the *Prophets*, the *Apostles*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and *Simon Sti- lites*, those great Wonder-workers, and a multitude of others, who have exercised this Mosaicall Magick. This *Pliny*, not understanding it, condemns; as also another, which he calls by the name of the *Cyprian* Magick, that is, that of *St. Paul*, who being in *Cyprus*, did, in the presence of the Pro-Consul *Sergius*, make *Elymas* the Sorcerer lose his sight. But this kind never discovered it self with so much lustre and miracle, as in those two transcendent actions, the alliance of God with man, made at severall times, by *Moses*, and *Jesus Christ*, who confirmed it onely by the virtue of this Magick. For the former, he was so fortunate in it, that having abjured what he had learned in the school of men, he by the practice of

Lib. 30.
cap. 1.

of this, delivered the people of *Israel* out of *Egyptian* bondage, and made himself a Generall of 600000 men, whom he and his Successours governed according to the Laws he had received from God with thunder and lightening. The latter, *Jesus Christ*, wrought wonders with so much ease, that both Jews and Gentiles, not able to comprehend whence that power was derived, which yet was no other than that of his Divinity, imagined all done by a wicked and Diabolicall Magick. Thence it came they were so impudent (as *(d)* *S. Hierome*, and *S. Augustine* observe) that they published certain books under the title of, *Magia Jesu Christi ad Petrum & Paulum Apostolos*. But the said Doctors prove them clearly spurious, in that having seen and read them, they found them fraught with stories quite dissonant to the actions of *Jesus Christ*, who left nothing behind him in writing, nor called *Paul* to the Apostleship till after his Ascension: besides that, he could not by his Magick have made the Prophets say what they had foretold both of his Deity and Coming.

d IN 13.
Ezech.

The second is the *Theurgick*, or *White Magick*, which upon the account of Religion, enjoyns fasting and abstinences, piety, purity, candour, and integrity of life, that the Soul desirous of commerce with the superiour Deities, may not be in anything diverted by its polluted and sinfull body. Hence it is that the Apostle says, *Corpus quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam*; and suffers not a man to make use of that strictnesse of Disquisition, which is absolutely necessary in this operation; which, me thinks, *Scaliger* too prodigally commends; if so be what he says in his third book

book

book against *Cardan*, be meant of this kinde:
 ■ *Exercit.* (e) *Tertia divina est; nomen apud vulgus odiosum;*
 327. *an. 9.* *facit colluvies impostorum, propter Smerdis proditio-*
nem ac perfidiam insensa diu; hac Dominum Jesum
fuisse promissum Regem, cognoverunt illi qui ad cur
adorandum longinquis è regionibus profecti fuerant.
 For my part, I should rather explaine this of Na-
 turall Magick, against the opinion of *Loyer* and
Godelman, who ground theirs perhaps only on his,
 calling it *Divine*. Yet for his so doing there is
 some reason, since that those who practise it, ac-
 knowledge thereby that supream and onely Divi-
 nity, and may as well by the knowledge it gives
 us of the creatures, ascend to that of the Creatour
 (according to the direction of *Moses*, *Faciem*
meam non videbis, posteriora autem mea videbis) as
 by the assurance it gives us of the miracles of the
 new Testament, to that of the Redeemer. O her-
 wise we must suppose *Scaliger* extreamply nota-
 ken, in making such Panegyricks on this *Theurgie*
 when it is, not unjustly, condemned by *Delrio*
Pererius, and all the rest, who deserve more credit
 than this modern Writer, who leaving not a stone
 unmoved to gain the reputation of a Magician,
 though ineffectually, thought fit, not long since,
 to put forth a Rhetorick, consisting of five parts,
 new and never used before, which he would
 make consonant to the Ancient, that is, the Art
 of *Trithemius* to *Invention*, *Theurgie* to *Disposition*,
 the Art of *Armadel* to *Elocution*, the Art *Paulin*
 to *Pronunciation*, and that of *Lullius* to *Memory*.
 For this, I doubt not, since his reputation increas-
 es daily, he will have his reward, that is, within
 fifty years he shall have as fine stories made of
 him, as there are now of *Dr. Faustus*, *De Magis*,
Merlin,

Merlin, Nostradamus, and others who are marked with red letters in the Magicians Calendar. To which Catalogue we must also adde Homer, Socrates, Aristotle, Proclus, Jamblichus, Porphyrius, Maximus, and all the great Wits of these latter ages, if it be true, as they would fain periwade us, that they were acquainted with their Genii, and could dispose of their good Angels, meerly by the Criticall observation of all those ceremonies and Theurgick preparations, so much celebrated by the Poet *Palingenius*, that a man would think all the morall precepts, whereof his *Zodiak of humane life* is so full, aim only at the practice of all those knacks and Image-Arts of *Armadel*, *Paulin*, and the *Planetary*, *Et hujusmodi superstitionum genera, quae eo sunt perniciosiora, quò nobis apparent diviniora*; since especially they bring us thorow the back door to the knowledge & practice of Conjurations and Diabollieall Magick, *qua cum sit occulta, non minus quam tetra & horribilis, plerunq; noctibus vigilata, & tenebris abstracta, & arbitris solitaria, & carminibus mummrata*, we ought consequently to be very distrustfull of, as the principall instrument the Devil hath ever made use of, to pretend to the honour belongs not to him, and to be so idoliz'd by men, as that he might divert them from the worship they owe their Creatour. To compasse this with the more ease, we see it hath been his constant employment, to bring into practice all the artifices and subtleties imaginable, putting on all shapes, and making his advantage of all creatures, to make this Idolatry the more universal, & consequently more abominable to him, who, for the love he bears us, call'd himself sometime a *jealous God*. We

Agrip. de vanit. c. 45

Apul. in Apolog.

Exo. 20. 5.

C

have

Have it from some Historians, that he spoke to *Apollonius* under the shape of an Elm, to *Pythagoras* under that of a River, to *Simon Magus* under that of a Dog, to some others under that of an Oak. He entertain'd the Heathen in their superstitions, by heaps of Stones and Statues, whence proceeded *Oracles*, and (as they say) presides yet among thoe wretched Assemblies which frequent his Sacrifices, under the representation of a He-goat, the ugliest may be seen; for which yet there must be no more respect had, than that *Aprilibro* made of Virgin Parchment, at the opening whereof (they say) he is oblig'd to answer; or that *Shirt of Necessity*, the *Looking-glasse of Darknesse*, and such instruments of perdition, as these poor, superstitious, and melancholly wretches take abundance of pains to make, *cum cantinnuculis, cadaveribus, funibus suspensivorum; que si quis atretare audeat, etiam mereatur.*

Scalig.

Exer. 327.
num. 3.

The sentence we have pass'd against the second, may in like manner, with no lesse earnestnesse and truth, be directed to all those who busie themselves in a sort of endless Divinations, the spawn of the third kind of Magick, which there is no necessity of specifying more particularly, it being the custom of all that write on that Subject, to dispose it into *Alphabets* and *Catalogues*. But to deal ingenuously, it were much more discretion to give them a perpetuall act of Oblivion, not only because we may say, and justly, that of them which *Terrullian* does upon another occasion, *Tot pernicies quot species, tot dolores quot colores, tot venena quot genera*, but also because they seem to be of the nature of a flame. which (as *Ovid* describes it) heightens and increases the more it is stirr'd:

Vidi

*Vidi ego jam talis mota face creſcere flammam,
Et rurſus, nullo concuſſione, mori.*

It were therefore much more to our purpose, and the advantage of Religion, to bestow some time in refuting what *Pious*, in his Apologie, *Criminar*, and the rest affirm, that this wicked and unlawfull Magick was so predominant all over Egypt, that people resorted thither from all parts of the world, as if it had been some Academy or Lycæum, purposely set up for the propagation of this Idolatry. Hence it proceeds that *Lucians* and Infidels derive much from this opinion, when they would prove that *Moses*, who according to the *Wise-man*, *Josephus* and *Philo*, had been instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, was so well ver'd in this Magick, that he made use of it in the working of miracles. To this some adde, that *Jesus Christ* practis'd it, as we find in [i] *Matilius Ficinus*, and i De Relig. more particularly in [k] *Arnobius*, who affirms, *Christ.c. 30.* that it was the common objection of those blind k cont. wretches, to say, *Magnus fuit, clandestinis artibus Gent. l. 1.* omnia perfecit: *Egyptiorum ex adytis Angelorum potentium nomina, & remotas furatus est disciplina.* This the Authour of the *Fortalium fidei* might have spar'd his ordinary glosses upon, had he but considered these objections, as ridiculous as those of a many others, who would have *Abraham* and *Jacob* passe for great Astrologers, *Joseph* for a Southsayer, and *Salomon* for a Necromancer, grounded only on certain passages of the Bible, with many of our Doctors have interpreted much more superstitiously than ever did the Rabbins.

But it is almost demonstrable, that this kind of

Magick which was practis'd so universally over all *Egypt* was no other than the *Natwall*, disguis'd haply with some vain and impertinent Ceremonies, as may be easily judg'd, in that *Zoroastes*, *Zamolxis*, *Abbaric*, *Oromafis*, *Charondas* and *Damigeron*, who were most eminent therein, as all Authours generally affirm, are commended by *Plato*, especially the two first, as persons very intelligent and excellent for the knowledge of Nature rather than any command they had over those *Genii*, Spirits, and Robin-good-fellowes. This may be further prov'd by the examples of *Plato* himself, of *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and *Democritus*, who have ever been-reputed Philosophers and not Magicians, though by their travels into *Egypt* they had attain'd those Disciplines. For indeed it were a strange thing, as the Learned Bishop *Mirandulanus* observes, that, this Magick having been so much in vogue, neither *Aristotle*, nor any Philosopher of his rate, took any paines to leave us the least account of it, especially the former, who having observ'd whatever was conformable to reason in his Books, could not have forgot himself so far, as to passe over the effects of this admirable doctrin, in that little Book wherein he hath, with so much prudence, layd up together whatever he had discover'd that were secret, and surpassing the Ordinary course of Nature.

It is therefore no hard conjecture, to think that these transcendent Sciences, this rare doctrin, these admirable disciplines amounted to no more than the practice of our fourth and last kind of *Magick*, called *Natwall*. To discover and unmask which, we are to remember that man being

In Alcib. et
in Cat-
inde.

De sing. cert
l. 29. fol.
317.

ing a Conversative creature, capable of discipline, and furnished with all instruments requisite for ratiocination and his instruction in the truth of all things, he is able to put them in practice, either for the attaining of an ordinary vulgar knowledge proportionable to that of others, little or not exceeding that of his Equalls, such as have nothing extraordinary or miraculous in it; because (n) *inaequalitas tantum est ubi qua enim notabilia sunt; non est admirationi una arbor, ubi in eandem altitudinem tota sylva surrexit.* Or haply to raise himself to the highest and most transcendent speculations, to avoid the common road, and take a Noble flight into those azure vaults of the purest part of our soul, to soare up into that terrestiall paradise of the Contemplation of Causes, that so he may at length arrive at that supreme degree of felicity; which onely opens a man the way into those places so much celebrated by *Lucretius*,

See. Ep ist
33.

Lib. 2.

Edita doctrinâ Sapientum templa serena.

This is indeed the true effect of this kind of *Magic*, which the *Persians* called, anciently, *Wisdom*, the *Greeks* *Philosophy*, the *Jews* *Cabala*; the *Pythagoreans*, *Science of the formall numbers*; and the *Platonicks*, the *Sovereigne Remedy*, which seats the soul in perfect *Tranquillity*, and preserves the body in a good *Constitution* by the faculty it hath of being able to reconcile the passive effects to the active vertues, and to make these elementary things here below; comply with the actions of the Stars and celestiall Bodies, or rather the Intelligences which guide them by materialls, proper and conveni-

ent for that purpose. We may therefore conclude with the Learned *Vernham*, that this fourth kind of *Magick Naturalem Philosophiam à veritate speculationum ad magnitudinem operum revocare nititur*, it being nothing else then a practical Physick, as Physick is a contemplative *Magick*; and consequently since what is subalternate to the one is the same to the other, it will not be hard to disentangle it out of an infinite web of Superstitions, confine it to that which it only hath to do with, and appoint it its due bounds and limits.

Quos ultra à citra què, nequit consistere rectum.

These are no other than what are assign'd to Physick by *Wendelinus*, *Combesinus*, and the subtle *Algazel*, and confirmed by (p) *Avicenna*, who stating the parts of *Naturall Philosophy* attributes to it, first *Medicine*, then *Chymistry*, *Astronomy*, *Physiognomy* and *Oneiroscopy*, to which may be added *Chiramaney*, *Metoposcopy*, *Eliostopie*, and *Geomancy*, that is, the three former to *Physiognomy*, and the last, as *Albertus Magnus*, *Vlgenera*, *Dr. Flood*, *Pompanatus*, and *Agrippa*, would have it, to] *Astralogie*. All these parts, in regard they have some foundation in naturall causes, may be, as these Authors affirm, freely practis'd and that without the suspicion of any other *Magick* then the *Naturall* (such as is allow'd and approved by all; yet provided always, that the professors confine themselves, the most strictly that may be, within the Limits of their Causes, without wandering into a million of ridiculous observations, such as but too easily

De Divis.
Scien.

ly creep into their mindes, who make it their employment.

CHAP. III.

That many Eminent Persons have been accounted Magicians, who were only Politicians.

Were it lawfull to adde any thing to that excellent consideration upon which the French (a) Seneca built the first Chapter of his *Essayes*, namely that it is possible by severall *Montaigne.* wayes, and those absolutely different, to attain the same end; I know not any example contributes more to the demonstration of this truth then that of the punishment of lying and fabulous Authors, whose malice may be suppress'd by a meanes quite contrary to what was anciently practis'd by the *Lycians* against false witnesses and informers. For *Heracl. in frag. de politis.* whereas the custome among them was to treat such as slaves and to prostitute them in publick places, we are on the contrary to establish a Law, that all Histories should be like those contracts which the Civilians call *Stricti juris*, and that the discovery of the first imposture should fairly entitle the whole body of the Book to the fire, or at least hinder the sale and publishing of it. Had this been as carefully lookt after heretofore as it is necessary to be put in practice now, we should, I must confesse, have fewer precepts but more profitable, fewer Books but more fraught with Learning, lesse History but more truth, and consequently we should have something else to do than to trouble ourselves for

Apologies for all those excellent persons,
 (c) *tanquam artis sinistra contagione pollutos.*
 Nay there is such a multitude of writers repre-
 sent them as such, that the Civilian *Heraldus*,
 considering with himself that in these daies they
 are only pittifull wretches that are drawn into
 these pernicious and unlawfull practises, took
 occasion to say that the trade was now absolutely
 fallen into the hands of cheats and the Ignorant,
 (d) *non amplius Philosophorum, sed rusticorum &*
idoitarum.

5. Rev. ju-
 dic.

Having therefore shewn in the first Chapter of
 this Apologie that the Propagation of all these
 vulgar errors happened by the want of Judg-
 ment in those that read Authors, we are now to
 proceed further in our designe; and finde out the
 generall causes of all these false reports, which
 being of the same alloy with the most extrava-
 gant imaginations of the Poets, crept into repu-
 tation under the appearance of some adventure or
 occasion. *Titus Livius* seems to shew us a little
 light in the Discovery of the first cause for which
 many excellent persons have been charg'd with
Magick, though not any of them had ever the
 least acquaintance with it, where he tells us,
 that, *datur hac venia Antiquitati, ut miscendo*
humana divinis primordia urbium angustiora faci-
at. Whence we may easily conjecture, that the
 more subtle and practis'd Lawgivers knowing that
 the readiest way to gain Authority, amongst the
 people and to continue it, was to perswade
 them that they were only the Instruments of some
 supreme diety, who was pleased to favour them
 with its assistance and protection, have not unsuc-
 cessfully iather'd all upon feigned Dieties, pre-
 tended

Eibr. 4.
 D: c. 1.

tended Conferences, imaginary Apparitions, and in a word, this *Magick* of the Ancients, the better to palliate their ambition, and to lay a surer foundation of future Empire. Hence came it, that sometime *Trismegistus* affirmed the derivation of his Laws from *Mercury*, *Zamolxis* from *Vesta*, *Charondas* from *Saturn*, *Minos* from *Jupiter*, *Lycurgus* from *Apollo*, *Draco* and *Solon* from *Minerva*, *Numa Pompilius* from the Nymph *Egeria*, and *Mahomet* from the Angel *Gabriel*, who often whispered him in the ear under the Shape of a Pidgeon, being as well instructed to further his design, as *Pythagoras's* Eagle and *Sertorius's* Hind were for theirs. Nay the Cheat hath prov'd no lesse fortunate to some *Politicians*, who using all the industry and artifices possible to gain the reputation of the indulgence of some Divinity, by the means of this Theurgie and feigned apparitions, have brought to passe, some adventures difficult beyond imagination. Such were those of the Hermit *Schacaculus*, who, having acted that part excellently well for seven or eight years in a desert, at last drew the Curtains, possess'd himself of severall Cities, defeated a Bashaw, and *Mahomet's* Son, and had done much more mischief, had he not incens'd the Sophy by the meanes of one certain *Celender*, who under pretences of devotion shook all *Natolia*, and found the Turk work enough, till at last he lost his life in a pitch'd field. To be short, such another was *Elinabel* an African who took the same course to wrest the Scepter out of his Master's hands the King of *Morocco*; to whom we might adde a many others, whose extraordinary fortune gave *Cardan* occa-

*Nouveau
Cynée pag.
102.*

sion

De Sapient. Lib. 5. sion to advise such Princes and Sovereignes, who by reason of the meannesse of their extraction, want of friends or a military force, have not credit enough to governe their Countries; to apply themselves, to this sacred Theurgie. By such meanes did *James Rufularina* make a shift to rule for some time at *Parva*; *John de Vincence*, at *Banlangue*; and *Sauanorola* at *Florance* of which latter we have this remark of the Polite Italian in his discourse upon *Livy*; *The people of Florence are no fools, yet Brother Hierom Savanorola perswaded them that he had confernces with God.* But before all these, had *Vespasian* done as much by his miracles, and *Numa* the second founder of *Rome*, *qui Romanos oporofissimis superstitionibus enervavit, ut rapaces et adhuc feræ hominum gentitudine tot numina demerendorum attonitos afficiendo, ad humanitatem temperavit.*

Lib. 1. Dis. 23.

Tertul. in Apol. cap. 25.

And indeed this kind of circumvention is of such consequence, that those who thought not fit to make use of it this way, as conceiving it too low, and not able to bring about their ambitious ends, have ascended a step higher, affirming themselves to be the Sons of these supreme Demies (rather Devils); under pretence of whose favour all other Law-givers, and Politicians were glad to keep up their credit and Authority.

Luc

*Valuti Parnassia laurus
Parva, sub ingenti matris se protegit umbra.*

When therefore we find *Hercules* calling himself the Son of *Jupiter*, *Romulus* of *Mars*, *Servus* of *Vulcan*,

Vulcan, Alexander of Ammon, and so of others; we must conceive they did it, either to bring the people under obedience, and to gain that respect among men which they bore their supposed Fathers. Or haply their Mothers being more than ordinarily crafty and politicke *hæc præsumunt nomine culpam;* a trick probably play'd by those of *Plato, Apollonius, Luther, and the Prophet Mes-* *lin;* whose *Romanca* must needs take its rise from the pretty story of his birth, that so nothing might be omitted that should render his adventures more full of prodigy and astonishment.

Alan. de Insulis.

To this head may also be reduc'd the vanity of those private persons, who no lesse desirous, to have some influence over their fellow-citizens and the ordinary rate of men, than Princes and Monarchs have over their subjects, make it their business to perswade us that the Gods have an extraordinary tenderness for their persons by assigning them some Guardian-Angell, or Director in all the most important actions of their lives, Among these may be ranked *Socrates, Apollonius, Chicus, Cardan, Scaliger, Campanella* and some others, who would perswade themselves; that all the proofs and assurances which they should be pleas'd to afford us of their familiar *Dæmons* should be acknowledg'd by us, with no lesse veneration than those ancient Commentaries of the Rabbins, which lay it down as undeniable that among the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, *Adam* had been govern'd by his Angel *Raziel, Sem* by *Jophiel, Abraham* by *Tzadkiel, Isaac* by *Raphael, Jacob* by *Uriel, and Moses* by *Mitrator.* Nor indeed do I see any reason

Reuelin. de Art. cabal. lib.

to

to passe any other judgment of the one than of the other; and that the best advantage we can make of all these extravagances, is to use them as a Collyrium to help us to discern truth from falshood, reall Magick from fictions and pretences, and politicall and naturall operations from the Diabolicall, which, as such, are condemn'd by all. Such were those practis'd sometime against *Moses*, by the Magicians of *Pharaoh*, called by *St. Paul*, *Jannes*, and *Mambres*; those of *Simon Magus* who oppos'd *St. Peter*; of *Cynops*, who was drown'd upon the prayer of *St. John* the Evangelist; of *Elymas* struck blind by *St. Paul*; of *Zaores* and *Arphaxat*, who, according to the History of *Abdias*, were destroy'd by thunder in *Persia*. To these we may adde of latter times *Dr. Faustus*, *Zedechias* the Jew, the little *Scot*, *Trois-eschelles*, he who under *Charles* the fifth, would needs be called *Magister videns*, and a many others of whom we must understand the Decree, thundring in the Code against *Magicians*, *Magi*, in quacunq; sint parte terrarum, humani generis inimici credendi sunt.

2. Tim. 6, 3.

Liv. 6.

Leve. 7.
Cod. de
malef et
Maghem.

CHAP. IV.

That the extraordinary Learning of many great men hath oftentimes been accounted Magick.

F*urinus Vesivius* the Peasant, accus'd before the people of *Rome* for a sort of wizzardry done by him upon the Lands of his neighbours, which though of greater extent, yet yeilded not so great a Crop as his that were lesse, would take no other

courte

course to justify his Innocence, then to bring along with him, on the day of his appearance, all the Instruments of Agriculture, kept in very good order, beseeching his Judges to believe that he had made use of no other poisons or unlawfull drugges then those, together with abundance of paines and a many watchings, which, to his sorrow, he knew not how otherwise to represent. In like manner these great persons

— *Quis arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit praeordia Tuae,*

need no more, to blast this Calumny, which to this day lyes heavy upon them, than to manifest and discover the proceedings whereby they have attained so great Learning and Abilities. Those indeed they were so eminent for, that it seems in some sort to excuse their weaknesse who could refer them to no causes but what were extraordinary, and upon no other account have made it a crime, such as, were it not true what *Apuleius* saies, that, *Calumniari quivis innocens potest, revinci nisi nocens non potest*, we might say are in a manner entail'd on all persons of more than ordinary desert. Galen, that great *Gemius of Medicina*, confesses that at *Rome* he was thought guilty of it, for diverting a *fluxion*, by *Phlebotomy* in lesse then two dayes, which *Erasistratus* could not effect in a longtime, because he would not make use of that remedy. *Apuleius* was forc't to the trouble of two Declamations in publick, and to display all his great abilities and Learning to rescue them from the censure of Magick, which his Enemies would fasten on them, wherein they must

Apolog. 1.

*Cap. 17. de
ratione cu-
randi per
sang. missi-
onem.*

most needs be mistaken, unless they took the word according to the explication of St. Hieron, where he saies, *Magi sunt qui de singulis philosophantur*. For if it be restrained to that sense, We shall freely acknowledge, that Galen, Apuleius, and the rest for whom we make this Apologie, were *Magicians*, that is, Audacious persons, indefatigable, as to travell; and consequently pale, wan, and sickly, *quibus comminatio otium literarum laboris omnem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenues, succum exhorbet, colorem obliterat, vigorem debilitat*.

Ad cap. 2.
Daniel.
Apul. Apolog. 1.

These indeed are the charms and enchantments, whereby they came to understand the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* of the seven Liberal Sciences, so much celebrated by the Moderns, and consequently arrived to the knowledge of the whole Encyclopedy. This it was, that in some sort raised them to a communication with that Divinity which *Homer* ascribes to the Sun, because he sees all things. This likened them to the *Gymnosophists*, who as *Philostrophus* affirms, thought themselves the more acceptable to their Gods, the higher they jumped and lifted themselves up into the air in their carols and dances. That indeed bred the quarrell; these great intelligences raised themselves to such a height of perfection, that the ignorance of the ages they lived in, envying the distance between them and other men, hath always charged them with impiety in their Speculations and Theory, and Magick in their Actions. As to the former; *Ptolemy* was the first Author of this excellent observation, where he tells us that *Astronomers* and those Philosophers, who first found out the causes of Eclipses, communicated

In vita Nic.
sic.

communicated it to their Disciples in a Cabalistical & Traditionall way very secretly, nor daring to venture it among the people, whose faith it was, that only temerarious and impious persons sought out any reason for those extraordinary effects, which depended immediately on the will of the Gods, whose Liberty they thought incompatible with the undisturb'd order of those causes, whereof the Philosophers pretended a naturall Demonstration. Hence proceeded the rigorous punishment inflicted on them, either by banishment, as happened to *Protagoras*, or long imprisonment, as to *Anaxagoras*, out of which *Pericles* had all the trouble in the world to make him go. Nay they would not pardon *Socrates*, but condemn'd him upon this very account that his Philosophy had something different from those that went before him. These harsh proceedings gave *Plato* in *Epist.* such an alarm, that he ingenuously confess'd to *Dionysius*, that for that very reason he had not advanc'd any opinion of his, but under the name of *Socrates* or some other Philosopher, lest some-time or other he should be called to account for it. The same person, consulted by the *Athenians* about the execution of the Oracles answer'd which had commanded them to double their Altar, which was of a Cubick figure, took that occasion, as extremely advantageous, to persuade them to the study of Philosophy especially Mathematicks, without the knowledge whereof it was absolutely impossible to satisfy the Oracle. This might haply seem fabulous to a many who have a greater reverence for Antiquity then to imagine it so stupid and ignorant; but that the Author from whom we have this testimony is not to be suspected guilty of either mistake or negligence,

Plat. lib. de Demone Socrati

gence. But if we come nearer our own age, we shall find there was not much more reason, some ages since, to deny as *Lactantius* did, against *Avicenna*, that the Torrid Zone was habitable; or to dispute against the opinion of the *Antipodes*, and to say, by way of *raillerie*, to those that maintained it, *Et miratur aliquis hortos pensiles inter septem mira narrari, cum Philosophi & agros, & maria, & urbes, & montes, pensiles faciant?*

*Lib. 3. de
falsa sapi-
entia, c. 23.*

*Aventinus,
lib. 3. An-
nal. Boior.*

Nay, so ridiculous and contrary to Religion was this opinion thought in that time, that the poor Bishop *Virgilius* was excommunicated, and condemned for an Heretick, for patronizing that reverse of this world, long before it was discovered by *Columbus*. Nor is it a thing lesse strange, that *Philastrinus* should put into the Catalogue of the hereticall and condemned opinions in his time, that of some Philosophers, who held the *Solidity* of the Heavens, which yet hath ever been acknowledged, and still is in the Schools, though within these thirty or forty years, some Professours have discarded it, to introduce the ancient, which was the more common and authentick in the time of *Philastrinus*.

It is therefore no miracle, when all the propositions of these great wits, though most solid and rationall; have ever met with contempt, by the *Gentiles*, out of suspicion of *impiety*; by the *Christians*, of *heresie*, onely because they happen'd in ages distrustfull of those vast and extraordinary acquests of learning, if the greatest part of *Philosophers*, *Mathematicians*, and *Naturalists* have been unjustly charged with Magick: an observation we are obliged for, to that great person, whom *Laurentius Valla* calls the last of the *Latines*,

*Initio
Dialect.*

rines, who among other lamentations directed to *Philosophy*, forgot not to say, *Atque hoc ipso as- 1. De con-*
fixis fuisse videmur maleficio, quod tuis imbuti disci- sol. Philo-
plinis. From which passage we may learn, that *soph. prosa*
 that calumny hath been so pinned to the sleeves ^{4.}
 of all that have professed those Disciplines, that it
 seems in a manner an essentiall property in them
 to be accounted Magicians, since it seldom or ne-
 ver happens, that any Lawyers and Divines (un-
 lesse Hereticks) have been charged therewith.
 Whereas on the contrary, those who are the most
 intimately acquainted with Philosophy, have not
 been able to ward off this reproach, or divert
 men from attributing the fruits of their industry
 to their proficiencie in the Academy of Devils,
 where they yet profited more than in any of the
 other Sciences, if we may trust those who would
 furnish us with more Magicians; *quàm olim mus-* *Plant. in*
carum est, tum cum caletur maxime. *TING.*

But to facilitate the discovery in this point, all
 our businesse is to observe the first appearances of
 Learning, the first risings of great Wits, the time
 they flourished; the ages which have brought
 forth most; and take notice by the way, how that
 ignorance hath always persecuted them with
 this calumny. It will tell us, if we will hearken
 to it, that *Zoroastes* and *Zamolxis* never did any
 thing; but fool away their time in *Sacrifices*; that
Pythagoras, *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, *Socrates* and
Aristotle had never known any thing, had they
 not applyed themselves to the *Demons*; that *Apu-*
leius was but a Wizard; that *Geber*, *Alchindus*,
Avicenna, and all the most excellently learned
 among the *Arabians*, were Professours of Ma-
 gick; that *Roger Bacon*, *Ripley*, *Bontey*, *Somnia*,

D

were

Were so many cunning men among the English, excellently well vers'd in Necromancie, and very able Conjurers; that *Chicus*, the *Conciliator*, *Anselm* of *Parma*, and divers other Italians, were very well acquainted with the businesse of Invocations; that *Arnoldus de Villa nova*, and *William* of *Paris*, were also very fortunat therein, in France. In a word, all Countreys that had any men famous for learning were sure to have also Magicians; whereof, for want of the former, *Germany* had alwayes been barren enough, *Albertus Magnus* excepted, till that, furbish'd & refin'd by letters, it brought forth *Tribemius* & *Agrippa*, as the Ring-leaders of all the fore-mentioned. To these: if we beleeve *Bodin*, we must add *Hermolaus* & *Cardan*; if *de Lancre*, *Scaliger* & *Picus*; if some others yet more superstitious, all the most eminent persons, as if there had been no other schools than the Caves of *Toledo*, no other books than the *Clavicula*, no other Doctors than *Devils*, no other wayes for a man to become learned, but by the practice of all those Magicall Superstitions; or lastly, that the reward of a great industry, and the fruits of excellent endowments, were only to enable a man to cast himself into the claws of that enemy of mankind, whose acquaintance is but too too easily procur'd, it being his businesse, to go about like a roaring *Lion*, seeking whom he may devour.

Having therefore well considered whence it comes to passe, that many have made such disadvantageous glosses on the learning of these great persons; I am, in the first place, perswaded it might proceed from a reason common to all the erroneous persuasions which insensibly thrust

in

in among us, as the learned *Vernulam* hath observed, *Is humano intellectui error est proprius & perpetuus, ut magis moveatur & excitemur affirmativis quam negativis.* In the second, that haply it might come from this, that these Philosophers soaring up into contemplations too high and remote from ordinary apprehensions; those, who, in comparison of them, onely crept upon the ground, were oblig'd to admire them, and, in time, to reproach, as over-confident and supernaturall, whether this change proceeded from the weaknesse of their judgement, or a designe to calumniate them; as *Seneca* observes, *quàm magnus mirantium, tam magnus invidentium est populus.* Or lastly from this, that whatever the most subtle and ingenious among men can perform, by the imitation or assistance of Nature, is ordinarily comprehended under the name of Magick, untill such time as it be discovered by what wayes and means they effect those extraordinary operations. Of this we have an example in the invention of *Guns* and *Printing*, and the discovery of the new world; the people wherof, thought at first sight, that our ships were made by Magick, our vaults & arches by enchantment, and that the Spanyards were the Devils that should destroy them, with the thunder and lightening of their *Arquebuzes* and *Guns*.

From what hath been said may be inferr'd, that all these great persons have incurr'd the censure of Magicians, for having performed many strange things by the assistance of Physick and other Sciences they were Masters of, and in the practice whereof all good Authours are wont to comprehend Magick. The reason of this, is, that they are not so easie to be prostituted to the knowledge of

Lib. 3. int.
BANY. mag.

De vita
beata.

the Vulgar as the Mechanics are, which cannot so much command admiration, because, being exercis'd about manifest and palpable Bodies, it is a manner impossible that the Authors thereof should keep up the secret of their severall causes and operations. And this leads us to a necessity of acknowledging that the practice of the Mathematicks, and above all, of these Mechanics, and judiciary Astrology, hath contributed much to the confirmation of all these erroneous opinions, as we shall shew more at large elsewhere.

CHAP. V.

That Mathematicians have many times been accounted Magicians.

AMong all the Precepts which contribute any thing to the regulation and conduct of our Actions, me thinks there is not any more serious or of greater consequence then that which minds us, that, *Venena non dantur nisi mel- le circumlita, & vitia non decipiunt nisi sub specie Virtutum.* Of this we have daily experience, in that as Coyners of false money employ all their industry so to dispose some little Gold or Silver upon bad pieces that they may passe for good and current; so the greatest part of those who by reason of the lightness and vanity of their Doctrine, fall into the generall contempt, are forc'd to change Scenes, to disguise, and if they are Hereticks, for example, to take the riele of Divines; if Impostors, of Chymists, if Mountebanks, of

Doctors

Doctors; if Sophisters, of Philosophers; if Conjurers, of Well-wishers to the Mathematicks. This makes sad and strange confusion in all things, especially the Sciences, that, if it be not absolutely impossible, it is certainly very difficult to be able to discern the Legitimate professors from the Ignorant and pre'umptuous profaners of them; who, having scattered into them abundance of cheats & superstitions, have made them so suspectfull, that even those who have courted them with greatest religion could never do it with the generall approbation and allowance of all. This certainly is one principal reason whereby the most criticall and accomplish'd Wits, have given their Enemies occasion to defame them as Magicians, because they had made greater discoveries into those four parts of the Mathematicks, which are called by [e] *Cassiodorus*, *Quadrifaria Matheſis Janua*; by *Sarisberienſis*, *Quadrivii rota*; and by *Calcagnin*, *Quadrigena disciplinarum*, that is, *Arithmetick Geometry, Musick, and Astrology*. These indeed are such, that, by reason of the subtle operations are wrought by them, the Jesuit *Perrerius* took occasion to divide Naturall Magick into two kinds. One hath an absolute dependence on Physick and its parts, working, by the meanes both of the occult and known qualities of all things, manytimes, very strange and miraculous effects, such as might be the Golden henne of *Sennertus*, the Magneticall unguent of *Goelinus*, the Lamp and invulnerable Knight of *Burgravins*, the Idzall powder of *Querceranus*, the Fulminant Gold of *Beguinus*, the Vegetall Tree of the *Chymists*, and many such naturall miracles which these Authours affirme they have seen and

e Eph. 45. l.

1. var.

Met. l. c.

24.

in Encom.

Art. liberal.

De Mag. l.

1. cap. 9.

Epist. 45.
lib. 1. var.

Du Barsas.
1. week. 6.
day.

experienc'd. The other giuded by Mathematicall precepts, makes certain artificiall Engines by meanes whereof we come afterwards to admire that Sphere of *Archimedes*, *parvam machinam, gravidam mundo, Calum gestabile, compendium rerum, Speculum natura*. To that adde those *Automata* of *Dadalus*, those Tripods of *Vulcan*, the Hydraulicks of *Boëtius* the Pidgeon of *Archiras*, that industrious Iron-fly presented to the Emperour *Charles the V.* by *John de Mont royal*, which

— from under's hand flew out
And having flown a perfect Round about,
With weary wings return'd unto her Master,
And (as judicious) on his Arm she plac'd her.

Besides which, there are many other productions of man's wit, working, it as it were in spite of nature, which have so dazzled weaker minds, that it is indeed no wonder, it, not able to discover the reasons, which were purposely kept from them, they have attributed all those instruments and engines, rather to Diabolical operations than humane industry, and have through ignorance, bespatter'd the greatest Mathematicians with the infamy of Magick. An instance of this we have in that *Archimedes* of *Gascony*, *Francois Flussad* of *Candale*, who was not able to ward off the blowes of that Calumny. To him adde *John Denys* an excellent Mathematician of our time, who printed an Apology for himself in the year 1570. and pleaded his own cause at *London*. And to him, *Pope Silvester*, *Bacon*, *Michael Scotus*, *Albertus Magnus*, and all the rest who now put in their Bills of Complaint.

Fructus obest, peperisse vocet, nocet esse feracem. Ovid. de
Nuce.

Wherein there is certainly much justice, their only crime being, that their Sciences, their instruments, their brazen heads, their Clocks, and all their other subtle Inventions, have so astonish'd the populace, that instead of referring these singular effects to their true cause and the experience of the Mechanicks, the Operator whereof, is, if I may so expresse it, *penè socius naturæ, occulta reserans; manifesta convertens, miraculis ludens,* Cassiod. l. 1. r. var. Ep. 49 it hath attributed all to Diabolicall Magick. This they think was very much more in reputation five or six hundred years since than it is now, and that was publickly taught in certain Schools in *Spain*, whereof the ruines are yet to be seen in the Cellars near *Toledo* and *Salamanca*. But this rather begs our belief than requires it, in as much as the Authors from whom we have these things, being no more Authentick Testimony, than what we might produce to affirm as much of the Castle of *Vicestre*. But indeed, it is a certain piety not to think that City ever was the Seminary of so many Magicians, which God honour'd with a prerogative above all other, that the doctrine and policy of his Church was confirm'd and maintain'd therein by the assemblies of 17. Councells; besides that those who make *Sylvester* a Magician acknowledge that he learn'd, what he knew that way, at *Toledo*.

But when it shall be hereafter evinc'd that *Sylvester* was no such man, but the greatest and most excellent Mathematician of his Age, it will be but rationall to grant, that, by the *Magick*

taught at *Toledo* is only meant the *Mathematicks*, which had gain'd such reputation there, and were so perfectly taught, that a certain English man called *Daniel Morlerus* (who flourish'd in the year 1190. and writt excellently well therein) after a long aboad in *Barbarie* to learn them, was at last advised to transport himself to *Toledo*, as the most famous place for their profession in the World. Such, it seems, it was then, and continu'd so, long after, even to *Alphonsus* King of *Castile* in the year 1262. who became such a *Mecenas* and Patron of these disciplines that he gave, by way of recompence, to certain Arabians whose assistance and industry he had made use of in composing his *Astronomicall* Tabies, above 400000 Crownes: so infinitely desirous was he of being accounted the common Benefactor of all the Mathematicians of his time, that there needs no further security for it, then that infinite number of Treatises and Translations upon this subject, which had never been done but by the influence of his name, and the example of his Liberality. That indeed brought these Disciplines much into request, especially judiciary Astrology, as *Mirandula* obierves, that it is not to be wondered at, that the place where it was so diligently practised, should be taken for the Schoole of Magick. If so, those certainly, who glory'd in the imitation of the Astrologer *Diaphanes*, who boasted in *Apuleius* that he certainly knew *qui dies copulam nuptialem affirmet, qui fundamenta manium perpetuet, qui negotiatori commadus, qui viatori celebris, qui navigiis opportunus*, must needs expect to be branded for Magicians, not much differing from the opinion of *Tertullian*, who sometimes said, Sci-

*L. ult. c. ult.
adv. Astro-
log.*

*Metam.
lib. 2.*

lib. de Idolat.

mus *Magia & Astrologia inter se societatem.* It is also the opinion of the *Civilians*, who under the same head, treat *De Maleficis et Mathematicis*, upon occasion of Divinations and this *Astrologie*, which hath been condemn'd under the name of *Mathematicks*, because *Justinian* desirous to make his *Constitutions* clear and intelligible, made use of the most usuall and *Vulgar* words: *Vulgus autem*, saies *Gellius*, quos gentilitio vocabula *Chaldaeos* dicere oportet, *Mathematicos* dicit. We have it confirmed also by a passage in *Juvenal*,

Nota Mathematicis generis tua ———

Sat. 14.

which, as that of *Gellius*, is not to be understood of *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Musick*, and *Astronomy*, which are particularly signifi'd by the name of *Mathematicks*, and generally approved by all, but only of *Judiciary Astrology*, which is, with much reason, condemn'd by the *Church*, not as suspected guilty of any thing of *Magick*, but as a *Profession*, *qua stellis ea que geruntur in terra consecrat*, makes us slaves to the destinies, and is absolutely inconsistent with all kinds of *Religion*.

CHAPTER

CHAP. VI.

That the Books attributed to divers great persons, are not a sufficient testimony to make them guilty of Magick.

Scep. For-
cas. in
Prometheus

WE find in History, that that potent King of *Egypt*, *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, having spar'd no industry to adde to and adorn the proud Library he had erected in *Alexandria*, appointed, for its further splendour, a certain solemn day, on which all the Poets assembled together, recited verses in honour of the Muses, that the most able and fortunate might be gratified with the presents he had designed for them. These guerdons were already voted to divers of the Candidates, when *Aristophanes*, who was the seventh of the Judges, oppos'd the sentence of the rest, and opening the treasury of his memory, amaz'd all with the greatnesse of his reading and his miraculous learning, and discover'd that the pieces they thought so excellent and accomplished, were not theirs who had recited them, but had been taken out of the best Authours, whom he particulariz'd one after another, making such an Inventory of Felonies, that the King, People, and Judges revok'd the former sentence, for to favour some others, who had not brought any thing, but what was of their own invention. For my part, I am clearly of opinion, that there was not more occasion, for that *Aristophanes* in the time of *Ptolemæus*, than there is in this, and that he should find much more occasion to discover his prodigious

prodigious reading, not onely in the censure and condemnation of Plagiaries, but also in the vindications of these great persons. For in stead of receiving those elogies and honorary titles, sometimes given them by *Richard de Bury*, Chancellor of *England*, the greatest Lover of Books that hath been since the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who, to insinuate the advantage of good books, tels us, *Hi sunt Magistri qui nos instruunt sine virgis & Cap. 2. Phi-
ferula, sine verbis & cholera, sine panis & pecunia: lobibii.*
si accedis non dormiunt, si inquiris non se abscon-
dunt, non remurmurant si oberres, cachinnos nesciunt
si ignores; in stead of these Elogies, I say, they have father'd upon them a number of pernicious and pestilent books, for which, in stead of these commendations, they meet with onely the contempt and imprecations of those, who cannot distinguish these supposititious brats from their true and legitimate children.

This hath given some occasion to imagine, that many great men have not been charg'd with Magick, but meerly upon this fourth cause, and the books unjustly father'd upon them, such as are those of *Tribemius's* Catalogue, and many other Manuscripts, *qui eò periculosius errant, quò in soliditate natura & vigore rationis suum fundare videntur* *Scriber. Polycrat. l. 1. c. 18.*
errorem. For an Antidote against the venom of this fourth kind, according to our method in the precedent, we are to shew that there is no probability, that all these books *improbata lectionis,* as *Vulpiar.*
the Civilians call them, were ever written or composed by those, under whose names and authority they are publish'd, which yet if we should grant, yet can there not any certain proof be deduced out of them, to conclude the Authours
Magicians.

Magicians. For, in the first place, we have no other knowledge or account of these books, than what we find in certain Catalogues, who furnish us with their titles in such a manner, that we cannot judge, unless by some other circumstances, what the Authors drift and designe was in the composition of them, whether to illustrate or confute, plead for or against, maintain or condemn the subject they treat of, and busie themselves about. Whence it came to passe, that many finding by these Catalogues, that *Alexander Aphrodisias* had written of Magicall Arts, *Aquinas* of Judiciary Astrologie, and *Roger Bacon* of Necromancie, have presently entered into imaginations contrary to what they should, beleeving that they contain'd nothing else, but the precepts and direction we are to follow, to be perfect in the practice of all those Divinations, and consequently, that there was much reason, why the Authors should be accounted Magicians.

But this consequence is vain, light, and groundlesse; for besides the first error, we may observe a second, which, because not so obvious, hath deluded a many, even to this day, who held that there needed no more to qualifie any one, an Enchanter or Magician, than to write of Magick: which once granted, we must also infer, that all those who undertake to write against, and to convince them, should be bemi'd with the same vice, and accordingly incur the same punishment. For it must be supposed, that they cannot discover the absurdity of their precepts and maximes, unless they understand and declare them to us, which if they do, they become equally guilty, because the good or bad intention of the one and the

the other, doth not make any alteration in the case, relating onely to the nature of Precepts, which should have no more foretaken out of *alicatrix* than *Detrio*, if he hath once explain'd them, nor of the prohibited Authours, than those who relate them. Nay, we must presse further, and affirm, that all those who are able to discourse pertinently of Magick, ought to be condemn'd as Magicians, were there no other reason than that it is in their power, as much as theirs who did it before, to furnish us with books and precepts, which if they do not, it is either because they think it not convenient, or out of some other motive, without any prejudice to their learning. We find *Socrates*, *Carneades*, and divers others accounted good Philosophers, though they would never take the pains to commit any thing to writing; *Hortensius*, thought, in *Cicero's* time, the best Oratour in all *Rome*, who, probably, out of an imitation of a many others highly celebrated by *Seneca* and *Cicero*, would never publish any of his Declamations. Adde to this, that it were a strange simplicity to think, that only such as have been in the Circle, are practis'd in Invocations, and have exercised Magick, can write or make books of it, whereas every one is at liberty to discourse according to his humour, of a thing where in there is neither precepts, order, nor method, and where all a man hath to do, is to mingle the characters of the twelve Signs and the seven Planets, the names of certain Angels mentioned in Scripture, the *Tobu* and the *Babu*, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *Beresich* and *Merchava*, the *Eusoph* and the *Agla* of the *Cabalists*, with the *Hippomanes*, *Virgin parchment*, *Pensaclo*, the dead

mans

mans muffer, the Deaths head, the blood of Owls and Bass, and certain prayers and conjurations out of the *Flagellum Dæmonum*, to make a world of mysterious Books and Treatises. These must afterwards be sold very secretly, and for good round prices, by such as can make no other shift to stave off their clamorous necessities, than by making a trade of these cheats and impostures, to the cost and sorrow of many weak, superstitious, and melancholy inclinations, who think they are within sight of Felicity, and can do miracles, when they meet with these Cheats and Mountebanks.

— *Tam magna penuria mētis ubique!*
In rugas tam prona via est! —

*Disquis. de
 magicis
 actionib.*

Lastly, there is no likelihood that these books, which are onely for the most part, the fruits of a long Theory and Speculation, should be sufficient proofs to convince the Authours of Magick, which consists rather in certain practices and operations, than in the laying down of precepts; he onely, according to *Biermannus*, deserving the name of a Magician, who contracts with the Devil to make use of him in what he shall think fit to employ him in. This definition indeed cannot possibly agree to all those, for whom we make this Apologie, if there be no other charge against them, than that of the Books they have written on this Subject, since it is possible they made them without any contract expressed or understood, simple or publike; as we have shewn before. Nay, to take away all controverſie, it is a pure calumny maliciously advanced, an opinion absolutely erroneous and rash, to think to maintain or prove, that
 any

any one of them ever made or troubled himself with the compofure of any Book treating of Geotick or unlawfull Magick, or of any Species or difference thereof. And this, in the first place may be confirm'd by the Testimony of him who is accounted the Prince and Ring-leader of the Magicians, who very well understood the cheats and fuprises of all these Books vamp'd and never set up with false Titles, and father'd upon *Zoroastes, Enoch, Trismegistus, Abraham, Solomon, Apuleius, Aquinas, Albertus magnus,* and severall other great persons. To this adde the Suffrage of *Vnicrus* and all those who have written with most judgment upon this subject, grounded, probably upon the same reason that made *Picus Mirandula* give the like Judgment of some such Books of *Judiciary Astrology*, which, as he saies, are falsify'd by certain impoltors, who, *quoniam, que producur ab iis, rationibus confirmari non possunt, sive ipsi illa vera credunt, sive credi volunt ab aliis, libros hujusmodi fabularum, viris clarissimis et antiquissimis inscribunt, et fidem errori suo de fictis Authoribus aucupantur.*

De Pract. Scient. cap. 45.

De pract. Lib. 2. cap. 5.

l. 1. adv. Astrolog.

The same remarke we may make on all the other kinds of Quacksalving, especially that of *Alchymists*, who think they have not done their duty and cheated as they should, if after they have made a shift to find the explication of all their *Chimera's* in *Genesis*, the *Apocalypse*, the *Hieroglyphicks*, the *Odyssey*, the *Metamorphoses*, nay even in *Epitaphs*, *Sepulchres*, and *Tombes*, they should not send their Books into the world under the names of *Mary Mose's Sister, Trismegistus, Democritus, Aristotle, Synesius, Avicenna, Albertus magnus,* and *Aquinas.* As if all these

Learned

The History of MAGICK.

Learned men and great Authors had had no other employment all their lives then blowing & stirring of fires, or making of Circles, Characters and Invocations; and that the barbarisme, the extravagances, the childishnesse, want of order, the lownesse, error, and Ignorance of all these Books were not sufficient arguments to rescue from so black a calumny, such transcendent Soules, and Intelligences of Litterature,

Omnes aulicolas, omnes supra alta tenentes.

And not only that, but with the same labour discover unto us the muddy, and pestilent source, the Styx and Tartarus, whence proceed all these little Monsters, these Apparitions, these Bastards, these abortive fruits, which indeed is no other then the temerity of some poor reptile Spirits, *qui sui questus causa fletas suscipiant sententias*: fathering them upon the first comes into their mind never minding any reason, choise consideration or respect. Hence it comes that *Chicus* affirms he had seen a Book written by *Cham* concerning Magick, and another made by *Solomon*, *de umbris Idaarum*; that *John of Salisbury* makes mention of an *Art of Dreams* vented under the name of *Daniel*; that the two *Picus's* acknowledge not for legitimate the treatises of Necromancy attributed to *Saint Hierome*, *Aquinas*, and *Plato*; and that the Abbot *Trithemius*, not without reason, laughs at all that is father'd upon *Albertus Magnus* and divers others.

For what reason or ground is there to believe that *Hippocrates* was Author of the Book of *Lunar Astrologie*; *Plato* of that of *the herbes and the*
Cow,

Cic. de divin. l. 1.

C. 4. comment. in Spharam. cap. 17 lib. 2. Polycrat.

Adver. Astrolog. lib. 1.

Francis c. lib. 5. cap. 6. Antip. l. 1.

Cow, *Aristotle* of those of the *Apple of Vegetables* of the properties of *Elements* and the *Secrets* of *Alexander*, *Galen* of that of *Enchantments*; *Ovid*, of that of the *Old Woman*, and the *Loves* of *Pamphilus*; *Seneca*; of the little Book of *Vertues* and the *Epistles* of *St. Paul*; and that all the best Authors spent their time so trivially upon trifling Books of no Value or consequence; whereof we have so little assurance of the true Authors, that we are not certain to whom we ought to attribute a many we afford places to in our Libraries. For, to passe by the works of *Orphens*, *Trismegistus*, *Berosus*, and *Munethon*, all which are absolutely feigned, some Apocryphall peeces of holy writ; doubtful Treatises of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, those question'd by *Erasmus* at the impression of the Fathers, the Pamphlets of *Gerson*, *Fenestella*, *Pythagoras*, and *Cato*, and all that lye under suspicion among *Humanists*; is it not strange that *Francis Picus*, successor to the Learning as well as Principality of his Uncle the great *Picus*, the Phoenix of his Age, should take so much pains to prove, that it is altogether uncertain whether *Aristotle* be Author of any one Book of all those that are found in the Catalogue of his Works? And yet he is therein seconded by *Nizolius*, and the business so strictly discuss'd by *Patricius*, that, after he had discovered a miraculous industry in the scrutiny of the truth of that proposition, he concludes at last, that of all the Books of that great Genius of nature, there are but four, of little bulk and lesse consequence, come to us, as his, without the least doubt or controversy, that is, That of he *Mechanick* and three others he writ against *Zeno Gorcias* and

Lib. 4. Ex-
amin. va-
nit. doctri-
nae gent.

I. 4. c. 6.
De rectâ
var. Philo-
soph.

Discuss.
Peripat.
Tom. 1. l. 3.

E

Xenophanes

Xenophanes, On the other side *Ammonius*, in his Commentaries upon the *Pradicaments*, affirms, that there were in the Library of *Alexandria* forty Books of *Analyticks*, all under the name of *Aristotle*; though he had made but four, whereof the two first are answerable to the nine cited by *Diogenes Laertius*. But this, if we credit *Galen*, is to be attributed to the emulation that was between the Kings of *Pergamus* and *Egypt* in rewarding those who brought them the Books of any good Author, especially *Aristotle*; for the greater ornament of their Libraries; it having never happened before, that the Titles of Ancient Books had been falsified. But in this point we should have been more large had not *Parricinus* taken the paines before us; or that it had been necessary to demonstrate how unjust it is, and beside all appearance of reason, that some, under their names, whose prodigious Learning rail'd them to greatest reputation, have pester'd the world with an infinite number of impertinent fragments, disorder'd collections, fabulous Treatises, fruitlesse writings; and Books shuffell'd together without reason, method, or judgment.

Comment.
in lib.

Hipp. de
nat. huma-
na.

Discuss.
peripar.
Tom. 1, l. 3.

— Quos — ipse
Non siani esse hominis non sanus jures Orestes.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of all the other Causes which may give any occasion of suspicion thereof.

THOUGH the number of those who have endeavoured to discover & explain to us the nature & condition of Magick within these two hundred years is almost infinite, yet me thinks the first that undertook it have done it with no small distraction, as not seeing well; and the greatest part of the more Modern have endeavoured to facilitate the disquisition by the use of those Glasses which make Ants seeme as great as a man's thumbe, so to represent to us in their Books, atomes like Mountaines and flies like Elephants, that is, magnifie the smallest faults into the greatest crimes, by a childish metamorphosis of the least jealousy into truth, of a heartsay into a demonstration, and accidents of no consequence into prodigious and memorable Histories. Whence it is not to be wonder'd at, that as the higher & greater things are, the more subject they are to Lightning; so the greatest part of those Noble Souls of past ages, those tutelary Gods of Parnassus and favourites of the Muses have not been free from that of Tongues. For being the principall Actors upon the Stage of this world, and as much above the ordinary rate of men, as they are above other Creatures; their least faults and most inconsiderable misapprehensions have been more narrowly pry'd into, whether it be that the least mark or mole is more obvious in an extraordinary Beau-

ty than on some poor *Baucis* or *Cybale*, or that, according to the saying of the sententious *Poet*.

*Omne animi vitium tantò conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quantò major qui peccat habetur.*

However it be, we may adde this cause to the precedent, as one of the principall that hath caused learned men to be thought Magicians, and upon account whereof the curiosity of *Albertus magnus*, the naturall Magick of *Bacon*, the judiciary Astrology of *Chicus*, the Mathematicks of *Sylvester*, and heresy of *Alchindus*, and certaine superstitious observations, have been reputed Geotick and diabolicall Magick. But it must be confess'd, it is for the most part the malevolent interpretation of those who judge not of things, but with misprision; of Authors, but by their outside and superscriptions; of Books, but by their titles; nor of men, but by their vices; divulging what they ought in prudence to conceale, and priding it, not on'y to lay open to the world the miscarriages of all these great persons, but magnifying and aggravating them purposely to prepossesse, and consequently make us passe sentence against their innocence, which certainly ought to have all the faire play that may be, it being just to suppose it not so weak and wounded as it is represented to us. Besides, should we a little more narrowly search into the truth of this opinion *qua mala attollit et exaggerat, & cothurnis quibusdam auget*, we shall find all these proofs resolv'd into conjectures, and all these enormous crimes into certain vaine and triviall superstitions. Nor is it in the mean
time

L'ps. de
con. 24.

time any miracle at all, that these glorious men in their times should somewhat degenerate that way, nay endeavour to practise them, when it is of ordinary experience, that what is most accomplished, is also most delicate and perishable. Thus we find that the sharpest points are the soonest blunted, the perfectest white the most easily soyl'd, the best complexion the most subject to several alterations, & we have it from holy Writ: that the noblest of the Angels was the first that fell.

Having therefore thus deduc'd all the causes we could find of this suspicion as to what concerns the accused, we shall in the rest of this Chapter observe five others, which we may say, have contributed more to the propagation of this erroneous opinion, then the former. These are; Heresy, Malice, Ignorance, Credulity, and the Dis-circumspection, and want of judgment in Authors and writers.

For the first, it amounts to something more then a conjecture that *Alchindus*, *Peter d' Apono*, *Arnoldus de Villa-nova* Ribly, and some others who with some reason have been suspected guilty of Heresy, may without any be charg'd with Magick, though *Tertullian* sometimes said, *Novatiz De prescrip. sunt etiam commercia Hæreticorum cum Magis* cap. 43.
plurimis, cum Circulatoribus, cum Astrologis, De anima, cum Philosophis. Which censure be confirmes cap. 57.
 elsewhere, calling Magick, *hæreticarum opinionum austriçem*. Hence haply some Catholick Doctors, Disquisit. mag. in p. e-log.
 especially *Detrio* and *Maldonat*, took occasion to lay it down as a Maxime, strengthened by constant experience, that either the Authors and first lib. de Demon.
 promoters of Heresies, have been themselves
 Magicians, as *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Valenti-*

nianus, Carpocrates, Priscillianus, Berengarius, and Hermogenes; or that prohibited and Magical Arts have alwayes come in the neck of some heresy. This they exemplify out of some Historians of *Spain*, who relate, that after the *Arrians* had long continu'd therein, the Devils were for a good space of time seen tormenting men there. So was the heresy of *Hus* seconded by a great tempest of Sorcerers and Demons through *Bohemia* and *Germany*, and that of the *Lollards* through the *Apennine Hills*. Of this the Jesuit *Maldonat* gives five principall reasons, which we shall not presse in this place.

In the second cause of suspicion, we may observe, that Malice sometime, made *Apuleius* be accus'd of Magick by his wife's friends; the Popes *Sylvester* and *Gregory* by the Emperours they had excommunicated, and some Heretiques their implacable enemyes. To which may haply be added the procedure of the *English* against the *Mayd of Orleans*, who accordingly condemn'd her for a Witch, whereas *de Langoy* and *de Hajllan* make her act another quite contrary part. But if the common opinion of those who were best acquainted with her may prevaile, there is little probability she should have been a Witch, which is the conclusion *Vaterandus Varanius* puts to the History he made of her.

*Tandem collatis patres utroq; citroq;
Articulis flammæ sub iniquo iudice passam
Darcida, concordi decernunt ore: modumq;
Angligenas violasse fori, iurisq; tenorem.*

But Learning, formerly alledg'd by us as one
of

of the principall causes of this false accusation, obliges us now to say something of *Ignorance*, its adverse party, and shew, how predominant it was, as well among the Greeks before *Socrates*, who may be called the Patriarch of Philosophy, as the *Latines*, from the times of *Boetius*, *Symmachus* and *Cassiodorus*, till the last taking of *Constantinople*. Then indeed the world began to put on another face, the Heavens to move upon new Hypotheses, the Aire to be better known as to Meteors, the Sea to be more open and easie, the Earth to acknowledge a Sister Hemisphere, men to enter into greater correspondences by Navigation, Arts to be delivered of those miraculous inventions of Guns and Printing. Then were the Sciences restor'd to their former lustre, in *Germany* by *Renchlin* and *Agricola*, in *Switzerland* by *Erasmus*, in *England* by *Linacer* and *Ascham*, in *Spain* by *Vives*, and *Nebrienses*, in *France* by *Faber* and *Budans*, in *Italy* by *Hermolans*, *Politianns*, *Picus*, and the Greeks who fled thither for refuge from *Constantinople*; and lastly in all other parts of the earth, by the meanes of new Characters and Printing. We formerly observ'd out of *Plutarch* that, before the revolution happening in *Socrates's* time, it was not lawfull in *Greece* to advance any thing of *Astrology*, to study the *Mathematicks*, or professe *Philosophy*. Thence we are now to consider what capacity may be allow'd those, who, suffering the best Authors to moulder away in Libraries, made use of no other *Grammarians*, then *Gracismus Barbarismus* and *Alexander de Villa dei*; no other *Rhetoricians* then *Aquilegins*; no other *Philosophers*, then *Gingolfus Rapolens*, *Farrabris*,

and *Petrus Hispanus*; no other Historians, than the *Fasciculus Temporum*, and the *Mother of Histories*, nor other Books in Mathematics than the *Compt Manuel*, and the *Shepherd's Kalender*. What could the Grammarians expect from these, but Barbarisms like that of the Priest, whom the *Master of Sentences* mentions baptizing of infants, *In nomine Patriæ Filia, & Spiritus Sancta*? What could Philoſophers find there, but ſuppoſitions, ampliatiſms, reſtrictions, ſophiſms, obligations, and a Labyrinth of fruitleſſe niceties, comprehended under the title of *Parva Logicalia*. So alſo, for thoſe that read Hiſtories, what entertainment had they but that of ridiculous tales upon *Merlin's* prophecy, *St. Patrick's* Purgatory, *Pilate's* Tower, *Ammon's* Caſtle, *Pope Joan*, and abundance of ſuch fabulous trash and trumpery, as now,

Vix pueri credunt niſi qui nondum are lavantur.

Not indeed is it any thing extraordinary, when they are commonly accounted Magicians that can produce Roſes and Summer-Flowers in the depth of Winter. That thoſe gallant men, who have been ſeen, like ſo many Stars, ſhining in that dark and Melancholy night, and have darted the influences of their miraculous Learning, in the coldeſt and froſtieſt ſeaſon of Letters, have paſſ'd to us under the ſame Title, through the over eaſy belief of thoſe who firſt miſtook, then repreſented them for ſuch. But a laſſe what ſhall we ſay of a ſort of empty unballaſted ſoules, but that they may be eaſily weigh'd down any way by an erroneous perſwaſion, which is as conſtant an atten-

dant of ignorance, as a shadow is of the body; or
envie of vertue.

And now we have but a step to the fourth cause
of Suspicion which fastens on these great persons,
that is, from *Ignorance* to that of *Credulity*, which
easily admits abundance of such things, as though
improbable and superstitious, ordinarily fall and
follow one in the neck of another. To make this
more evident and apprehensible, we must begin
with what we find related in a little Treatise,
which St. Agobart Bishop of Lyons made in the
year of Christ 833, against the extravagance of the
people then, who believ'd that those could trou-
ble the air, and raise tempests, who, for that rea-
son, in the first chapter of the Capitularies of
Charlemaigne, and *Lois de Debonaire*, are called,
Tempestarsi, sine imperio, Tempestatum. It was,
it seems, the common and, by a many, stiffly
maintain'd opinion, that there were in his time
certain Conjurers, that had the power to make it
hail and thunder, or to raise tempests, as often
and when they pleas'd, so to spoil and destroy the
fruits of the earth; which so destroy'd, they after-
wards sold to certain Inhabitants of the Countrey
of *Magodia*, who every year brought ships thro-
row the air, to carry away those provisions. This
was grown into such a vulgar article of faith, that
the good Bishop had much ado one day, to deli-
ver three men and a woman out of the clutches
of the distracted multitude, who were dragging
them to execution, as having fallen out of those
ships. The same Authour relates further in the
same book, that there being a generall mortality
among Cattle, especially Oxen, (whereof there

Life of
Charle-
maigne,

rest thought fit to take notice of it in his Additions upon *Nicholas Gilles*) the more superstitious sort of people presently imagin'd, that one *Grimmoald*, Duke of *Benevent*, and a great enemy of *Charlemaigne*, had sent a many men with venomous powders, which they should scatter up and down the sens, fields, and into springs: Inso-much, that this holy and judicious person, seeing abundance of innocent people daily hanged, drown'd, and extremly persecuted for this simple fable, ends his book full of indignation; with this excellent sentence; *Tanta jam stultitia oppressit miserum mundum, ut nunc sic absurde res credantur à Christianis, quales nunquam antea ad credendum poterat quisquam suadere Paganis.*

These and the like Fables were but the Prologue to *Romances*, which came upon the stage immediately after, in the reigne of *Lewis the Debonaire* (in whose time the Bishop was still alive) and multiply'd so strangely by the ignorance of that age, easily, it seems, lay'd asleep by any absurdities, though ever so extravagant, that all those, who meddled with the history of that time, would needs, to render it more pleasant, interweave it with abundance of such relations. This is very pertinently observ'd by a certain Divine, who ingenuously confesses, that, *Hoc erat antiquorum plerumque vitium, vel potius quadam sine iudicio simplicitas, ut in clarorum virorum gestis scribendis se minus existimarent elegantes, nisi ad ornatum (ut putabant) sermonis, poeticas fisiones, vel aliquid earum simile admiscerent, & consequenter vera falsis committerent.* Nay, such reputation did these books gain, that in the year 1290, *James de Veragine*, Bishop of *Genes*, *Homo* (as *Vives*,

Prohibens in
Galfredo
Mon.

and *Malchior Canus* call him) *ferroioris, plumbei fordis, animi certo parum severi & prudentis*, yet whose intention was certainly good, thought fit to introduce that style into the *Ecclesiasticall History*, and so writ a *Golden Legend*, whereby many devout and pious souls were edified, till the late Hereticks began to metamorphose it in a sovereign *Pantagruelisme*, purposely to affront the Catholicks, and undermine the foundations of the reverence they pay those holy, but pernicious Relicks.

To the vanity of these Romances we are further obliged for all the false relations which were soon after scattered among the people. of the miraculous stratagems of *Sylvester, Gregory, Michael Scotus, Roger Bacon, Peter d' Apono, Thebit*, and in a manner, all the most learned of that time. These proved excellent entertainments, till the year 1425, when an infinity of other superstitions began to swarm, giving (as it were) a cessation to the precedent. And these we have thought fit to particularize: to shew it is no miracle, if the great knowledge of a many of that time occasioned millions of ridiculous stories and fictions; when the zeal and good life of the greatest Saints, & the conduct & courage of the greatest Captains and Commanders have met with the same fate. Nor does it amount to much, that some of their books have been condemn'd as conjuring books, when a many others, whereof the very reading sufficiently clears their innocence, have met with as little favour. We may instance in the three propositions made by the famous Chancellour of the University of *Paris, Gerson* upon the *Romance of the Rose*, and the judgement of *John Raulin*, a famous

famous Doctor of the same University upon that of *Oger the Dane*, wherein they affirm the Authours as certainly damn'd as ever *Judas* was, if they died without repentance, for the making and venting of such pieces.

Lastly, though it be alwayes more rationally and commendable, so to interpret, as to give the best sense to every mans writings, than to impeach them, and to excuse than to aggravate, to avoid a comparison with those, who worship not the rising Sun, but with affronts and imprecations; yet can we not, but make this Chapter full weight with the explication of the last cause of the whole calumny, which, to do Truth right, is nothing else, but the negligence of Authours, or rather their want of circumspection and judgement in the composition of their works. For whether they have an itch to swell them with lesse trouble; or prove in some degree what they had once undertaken, or make ostentation of their reading, or that those found the best entertainment and reception, who were fullest of strange and miraculous adventures; or lastly, were so sottish, as to beleve all things, they have so outvied one another in the allegations of these fabulous Stories, that the impertinences of old Romances, the fonderies of *I know not what books*, the tales of oldwives, and such fictions; as those of *Lucian's Dialogues*, and *Apuleius's Metamorphoses*, have these Authours taken for irrefragable Demonstrations, as being a sort of Writers, *Qui compilant omnium opiniones; & ea, quae utramque a vilissimis dicta; & scripta sunt, ab inopia iudicii scribunt; & proponunt omnia, quia nesciunt preferre meliora.* But it were a thing hard and presumptuous, and

In Philo-
pseude.

Metalog.
l. 2. c. 7.

haply too tedious, to shew by a large censure on all those that have written on this subject, what freedom, every one took to discourse thereof at random and to interweave abundance of triviall tales with the most certain and undeniable Truths. For this we may bring to the Bar *John Nider*, *James Sprenger*, and *Henry Institor*, the Former confessing ingenuously (against [1] *Trithemius* and *Molanus*, who made him Judge upon the Witches of Germany) that whatsoever he had said of them, and other Magicians in the last book of his [m] *Formicarium*, which is as it were the Leaven of all that hath been said since upon that Subject, he had learn'd from a Judge of the City of *Berne*, & a *Benedictine* Monk, who before his going into the Order, had been, *Necromanticus*, *Joculator*, *Mimus*, & *Triumphator apud Seculares Principes insignis & expertus*. The two other have faggoted together so many stories into the *Mallens Maleficarum*, which came abroad in the year 1494. that *Vni-*er had some reason to question whether they deserved any more credit then those brought by *Niderus*.

l in catalo-
go. in Bibli-
oth. Theo-
log.
m Formica-
rii. lib. 5. c. 3

The same judgment may be given upon a many others who have follow'd these as it were by the scent, whose miscarriages yet are not so considerable as those of some latter writers, and particularly of that eminent man of *France*, *John Bodin*. This man, having with a miraculous vivacity attended by a solid judgment, treated of all things divine, naturall and civill, would haply have been thought something more then Man, my some Intelligence, had he not left some tracks of his humanity, in his *Demonomantie*, hand-
somerly

K. James.
In lib.
de frigid.

In iudicio
librorum
Bodini.

Somely censur'd by the late learned King of England
Majors collecta studio, quam scripta iudicio. But
to make the best of it, we may say, that this great
ingenuity more then ordinarily verid in the holy
Tongue; was a little belotted with the Learning
of the *Rabbins* and *Thalmudists*, quibus, as the
Jesuit *Possevin* affirmes, *hoc libro tam videtur ad-*
dictus, ut ad eos sapiens recurrat quam ad Evango-
linum, Whence we may easily conceive that this
Book, and that which *Vuier* made of the im-
postures and delusions of Devils may stand for the
two extreames in comparison of the mean which
shoud be obierv'd in judging of the truth of these
things, and the integrity of the principall Au-
thors, who first advanc'd them. By this meanes
we are disengag'd from the rest, who, by fabu-
lous reports, and the little judgment they dis-
cover in this Disquisition would have us embrace
the Clouds of their imaginations instead of the
reall *Juno*, and thereby engage us to a recanta-
tion of such an abundance of childish and spuri-
ous Opinions, as are demonstrative arguments
that our Minds may be much more justly said to
creep than to fly; and that, to be rescu'd from
these Chimera's, they must be set at Liberty, and
absolutely possess'd of their full right, that so
they may freely do their duty, which is to reve-
rence and acquiesce in *Ecclesiastiall* History, to
discourse upon *nasrall*, and to be alwayes doubt-
full of the *Civill*.

CHAP. VIII.

That Zoroastes was neither Author nor Promoter of Geotick, Theurgick or unlawfull Magick.

WE have indeed many discoveries of the nimbleness and subtilty of that Emperour's wit, whose infamy for his Apostacy outweigh'd the reputation, his many Vertues and perfections otherwise, which were wholly particular in him, had gain'd him. But methinks he never made a greater expression of *Ammianus* it then at *Paris*, when the Subtle Orator *Delphi-Mastelling* *dius*, having accus'd before him *Numerius* Governour of *Languedoc*, and perceiving he had not sufficient testimony to convince him, cry'd out, as it were in indignation, that No man would ever be found guilty if he had no more to do then to deny. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but the Emperour *Julian* judiciously reply'd, that *no man's innocency was secure, if bare accusations should be admitted for proofs.* His meaning in that witty retort was, that the impeach't are not alwayes criminall, nor the accus'd punishable; and that to condemne a man and to last the verdure of his Innocence, there are other proofes requir'd then that of a simple word, which argues oftener the ignorance, rashness, or passion, of some envious and malevo'ent person, then it does the guilt or desert of him against whom it is directed.

This certainly cannot but make something for all these renowned persons, who must needs be

be crush'd by the multitude of their *Accusers*, if we were oblig'd, as *Civilians*, or forc'd, as were anciently the *Roman Tribunes*, rather to count the suffrages then to examine the reasons; or if *Seneca* had not sometime given us this advice; which we may now make use of for their defence, *Non tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut meliora pluribus placeant.* But he who by a diligent reading knows how to discover the teaity of things, will not think this multitude so considerable. For as some *Captaines* are glad to fill their *Troops* with *Rogues* and hedge *Birds*, and force armes upon *Boyes* and *peedees* to give the enemy a check upon the first appearance; so the *Timons* of *Literati* re, and enemies of all learned men make use of such another *Stratageme*, and level against their *Fame*, the authority of a multitude of wretched & *Vulgar Souls* with certain *plagiaries* and *cur-puries* of writers. These, like the *Potamothick Philosophers* think nothing good or right, but what is judg'd so by others, see not but with *Spectacles*, as the *Lamia*, have no other cloaths then the cast ones of their *Masters*, as the *peedees*, follow no other path then what is the most beaten, like so many *Sheep*, and in all things resemble those *reivious Disciples* of *Eythagoras* *apud quos tantam opinio praesudicata poterat, ut etiam sine ratione valeret Auctoritas.*

Cic. de
nat. deor.
l. 1.

I shall not therefore stand to list all popular assertions of the *Magicke* of the ancient *Philosophers*, such as were *Zoroaster*, *Orphens*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*; and others; but, having treated of it in generall, descend now to particulars, and make that good of every one, which hath been

been prov'd of all together. With this caution neverthelſſe, that it is not my intention to purſue the deſigne as far as any thing may be ſaid of it, if a man would undertake to write whole Volumes, in defence of every one of theſe great perions. For when we have once examin'd the opinions of the beſt Authors upon their doctrine, whatever may be added otherwiſe, is not produc'd ſo much for explication as to ſwell up a Volume, and make thoſe, whoſe Stomacks cannot bear ſuch repetitions, ſay what they do of a many others.

Et veterem in limo rana cecinere querelam.

This engagment cannot be better or more fitly begun then with the defence of *Zoroaſtes*, a perſon repreſented to us, as the living ſpring and originall of all Magicians, neither more nor leſſe then *Cain* was of murtherers, *Nimrod* of Tyrants, *Ninus* of Idolaters, and *Simon Magus* of Hereſiques; through the opinion of the Abbot *Serenus* in [c] *Caffian*, of *Lactantius*, *St. Cyprian*, *Pererius* c. Coll. at. 8. and moſt other Doctōrs, is much more probable. c. 21.

They hold for certain that men ſhould not imagine any other Author of this perverſe and unlawfull Magick then *Satan*, the ſworne enemy of *De idolor.* all the Creation, who made uſe of this *Geotick Vanit.* ſong before the Deluge. For, as *Euſebius* Præp. obſerves, the innocency of the firſt ages *Evang. l. 5.* had not been deſil'd and corrupted with all thoſe vain ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, if this jealous ſpirit, envying the hoped-for ſalvation of mankind, had not bent all his forces to enſnare them as deeply in this Magical Idolatry as they were in

F

all

all other exorbitancies and iniquities, which in time so far prevailed over vertue, that God could do no lesse than send an universall Deluge to cleanse the earth from all those abominations. But the waters were no sooner return'd into their place, but this spirit of presumption, this *Beelzebub*, Prince of Flies, began to renew his practices, and to lay the foundation of his second Monarchy in those weak minds, which are most easily taken, and entangled in the cobwebs of a multitude of suspicious operations, strange sacrifices, and magicall superstitions. It is not indeed possible to particularize and tell justly, who, of all the men of this second age of the world, was the first instrument of this fatall enemy of Nature, to disperse his conjurations over the habitable earth, as we find them now received and practised.

Lib. 30,
c. 1, 2.

Whence we may charge *Pliury* with a double error, where he treats of this Subject; one, in that being an *Epicurean* as well as *Lucretius*,

*Et mundum nullo credens rectora moveri
Naturâ volvente vices & lucis & anni;*

Lib. 2.

as he openly professes in these words, with no lesse rashnesse than ignorance, *Per qua hand dubie declaratur, natura potentiam id quoque esse quod Deum vocamus*; he had not recourse, as the Christians and Platonic Philosophers, to the first Authour of Magick, who is no other than he whom we have already described, as may be further, were it needfull, proved by a passage of *Porphyrus* cited by *Eusebius*. The other is, where he affirms *Zoroastes* to have been the first that ever practiz'd it, and brought it into esteem among men.

Prap. E-
vang.

men. This, how unlikely soever, is receiv'd with so little difficulty by all that have written after him, that few or none have taken the pains to examine that proposition; which, as it is grounded chiefly on the long time it hath been acknowledged, and their authority who maintain it; so is there but little reason it should be received as infallibly true, when *Pliny* himself wonders, how the memory and precepts of *Zoroastes* could be preserved so long time, he having lived, according to one *Eudoxus*, whom he cites for it, six thousand years before *Plato*. Nay, if we allow the opinion of *Pererius* and some Moderns, who make him flourish in the time of *Ninus* and *Abraham*, De Mag. l. 1. c. 13. yet this age we have so slender an account of, and the things said of it, so lost in the Labyrinth of so many ages, that it were more ingenuous to confesse our ignorance, than presumptuously to affirm *Zoroastes*, of whom,

Ad nos vix tenuis fama perlabitur umbra,

to have been the first of all Magicians. Adde to this, that the little knowledge we have of him is so disguised by Historians, that we can hardly meet with two or three, who do not contradict and confute one another in the history of this person.

For if with *Theodore* and *Agathias* we call him *Zarades*. he will presently be confounded, Histor. l. 2. Sermon. 2. by all those Writers who mind not the order of time and Chronology, with one *Zaratas*, whom *Plutarch* makes Master to *Pythagoras*; with one *Zabratus*, mentioned by *Malchus* (who is no other than *Porphyrius*) in the life of *Pythagoras*; Li. de genit. anime. è Timao.

1. Stro-
mat.

Bulenger
Eclog. ad
Arnob. c. 5.

Lib. 18.
c. 19.

Lib. de o-
rigine ani-
mae, p. Ti-
mao,

and with one *Nazaratus*, whom some in *Clemens Alexandrinus* would have to be the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Or if we will allow him the name of *Zoroastes*, as the most common, yet will there be no lesse difficulty to guesse which of the six men, who were of the same name, was the Magician, four whereof are named by *Arnobius*, the fifth by *Suidas*, and the sixth by *Pliny*. Further, be it supposed that the true *Zoroastes* was well known among so many, yet must we allow somewhat to *Sixtus Senensis*, who mentions two Kings of that name, one of the *Persians*, Authour of *Naturall Magick*; the other of the *Bactrians*, first Inventor of the *Diabolicall*: somewhat to *Rhodoginus*, and diverse others, who will allow both Nations but one *Zoroastes* for a Law-giver, that according to the common opinion of all Writers, endeavour'd to perswade them that he had received his Laws and Constitutions from a certain Divinity, whom he called *Oromasis*. But, what should make us yet more distrustfull of what is said of him, is, that the same Authours would perswade us, that he was the son of that *Oromasis*, or *Arimanius*, whereas *Plutarch*, the most considerable man of Antiquity assures us, that *Zoroastes* meant nothing else by those two words he pronounced so often, than the good and bad Dæmon, to which he was wont to refer that miraculous order which is observed in the course of Nature and revolution of all things, as *Heraclius* did to *harmony*; *Anaxagoras*, to *mind* and *infinite*; *Empedocles*, to *friendship* and *debate*; and *Parmenides*, to *light* and *darknesse*. This the same Authour confirms in the Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, as also *Diogenes Laertius*, *Brissonus*, *Calcagnin* and *Philophus*,

lephus, who would not disparage their judgement so much, as to heap multitudes of fables and contradictions one upon another, to represent this *Zoroastes* as the Prince of Magicians. For indeed there is much more reason to think him, that of Philosophers and Professours of Learning, as, when we have refuted the error of this pernicious opinion, we shall make appear. It does indeed sufficiently undermine it self by the discord of those that maintain it, and the attendant contradictions, as it ordinarily happens in all other lies; yet, to blow it up, and to apply a remedy as soveraigne as the disease is inveterate, we must reduce all these opinions to four principall heads, and, in the particular explication of them, shew, that there is no reason in the world, why this *Zoroastes* should be represented to us, as the first and most eminent of all Conjurers and Magicians.

The first shall be that of *Goropius Becanus*, as *In Gallicis*, being the easiest, and needing no other solution than to be understood and proposed. For that *Zoroastes* was no Magician, he endeavours to make good, by alledging it was a meer fable, and that really there never was any such man; which right he does not onely do him, but *Mercurius Trismegistus*, & *Orpheus*, deriving the Etymologie of these words from a certain Cimmerian language in use, as he sayes, from the Creation to the Deluge. But while he chimerises on that in liberty of conscience, there falls from him a manifest contradiction, observ'd since by *Patricius*, in *In Magia Philosophica*, that having maintain'd the negative as an undeniable axiom, he afterwards indifferently confounds this *Zoroastes* with *Japhet* one of the sons of *Noah*.

Lib. 3.

But this opinion, if true, would in some sort agree with the second, which we are now to deduce, the promoters whereof endeavour to prove, That *Cham* and *Zoroastes* were but one person, according to *Berosus*, *Didymus of Alexandria*, and the Author of the *Scholastick History*, that *Cham* was the first that exercised Magick after the Deluge, as is affirm'd by the same *Berosus* in his History; and that, this granted, it is to be inferr'd, that *Zoroastes* after the restauration of the world, first began to soil mens minds with the soot of his invocations & sorceries. Nay, they stick not to affirm that the first he practis'd them on, was his own Father, affirming, that the only motive that *Noah* had to thunder such a curse against him, was that the other had by his Magick so bound and made him impotent. that having, at it were, lost the prerogative of his nature,

Cor. Gal.
Eleg. 3.

Dirigit, quantumq; fuit calor, ossa reliquit.

Fol. 76.

Insomuch, that afterwards he could not get any children, either on his wife or any other, as is so clearly and methodically set down by *Berosus*, that we need not seek that contradiction in his History, which is falsely imposed upon him by *du Verdier* in his *Censure*. Whence it comes to passe, that many keep a coil to have this opinion of the first Author of Magick maintain'd, not only upon the account of *Berosus*, who indeed is the most ancient and venerable Historian we have left, but also those of *Gregory of Tours*, and *St. Clement*, (the two other principall opinions) who, to strengthen his authority, say, that *Chus* or *Misraim*, the two elder sons of *Cham* were fir-
nam'd

nam'd *Zoroastes*, which signifies onely *Living Stars*, in acknowledgement of the miraculous operations which they effected by this Discipline.

But if we seriously consider the strength of these proofs, we shall at last find, that the two latter are no more probable than the former, and that the whole web of the Argument hath no more truth than likelihood, as is not hard to shew. For first, as to the three Authours, who make *Cham* and *Zoroastes* but one and the same person; *Patricius*, who produces the authority *In Magia* of the second, immediately addes, that it deserves *Philosoph.* no credit, as having no ground of reason or probability. The same account doth *Pererius De Mag.* make of the authority of the third, who sayes, *c. 13.* that *Ninus* subdued *Cham*, who was yet alive, and called *Zoroastes*, making him, according to the opinion of some, King of *Thrace*; whereas *Justin* affirms, in the beginning of his History, that the *Zoroastes* that was overcome by *Ninus* was King of the *Baltrians*. According then to the calculation of this Writer, *Cham* must have lived, at least, twelve hundred yeers, since *Ninus* was contemporary with *Abraham* and *Melchisedec*, whom *St. Epiphanius*, relying on the translation of the *Hebr.* 55. seventy Interpreters, places 1100 years after the Flood, to which adde the hundred years that *Cham* liv'd before; it will be evident, that he could not be overcome by *Ninus*, unlesse he be allow'd to live twelve hundred years, a thing not affirm'd by any Authour.

Nor can it be probably said, that notwithstanding his fathers curse, he outliv'd him by two hundred and fifty years, and his brother *Sem* by six hundred. For as to *Berosus*, I think it much

more pardonable not to credit him than those that preceded him; since all the books published under his name, are nothing but the extravagant imaginations of *Annus* a Monk of *Viterbo*, as hath been well observ'd by [a] *Faber Stapulensis*, [b] *Vives*, [c] *Goropius*, [d] *Vergara*, [e] *Giraldus*, [f] *Gasparr Varenus*, *Melchior Canus*, and divers others, whose authority is of greater consequence against him, than all that [g] *Postel*, *quem insania*, saith [h] *Scaliger*, à *communi invidia liberare debet*, could say to keep up his credit, as making use of him, as a Base on which to ground the learned *Resveries* he daily fancied to himself, upon the happy conquests of the universall Empire, promised the French Monarchy.

The same answer may be made to the second proposition of the contrary Argument, which, tilted up by the onely authority of *Berosus*, would prove *Cham* to have been a Magician. There needs no more than to deny it, unlesse it be meant of naturall Magick, or rather those Sciences, wherein *Delrio* sayes he was instructed by his father *Noach*, which name he thinks corrupted by *Pliny* into that of *Azonach*, who he affirms to have been the Master of *Zoroastes*, as † *Bodin* observes, that he changed that of *Gabbala* into *Jotappe*, or *Jochabella*, Authour of a certain kind of Magick. And yet there is not much to be built on that light conjecture of *Delrio*, since what he sayes absolutely, that, *Cham & filii ejus magiam bonam edocti sunt à Noacho*, cannot be any wayes understood of this *Zoroastes*, who is represented to us, as a most eminent practiser of Magick and Necromancie.

Nor needs there any other answer to the story

of

of the Magick which *Cham* exercised upon his father, brought upon the stage to confirm the second proposition. For since we have no other Authour for it than *Berosus*, falsified by the Monk of *Vierbo*, there is no reason to admit it for true, and make it outlive the credit and authority of him whose it was, seeing, that if we look narrowly into the originall of this relation, and take off its mask, we shall find that it is grounded upon the curse pronounced by the Patriarch *Noah* in the ninth of *Genesis*, *Maledictus puer Chanaan, servus servorum erit fratribus suis.* Whereof though the cause be clearly laid down in the same place, yet *Berosus*, the *Rabbins*, and *Thalmudists* must needs glosse upon, and metamorphose it as they please, but with a doctrine so flat, and conceptions so contradictory and fantastick, that they may serve, beyond any thing I know, to convince us of the truth of what *Lactantius* sayes, *Hac mendaciorum natura est, ut coherere non possint.* For if we credit the former in his History, we must withall beleve that *Cham* used certain charms and sorceries, to make his father unable as to the act of generation, It the Rabbi [n] *Levi* in his Commentary on *Genesis*, that, like another *Saturn*, he guelt him of the parts necessary for that act. If R. [o] *Samuel*, that he shewed him such a nasty and abominable trick, that I shall be more tender of chaste ears than to mention it, and passe it by, as *Laur. Valla* did a word of the like signification, *Malo ignorari, quam me dacente cognosci.* And lastly, if we refer our selves to the [p] *Thalmudists*, we must grant that *Cham* incur'd this malediction for all the causes together mentioned by the *Rabbins*, which we have

*Indivinarum
Instit. l. 5.
c. 3.*

*n Pererius
in Genes.
l. 24. c. 1.
vers. 17. &
Genebrar.
l. 1. Chrono-
nolog.
o In fortali-
tudo fidei,
l. 3. p. 204.
p Ibidem.*

particu-

particulariz'd, to shew, that though *Zoroastes* should assume *Cham's* person, yet were there no justice to condemn him for an Enchanter and Magician.

Having therefore dispatch'd that, we come now to discover the error of the third opinion, which men have had of this person: according to which, many have thought him to have been King of the *Bactrians*, because *Justin* seems to be of their side, when speaking of *Ninus*, in the first book of his *Epitome*, he sayes, *Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre Rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, & mundi principia, syderumq; motus diligentissime spectasse.* And yet this Herculean passage, which hath been alwayes quoted, to cast down the good reputation of *Zoroastes* at his enemies feet, may easily be refuted by the contrary authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who sayes, that this King of the *Bactrians*, against whom *Ninus* made war, was called *Oxiartes*, and of whose Magick, neither he nor *Ctesias*, who, according to *Arnobius*, writ his particular History, make not the least mention. Nor indeed does *Justin* speak of it, but under the caution of a *Hear-say*, and in such ambiguous and doubtfull expressions, that not specifying what kind of Magick this *Zoroastes* was Authour of, there is nothing more obvious than to conclude from the consequent words, *& mundi principia, caeliq; motus diligentissime spectasse*, that it was meant of the philosophicall and naturall. Whence it is certain, that according to the fourth and last opinion, which the most reserv'd have had of this *Zoroastes*, he was an excellently knowing man, well acquainted with all manner of Disciplines, a
subject

subject of *Ninus*, contemporary with *Abraham*, and by countrey a Chaldean, who having been instructed by *Azonach*, one of the Disciples of *Sem* or *Heber*, was so earnest in the cultivation and restoration of the Disciplines lost by the Flood, that he became the most eminent man of his time, and writ a many books, of which *Suidas* sayes, Four treated of Nature, one of Precious Stones, and five of Astrologic. To these *Pliny* addes some of Agriculture, and *Mirandula* another of Caldaick Sentences, which he said he had in his Library, with Commentaries upon them in the same language; one part whereof was first printed at *Paris*, and since augmented by *Patri-cium*, who digested it into the first part of his Book, *De Magia Philosophica*, alluding, in all probability, to that of *Zoroastes*, which certainly was onely naturall and philosophicall. Nor is it hard to infer thus much from those shreds which we have left of his *Aphorisms* and *Sentences*, which are so far from being guilty of any thing of diabolicall or superstitious Magick, that, on the contrary, *Stenuchus Engubinus*, in his so much cri'd up Book against Infidels, Atheists, and Philosophers, makes use of them ever and anon, to prove and maintain the mysteries of Christian Religion. Adde to this, the improbability that *Syriannus*, the most learned of all the Platonicks, would bestow on them a Commentary of ten books, as *Suidas* affirms he did; or that *Marsilius Ficinus* would cite them so often in his Book *Of the Immortality of the Soul*, and *Picus* draw fifteen of his *Conclusions* thence, if they had been fraught with so many triviall and superstitious things, such as many have imagin'd them, contrary to the opinion

In epist. ad
Marfil.
Ficin.

In Alcibiades.

nion of the same *Ficinus*, *Mirandula*, and *Plato*. The first of these layes it down as a certain maxime, that à *Zoroastre*, *omnis manavit Theologorum veterum sapientia*; the second openly confesses in the defence of his conclusions, that that Magick, which studies the perfect knowledge of Naturall Philosophy was first brought into vogue by *Zoroastes & Zamolxis*; and the last tell us that the Magick of *Zoroastes* is nothing but that knowledge of divine things wherein the Kings of *Persia* caus'd their children to be instructed, *ut ad exemplar mundana Reipub. suam ipsi Rempublicam regere edocerentur.*

f De Reg. Persar. l. 2.
 e Eclog. ad Arnob. cap. 5. 6.
 u Convivior. l. 2.
 x Philosoph. Bayvarica. l. 1.

To make this good weight, we might adde a many Authorities and passages out of the best Authors, were they not already produc'd by [f] *Briffonias*; [t] *Bulenger*; [u] *Philelphus* and [x] *Heurnius*, who have made a faithfull collection of all that can be said, to prove that these Mages of *Persia* and *Chaldea*; were only priests and Philosophers, and their doctrine an excellent Theology grounded upon the worship and adoration of one supreme omnipotent Divinity, as is pertinently observ'd by the Learned Matter of *Lactantius*, where he sayes, that *Eorum Magorum & eloquio et negotio, primus Hosthanes verum Deum merita maiestate prosequitur, et Angelos Ministros & nuncios dei, sed veri, eius venerationi novit assistere.* Whence we may well judge that, if *Pliny* describe this *Hosthanes* (so excellent a person in the judgment of *Arnobius*) as a famous impostor and Monrebank, *Zoroastes* must needs meet with worse handling from him and others, who thinking it a shame to be beaten out of the pit, will yet to keep this so long agitated question in

play, fly to certain impertinent and simple observations of the presages of his Nativity, the course of his life, and the manner of his death. From thence they would conclude, forsooth, that his laughing when he was borne, the beating of his brain, so strongly that it forc'd back ones hand; his twenty years solitude, and the fire from Heaven which consum'd him for his offences, are, (were there no other reasons) more than authentick proofs to make him a great enchanter and Magician. This indeed may seem something probable, to those who look on all Securities as good and solvent, who will receive any money though ever so bad, who mind only the superficialities of things, & *quorum nusquam penetrat ad interna telum.*

But since we must try what we can pick out of these proofs, we may answer to the first that there is not any one can assure us that this laughing of *Zoroastes* happened precisely on the day of his nativity, whether when he was asleep or awake, whether by the percussion of the Aire, or only an agitation of his lips all which one should know to judge aright of it. But to take away the prodigy & strangeness of this accident, *Hippocrates* tells us Lib. de Sep-
timestri. that Children, as soon as they are born seeme to laugh or cry as they sleep; and that, waking, there partu. is a constant vicissitude of laughing and crying till they have passed forty dayes. This might have happened more particularly to *Zoroastes* through abundance of Spirits, and consequently heat, which rescuing him from that humidity that is common to others, caus'd that action in him, which might well signifie that he should
one

one day prove a very great man, but not a Magician. It is indeed a Circumstance hath ever been thought very fortunate, so that it gave

Eclog. 4.

Virgil occasion to say

— *Cui non risere parentes,*

Nec deus hunc mensa, Dea nec dignata cubili est.

Aphorif.

13. Sect. 1.

For those who laugh so soon are ordinarily more active and lively, or as *Hippocrates* calls them *επιθυμηταί*, that is, such as have a certaine nimblenette and vivacity of spirit, and accordingly give greater hopes of their future good fortune, then those who are stupi'd, slow, and whose spirits are dull and heavy.

Lib. 7. c.

16.

Nor shall we need, if we may trust *Pliny*, trouble our selves to derive any greater presage from the motion of his Braine, it being ordinary in all Children newly born to have a certain cavity about the brain-pan where the sagittall suture meets with the coronall, which is cover'd with a grosse and thick membrane, about which, at least till it be converted into bone, a man may easily perceive, *visu & tactu* (as the most Learned *Anatomist Riolanus* hath observed in his *Osteologie*) the constant beating of the brain, which haply was perceiv'd more strong and vehement in *Zoroastes*, then it is usually in other Children, by reason of the abundance of Spirits and naturall heat, which we have shewn to have been particular in him.

Asiologica tractat.

Sect. 2. c. 2.

Lastly, if any one will inferre that *Zoroastes* was a Magician, becauic *Pliny* tells us that he remain'd 10. years in the Wildernesse, and that *Suidas* and *Volaterranus* affirme that he dy'd

struck

struck with a Thunderbolt; he must also with the same breath conclude that *Epimenedes* who stay'd therein 50. years, that *Moses*, who spent the third part of his age in it, and that all the Fathers of *Thebais* were far greater Magicians then he, since they bestow'd all their life time there: And that *Tullus Hostilius*, *Pompeius Strabo*, *Aurelius Carus*, *Anastafius*, and *Simeon Stilites* were great Sorcerers and enchanters, because they all dy'd thunderstuck. And yet this is not a little injurious to the truth of the History, and to what is expressly observ'd of the last, in the Spirituall Meadow of *Sophonius*, where it is said, that the Abbot *Julian Stilites* incensing at an unseasonable hour, answer'd those who ask'd him the reason of it, *quia modo frater meus Simeon à fulgure dejectus interit, & ecce transit anima ejus in tripudio & exultatione.* Whence may be easily observ'd their want of judgment, who, upon the dis-security of such vain conjectures, would perswade us that *Zoroaster* was the first inventer of Magick, and the greatest enchanter of his time. Which confidence I have the rather taken the trouble to refute, to make way for that light of truth which we are to follow in the account we have of him; and with the same breath, blow away the proofs and grounds of certain Authors, who believe, that all the Learning the ancient Philosophers acquir'd in *Agypt*, was no other then that of the Magick and Invocations of this excellent person.

cap. 57.

CHAP. IX.

That Orpheus was no Magician.

HUmane nature is so limited and confin'd that it cannot judge of things spirituall but by the sensible and materiall, nor of substances but by their Accidents, nor indeed of any thing it knows but by appearances. The only way then, me thinks, to disengage Truth out of all these maskes and disguises, is, to take as strict and near a view of them as may be, and, when we come to the weight and tryall of them, never to admit that prejudicate opinion, which often obliges us to choole and preferre shadows before bodies, darknesse before Light, and the most extra-regular fables before certain and authentick Histories. This we are to do with so much the more diligence and circumspection in this Chapter by how much that there is not any thing, as *Plutarch* affirmes, slides more insensibly into our soules, or hath so much charme and force to attract and insinuate as the disposition of certain tales handsomely couch'd and interwoven; such as, for instance, those of the miraculous Musick of *Orpheus*, at which we see, that,

*Mirantur justiq; senes, trepidaq; puella,
Narrantis conjux pendet ab ore viri.*

To proceed then to a strict and dispassionate examination of all the grounds, which men have had to suspect this Great man, and first Professor of divinity, guilty of magick, we must build upon

on the foundations layd in the former Chapter, and say with *Patricius*, that, according to the testimony of *Philo*, *Josephus*, and all the best Authors, the Sciences and disciplines which had been lost by the Flood, having been re-establish'd in the Schooles of *Sem* and *Heber*, the first erected, as the Rabbins and Thalmudists affirm, *Zoroastes*, who had been instructed in them, and who might be one of the Sons or *Nephews* of *Cham*, endeavour'd so much to dilate and make them flourish in his Country of *Chaldea*, and among those of this Nation, that besides the knowledge which [b] *Apuleius* allows him of ^{b 2. Florid.} Medicine, and that of Astrology attributed to him by St. [c] *Hierome*, [d] *Origen*, [e] *Propertius*, ^{c Ad c. 2.} [f] *Cicero*, [g] *Philelphus* and most Writers, and ^{Dan.} upon the account whereof they pass'd anciently ^{d Homil.} for Astrologers, as the Canaanites for Merchants ^{3. in Hierem.} and the Arabians for Robbers, we have the Authority of *Averroes* cited by [h] *Patricius*, who ^{e Lib. 2. eleg. 5.} sayes, that Philosophy was sometime in as much ^{f De Divinat.} esteem in *Chaldea*, as it was in his time in *Spain* ^{g In Conviv.} by the meanes of the University of *Corduba*. All these Disciplines were afterwards translated into ^{h In Magia Philosoph.} *Egypt*, when *Abraham*, as is observ'd in the ^{i Gen. 12.} Scripture, [i] went down into *Egypt*, to so- ^{k In Epinamide.} journ there, because the famine was sore in the Land. For *Josephus* sayes plainly, and [k] *Plato* seems to agree with him, that during his abode in that Country, he taught the *Egyptian* Priests the *Mathematicks*, and gave them as it were the first rudiments of all the other Sciences, which thereupon so thriv'd and were so much improv'd that it became the spring-head, whence the *Greeks* by long draughts got all their wisdom

and Learning, by the travells and pilgrimages of *Orpheus*, *Thales*, *Democritus*, and *Pythagoras*: whereof, the first brought thence Theology, the second the Mathematicks, the third Physick; and the last, all the foremention'd with Morall Philosophy into the bargain.

This is it we are now to prove of *Orpheus*, and hereafter of *Pythagoras* and *Democritus*, to shew, by an apparant discovery of what they were, how much they are mistaken, who would still make them no other then Sorcerers and Mountebanks.

Lib. 2. c. 6. For as to *Orpheus*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirms him to be one of the first that pass'd into *Egypt* (which happened about the year of the World 3060, long before *Pythagoras*, who return'd thence in the time of *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos* in the year 3290.) and that he brought thence with him, his *Hymnes*, his *Dionysiacks*, and his *Orgia*, which were no other then those of *Isis* and *Osiris*. This made [*m*] *St. Austine* put him into the Chapter of Divine Poets, [*n*] *Virgil* to give him the name and vestment of a priest where he sayes of him.

m *Civit. dei. Lib. 18. c. 14.*
n *Æncid. 6*

*Nec non Thræicius longâ cum veste sacerdos,
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina Vocum.*

o *Præp. Evang. Lib. 2. c. 7.*
p *Orat exhortat. ad nentes.*
q *Apolog. p'o Christi-an.*

So [*o*] *Eusebius* gives him the title of the greatest Master of Theologie. [*p*] *Justin* and [*q*] *Ashe-nagoras* assure us, that he was the first that advanc'd and propos'd the names and sacrifices of the Ancient Gods, and reduc'd their Theologie into order, not only in his *Hymnes* and Books fore-mentioned, but in divers others which *Suidas* sayes he made, of the Mysteries of the Trinity,

of

of the occult reason of divine things, of sacred Conferences, of Oracles, and of Purgations. This gave *Plutarch* occasion to call his Learning *Sympos. l. 2. Sacred*, inſomuch, that diversie Catholick *qu. 3.* Doctors have been of opinion, that it might be very serviceable to refute the Religion of the Ancients, and confirme Christianity. Among these were St. [f] *Augustine*, [r] *Eusebius*, [u] *Marsilius Ficinus*, [x] *Pichs*, [y] *Mosellanus*, [z] *Fabius Paulinus*, and the Learned Divine, [a] *Sten-*
chus Eugabinus, who, with great diligence and a commendable curiosity, hath made a certain *Analogy* or parallell between the Doctrine of *Moses* and that of *Orpheus*, the first Philosopher and Divine among the Greeks, as *Zoroastes* was among the *Chaldaans*, and *Trismegistus* among the *Egyptians*.

The Authorities I have been the rather inclin'd to summe up together, to shew, both by the number and diversity of them, what account we should make of the most part of our Dæmonographers, who must needs be guilty either of Ignorance or a huge presumption, if they know not or esteem not the judgment of so many great persons, *qui, ut rationem nullam afferrent, ipsa auctoritate nos frangerent*, to court and embrace an old fable, and the dreams of dotting Antiquity. And to make the madnesse compleat, they think they have ground enough because they find it in *Pausanias*, who sayes, that some were of opinion, that this principall Divine among the Greeks was a Sorcerer and Magician, making it their businesse to retrace the Story & dress it up, as they please, so it contribute any thing to the opinion they would either introduce or maintaine, yet do I not meet

Lib. 4.c.3, with any of all those that maintaine this extravagance, hath made it reach further then *le Loyer*, in his *de Spectris*, where he sayes, that the *Orphocotelestæ* were so called from *Orpheus* the greatest Sorcerer and Necromancer that ever was, whose writings contain'd nothing but the praises of Devils, as of *Jupiter Alastor*, *Dæmon Vindex*, & exterminator; of *Bacchus*, his Master; of the Satyres, of *Phaneros*, who in my judgment was that *Lucifer* whom we believe turn'd out of Heaven; the originall of the Gods, alledged by *Athenagoras*; unchast mixtures of Gods with men, (blazon'd since by *Homer* and *Hesiod*) which indeed are nothing but the copulations of Devils, with Sorcerers, for the generation of Gyants; and lastly, the initiations into *Bacchanalian* and *Diabolical* Ceremonies, shrowded in obscure termes, not understood even by those who were of the *Magickall Fraternity of the Orphocotelestæ*.

From which passage it is easily conjectur'd, that the chiefest argument and motive to conclude *Orpheus* a Magician, may, according to this Author and the rest, be drawn from the charmes and superstition of his Hymnes, which, in some sense they may be taken in, or some exposition may be giving them, containe nothing but the names of infernall Spirits, the order of their sacrifices, and the severall Ceremonies and suffumigations requisite in their invocations. Whence many have bin perswaded, that they were as effectuell in *Geotick* Magick, as the Psalmes of *David* in the *Divine*, the diverse letters, Syllables and Combinations of the *Mercaua* in the *Theurgick*, and the medicinall applications of

Virgil

Virgil in the Naturall. *Bodin* therefore doth Demonom.
not unjustly charge *Mirandula* with too much su-l. 1. c. 5.
perstition, for grounding some of his Conclufions upon the Doctrine of this Magician, who certainly must needs be such, when by the tones of enchanted Musick, he drew after him, not only the most untractable Animals, but even Woods, Rocks, and Rivers,

*Unde vocalem temerè insecuta
Orphea Sylva.*

*Horat. l. 1.
Ode 12.*

To this *Philostratus* addes, that he became Oracular after his Death by the Organs of his head, which kept in the Isle of Lesbos, answer'd the Greeks, that they should never take Troy without the Arrows of *Hercules*. & the Ambassadors of *Cyrus* that the fate of their Prince should be like his own, that is, that he should dye by the hands of a Woman.

But all this amounts to very little in comparison of what *le Loyer* affirms of this person, that is, that he instituted the Fraternity of the *Orpheo:elesta*, De Spectris
l. 4. c. 3. among whom *Bacchus* had anciently the same place, as the Devill hath now in the Assemblies of Magicians, who have deriv'd all their superstitious operations from these *Orpheo:elesta*. This puts him into an astonishment, that none of all the Authors, who writ upon that subject before him, made no use of that proof to convince the followers of *Peter d' Apono*, and *Vniverus*, who deny there were any Magicians anciently, and laugh at the homage which they say they do the Devill. For he observes that what was sung in the *Orgia*, *Saboe Evohe*, is answerable to the Shouts and exultations of Magicians *Har Sabat Sabat*; and that *Bacchus*, who was only a disguis'd De-

vill, was call'd *Sabastus*, because of the *Sabat* or conventions of these *Bacchanalian* Priests, whereinafter they were initiated, they were wont to say, *I have drunk of the Tabour, and have eaten of the Cymbal, and so I am admitted.* *Le Loyer* would have this to be so explicated, that by the *Cymbal* we should understand the Cauldron or *Baton*, which they made use of, as the modern Magicians do, to boyle the little children they feed on; and by the *Tabour*, the Goat-skin out of which they drew the juice and quintessence to drink.

This way the manner of admission to the Ceremonies of their *Bacchus*, which were so nasty and detestable, that *Demosthenes* had, as he observes, much reason to reprove *Aeschines*, his adversary, that in his younger years he and his mother had been initiated in them, and had cry'd *Evre Sabaoe*. But for my part, I am in as great an astonishment that he should not expect to be reprov'd himself and to be laugh'd at too for producing such triviall conjectures, such groundless proofs, and such fantastick, extravagant, and ridiculous conceptions to prove that the *Orpheotelesta* practis'd all the Ceremonies, common among the Magicians of this time; and consequently, that he, who was the Institutor of them, ought to be the rather look'd on, as an Enchanter and Magician. For if Reason may moderate the excesses of these Symptoms, may we not by the way, truly affirme, that he gives the name of *Orpheotelesta* to all the Priestesses of *Bacchus* which yet appertain'd not but to the Masters of their Congregation. But then if the former consequence hold, this also must, That *Hugh de Pavennes*, and *Godefrey de St. Aumart*, who

founded the order of the *Knights Templers*, were Sorcerers and Idolaters; because many Authors are of opinion, that this Order was abolish'd by *Clement V.* for these two Vices which had insensibly crept into it. And if that, this also, That all the corruption and irregularity of life, which happens often enough in most Orders and Religious Fraternities, long after their Institutions, must reflect upon the innocence and Sanctity of their Authors.

But, in the meantime, there's no reason to admit for truth the wantonizing conjectures of this Writer upon the relation there is between the Magicians and the Orpheotelestæ, since they proceed rather from an ambition in him to start out some new observation upon so thread-bare a subject, then that he gave the extravagance any credit. To cure him of it, and to cleare up the businesse from the bottom, we must remember, that, according to all the best Authors, the *Bacchanalian Orgia* or *Dionysiacs* were first instituted by *Orpheus* in his own Country, *Thracia*; ordaining that they should be celebrated by the Women when they were in their *terms*, meerly to separate them for that time from the company their Husbands, to avoid the accidents which might happen if they should conceive in that condition. But finding by experience that they were asham'd to be at them, because it discover'd what they were wont to dissemble with all possible artifice, and consequently, that he should be forc'd, to his own dishonour, to abolish them if he did not think of some remedy, took occasion from this dislike to make them more famous, permitting all women in general to exercise them

h De Syra
Dea.
i Lib. 1.
k Prop.
Evang.
Lib. 2. c. 1.

upon certain dayes appointed for those Ceremonies. In these they took so much freedom and enjoyment, that, besides their Dances, which they regulated by the sound of Tabours and Cymballs, as also by the Voices and acclamations which they often repeated *Euhoe*, whence Bacchus, who was no other than the Sun, was since called *Euhoeus*, as *Sabasius*, from their running and skipping. There were also certain men disguis'd in Womens Cloaths, who, as [h] *Lucian*, [i] *Columella*, and [k] *Eusebius* affirme, carry'd the image of the God *Priapus*, as the representation of fruitfulness, and the production of all things, which *Orpheus* would have highly esteem'd and reverenc'd. But it being true, what the Poet sayes,

Nox, & amor, vinumq; nihil moderabile suadent,
because, as he addes,

Illu pudore vacat, vina Venusq; metu.

Tit. Liv.
Dec. 4. l. 9.

these sacrifices and Ceremonies could not so well moderate their enjoyments, nor continue the use of them among those Nations who afterwards receiv'd them into their Countreys, but at last they were made a cloak and covering for thousands of cheats, basenesses, and fornications, *Cum vinum & nox, & misti faminis mares etatis tenera majoribus discrimen omne pudoris extinxissent.* Upon which account they were absolutely suppress'd and abolish'd at Rome the year after its foundation 568. in the Consulship of *Posthumus Albinus*, and *Martius Philippus*,

This hath cost me the pains of consulting Authors much more moderate and judicious than

le Loyer was, when he describ'd this imaginary Sabat of the *Orpheotelesta*, or Superiours of this Bacchick Fraternity, to shew, by the naked truth and simple relation of what was done in these *Orgia* and *Dionysacks*, how little reason this Authour had (unlesse his great learning and vast reading may somewhat excuse him) to make such a strange metamorphosis of *Enhoe* into *har-Sabat*, a Tabour into a Goat which was suck'd to the very last drop, and little Bels and Cymbals into great Kettles and Cauldrons, wherein they boil'd little and newly born children. He might have hit, if not more fortunately, yet more pertinently, if he had reflected on the Bowls, which, as *Pausanias* affirms, the women, engaged in these Sacrifices, carried in their hands; or the Goat which gave *Arnobius* occasion to say, speaking to men who troubled themselves with these Congregati-
ons, Atque, ut vos plenos Dei numine ac maiestate doceatis, caprorum reclamantium viscera cruentatis oribus dissipatis. This had been much more proper to prove what he said, than what he relates of the Tabour, or yet the passage of *Demosthenes* justly reprovng *Æschines*, for that he and his mother were initiated in these ceremonies, at that time much suspected and cried down for the reasons beforementioned, observed by *Livy*. But as *Hercules* overcame not the *Hydra* till he had cut off all her heads, so is it nothing to have overthrown this first Argument, if we cannot do the like with three others yet to come. since that the least of them remaining entire and without answer, were enough to maintain the suspicion there is, that *Orpheus* was a Magician.

To begin then with that wherein they say, that his

his head became an Oracle, and gave answers in the Isle of *Lesbos*. I shall not stick at the doubt may justly be made, whether this story be true, though all the Authours speak of it with much contradiction, since that, it being supposed true, it makes nothing against *Orpheus*. For the miracle happen'd long after his death, and consequently it was not he that spoke thorow his skull; but the Devil undertook to give answers in it, to advance Idolatry amongst his creatures, making this head to speak, as he since did that of one *Polycritus*, which exposed in the Market-place, foretold the *Aetolians* that they should lose the battle they were to fight against the *Acharnanians*.

Phlegon.
lib. de mirabilibus.
Plin. l. 7.
c. 52.
Bern. Scrm.
2. de Virg.

The like he also did with the head of one *Gabinus*, which after it had been retriv'd out of a Wolves throat, did, in a long Poem, sing all the misfortunes which should happen to the City of *Rome*. The inference will be as prejudiciall to the two last as to *Orpheus*. Were it not madnesse to say, that *Samuel* being dead answered the Witch, the Abbot *Cassian*, *St. Germain*, and another *St. Macaire*, that is, that all these holy persons were Magicians. For it must be thought, that as the Angels spoke under the persons of these last for the instruction of the devout and faithfull; so the Devil, the true Ape of all divine actions made his advantages of the former, the more easily to deceive men, and involve them in an abyffe of new worships and superstitions.

Cassiodor.
Var. Epist.
l. 2. ep. 31.

This granted, our next businesse is to shew the little reason theréis to beleve that *Orpheus*, *Mutis animalibus imperavit, vagosq; greges, contemptis pascuis, ad audiendi epulas invitavit*. This error, as we have observ'd in the first Chapter proceeds

from this, that many times men take Poeticall Fables for evident Truths; and the literall sense of their writings, for the allegoricall and morall which they meant, as may be particularly observed in this fabulous musick of *Orpheus*. It must then be understood of the civilization which his Laws wrought upon savage and barbarous people, reducing them to quiet and better conversation; if we take the security of *Horace*, who says,

Sylvestres homines sacer interpretâq; Deorum, De Art. poet.
Cadibus, & victu fudo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus, ob id, lenire tygres, rabidosq; tones.

which is also the common explication of (o) *Dion*, o *Oras. de Homero.*
 (p) *Boccace*, p *De Gene- al. Deorum,*
 (q) *Cassiodorus*, q *Lib.2. ep.41.*
 (r) *Ma- crobius*, and (i) *Quintilian*. It were therefore impertinent to endeavour to explain the seven severall reasons which (r) *Fabius Paulinus* would draw from the Philosophy of the Platonists, to prove this motion of things inanimate possible in Nature, since he confesses himself, that he proposes them not, but to exercise his learning; where- as, had he advanced seriously, and as true, *Delrio* hath so fully refuted them, that there were not now any ground to receive them as legitimate; besides that, their main drift was to shew the possibility of that musick, which certainly is a very weak proof, and in a manner of no consequence; if we consider with *Apuleius*, that, *Non omnia que fieri potuerunt profactis habenda sunt.* Apolog.2.

The conjecture they would draw from his *Hymns* would be more considerable than either of the precedent; if we were obliged to follow the glosse and interpretation which hath been

Lib. de
Spectris.

made of it by diverse persons, especially *le Loyer*, who will, I hope, pardon me, if I endeavour to prove, that he hath been as unfortunate in the explication of his *Hymnes*, as the Metamorphosis of the *Orpheotelestæ* into Magicians. For, not to quarrell with the little account or knowledge we have of the Compiler of them (since *Gagnebrard* assures us, that there is not any one book left of all those old Authours, and first Divines, such as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Musæus*, *Phenias*, and *Aristeus Proconesensis*, grounding his opinion haply on the authority of *Cicero*, who fathers these Hymnes upon one called *Cecrops*, and those of *Franciscus Picus*, *Selden*, and *Engubinus*, who ingenuously acknowledge that their Authour is utterly unknown to us) we may shew in two words, that these Hymnes contain not any thing that should bring them into the least suspicion of Magick; whether they be considered literally, or in the severall interpretations of their allegoricall and morall sense.

For to shew that there is no such danger as to the former, we need onely reflect on the industry of this first planter of Theologie, who, to subdue and refine the spirits of a rough and salvage people; took the most effectual course that could be thought upon, to bring about his enterprise, which was to possess them with a fear and veneration of certain Divinities. These he himself celebrates in his Hymnes, as well to bring them into reputation by his example, as to leave his Successours a certain Modell (as it were) of those observations and ceremonies which ought to be practiz'd, to keep up the honour and devotion of their Sacrifices, whereof there were cer-

rainly many kinds. For as the ceremonies of Christianity, at the present, are not much different one from another, because they relate to the service of one onely Almighty God ; So those, of the false Religion of the Ancients, could not but be very contrary and discordant, by reason of the infinite number of Gods, Idols and Images, which were to be ador'd with Sacrifices peculiar to every one of them ; *Cum ex hoc Divorum numero, (saith Apuleius) nonnulli nocturnis vel diurnis, promptis & occultis, latioribus vel tristioribus hostiis, vel ceremoniis, vel ritibus gauderent.* But this proceeded merely from the sleight and subtilty of the Law-makers and first Divines, who thus diversify'd the Sacrifices, as they saw it most convenient for the people. We have a manifest example hereof in these Hymnes of *Orpheus*, unlesse any one would sift out a more mysterious and hidden sense under the veil of their Allegories, as *Picus* acknowledges we must, when he says, that, *Ut erat veterum mos Theologorum, ita Apolog.* *Orpheus suorum dogmatum mysteria, fabularum involucris, & poetico velamento dissimulavit, ut si quis legat illius hymnos, nihil subesse credat prater fabellas nugasq; meracissimas.*

But this *Mythologie* once admitted, the *Chymists* presently explaine these Hymnes of their severall *Tinctures* and their *Philosophers* Stone ; the *Cabalists*, of the *Ensof* and its *Zephirots* ; *Divines*, of the mysteries of *Christian Religion* ; *Philosophers*, of *Nature* and its causes ; and *Dæmonographers*, of *Sacrifices* and *Conjurations*. When yet there is no ground to beleieve, that *Orpheus* would conceal so many mysteries, and those so different one from another, under the mask of his fables,

fables, which can neither be interpreted of the universall spirit, or the Philosophers stone, nor of the sorceries of Magicians. For as to the interpretation of Alchymists, we shall in the ensuing Chapters shew, that it hath ever been one of their main fooleries, to be desirous to glosse on all things obscure and difficult, advantageously to their disquisition. For that of *du Loyer* and other *Demonographers*, it were irrational to admit it for the legitimate, since first we have the contrary authority of all the Catholike Doctours, specif'd before, who allow their authority may be used to confirm the principall points of our Religion. Secondly, we are able to shew that they cannot be better interpreted than of Physick, according to the judgement even of the great *Mirandula*, who in the third of his Conclusions upon the Doctrine of *Orpheus*, sayes expressely, that *Nomina Deorum quos Orpheus canit, non decipientium Damonum, sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina.* This is further confirm'd by *Strabo*, who observes, that in all the Discourses were anciently made of the Gods, under the umbrage of diverse Fables & Metamorphoses, were shrowded the most famous opinions of those who were particularly excellent in the knowledge of Nature. Such is *Orpheus* in his Hymnes, which if we would interpret in their true sense, we must with *Seneca* observe, that the *Egyptians*, from whom this first Philosopher and Divine had deriv'd all his learning, divided every element into two parts, one whereof they called the male, the other the female. Thus in the earth, rocks and stones; in the air, the winds; in the water, the Sea; in the fire, flame and thunder, are held the strongest and

Geogr. l. 10

Nat. quest.
cap. 14.

and most forcible parts; and the soft and tractable earth, fresh waters, the most untroubled Aire, and the least active fire, are the weaker and more feminine parts.

In allusion to this, does *Orpheus* put two distinct Vertues into all the bodies of the Universe, one whereof was destin'd only to Govern its Sphere, the other to produce the effects which depended on its perfection. Desirous therefore to spread this doctrine under the sweetness of his Hymnes, he compos'd them all under the names of his vertues, calling those he directed to the Earth, *Pluto* and *Proserpina*, to the water *Thetis* and *Oceanus*; to the Aire, *Jupiter* and *Juno*; to the Fire, *Aurora* and *Phaneta*, and giving the names of the Nine Muses, and an Epithet of the God *Bacchus* to all the rest, whom he plac'd in the Spheres of the seven Planets the Firmament and the soul of the World, as may be seen more particularly in *Calim Rhodiginus*.

All which put together may be enough to demonstrate; that *Le Loyer* and such Writers have been extremely mistaken, when they interpreted those names of a Legion of Devils, and so pitiouly charg'd this Author with Magick upon the Authority of *Pausanias*, who sufficiently refutes himself, both as mentioning it only upon the score of a common report, and that he fastens the same calumny upon *Amphion*, a person excellent only for Musick, *qui canendo chordis*, as *Lib. 2. vari.*
(Cassiodorus hath well observ'd) *Thebanos mus-*
ros dicitur condidisse, ut cum homines labore marcidas
ad studium perfectionis erigeret, saxa ipsa viderentur
relictis rupibus advenisse. To which we may add
 one thing more that may oblige us to have senti-
 ments

Lib. 22. c.

2.

ar. ep. 40.

Lib. 30, c. 1. ments of this great person contrary to theirs who too lightly suspect him, which is, that *Pliny* himself delivers him out of the Inquisition after he had charg'd a many others, whose Innocencie shall neverthelesse appear when we come to their particular vindication.

CHAP. X.

A Vindication of Pythagoras.

Lib. de au-
diendo.

HAD we not from *Plutarch* this Character of *Pythagoras*, that he was wont freely to acknowledge, that the greatest advantage he had reap'd from Philosophy, was, Not to wonder at any thing; I should not easily be perswaded but that he would find much matter for his admiration, when he should consider how the malice and ignorance of men hath so chang'd the truth of his History, and the genuine sense of his Doctrine, that his life seems now like that of some Mountebank or Hocus Pocus, and his precepts so fabulous, impertinent, and at such distance with Reason, that a man cannot avoid astonishment at such a prodigious Metamorphosis. To reduce which to its former lustre and scowre it from that rust and rubbidge which obicure the Noblest stroaks, and what ever is most like and naturall in the Historicall draught of this great Philosopher, we need only follow the method observ'd in the precedent Chapter. That is, as Vertue precedes Vice, and truth falshood, to shew, in the first place, what he hath been, according to the true relation of those who knew most of him, that

that so we may the more easily judge what account we should make of all these forged stories which impeach him so highly of sorcery and incantment, as if he had done nothing all his life, to the destruction of those of his own Species, but deal and trade in,

*Quicquid habet Circe, quicquid Mœlea veneni,
Quicquid et herbarum Thessala terra gerit.*

This great person borne to things far above the ordinary rate of men, and having a mind, able to comprehend what ever the world could; that is, such as could not be satisfied within the narrow limits of a City, resolv'd to go and learne among the Egyptians & Chaldeans what he could not in his own Country, that is, *Ceremoniarum Apud. incredendas potentias, numerorum admirandas vices, Florid. 2. & Geometria solertissimas formulas.* Having by a peregrination of fifteen years made himself Master of all manner of Disciplines, he brought, as it were, the Spoiles of *Egypt* into *Greece*, and particularly into the City of *Crœtona*, where he began to erect an Academy, according to the order which may be seen in *Gellius*. Here he thought *Lib. 1. c. 9.* fit to communicate the precious talent he had acquir'd by his study and travell, and lay open the treasures of the Encyclopedie, wherewith he was so intich'd, that, not to rely too much on the testimonies of *Laertius* and *Jamblichus*, who might be thought too favourable to him, because they have made it their businesse to write his History; it is not to be doubted after the generall consent of all good Authors, who have but justly been tender of the honour and respect due to his memory.

H

For

Lib. 2.
Florid.

e Lib. 9.
f 2. Florid.

In Lucullo.

h Lib. de
Iside &
Osrade.
i Epist. lib.
5.

For if we begin with his *Philosophy*, we have no reason to doubt of it, since he is call'd by *Apuleius*, *Primus Philosophia nuncupator & creator*, as well because he chang'd the name of *Wisdom*, in his judgment too arrogant, into that of *Philosophy*, as that he was the Prince and Institutor of the *Italick* Philosophers, as *Thales* had been of the *Ionick*, as *Laertius* and others affirm; and that *Rencklin*, who first dispell'd the cloudy ignorance of *Germany*, hath design'd the second Book of his *Cabaliticall Art*, to explain and revive, in his Country, the *Philosophy* of *Pythagoras*, in imitation, as he sayes, of *Faber Stapulensis* and *Marsilius Ficinus*, who both in *France* and *Italy* had brought into reputation thoe of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. If we proceed to *Medicine*, [e] *Laertius* and [f] *Apuleius* are a sufficient testimony to convince us, that he was excellently able in it. Nor have we worse security for his knowledge of the four parts of *Mathematicks*. For as to *Aritmetick* or the Science of Numbers, besides the testimony of thoe two Authors, we may out of thousands pitch upon that of *Cicero*, who sayes, that *Pythagoras* deduc'd all things from Numbers and the Principles of *Mathematicks*, whereto he attributed very great Mysteries, and gave the names of certain Divinities. These are explain'd at large by [h] *Plutarch* and [i] *Calcagnin*, who upon them ground the subtlety of that Ancient Custome of giving an account of all things by Numbers, as *Picus* promis'd to do in his Conclusions, to re-establish that *Philosophy* neglect'd ever since the time of *Pythagoras*, who was so well verid therein, that by the difficulties of it

he try'd the ingenuity of his Disciples. He also gain'd thereby some advantage as to the practice of *Geometry*, wherein he was so admirably able, that he, [k] first, brought the Geometricall instruments, of the invention of *Moeris* to perfection, and was the first among the Greeks, that us'd weights and measures. Which yet he could not have done without the assistance of that Science, which he study'd with so much importunity, that having found out an excellent proposition in it, which is the 47. of the first Book of *Euclid's Elements*, he was so overjoy'd, that he express'd his thanks to the Gods, in a Heautomb, or Sacrifice of 100 Oxen.

k *Aristoxenus apud Diogen. Pol Virgil. ex Diog. l. 1. c. 19.*

Apollodor. Supputator apud Diogen.

These two Sciences were as it were steps for him to ascend to two others more excellent, which are those of *Musick* and *Astronomy*, the former whereof he mult needs be well acquainted with, since [m] *Macrobinus*, [n] *Boetius*, [o] *Ficinus*, [p] *Gafurin*, and [q] *Calcagnin* (to omit all the rest who are of the same opinion) particularly describe his industry in finding out the tones of *Musick*, by the proportion he observ'd in Smiths, when five or six beat upon their Anvils together. The same *Macrobinus*, *Athenaus* and *Maximus Tyrius* affirme that he first found out the inferiour and celestiall Harmony; whether it be interpreted of the admirable order and Symphony of Nature, or of the *Musick* which [r] *Pontus de Tyard*, and [s] *Kepler* do maintaine there ought to be in the proportionall revolution of those Globes and great Machins of Heaven. Whence we may draw an evident argument of his knowledge in *Astronomy*; to learn which *Justin* sayes, he went to *Egypt* to *Babylon*, and *Pliny* and *Laertius*

m *In somno Scip. lib. 2. Cap. 1.*

n *Musica l. 2. c. 10.*

o *In compendio Timai.*

p *Musica l. 1. c. 8.*

q *Epistol. l. 5. f. 70.*

r *Lib. 14. Dispositio.*

s *Serm. 21. Au Dialog. log. 2. du*

sulitawe.

Lib. 20. Nat. hist. l. 2.

affirme, that he first demonstrated the obliquity of the Zodiack, and discover'd the nature and quality of the Planet *Venus*.

Lastly, for what concernes the other Sciences, it may be presum'd he was as well provided as for the former, if we may credit *Ovid*, and especially *Apuleius*, who sayes, that *Pythagoras* learnt of the *Brachmanes*, *qua mentium documenta, qua corporum exercitamenta, quot partes animi, quot vices vita, que diis manibus pro merito suo cuiq; tormenta vel premia*. Adde to this, the Lawes he gave the Inhabitants of *Crotone*, and the three Books which *Plutarch* and *Laertius* say he writ, one of *Institution*, another of *Civility*, and the third of *Nature*; the fame whereof was so great that *Plato* hearing that *Philolaus* intended to publish them, gave order they should be bought up for him at the rate of a hundred minæ of Silver.

This Universall acquaintance with the Sciences gain'd him such respect in his life time, that *Plutarch* affirmes, he taught at *Crotone* and *Metapont* above thirty years without any interruption, being alwayes follow'd by above 600. Auditors, who, for the integrity of his life and eloquence of his discourses, took his words for Oracles, so far, that, as the Roman Orator affirmes, his authority was thought reason, and divers Princes and Potentates of Italy were glad, as *Plutarch* affirmes, to take his advice in all affaires. For these great deterts did the people of *Metapont* immediately after his death consecrate his house, calling it the *Oratory of Ceres*; and the Street, the *Sacred Street of the Muses*. Upon the same account, the Romans, having had an Oracle in the time of the Warrs with the *Sannites*, that they

Plac. Fhik
l. 1.

De nat
deor. 1.

In the treatise
of Philosophers
conversing
with Princes.

they should erect Statues to two men, whereof one had been the greatest Warriour, the other the wisest among the Grecians, without any debate cast that honour on *Alcibiades* and *Pythagoras*, the first having been the greatest Captain of his time, the other gain'd such reputation through all Italy, that *qui sapiens haberetur, is continuo Pythagoreus putaretur.* Cic. Tusc. qu. 4.

But it were an endlessse work to run over all the eulogies & honorary titles that are scatter'd of this person, in all the Books of the Ancients. They had an extraordinary esteem and reverence for him, as being indeed one of the greatest Wits of all Antiquity, who had the greatest earnestnesse for that which is good and honest, and who endeavour'd more then any other among the Pagans to reduce mankind to a respect and knowledge of a first cause, and to draw it out of irregularity and dissolution, to raise it to the contemplation of things naturall and Civill.

From the little we have, it is easy to judge what might be said in his praise; we shall therefore now come to an examination of all those falsities, or rather extravagances, which some, either out of envy to his Vertue or enmity to his fame, have insensibly foisted into the relation of his life, grounded, probably at least, upon his vast knowledge of the Mathematicks, and great Learning. Which once done, we shall need no more then the improbability & impertinences of those little stories, to satisfie us, what distance they are at with Reason, who not weighing the proofs they meet with, presently believe that all the ancient Philosophers, and first Authors of Sciences *Epist. 63.* and Disciplines, such as *Seneca* calls *Præceptores*,

c Cap. 13,
16, 28.
d Lib. 24.
e. 27. & 30
c Lib. de
Anim. c. 1.
f Adv. Cel-
sum.
g De civit.
Dei, lib. 7.
c. 35.
h Lib. 21.
H. stor.
i Lib. 3.
Metalog.
c. 1.

Generis humani, have been absolute Necromancers and Magicians. For as to *Pythagoras* in particular, they are so confident, that they think it not to be question'd alter the instances of it, which may be taken out of [c] *Iamblicus*, in his life, [d] *Pliny*, [e] *Tertullian*, [f] *Origen*, [g] *St. Augustine*, [h] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and, the most accurate Writer on this Subject, [i] *Delria*, not to put into the scale the authority of some late Dæmonographers, *quibus satisfactum non est*, saith *Sarisheriensis*, *nisi libello doceant quicquid alicubi scriptum invenitur*, and who accordingly stifle their judgement with a confused collection of all the stories they can patch up together upon this Subject. Such are those that are brought upon the stage in the history of this person, whereof some may be found in *Boissardus*, who seems to have taken more pains than any, to rank him among the Magicians, whom he describes in his book of Divinations. From which and all the precedent may be inferr'd, that *Pythagoras* was accounted a Sorcerer and Magician; because, first he had liv'd long in *Egypt*, and had read the books of *Zoroastes*, out of which he might probably have learnt the properties of certain herbs, which he called *Coracesia*, *Callicia*, *Menais*, *Corinthias*, and *Apraxis*, whereof the two first put into water, caused it to freeze, the two next were excellent against the biting of Serpents, and the last took fire at a distance. He also in one of his Symbols expressly forbade the use of *Beans*, which, according to the same superstition, he boyl'd, and, for certain nights expos'd to the Moon, till such time, as, by a strange effect of Magick they were converted into Blood. This hap'y he did in order to another delusion,

mention'd

mention'd by *Cælius Rhodiginus*, after *Snidas*, and the Schoiast of *Aristophanes* in his Comedy of the Clouds, who affirm that this Philosopher writ with blood upon a hollow glasse, what he thought fit, and holding the letters opposite to the face of the Moon, when she was in the full he saw in the star what he had written in his glasse. Adde to this, his appearance with a golden thigh at the Olympick games; as also, that he caus'd himself to be saluted by the river *Nessus*; that he stay'd the flight of an Eagle, tam'd a Bear, kill'd a Serpent, drove away an Oxe that spoil'd a field of Beans, by the meer vertue of certain words. He was seen on the same day, at the same hour, in the City of *Crotona* and that of *Metapont*, and foretold things to come with so much certainty, that many think him call'd *Pythagoras*, because he gave as certain & as infallible answers, as the *Pythian* Oracle. This he perform'd by *Onomancie*, wherein he excell'd as we may ghesse by the fragments we have of his superstitious Arithmetick, and the wheel attributed to him by *Plood* and *Catinus*.

The truth on't is, I am asham'd to swell up this Chapter with the relation of so many fables and fooleries, so flat and inconsistent with truth, as might make us say with much more reason, what the Satyrist anciently did,

——— *Quid dicerat ergo,* *Juven.*
Vel quò nunc fugeret, si nunc hac monstra videret, *Sat. 8.*
Pythagoras? ———

For my part, I think he would be distracted by two severall passions, that is, that of admiration at their want of judgement, who say of him,

what they would be loth to affirm of the most notorious Cheat and Mountebank that ever was; or that of compassion for their shallownesse, in the choice and triall of all these proofs, which may not by any means be receiv'd for legitimate. For it may be generally said of them, that it were absolutely irrational, to imagine that a man, so serious all his life, and so learned (as we have represented him) could spend his time in such vain fooleries and legerdemain, such as can be no other than the imaginary productions of popular ignorance, and the malice of his Enemies and Emulatours. That is a handsom observation of *Rhencelin*, *Non enim carnis amulorum livore, praestantissima eius viri virtus, innocentissima vita, egregia doctrina, celebris fama, utq; sit, nihil non pollutum reliquerunt invidi carptores. Timon, Xenophanes, Cratinus, Aristophon, Hermippus, & alii qui de Pythagora suis in libris mendacia plurima scripsero.* This is particularly levell'd at the stories that were crept into his *Metempsychosis*, and his prohibition of eating Beans: For as to the Histories which concern his Magick, he conceives them so feign'd and absurd. that he would not so much as mention them, in a Book, wherein he should have brought in the greatest part, had he thought there had been any thing of truth in them, since the drift of it is to prove a resemblance between the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, and the *Cabala* of the Hebrews, so far, that he affirms in his Book, *De Verbo mirifico*, that many strange and extraordinary things may be done by the vertue of numbers and words.

But if the *Metempsychosis*, or transanimation, which was one of the principall points of *Pythagoras's*

De art. Cabal. l. 2.

Pythagoras's Doctrine, if the greatest part of his *Symbols*, his prohibition of eating things animate, the main actions of his life, and the history of his death, be so much controverted among Authours, what certainty can we have of these old wives tales, and *Hocus Pocus* tricks, when *Laertius* and *Iamblicus* have prudently passed them by, instancing onely in two or three of so great a number, and that upon the credit of other Writers. If further their authority be pressed, for their satisfaction, and that of all those who have accounted *Pythagoras* a Magician, we may rationally presume, that they did not put into their Books their own opinions of that person, but the false reports which from time to time had been scattered of him among the people, by the malice of *Timon* the *Phlyrsian* & others his enemies, *qui viro aliis Rhodigin. Coryphæo propemodum magica vanitatis crimen in-1. 19. c. 7. nstam voluerunt.* Thus came the fables before-mentioned into reputation, which though they sufficiently refute themselves, we may yet, to discover the impertinencie of every one in particular, affirm, that what hath been said before of the Egyptian Magick, and the books of *Zoroastes*, *Cap. 2. & 8.* make it clear, that the voyage of *Pythagoras* into that Countrey, and his reading, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* delivers, of the books of that person, are rather arguments of his knowledge in Physick, medicine, and naturall Magick, than anything he could do in the Geometrick and superstitious. His acquaintance with the former may be further argued, from his knowledge, as *Pliny* relates of certain herbs, from which our Adversaries would derive a certain proof to convince him of Magick. Which they might have done with some colour,

if

Lib. 6. de
simp. med.
facul.

c. 19. fol.
323.

Hist. nat.
l. 24. c. 17.

if *Pythagoras* had described them with so much superstition, as sometimes did their Authours, *Andreas* and *Pamphilus*, in the book which *Galen* sayes they made, *Of Charms, and the conversion of the sacred herbs into Demons*, or had gather'd them under some certain Star or Planet, as those that were anciently called *Herba Decanorum*, for the reason given by *Monsieur Moreau* in his learned Comment upon *The School of Salerno*. But *Pliny* saying nothing of them that had any relation to these vain ceremonies and observations, I see not what reason they had to make such an extravagant conjecture, nay, he doubting withall, whether the book wherein they are described, should be attributed to *Pythagoras*, or to one *Cleomporus*. And if we must follow their opinion, who will have it to be his, their vertue was not so prodigious and extraordinary, but we daily find as much in *Mallows, Basil, Bannio, Vervin, Horehound, Henbane, Cypress, Benjamin, and Germander*, all which are very good against the biting of Serpents; or in the leaves of *Willows, Vines, Lettice, Violets, and Water-lily*, which can much more easily cool water, than they do the air in sick folks chambers. It may be also supposed, he might put in Salt-peter, which is used in stead of ice, to cool wine in the height of Summer. Nay, *Pliny* seems to give a reason of what might be thought most hard in the vertue and properties of these herbs, when he sayes that the root of *Aproxis* took fire at a distance, as *Naphes* did, because it might be of a bituminous nature, which exhaling many fat & unctuous spirits, takes fire as a candle newly put out, which is not to be at all doubted of, after the many experiences of it, as they may be found in the

books of [r] *Libavins* and [s] *Agricola*.

The proofs deduced from this Philosophers forbidding the eating of Beans, and the course he took to convert them into blood, may refuted with as much ease as the precedent, since *Rheulin* justly laught at all those impertinencies, which some hollow and dislocated brains have forg'd upon this prohibition, such as might be that of *Hermippus* in *Laertius*, who thought *Pythagoras* would rather have suffered death at the entrance into a field of Beans, than passe thorow it to avoid his enemies. But the reason of the prohibition, was certainly no other than the first given by *M. Moreau* in the place before mentioned upon the School of *Salerna*; namely, that *Pythagoras*, who commanded his Disciples to lie down to rest with the sound of the harp and pleasant songs, as it were to charm the soul, and, by harmony, to bring it into it self, absolutely forbade the use of that fruit, the juyce whereof being flatulent, grosse, and of ill nourishment, sends such vapours to the brain as make it heavie; and divert the spirits from minding the contemplations of Philosophy, which were the main businesse and entertainment of his followers. It may be also affirm'd, that there was nothing extraordinary in the conversion he made of Beans into blood, for *M. Moreau*, in the said Commentary, shews clearly, that according to the principles of Chymistry, which put similitude and resemblance for causes of an action, it is a thing may be done and demonstrated by naturall reasons. In the mean time, let no man perswade himself from hence, that *Pythagoras* ever made use of this *Elixir* of Beans, or humane blood, to write upon his hollow glasse; for

r *Lib. de bituminib.*
s *Lib. de Subterraneis.*

Cap. 19.

besides

u Lib. 4. de
sensu.
x Occult.
Phil. l. 1.
c. 6.
y Mythol.
l. 3. c. 1, 7.

besides the little reason there is he should rather use blood in that business than any other liquor, [u] *Campanella* proves by sound reasons that operation absolutely impossible. And whereas [x] *Agrippa* boasted, that he knew the secret of it, and *Natalis* [y] *Comes* hath written, that in the times of *Francis* the First, and *Charles* the Fifth, men knew at *Paris* in the night, whatever had passed the day before in the Castle of *Milan*; the former onely said it to gain reputation, as shall be shewn more particularly in his vindication; and the relation of the latter is a pure Fable and Romance, advanced by those who would needs joyn Magick to the Arms of those two great Princes, as hath been affirmed before, of *Ninus* and *Zoroastes*, *Pyrrhus* and *Cræsus*, *Nectanebus* and *Philip* of *Macedon*. Whence may be inferr'd, that what ever is said of this Looking-glasse of *Pythagoras*, is as unjustly attributed to him, as the superstitious *Arithmetick*, and the wheel of *Onomancie*; or if he ever made use of it, it was certainly some game, imposture, or juggling trick, and, to conclude with *Suidas*, *καίτοι οὐδὲ κατὰ πλῆθος*.

We may well passe the same sentence on the the relation of *Laertius*, concerning the golden *Vu. Numa.* thigh of this Philosopher, since *Plutarch* openly acknowledges, that it was a pure stratagem of *Pythagoras* to gain him the reputation of some Hero or Demy-God, among the infinite number of people that came to the Olympick exercises. Which yet does not prejudice the probability there is, that that golden thigh was not attributed to him by the Ancients, but in some allegoricall and morall sense, yet not such as Alchymists imagine, who think that *Pandora's* box, *Jason's* fleece,

Sisiphus's stone, and *Pythagoras's* golden thigh, are the true Hieroglyphicks of their Philosophers stone. But much more likely it was, as *Calcagnin* makes it, when he sayes, in the explication of the particular marks of all the old Philosophers, that *Pythagora rerum abditarum pretium, & excellens Lib 3. epist. indicatura, femur aureum fecit.* Nor indeed is ^{f. 41.} there any reason this thigh should be taken literally, or that we should beleve it was of massie gold, as the tooth of the *Silesian* youth, who liv'd within the'e fourty yeers, not onely by reason of the impossibility of it, both in Nature and Art, but also for the disagreement of Authours speaking of it; some, cited by *Delrio*, affirming it to ^{Lib. 1. c. 5.} be a golden river, which he made to run at the ^{quest. 1.} Olympick games; others, that it was his reall ^{sect. 1.} thigh, according to [c] *Ælian*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and *Lucian*. ^{c Var. hist. l. 2.} But the more probable opinion is that of [d] *Origen*, that it was of *Ivory*, it being ^{d Cont. Celsum, l. 6.} easie to imagine that it was the naturall thigh of *Pythagoras*, which being fair, white and smooth, was haply celebrated by some of his friends with a similitude to *Ivory*, a comparison we find *Solomon* makes use of, when he commends his Spouse, *Thy belly is of Ivory, thy neck is as a Tower of Ivory.* ^{Cap. 5.} Adde to this, that the Gods could not think of a fitter materiall to make *Pelops* a shoulder than this, because of the colour, and other relations there are between *Ivory*, and a delicate and smooth fleshinesse, such as haply was that of this so much talk'd of thigh of *Pythagoras*.

The reputation of all these miraculous operations gave occasion to say he was saluted by the genius of a river, which *Laertius* sayes was that of ^{In vit. Py-} *Nessus*, *Apollonius Dyscolus* that of *Samus*, and ^{thag.}

Porphyrus

Porphyrus that of *Caucasus*, which diversity shews what account we should make of such a salutarion, as cannot but be fabulous, unlesse, to save the credit of these Authors, we should say it was another politicke sleight of *Pythagoras*, such as I have read of *Mahomet*, who, having hid one of his Companions under ground, had instructed him, when he heard him passing by with a great multitude of people, to cry out through a Trunk that *Mahomet was the great Prophet sent from the Living God*. Which having done with care, he was very ill rewarded for it: for *Mahomet* desirous the cheat of the miracle should never be discover'd, entreated those that were about him to marke the place where they had had so strange a revelation, by raising there a great heap of stones, which they immediately did with such devotion; that the poor subterranean Angell was presently buried under the weight of such a masse and Pyramid.

Were I not affraid, while I would deliver *Pythagoras* out of one danger, to make him fall into another, and represent him as an impostor and crafty Polititian, to take away from him the imputation of a *Magician*, I should with the same explication answer what is said of his appearance on the same day, at the same hour in the two severall Cities of *Crotona* and *Metapont*. For it being a thing absolutely impossible as to men (whose essence requires no lesse union as to their own particular, then seperation from all other) and not happening by divine permission, as the apparitions of some Saints in severall places at the same time, as those of *St. Ambrose*, *Agatha*, *Nicholas*, and *Benedict*; we must conclude, that either

either it is a pure Chimera and fiction (which I think the most probable) or that it was effected by the Subtlety of *Pythagoras*, who caus'd his gestures and person to be acted by one of his Disciples or Companions, whom he sent, in his name, to talke with some simple man or woman of either of those two Cities. Nor indeed need-ed there any more to raise the report of that miraculous apparition, which ought rather to be thus reconcil'd, then to have any recourse to spirits and Dæmons. For it brings with it no difficulty or inconvenience, besides that *Laertius* gives such another interpretation of what *Her-*
mippus affirms of *Pythagoras's* descent into Hell, and *Plutarch* of the tales were made of his Golden thigh, and the Eagle which he had so well instructed that he made him descend when he would upon his head, as they say *Mahomet* did his Pidgeon. Yet it should seeme by his story of the Eagle that *Pythagoras* was well acquainted with that part of Magick which consists in *Ligatures*, if we had not sufficient reasons to answer whatever may be said of the power he had over certain creatures. For if it be objected that he brought up a Bear familiarly in his lodgings, what reason is there to conclude he had tam'd it by Magick, since that, not to mention that which was *Paris's* Nurse, or another which *St. Corbinian* made to carry his Luggage instead of the Ass whom it had devour'd, the two Bears, called *Mica aurea* and *Innocentia*, which the Emperour
Valentinian caus'd to be brought up in the same
 Chamber in a manner with his own; and that which *Sindrigal* Prince of the *Lithuanians*, had
 w'd to come from its denne and Knock at his
 Chamber

Vit Numa.

Ammian
Marcell.

Chamber door, and receive a certain almes for its nourishment, wherewith it return'd to the Woods till the next day that it came again at the same hour; these are enough, I say, to make us admire the Docility of these Creatures, which are not so savage, but the industry of men is able to reduce them, and that by the force, tis true, of certain words, not Magicall and superstitious, but those pronounc'd by the Creator of all things, when he said to our first parents, *Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the Aire, and over all the Creatures that move upon the Earth.*

Gen. 1.

Not is it worth much consideration, that *Pythagoras*, by the uttering of certain words, kill'd a Serpent which did abundance of mischief in *Italy*. For *Boissardus*, who cites *Aristotle's* Authority for the story, quotes not the Book whence he took it, and if we search a little more narrowly into it, we shall find it prove absolutely false, as being grounded only on their Ignorance who change *Socrates* into *Pythagoras*, and who take for sterling a fable related of the former, in a Book of the causes and properties of Elements, which *Patricius* demonstrates falsely attributed to *Aristotle*. But this negligence of *Boissardus* might have been well excus'd, had he not committed another great and more observable, when he cites *Plutarch* to patronise the story of the Ox, which *Pythagoras* sent packing out of a Bean-field; after he had whispered something in his eare. He had better confest he had translated it out of *Calius Rhodiginus*, who indeed cites *Plutarch* in the beginning of his Chapter, but upon another occasion than that of this fable, whereof it

Discuss. pe-
ripat.

Lib 1. l. 3.

Vit. Num.

Lib. 19. c.

7.

it will be found he never made any mention. To give it then a small shock, we may say, that it is absur'd and irrational that this Philosopher, so grave & vertuous in all his other actions, should trouble himself to drive away that Creature, especially when it was executing his will, spoyling & trampling the beans, the use whereof he thought the greatest abomination in the World. But supposing he should take paines to do it, yet is it not likely it was by the vertue of certain words, or by the wayes known and practis'd by certain Mountebanks; as may be seen in [n] *Emanuel de Moun-*
ra, [o] *Pierius*, and [p] *Cardan*; since the least Child, coming near the one might as easily have done it as this Philosopher.

n De En-
salmis,
Scct. 1. c.
1. art. 14.
& Scct. 2.
c. 2. art 13.
o In Hie-
roglyph.
tit. bono-
rum obse-
quium.
p Lib. 2.
contradict.
tract. 2.
contrad. 7.

Lattly for what concernes his conjectures and prædictiones, we may say they can be but of three sorts, that is, *morall*, as those of *Socrates*, or *naturall*, as those of *Pherecydes*, *Thales*, and *Anaxagoras*, or *Diabolicall* and superstitious, as those of all Magicians. Since then it is easie to conjecture, by what hath been said concerning his doctrine, that he might well practise the two former, it were no lesse barbarisme and simplicity to think he should be engag'd in the last than to receive the proofes are brought for it, as good and Authentick, when they are only grounded upon the superstitious Arithmetick and the Wheele of Onomancy falsely attributed to him by [q] *Flood* and [r] *Catana*. For this Arithmetick and all the impertinent footeries insensibly crept into it, is nothing but the pure imagination of those who would needs glosse upon the passage of *Plutarch* where he sayes, that the *Pythagoreans* honoured Numbers and Geometrical figures with the

q Tom. 1.
tract. 2.
part. 1.
r Lib. 1. &
8. Micro-
cos. at the
end of his
Geomancy.

I names

names of the Gods, calling a Triangle with equal sides *Pallas* and *Tritogonia*, because it is equally divided by three lines perpendicularly drawn from each angle. They call'd Unity by the name of *Apollo*, the binary by that of *Contention* and *Boldnesse*, the trinary by that of *Justice*, for as much as to offend or be offended, to do or suffer an injury, is done by excess and defect, Justice remaining equally in the middle.

Nor is it a lesse injury to this great person, to think that he ever troubled himself with the practice of this *Wheele* which [s] *Trithemius* and *Ragnseus* acknowledge as falsely publish'd under his name, as that of *Plato* and *Apuleius*; or that he ever exercised Onomancy by the help of Common numbers represented by the Letters of the Alphabet, the seven Planets, the dayes of the week, & the 12. Signes, as *Flood* would persuade us in his *Microcosme*. For in the first place, this kind of Divination is counterfeit, and without any ground at all; this application of Numbers without any relation or correspondence with the signs and Planets; this Arithmetick absolutely fabulous. And lastly, it was ever the custome of those, who made it their businessse to bring into reputation, such impertinences as these, or any other Mathematicall Niceties; to divulge them under the name of this Philosopher, by reason of the great knowledge he had therein. Whereof we have a manifest example in *de Boisfriere* who within these 60. years making some additions to the *Rythmionachia*, hath in like manner put it out under the title of, *Pythagorick Recreation*, though there be nothing to manifest, as that *Pythagoras* minded this sleight, now attributed to him, as little as all the other stories, which deserve rather

———— *Purgantur corpora succos,
Quisquid & in tota nascitur Amicirâ.*

*Juven.
Sat. 9.*

than what we have been obliged to say in this Chapter, to discover their vanity, and the little ground there is to admit them for true.

CHAP. XI.

Of Numa Pompilini.

T*heodorus Gaza*, the learnedst Greek that ever came from *Constantinople*, being ask'd by a friend of his, what Authour he would preserve, in case a generall wrack were to destroy all the rest, would not seem so fond of his own Traductions, as to prefer *Aristotle* or *Cicero* before *Plutarch*. Him he thought worthy to survive all the rest, not so much, as I conceive, for his admirable learning & variety, as to perseve in him the most judicious Authour that ever was, what could not have been found in any other, to wit, the judgement he gave of all the things he treated of, which we might make use of as a certain mark to distinguish truth from falshood, or as a guide to conduct us thorow those noble ruines of Antiquity, which we find in his Works. This puts me into a more than ordinary admiration, at the malice or negligence of most of our Dæmonographers, who will not apprehend the true account which this Authour gives us of *Numa Pompilius*, as they have done long since in the *Metamorphosis* of *Apuleius*, which they quote upon all occasions, as a

*Montaigne
l. 2. c. 2.*

I 2

manifest

manifest history to prove *Lycanthropie*. Out of some such jealousy it was, that the Authour thought himself oblig'd to give us all the precautions possible, to shew that his transmutation was a meer Fable and Romance, when he sayes in the first page of his Book, *At ego tibi sermons isto Milesio varias fabellas conferam*, and a little after, *Fabulam Gracam incipimus, lector intende, letaberis*. Which laid down, if those are deservedly laugh'd at, who would establish and confirm a proposition of such consequence by a relation acknowledged to be fabulous, even by the Authour of it, we may with as much reason affirm those guilty of a greater malice and temerity, who so apparently falsifie the authorities of *Plutarch*, *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, and *Livie*, to convert into Magic the admirable wisdom and excellent policie of *Numa*.

That I undertake his vindication next that of *Pythagoras*, is not grounded on the opinion of divers, especially *Ovid*, who have made him later, and a Disciple of that Philosopher; since *Livie* sayes in his Decads, *Anshorem doctrine ejus, quia non extat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt*. The same is also confirm'd by the said [d] *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, [e] *Plutarch*, [f] *Rhodiginus*; and [g] *Pererinus*; the former whereof shews that the City of *Crotona* was but founded in the fourth year of *Numa's* reign; and the three others insist much upon all the chronologicall reasons which may prove these two persons not to have been Contemporaries, but by a figure of *Anachronismo*, ordinary, and indeed tolerable, in Poets; but by no means allow'd an Historian. But in regard *Jamblicus* observes in the life of *Pythagoras*, that he had borrow'd

Metam. 15.

Lib. 1.

d Antiq.

Rom. lib. 2.

e Vit. Numa.

f Lib. 19.

c. 8. antiq.

lect.

g De prin-

cipis rer.

natur. in

Pythag.

borrow'd all his learning from the Theologie of *Orpheus*, I have put their Chapters one after the other, without being too Criticall, as to the time wherein they flourished, since it contributes nothing to their vindication, and that I am oblig'd to neglect it in divers other parts of this *Apolo-
logie*.

We are then to note, that the accusation against *Numa* is grounded upon four principall points, the least whereof, were it true, were enough to condemn him for an Enchanter and a Magician. For, first, it is urg'd, that the Genius attributed to him by [d] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and which
[e] *Dionysius Halicarnassens.*, [f] *Plutarch* and
[g] *Livie* affirm to have been one of the nine
Muses, or rather a Nymph called *Egeria*, was
no other than a *Succuba* with whom he was very
familiar, as being one of the cunningest and best
vers'd that ever was, in the invocations of the
tuxelary Gods, and the Genii of Men and Cities.
Hence (h) *Postellus* takes occasion to maintain;
that this Familiar was the same that had attended
Vesta the wife of *Janus* or *Noah*, and then was
Guardian of *Rome*, *Quo duce*, sayes he, *Numa
tanta molis urbem stabilivit*. It is also taken for
certain, that by the assistance and indultry of this
Divinity, he did many strange and miraculous
things, to gain reputation among the people of
Rome, that so he might govern at his pleasure. To
this purpose is haply, what is related by *Dionysius
Halicarnassens* and *Plutarch*, That having once
invited many Citizens to supper, he entertain'd
them with mean and ordinary things, and with
plate that spoke neither wealth nor magnificence.
But they had not sat down long, ere he took

d Lib. 2.

e Lib. 2.

Antiq. Ro-

man.

f In vit.

Numa.

g Des. 1.

l. 1.

h De orig.

Etyur. f.

139.

Initio, l. 5.

De Civit.
Di, l. 3.
c. 35.

occasion to tell them, that the Goddesse whom he convers'd with, at that very instant was come to give him a visit, and that immediately thereupon the room was excellently well furnish'd, and the tables covered with all manner of meats, the most exquisite and delicate in the world. The same may also be confirm'd by the discourses he had with *Jupiter*, such as may be seen in *Arnobius*, who sayes that *Numa*, by the advice of his Nymph *Egeria*, found out a way to bind two Devils, or internall Gods, *Faunus* and *Picus*, who taught him how to invoke *Jupiter*, and force him to come to him by strong and imperious conjurations, in case he should not willingly and of his own accord. This it seems he was so fortunate in, that he fetch'd out of his throne, the greatest and most powerfull of all the Gods, and forc'd him to declare, how by sacrifice he should expiate the thunder and lightening. To which may be added the Hydromancie which *Varro*, cited by St. *Augustine*, sayes, he was very well versed in; as also his magickall books, discover'd four hundred years after his death, and condemn'd to the fire as most pernicious, in the Consulship of *Publius Cornelius* and *Marcus Bibulus*. All this admitted, we may well conclude with all our Demonographers, especially *le Loyer* and *Detrio*, the most learned among them. That *Numa Pompilius* was the greatest Magician of any that ever wore Crown, and that he had a greater power over Devils than over men, since he made use of the assistance of the former, to reduce the Romane people to subjection and obedience to his Laws and Institutions.

But if we would shew how all these Anhours

are too prodigall of our leisure and their own, when they take so much pains to hatch a sort of strange and hideous imaginations, and thereby captivate our belief, we need do no more than take a view of the first draught of this person, done not onely by *Livie*, and *D. Halicarnassens*, who drew the first lines of him, but particularly by *Plutarch*, who hath clad him in his proper colours, and all the circumstances and particularities of his life, that we might thereby judge of the least vices and verrues, as also the disposition, custom and proceedings of this great Politician, and second Founder of *Rome*. Whence it will not be hard to resolve, what credit we should give all these after-draughts and copies of the modern, who have rather follow'd the Originall in their own fantastick imaginations, than that of *Plutarch* and the best Historians, who seem not to mention *Numa*, but out of a designe to celebrate his vertues, and admire the excellent conduct, whereby he fastened and established the *Romane* Monarchy. For that, being loose, and but newly set together, might easily have been ruin'd by the least hostile violence, if *Numa* had not by a peace of three and forty years, given it time to take root and growth, looking on the *Romane* people as a Champion that were to fight, having exercis'd it self at leisure, for the time he should reign over it, would by that means prove strong enough to oppose any that should question the limits of their Empire.

The first thing he did, after he had possessed himself of the government, was to soften and civilize the City, converting their rough & warlike humour into a gentle and tractable, remitting

that height of courage and earnestness of fighting, by Sacrifices, Festivals, Dances, and Processions; may sometimes, as *Plutarch* says, representing unto them the fear of the Gods. To this end did he make them believe, that he had strange visions, or had heard of great calamities, purposely to keep down their hearts in a dread of the Gods. To this may also be apply'd that passage of *Tertullian*, cited in the third Chapter of this *Apologie*, but much more pertinently that of *Lactantius*, who says that *Numa*, *Sic novi populi feroces animos mitigavit, & ad studia pacis à rebus bellicis avocavit*. Whence may be drawn a certain argument, that whatsoever hath been said of the Nymph *Egeria*, was nothing but the meer pretences and palliations of this crafty Politician, who by that Fable would establish the authority of his Sacrifices, Laws, and Constitutions, as is well observ'd by the same *Lactantius*, when, speaking of *Numa*, he says, that to settle these things, *aliqua cum autoritate, simulavit cum Dea Egeria nocturnos se habere congressus*. This increases my admiration at the Lethargick judgements, or scared consciences of our Dæmonographers, who can so securely deprave the authority of this Authour, with those of *Halicarnassus*, *Livie*, and *Plutarch*, to give some colour to what they would have believ'd, and so ground the truth of their proposition upon the most palpable falsity can be imagin'd. For if *le Loyer* and [m] *Delrio* may be credited, the principall Authours that affirm all these fables we have related of *Numa*, are *Plutarch*, and *D. Halicarnassus*, which yet when we come to read, and peruse, we shall find, that on the contrary they are those that refute, under-

Divinar.
Instit. l. 1.
c. 22.

m Lib. 2.
c 5.

mine, discover, and advise us not to credit them.

And that it is so, to begin with the opinion they had of the Nymph *Egeria*; *Plutarch* having ¶ *Numa*. made a long discourse of the credit ought to be given these divine apparitions, concludes it with his own opinion, to this effect. "Howbeit, if any be of a contrary opinion, he is left at liberty; for, I do not hold those things improbable, which others relate of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, and others of their quality; who, being to deal with rough and salvage people, and oblig'd to introduce great alterations into the government of their Countreys, have prudently pretended communication with the Gods, since those fictions and pretences were advantageous even to those whom they perswaded to a beleef of them. This he further confirms, when three or four pages after he sayes, immediately after he had cited the verses of *Timon* the *Phlyrsian*, that this personation of *Numa* was nothing else than the love of a Goddesse, or some Nymph of the mountains, and the secret meetings he pretended to have with her. This seems to have been transcrib'd out of *D. Halicarnassus*, where speaking ¶ *Antiq. Rom. lib. 4. 2.* of *Numa*, he sayes, as *Portus's* Latine Translation hath it, *Multa autem eaq; admiranda de eo dicunt, referentes humanam ejus sapientiam ad Deorum monita: fabulosq; enim dicunt illi congressum fuisse cum quadam Nympha Egeria, que illum assidue Regiam sapientiam edoceret.* Nay *Livie*, who is ¶ *Lib. 2.* tax'd with no other vice, than that of having fill'd his History with abundance of prodigies & miraculous things, confesses ingenuously, that *Numa* resolv'd to keep the Romanes in subjection by

the

the fear of the Gods, and seeing it would not easily fasten on them, without the disguise and circumvention of some counterfeit miracle, *simulavit sibi cum Dea Aegeria congressus nocturnos, ejus se monitu qua acceptissima Diis essent sacra institueret, sacerdotes suos cuiq; Deorum praficere.*

lib. 21.

But indeed *Ammianus Marcellinus* seems to be more pertinently cited by our Dæmonographers; and consequently to favour them more than all the precedent. For, discoursing upon a certain vision which the Emperour *Constantius* had, he sayes, that the correspondence between Gods and men is not a thing so extraordinary, but that there were manifest examples of it in the *Genii*; which sometime were familiar with *Hermes*, *Socrates*, *Apollonius*, *Nyma*, *Scipio*, *Marius* and *Augustus*. From which passage it might be imagin'd, he was of opinion, that it was not fabulous what was said of the Nymph *Aegeria*, and the conversation that was between her and King *Nyma*. But, be it suppos'd that this was his opinion, yet can it not conclude any thing to the prejudice of the precedent, since that thorow all his History, he discovers himself very prone to beleieve and amplify such narrations; alluding to which, I conceive, not improbably, *Ludovicus Vives* presum'd to pronounce this judgement on his History, *Ammiani Marcellini quod superest opus, nec Oratoris omnino nec historici.*

De trad.
disciplinis,
l. 5. f. 38.

Lastly, for *Postellus's* Comment upon the Fable, I think it of the same metall, with what he relates in his *Cosmography*; where he sayes that the *Ethiopian*s are black, by reason of the curse God thundered against *Chus* the first Authour of their Nation, because *Cham*, his father, had known his wife

wife in the Ark, against the expresse command of the Patriarch *Noah* to the contrary. Nor indeed can there be a more true and modett solution made to all these vaine and chimericall speculations, then to say of their Author as the Proconsull *Festus* did of *St. Paul*, *Insanis Postelle*, *multa te literæ ad insaniam convertunt.*

Having thus discover'd the weaknets & falsity of the proofs, brought to make this *Egeria* a Witch or *Succuba*, which was only a subtle fiction of *Numa's*, we must do as much with those which [s] *le Loyer* and [t] *Delrio* would draw out of the same Authors to make good the enchanted *Banquet*, and the conference he had with *Jupiter*, by the meanes of this *Hydromancy*. But this was nothing but the fabulous invention of *Numa* to surpris *Fannus* and *Picus*, putting wine and honey into the Spring out of which they were wont to drink, that they, being taken, should shew him the way to invoke *Jupiter*, & know of him what he should do to expiate the Lightning, as we have already observed out of *Plutarch* and *Arnobius*. For as to *D. Halicarnassaus*, tis true, that speaking of the Nymph *Egeria*, he mentions also the Supper *Numa* made by her meanes; but what he saies in consequence, sufficiently shews that he held it a meer fiction, adding immediately after the relation, *sed qui res omnes fabulosas ex historia tollunt, Numam hac quæ de Egeria dicebat fluxisse dicunt, ut qui Numen divinam metuerent facilius animum ad se adverterent, & leges quas esset laturus libenter ut à diis latas acciperent.*

s *De Spectr.*
l. 2. c. 5.
t *Disquisit.*
Magic. l.
2. qu. 9.

Antiq.
Roman. l. 2.

In like manner hath not *Plutarch* fallen upon a relation of these fables, without a precaution gi-

ven

ven before, beginning very judiciously thus. By
 ' these rudiments and as it were apprenticeship of
 ' Religion, the City of *Rome* became so civiliz'd, &
 ' had such an admiration for the great power of
 ' *K. Numa*, had it receiv'd for truths such tales, as
 ' had no more likelihood of truth then there is in
 ' meer Fables and thought there was nothing in-
 ' credible nor impossible to him that he should
 ' desire to effect.

There remains therefore only the objection
 concerning his Books about which I shall not
 glean up all that may be said of their number,
 and the time, when, and the manner, how, they
 were found, since *Guilandinus* hath very learned-
 ly performed that task, and that it is suffici-
 ent for me to shew, that they were not burnt
 as treating of *Magick*, as divers moderne Au-
 thors would perswade us. For it was not the
 opinion of any of the ancients, as may be easily
 demonstrated, in that, according to that of [y]
 z *Dec. 4. l. Plutarch*, [z] *Livy*, and [a] *Caius Piso Censorius*,
 they treated only of the offices and duties of the
 Priests, and the Philosophy of the Greeks, such
 as it had been in *Numa's* time; to that of [b]
 b *Ibidem. Cassius Hemina*, they treated only of the Philoso-
 c *Divinar. instit. c. 22.* phy of *Pythagoras*; and to that of [c] *Lactantius*,
 d *Apud D. August. de* [d] *Varro*; and [e] *Tuditanus*, they contain'd on-
 e *civit. Dei. l. 7. c. 34.* ly the order and causes of the sacrifices and cere-
 e *Apud* monies he had instituted amongst the Romans.
 f *Plin. citato* Which last opinion I think the more probable,
 g *in vit. Nu-* beause it discovers the reason why the Senate
 ma. thought it not convenient they should be di-
 vulg'd, for since we find in *Plutarch* that *Numa*
 forbad the Romans to believe that God had the
 forme either of Man or Beast; and to make
 any

In com-
 mentar. ad
 3. Plinii
 capita de
 papyro
 memb.

y Vit Nu-
 ma.

z Dec. 4. l.
 ult.

a Apud
 Plin. l. 13.
 c. 13.

b Ibidem.
 c Divinar.
 instit. c. 22.

d Apud D.
 August. de
 civit. Dei.

e Apud
 Plin. citato

g in vit. Nu-
 ma.

any image or Statue of him, which was observ'd for the space of 70. years, and permitted not they should do sacrifice but with the pouring out of wine, milk, and a little flower, it is probable he had given reasons at large in his Books of that new kind of worship. These coming to light and acknowledg'd for his, four thousand years after, as *Plutarch* affirms, or according to *Cassius Hemina* 535. when the City of Rome was so full of Idols, *ut facilius esset Deum quam hominem invenire*, and that all the temples continually sweltered in the blood of the Victims, it is, I say, easily conjectur'd, that the Books of this Roman *Trismegistus*, who, in *Juvenal*, passes for the example of a great Priest, were burnt by order of the Senate, for fear lest some great change might happen in Religion, if by the perusal of those Books, it had been known what reasons *Numa* insisted on, both to establish the purity of his Sacrifices, and to cleanse men's mind from Idolatry, which had taken such root there at the time of this discovery, that the best expedient was to destroy those Books which were otherwise likely to put the whole Roman Monarchy into disturbance; it being a maxime among *Politicians*, that the troubles & dissensions in the State are ever consequential to those that happen in Religion.

This in my judgment was the true cause of the condemnation of these books, and not that which *le Loyer*, and other modernes have endeavoured to find out in Magick, or yet what *Cassius Hemina*, who might haply live in *Augustus's* time, seems to relate of their treating of the Philosophy of *Pythagoras*. For as to the former, his opinion being without any ground or Authority,

of
Petron. in
fragm.

Lib. I. c. 11.

eâdem

eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ assertur. For that of the latter, it is sufficiently refuted, not only in what we have shew'd before, that *Pythagoras* was latter then *Numa*, and, that this
 h Lib.17.c. last came not into *Italy*, according to [h] *Gellius*,
 21. till the raign of *Tarquin* the proud, but also
 i Dec.4. l. by the testimony and contrary opinion of [i] *Livy*,
 Vl. who saies, that one *Antius Valerius* gave the same judgment of these Books *Vulgata opinioni*, as he adds, *quâ creditur Pythagora auditorem fuisse Numam, mendacio probabili accommodatâ fide.* After all which answers and solutions, all I have to wish, is, that our Dæmonographers would own either more modestly or more judgment, that they may not hereafter so indiscreetly forge such Monsters and Chimeras as afterwards frighten them, and make them run away, and cry like little Children, who are many times startled at the dirt they cast in the faces of their companions, *quasi quicquam infelicis sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur.*

CHAP. XII.

Of *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, and *Apollo-nius*.

I Should never have presum'd to remove the precious and venerable bounds of Antiquity, which the God *Terminus* in the fabulous Theologie of the Romans, signify'd to us immoveable, did I not somewhat rely on its being called by *Arnobius*, *errorum plenissima masor*, so far at least as to be satisfi'd, it was no sacrilege to bring that
 to

to the rest which hath been held for true. And this I do after so many ages, as, by their long and various revolutions, are wont, as well in Civil History as *naturall*, to dragge after them along traine of fables, and from time to time to give them new force and vigour by the multitude of those who, out of meer respect to Antiquity, are ensnar'd by them. And indeed it were too great a severity to be oblig'd to follow the superstitious track of those, who will not do the least violence to Antiquity, which, as if our eyes were not able to endure a full light, puts a cobweb before them, and burdens all things, especially the memory and lives of great persons, with fables and fictions, as it does the Statues erected to them with dust and filth. This our designe leades us to maintain, by the examples of these three great Philosophers or rather Demons of knowledge, ver'd in all Sciences, and the chiefest, and of greatest Authority among their people, that is, *Democritus*, *Empedocles* and *Apollonius*. These have undergone such a change and Metamorphosis, by those who make it their businesse to write without minding that precept of *Horace*,

Quid de quoque viro, & cui dicas, sape caveto,

that besides that they are delivered over to us all three for Sorcerers and enchanters, it is further believ'd, that *Democritus* was such a foole as to put out his own eyes, after he had blown away his estate in a fruitlesse search of the Philosophers stone; and that *Empedocles*, as an ambitious *Desperado*, cast himself into the burning furnaces of Mount *Gibel*.

Dens

Hor. de art.
poet.

— Deus immortalis haberi

*Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
Influit* —

But these calumnies are so far from being true or well grounded, that, on the contrary, there's nothing easier then to shew how they are absolutely false, if we may bestow but a few lines on them before we come to joyn issue with the most materiall part of the Charge put in against the reputation and Learning of these excellent Persons. For first, as to the Book of the *Sacred Art*; and the knowledge and practice of *Alchymy*, attributed to *Democritus*, it is a symptome that signifies the deprav'd imaginations of our *Furnace-Imps*, who know no other project to gaine any credit to the Books of their Art, than to farther them on *Moses*, *Salomon*, *Trismegistus*, *Aristotle*, nay (such is their stupidity and want of judg-

ment) *Adam*; [a] *ut autoritatem videlicet sumat ab homine quae non habet ex veritate.* But to make an absolute discovery of this imposture, sufficiently laugh'd at by [b] *Riolanus*, [c] *Guibert*, and [d] *Semertus*, we may affirme, that this Book was never made by *Democritus*, since the learned *Mercurial* assures us that Chymistry was not known at all in *Aristotle's* time, and that *Delrio* shewes; there is no track of it in any good Author, till from *Caligula's* time, when it first broke the shell, till that of *Dioclesian*, under whom lived one *Zozimus*, who, as *Delrio* thinks, is the most ancient Greek that hath written of it. To which may be added that *Casaubon* saies, he saw in the K. of *France* his Library, a manuscript

script treating of the making of Gold, entituled, *ἱερὰ τέχνη*, or, *the sacred Art*, who yet never mentions *Democritus* for the Author of it. To make this good weight, we may urge the poornesse of conceptions which it discovers, and the censure long since given it by *Laertius*; when having been very punctuall in the Catalogue of this Philosophers workes, he sayes that others; under his name, either falsely attributed to him, or taken out of his Writings, may assure us, notwithstanding the Authority of *Pfellus*, who makes him the Author of it, that *Democritus* had nothing to do with it, but some other Greek, lesse learned, and much latter, Yet might question the Authority of *Mercurial*, and conclude against him, that *Aristotle* was vers'd in Chimestry because he saies in his *Problems*, that Oyle may be extracted out of salt, which it cannot but by distillations and Furnaces; if [f] *Gesner* & [g] *Patricius* ^{*In Bibl-*} had not prov'd those *Problems* not to be *Aristi-* ^{*otheca.*} *otle's*, and that it is hard to guesse at the time ^{*g Discuss.*} when they were writ, for that as [h] *Henry Ste-* ^{*perip.*} *phen* first observ'd, the Books of *Theophrastus*, ^{*Tom. 1. 1. 24.*} *Of Sweating and Wearinesse*, are transcrib'd in a ^{*In Philo-*} *soph Po-* manner *Verbatim* in them. ^{*tura.*}

But me thinkes, those are yet more irracionall, who, with [i] *Tertullian*, believe that this Philosopher put out his own eyes, because he could not look on Women without some concupiscenceriall insurrections; or with [k] *Gellius* and [l] *Plutarch*, that he might study Philosophy more ^{*k Lib. 10. c.*} freely, and be lesse diverted by externall Objects; ^{*17.*} or lastly with *Laberius*, that he did it, ^{*l Lib. de curiositat.*}

— *malis bene*
Esse ne videret civibus.

For besides the unlikelihood and diversity of these reasons, we must clearly discredit *Hippocrates* in his Epistle to *Damagetus*, where he sayes, that being employ'd by the *Abderites* to cure the madnesse of *Democritus* he found him reading certain Books and dissecting Animals, actions certainly much inconsistent with want of sight. We may therefore imagine, that as his *Laughter* was morall, his *blindnesse* was so too; and that fabulous Antiquity hath, as *Scaliger* conceives, represented him blind, *quod aliorum more oculis non uteretur.*

In proble-
 mat. Gelli-
 an. prob. 72.

Divinar.
 instit. 1. 3.
 c. 18.

Nor do I see any more reason to believe what is said of *Empedocles*, that he cast himself into the flames of Mount *Gibel*, *ut cum repente non apparerisset, saies Laertianus, abiisse ad Deos crederetur.* For *Empedocles* was so farre from that extravagance of ambition, that *Laertius* assures us, that with incredible constancy he refused a Royall crown presented to him, preferring a life peaceable and free from those vaine Grandeurs, before the greatest enjoyments of Princes. And indeed the story is good for none but Politicians; who comment on and make their advantages of it, when they credit it no more than they do a many others; nor indeed do *Pausanias* and *Timon* in *Laertius*, dissemble the falshood of it; this latter concluding his opinion with theirs in part of an *Epigram*,

*Si se flagrantem male sanus jecit in Aetnam ;
Quomodo adhuc Megaris structa sepulchra jucent ?*

For my part, it shall ever be my faith, that the vast paines and industry of this Philosopher in the disquisition of naturall things consider'd, if he dy'd in that manner, it proceeded rather out of his over curiosity to find out the cause of so miraculous an effect, as it afterward happened to *Pliny* in the burning of *Vesuvius*, than out of any designe he had to get into the Catalogue of the Gods, by so hazardous and indiscreet a resolution. *Plin. in Epist.*

Having therefore brush'd off the dust which hid the lustre & perfection of these living Images and modells of vertue, we come now to what is most materiall to our purpose, that is, to answer those proofs, which may be drawn out of *Pliny* and other Writers, who would fasten on them the black patches of diabolicall Magick, *ad quam discendam*, sayes *Pliny*, *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, *navigavere, exiliis verius quam peregrinationibus susceptis*. This he more particularly confirms of *Democritus*, when he addes in the same place, *Plenumq; miraculi et horum, pariter utrasq; artes effloruisse, Medicinam dico, Magicenq;*, eadem atate; *illam Hippocrate, hanc Democrito illustrantibus*. And elsewhere he saies, he was *Magorum post Pythagoram studiosissimus*, *Lib. 30. c. 12*
and that he maintain'd thousands of litle stories and ridiculous propositions which could not be effected but by Magick. Of this mettall were these, that of the blood of severall young birds might be engendred a Serpent, which eaten

Lib. 24. c. 17.

would cause a perfect understanding of the singing of Birds, that there were certain herbs so powerfull and endy'd with such vertue, that they were requisite in the invocation of the Gods, and would make criminals confesse what judges and torments could not. He affirms further that

Lib. 28.

he had writ a Book of the nature of the *Camelion*, which contained things absolutely triviall,

Lib. 30. c. 1.

Magical, and superstitious; and lastly that he had publish'd the works of *Dardannus* a famous Magician, whereto he added his own fraught with folies of the same nature, and abundance of vaine observations.

Empedocles he is a little more favourable to, in that he gives him not the quality of *Magician*, but only where he makes him one of the ancient Philosophers who travell'd into *Ægypt*; nor indeed were there any proofes to make him such, if *Satyrus* did not let fall a word to that purpose in *Laertius*, where he cites nine or ten verses of this Philosopher's, wherein are comprehended his Magicall operations, and which are all the ground whereupon the Moderns have made him act the part of a Magician. Of these, one of the most considerable is *Delrio* who hath ranked among the miraculous operations of ancient Magicians those of *Empedocles* when he mitigated the fury and violence of the *Etesian* winds, paralleling it with that of one *Erric* King of the *Goths*, who was surnam'd *Windy-cap*, because he made the wind to blow which way soever he turn'd it. To that may be added what is said of his making the Plague to cease in the Country of the *Salinuntians*, and of the women he deliver'd of a long and dangerous suffocation of the

Lib. 2. qu. 9.
c. 11.

Matrix. But since it may well be imagin'd, that he omitted these things because he thought them either fabulous or naturall, we may as safely passe the same sentence on those we have specifid as well of him as *Democritus*, since they are all of the same coyne; and that to speak seriously of them, it is absolutely irrational to think these two great persons guilty of such pitifull weaknesses contrary to the confidence we should have of their vast Learning and integrity, had we no other security for it then that of *Lucretius* and *Hippocrates*. The former thinks it an honour to be the Celebrator of *Empedocles's* vertues, when after a long discourse in the praise of *Sicily*, he saies, that,

Nil tamen hoc habuisse viro praeclarus in se, Lib. 1.
Nec sanctum magis & mirum clarumq; videtur,
Carmina quinetiam divini pectoris ejus
Vociferantur, & exponunt praeclara reperta,
Ut vix humanâ videatur stirpe creatus.

The latter, whom we may justly call the Oracle of truth, assures us in his Epistles what account we should make of the admirable wisdom of *Democritus*, which gave *Celsus* occasion to call *Lib. 10.* him, *magni nominis Philosophum*; and *Gellius*, *nobilissimum Philosophorum*; *uirum prae* *c. 12, 17.* *alios venerandum, autoritateq; antiquâ praestitum.*

But as the same turf brings forth many times both wholesome and hurtfull herbs, and Bees suck honey whence Caterpillers do poison; so the travels, which they say these Philosophers underwent, to learn Magick, must now serve us as a pregnant proof, that they were the occasions of their

Lib. de vita
Apollon.
f. 3.

their great Learning and Polymathy. And this must be the more probable, if we reflect on what hath been already said of the Magick of the Egyptians, and the travels of *Orpheus*, *Zoroastes*, and *Pythagoras*; as also on the authority of *Philostrotus*, who, though of a contrary opinion to us, as to the Sages of *Persia* and the Egyptians, yet sayes, that *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and *Empedocles*, notwithstanding their conversation with them, would not learn anything of their Science. To strengthen this yet further, we may adde the negative authority of *Laertius*, who makes not the least mention of the Magick of *Democritus*, and but one word by the way of that of *Empedocles*, not specifying, contrary to his custom, any thing he had done by the means of it, without bringing on the stage the common solution of this kind of argument. And yet it were but just to urge it, when he from whom it is taken had made it his businessse to say all he could, and to particularize whatever belongs to the Subject he treats on. For instance, if any should undertake to give an exact account of all the Sciences, and should say nothing of *Medicine*, it might be justly infer'd, he did not rank it among them. So it may be concluded, that *Laertius* and two hundred and eleven Authors, whom he quotes, had not heard ought of the Magick of these two Philosophers, since he sayes not any thing of it in his Book, where yet he intended a full collection, even to the juggling tricks of *Pythagoras*, and the most inconsiderable particulars, though fabulous, he had read of others.

But as to *Democritus* in particular, we may
Lib. 30. c. 1. balance *Pliny's* authority with what he sayes himself

self of the doubt which many made to beleieve things so leight and triviall of a man so wise and discrete in all his other actions. And to that adde the contrary authority of *Gellius*, who hath made *Lib. 10;* an expresse Chapter, *De portentis fabularum quæ* *c. 12.* *Plinius secundus indignissimè in Democritum Philosophum confert*; where he discovers at large the vanity of all the forementioned fables, and at last concludes with these words; *Multa autem videntur ab hominibus male solertibus hujusmodi commenta in Democriti nomen data, nobilitatis, autoritatisq; ejus perfugio utentibus.* Nor indeed do I find any more than two things in these objections of *Pliny*, which we may at all stick at, that is, the magicall books written by *Democritus*, and those of *Dardanus* publish'd by him. To which may be answer'd, that such proofs conclude not directly; as we have shewn in the sixth Chapter of this *Apologie*; that these books are not specified by *Laertius*, or any other, and that it is extremely uncertain who that *Dardanus* should be. For though *Pliny*, *Tertullian*, and *Apuleius* make him a great Magician, yet all they say of him is upon the credit of *Columella*, who sayes,

*At si nulla valet medicina repellere pestem,
Dardania veniant artes.* —————

Lib. 10.

If we will refer the businesse to the Civilians, this *Dardanus* may well be some other than a Magician, since they say, that *Dardanarii* are properly *Septasarii*, *Propola*, *Proxenetæ*, that is, *Engrossers* and *Regraters*, who fill their barns and store-houses with all sorts of provision, to be sold again at extraordinary rates, when a dearth should

f Observat. happen, as it is learnedly interpreted by [f] *Cujacius* and [h] *Turnebus*. To this I adde, to leave
 d. 10. c. 19. this erroneous persuasion as naked as may be,
 h Adver- what [i] *Solinus*, speaking of the stone *Cathochi-*
 far. l. 9 c. 3. tes, which stuck to the hands of those that handled
 i Cap. 9. it, as it it had been of a viscous and glewy nature,
 saith, *Democritum Abderitem ostentatione scrupuli*
hujus frequenter usum, ad probandam occultam na-
turæ potentiam in certaminibus qua contra magos ha-
buit. And to that, the opinion of the Spaniard
Torreblanca, who sayes expressely, that *Magiam*
Dæmoniacam pleno ore negarunt Democritus, Aver-
roas, Simplicius, & alii Epicurei qui unâ cum Sad-
duceis Dæmones esse negarunt. For indeed he well
Delictor discover'd what account he made of Spirits and
Magic. l. 2. Magick, when he pleasantly laugh'd at those
c. 2. art. 2. young men of *Abdera*, who had digni'd them-
Lucian. in selves like Devils, purposely to frighten him in
Philopsud his solitude, and that being sent for by King *Da-*
Imperat. *rius*, and entreated by him to raise up his wife, he
Fulian. in answer'd him with a good morall instruction, that
Epist. he would do it with all his heart, provided he
 would bring him but three men who had never
 bewai'd the death of their nearest friends; for
 there needed no more than to write their names,
 and put them upon his wife's tomb, to make her
 rise again immediately. This was much different
 from the proceeding of *Simon Magus*, or rather
 the counterfeit Monk *Santabareus*, who entreat-
Glycas An- ed by the Emperour *Basilius*, that he might see
nal. p. 4. his Son, though dead, was much more kind than
f. 415. *Democritus*, for he gave him a meeting with him,
 as he went a hunting, and suffer'd them to em-
 brace one another for some time; which it was as
 easie for him to do by his Enchantment, as it was
 impossible

impossible for *Democritus*, who had attain'd the knowledge of all things, save that of *Magick*,

Nor is my admiration lesse, that *Delrio* should also refer thereto what was done by *Empedocles* to hinder the over-violence of the winds that blew in his Countrey. For *Laertius* explaining it, sayes, He commanded a many Asses to be slay'd, & their skins to be made into bags, and put upon the tops of mountains, to repress the immoderate gusts of the *Etesian* winds. Wherein it is easily perceived there was no more *Magick*, than in the industry he used to deliver the *Salinuntians* from the plague caused by the noisomnesse of a river, by cutting into it two little rivulets, which dissolv'd the viscoufnesse, and carried away all the filth, or in the simple cure he did of the suffocation of the Matrix, which yet hath given some occasion to say, that he rais'd a woman to life, and to *Satyrus* in *Laertius*, that he was a Magician, though most part of the verses he produces to prove it, and among others these,

*Pharmaca queis pellas morbos, relevesq; senectam
Percipies, qua cuncta tibi communico soli
Extinctumq; hominem nigro revocabis ab Orco.*

should be interpreted as *Talentonius* sayes, of a se-
ret he had to keep a body, for some time, from
corruption, though depriv'd of nourishment, re-
piration, and the beating of the Arteries; upon
the explication whereof may be consulted *Galen*,
Goreus, and the forementioned *Talentonius*.

Drawing now neer unto the end of the Chap-
ter, I have briefly two things to note upon the
Romance we have from *Philostratus* in the life of

Apollonius.

Antrop.
l. 13 c. 3.
lib. de Di-
vinat.

Apollonius. But I shall first observe the inadvertencie of *Volateranus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Boissardus*, and *de Lancre*, who assure us there is now to be seen in the *Vatican* at *Rome* a book, *De figuris conicis*, compos'd by *Apollonius Thyaneus*, the ambiguity of the name having made them mistake him for *Apollonius Pergaeus*, surnamed *Magnus Geometra*, who liv'd in the time of *Cleomedes*, an hundred and fifty years before the nativity of our Saviour; for he it was that writ eight books *de Omniscono*, four whereof are translated out of the Greek by *Frederick Commandin*, printed at *Bologne* in the year 1566. This being granted, as needing no other proof, I shall say, first, that this *Apollonius Thyaneus* might be some vertuous man, of a vast and powerfull wit, one who made excellent advantages of philosophicall speculations and his own nature, to dispose of that of Kings and Princes, and so came as neer the Hero's and Demi-Gods, as he was far from the ordinary sort of men. Whence *Sidonius Apollinaris* took occasion very much to celebrate one of his friends, a Counsellour to, and of great authority with *Evarix* King of the Goths, putting him into the scales with this Philosopher. *Lege virum*, said he to him (*Fidei Catholicae pace praefata*) *in plurimis similem tui, id est, à divitiis ambitum, nec divitias ambitem, cupidum scientiae, continentem pecunia, inter epulas abstemium, inter purpuratos linteatum*. This certainly might well seem strange in the mouth of a Bishop, and a friend who would commend another, were it not evident by the testimonies of *Eusebius* and *Cassiodorus*, that this *Apollonius* was a famous Philosopher and a very wise man. Besides, that it were imprudence to credit the fi-
ctions

Lib. 8. e-
pist. 3.

ctions of *Philostratus* rather than the authorities of *St. Hieron*, and *Justin Martyr*, who assigne no other cause of all his miraculous operations than the knowledge he had of Nature, and so absolutely clear him of Magick; the former saying in his Epistle to *Paulinus*, *Apollanius sive Magus, ut vulgus loquitur, sive Philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt*. The latter is much more open in his Questions to the Orthodox, *Apollanius ut vir naturalium potentiarum, & dissensionum atq; consensionum earum peritus, ex hac scientia mira faciebat, non auctoritate divina; hanc ob rem in omnibus indignis assumptione idonearum materialium que cum adjuvarent ad id perficiendum, quod efficiebatur*. Ep. 103. Qu. 24.

But if this be not enough, we may read in *St. Anastasius* and *Cedrenus*, that one *Julian* a Chaldean, and another famous Magician called *Manethon*, sleighted all the naturall performances of *Apollonius*, as being nothing in comparison of what they daily did, by the means of Geotick and prohibited Magick; whereas there cannot any proof to the contrary be drawn out of a many Authors, who have forg'd as many lies and Chimeras upon his life, as all our old Romances have done on that of *Paladin Rowland*. For *Vopiscus* made not that Book he promis'd of his History; *Sidanius* had describ'd him such as we have represented him; *Tascius Victorianus* and *Nicomachus* are not to be met with in any Library; so that it cannot be judg'd in what sense they writ of him. And for the more ancient, *Hierocles* had borrow'd all his relation from *Philostratus*, who had dress'd up his at the request of the Emperesse *Julia*; as at the present, Love-stories and Romances are written for the entertainment of Queens and Princesses. Euseb. in S. Script. 23. Euseb. in Hieroclem.

Lib. 1. c. 3.
l. 2. c. 2.

cesses. Besides the false nores of his own imagination, he made use of those of one *Maximus*, who had written a relation of what *Apollonius* had done at *Tarsus*; but his main assistance was the Diary or Diurnall of *Damis*. Of the integrity of this *Damis*, since a Lion may be known by his claw, and that a man need not drink up the Sea, to try whether it be salt; we are not to make the least account, since he is so impudent as to affirm, in *Philostratus*, that he had seen the chains where-with *Prometheus* had been fasten'd to Mount *Caucasus*, which were yet in the stones, when he passed it with *Apollonius*, who was travelling to the Indies. But as all things, even the most fabulous, have some ground, and that all painting supposes a firm and solid body under it, so mult it be acknowledg'd, that this great Volume blown up with falsities, was written by *Philostratus* out of no other designe, than to make a parallel between the miracles of this Philosopher, and those of *Jesus Christ*, purposely to undermine the foundations of our Religion, and set people at a losse, whether of the two they rather ought to credit, our Saviour or *Apollonius*. The same course took *Eunapius*, an implacable enemy of the Christians, to disparage the miracles of Saints and Martyrs, by advancing a many invented by himself of *Plotinus*, *Sosipater*, *Porphyrius*, *Maximus*, *Iamblicus*, and divers other Platonists, whose lives he writ. That the case stands thus with *Philostratus*, the conjecture is but too probable; for the Empreſse *Julia's* desire, to see something of his writing (as being a man very polite and eloquent) might well give him occasion to publish that chimericall, yet pernicious History, in the time of the sixth Persecution,

secution, which happen'd under *Septimus Severus*, about two hundred and ten years after Christ, when the Pagans endeavour'd the destruction of Christianity, no lesse by Artifices than by open war. Upon this very account was it, that *Vopiscus In Divo* celebrated so highly, though in few words, the *Aureliano.* vertues and miracles of this *Thyanus*; for according to the learned *Casaubon's* glosse upon it, *Cum In notis ad hoc tibicine fulcirent homines pagani ruentes jam superstitioes suas, nemo debet mirari Vopiscum hoc loco in illius laudes ferri.* *Vopiscum,*

We may therefore passe our finall judgement on all this, with *Paulus Orosius*, and *Leonard Vair*, viz. That as the greatest part of the Fables of Poets, and other Heathen Writers, seem to have taken their disguises out of the holy Scriptures; as for instance, the Deluge in the time of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, from that of *Noah*; the fall of *Phaeton*, from the miracle of *Joshua*; the Gyants war, from the Tower of *Babel*; the Ambrosia of the Gods, from the Manna of the Israelites; the plague at *Rome* from that in the Desert; and the Serpent of *Esculapius*, from the Brazen one erected by *Moses*. So without question all the extravagancies of *Philostratus* upon his *Apollonius*, took their rise from the true miracles of our Saviour, since he hath been pleas'd to oppose the Dæmon, which came to give *Apollonius's* mother notice of *Lib. I. c. 3.* his nativity, to the mytery of the *Annunciation*; *4, 7, 9, 19.* the singing of Swans, to that of the Angels; the *l. 2. c. 2. l. 4.* lightening that fell from Heaven, to the Star that *c. 1, 6, 16.* appear'd in *Bethleem*; the Letters sent to him *l. 8. c. 5.* from divers Kings, to the adoration of the *Magi*; the discourses he held, when very young, in the Temple of *Esculapine*, to the disputation of *Christ*

Christ among the Doctours; the questions put to him by his Disciples, to those of the Apostles; the judgement he passed upon the Eunuch and the Concubine, to that on the woman taken in adultery; the apparition he met with upon Mount *Caucasus*, to the temptation of the Devil in the wilderness; the incredulity of the Ephesians, to that of the Jews; his deliverance of a young man possessed with the Devil, to the like action of *Christ*; the Maid he raised to life at *Rome*, to *Jairus's* daughter; his appearing to *Damis* and *Demetrius* without the City, to that of our Saviour to the two Disciples going to *Emmaus*; the words he said to them, to those of *Jesus Christ*, *Spiritus carnem & ossa non habet*; and lastly, his death and ascension, either to that of *Christ*, or to the translation of *Enoch* or *Elijah*. All these parallels I have the rather thought fit to particularize, to shew the malice, and the pitifull and indiscreet subtlety of *Philostratus*; and consequently, that the safest way to refute all these fictions, is to deny them any relation to Magick, contrary to what *Franciscus Picus* hath done, because Jews and Gentiles might make their advantage of them, and thence draw an example, to prove what they have so often said of *Christ* in the Gospel, *Now we know thou hast a Devil, for thou castest out Devils, through Beelzebub the prince of Devils*. Besides that, we must with *Ensebius* absolutely deny them, and so proceed, according to his directions in the discovery of them, that we may lay open the weak grounds they are built upon, and all the imperinencies and contradictions they are guilty of, *Ut vetusta habeantur ista, non ut in vincula virorum sint, sed oblectamenta puerorum*.

*De rerum
praenot. l. 7.
c. 10.*

*Adversus
Iheroclem.*

*Cic. in Pa-
radoxis.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Genii attributed to Socrates, Aristotle, Plinius, Porphyrim, Jamblicus, Chicus, Scaliger, and Cardan.

THe Jesuit *Thyreas* quotes an observation of some people sufficiently superstitious, who say that all Children borne in the Ember-weeks commonly bring along with them their caules or certaine membranes, and are much more likely then others to gaine the acquaintance and familiarity of the Genii designed for their conduct. The same Priviledge they also pretend to, according to *Ptolemy*, who have the Moon, in conjunction with Sagittary, Lady of their actions, or with Pisces, of the Nativity. All we inferre hence, is, to imagine one of these two happened in the Nativities of all those for whom we make this Chapter, since that by the Authority of most Authors, every one of them might presume he was brought into the Temple of Glory and Immortality by the extraordinary assistance of some Genius or familiar Dæmon, which was to them, as *Apuleius* sayes, *singularis prefectus, domesticus speculator, individuus arbiter, inseparabilis testis, malorum improbator, bonorum probator*. But since his opinion cannot be asserted without much injury done to these great men, and taking away from the obligation we owe their excellent Labours, by the meanes whereof, and not by that of these Dæmons and tutelary Gods, so many precious reliques and monuments of their Learning have

come

Come to our knowledge: me thinks it is but just we should continue them in their deserv'd reputation, and shew the true meaning may be given this Conversation and correspondence, how extravagant their imaginations are who believe it to have been such as that of the Angels with holy men, or that of Devills with Magicians.

For to come as near the truth as may be, we are to observe that the Platonicks, as [d] *Jamblichus* and [e] *Foxius* affirme, assigned four kinds of rationall Creatures, after that which they called the first Being, or first Goodnesse, that is, the first Author and Mover of all things; that is to say, the *Celestiall Gods* or Angels; the *Demons* inferior to them; the *Heroes*; and the souls of all men. The principall duty and employment of the *Demons* being, as *Proclus* affirms, only to enterpole and manage the affaires and conduct of the last, and to be as it were their guides and interpreters towards the Gods, some have taken occasion, from the resemblance of these actions, with those of the souls over their bodies; to call them sometimes by the name of *Demons*. And to do this they thought there was much more reason, when they arriv'd to such a defiance of the Slavery and tyranny of the matter wherein they were as it were immer'd, that they had the absolute disposal of all their faculties, and were as miraculous in all they did as those *Demons* were thought. According to this sense that does *Apuleius* lay, *Animus humanus etiam nunc in corpore situs, Daemon nuncupatur*; and *Heraclitus*, that the Spirit of a man was to him instead of a Genius, *ὁ δὲ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*: besides that it may easily be infer'd

à Lib. de
Myster.
Ægypt.
e Comment
in Phadon.

Lib. de an-
imâ et Da-
mone.

De Deo So-
crat.

ferr'd from these two verses of *Virgil*.

— *Diine nunc ardorem mentibus addunt
Eurgate? an sua cuiq; deus sit dira cupido?*

that the just desires and good operations of the soul may in like manner be qualify'd with the name of God. Adde to this what *Porphyrinus* sayes, after *Plato* in his *Timæus*, that God hath assign'd the superior faculty of our Mind as a Dæmon to conduct us, and that it may be justly call'd *Eudæmon*, who looks on Wisdom as the Pharo that should direct it in all the actions of his life.

This might well serve for a generall solution to that whatever may be said of the familiarity and acquaintance of *Socrates*, *Aristotle*, and others, with certain Devils; were it not also requisite, to answer the objections may be made against them in particular. To begin then with that famous and so well known Dæmon of *Socrates*, no lesse celebrated by their Authority from whom we have the history of it, than by the great diversity of opinions concerning it. Some affirm it might truly be some Apparition, & others that it was a pure fiction of that Philosopher, or of his two Disciples *Xenophon* and *Plato*, who as falsely advanc'd the report of this divine assistance, as that of the Oracle's declaring him the wisest of Mankind, as if there were any reason to bestow the highest and proudest Title imaginable, on a lewd fellow that publikely profess'd Ignorance, Sloath and Sodomy, who liv'd upon almes, knowing not any art or discipline, and endeavouring to discredit all the Sciences by his ignorant Wisdom,

*De fact.
& dict.
Socrat. in
Theage.*

L

Socratici q;

Passerat. in
Poemat. de
nibilo.

Socratici q̄, gregis fuit hac Sapiencia quondam
Scire nihil

a man that breath'd nothing but the introduction of *Atheisme*, deservedly reprov'd and laugh'd at by *Aristophanes*, *Timon*, *Aristotle* and *Athenians*. And lastly a man that for all the praises have been given him, is only oblig'd to two of his disciples, persons not free from suspicion, and consequently not absolutely creditable, who might as well write Apologies for him, and outvy one another in his commendations, as *Gellius* observes that one of them did when he writ his *Institutions of Cyrus*, out of emulation to the other, who had published ten *Books of Common-Wealth*.

Lib. 14. c. 3.

But these are desperate Sallies of a dangerous sort of spirits, who purposely do expose him to generall contempt, to freely discredit the Authority of these two great Philosophers, as also those of *Apuleius*, *Maximus Tyrim*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch* and the best Authours, out of no other motive then that of meer vanity and a groundless hope of being thought more criticall and quick-sighted then others for breaking and battering this ancient image. I should, for my part, rather be of their number who reverence it, out of a belief that so many Authors would not bestow such Elogies on *Socrates*, or call him, as *Martial* did, *magnum Senem*, as *Perfius*, *barbarum Magistrum*, as *Val. Maximus*, *palliatum animam virilitatis robore*, or lastly as *Apuleius*, *Divina prudentia senem*, if he had not been so famous for his wisdom, that they are rather to be excus'd then condemn'd who, with some reason, thought he had acquired it by the favour and assistance of his *Demus*.

1 ib. de deo
Socratit.

With this misfortune, neverthelesse, that there is as much uncertainty in the explication of the nature of it according to this opinion, as there was malice and calumny in the precedent. For [o] *Apuleius* will have it to be a God, [p] *Lactantius* o Ibidem. P Divinar Lib. 2. c. 14. and [q] *Tertullian*, a Devil, [r] *Plato*, invisible; *Apuleius* affirms that it might be visible (s), q In Apolog. *Plutarch* that it was a certain sneezing on the left or right side, according to which *Socrates* pre- r In Theage s De Deo. Socr. t Sermonib. 26. 27. sag'd good or bad success in the thing undertaken. (t) *Maximus Tyrius* sayes, it was only a remorse of conscience against the violence of his naturall inclination, which was neither heard nor seen, whereby *Socrates* was restrain'd from doing what was ill; (u) *Pompanatius*, that it was the ascendent u De incantationibus, c. 11. of his Nativity, & lastly (x) *Montaigne* that it was a certain impulsion of the will, that presented it self to him, beyond the direction of his discourse. But x Effayes. l. I. Chap. 11. for my part, I think it may be truly and rationally said, that this familiar Dæmon of *Socrates*, which was to him, (y) *in rebus incertis prospectator, dubiis pramonitor, periculosiss viator*, was only the good regulation of his life, the wise conduct of his Actions, his experience of things, and the result of all his Vertues, which wrought in him that prudence, which may justly be termed the salt and seasoning of all actions, the rule and line of all affaires, the eye which sees, directs and disposes all; and in a word, the Art of life, as *Medicine* is the Art of health. So that there is much more reason to believe that the soul of this Philosopher, not only refin'd from its violent passions, but enrich'd with all sorts of Vertues, was the true Dæmon of his carriage, than to imagine him entangled in the delusions and y Apul. de deo Socr. conversing

conversing with Hobgoblins, crediting them or following their directions, an imagination so absurd that *Plutarch* thought himself concern'd to endeavour to weed it out of our belief. For in his Book upon *Socrates's Daemon* he saies, that *Socrates* slighted not celestiall things, as the *Athenians* would have it believ'd at his condemnation, but that abundance of imaginary apparitions, fables, and superstitions having crept into the Philosophy of *Pythagoras* and his disciples, whereby it was become absolutely ridiculous and contemptible, he endeavour'd to regulate it by prudence, to cleanse it from all those Stories, and not to believe any more then what he thought rationally.

To this we may adde a generall Goodnesse shining through all his actions, and that he had no other designe then to lead his neighbour in the paths of verue, and thence perceive the little ground we have to conclude this *Genius* to have been a bad *Dæmon*. Which yet we should rather believe than that it was a good Angel, since that he must either have it voluntarily and by divine permission (a secret hath not been yet reveal'd) or by the force of his conjurations. But these must needs be vain at that time, wherein Angels rather commanded men, and were not courted with so much facility as since the passion of *Jesus Christ*, who hath deliver'd us from the slavery of sin, to make us equals and companions to Angels, who would not be ador'd by St. (z) *John*, as they had sometimes been by (a) *Abraham*.

This foundation layd, there remains only to resolve three difficulties which may happen concerning this *Dæmon*. The first is, why he never persuaded

2 Apoc.

19. 20.

2 Gen. 18.

2.

perswaded him to do any thing, but only not to undertake something, and to take heed and avoid it. To this it may be answered that *Socrates* needed it not, in as much as being naturally inclin'd to whatever were vertuous, his particular endeavour was, by a long habit, to arrive to that reservednesse which the greatest persons, even in their most violent passions, and notwithstanding their courage, either have or ought to have. This is true prudence, which regulates their conduct, and makes them do all things wisely, *quæ ratio*, saith *Cicero*, *Poetas, maximeq; Homerum impulit, ut principibus Heroum, Ulyssi, Agamemnoni, Diomedæ, Achilli, certos deos discriminum & periculorum comites adjungerent.*

The second is a proof taken from the Ecstasies which were ordinary to this person, whence some conclude they could not happen to him but by the means of a Dæmon more powerfull then that of the perfection of his Soul. As if it were not more rationally, with *Aristotle* and *Marsilius Lib. 13. de Ficinus*, who represent *Socrates* as a man extremely melancholy, to imagine these ecstasies as naturall in him as those of *Charles de Bouille*, mentioned by *Gesner* and *Trithemius*. For Melancholy may for a long time entertaine the Soul, in a deep meditation, and when the Spirits attend the soule to that place where it retreats as it were into its centre, to do it some service there, the other parts are depriv'd of their influent heat, and seem not to have any spark of life, and this is properly what is called Ecstasie.

The last depends upon the great number and certainty of the prædictions of this Philosopher, whence is drawn the same inference as from the

precedent, as that *Socrates* was certainly the instrument of that *Dæmon*, which not content to have declar'd him the wisest of all men, would needs add a further respect to him by the means of his Oracles and answers. To this may be said, that, besides that it were an open breach of *Horace's* commandment,

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus

Inciderit,——

*De art.
Pœt.*

to attribute these predictions of *Socrates*, and the advice he gave his Friends, to some Divinity; it were more rationall to conceive, that, as he was absolutely inclin'd to morall actions, so had he so particularly consider'd all the accidents that happen to men, that any thing almost gave him some light to judge of and foretell what was to come. Hence it also came that he was reputed the eighth wise-man of *Greece*, because he absolutely resign'd himself to the practice of commendable and versuous Actions, not meddling with the fruitlesse speculations of the Sciences; which, like many, are sometimes current, sometimes cry'd down, one while stamp'd one way, another, another; but always embat'd and very leight. And herein he imitated the seven famous persons of Antiquity, among whom was only *Thales* whose wisdom exceeded the contemplation of those things which were in common use among men; for, him excepted, all the rest acquir'd that so honourable title by their great understanding of Morality, and Matters of State and Government.

There are those, who, to make *Aristotle* not inferiour

inferiour to *Socrates*, maintaine he had the particular assistance of some *Dæmon*. But these, methinks, do his doctrine with as much violence as [c] *Cardan* did that of *Averroes* (who never believ'd there were any Devils) when he introduces a *Dæmon* who call'd himself one of his disciples and followers; or the *Alchimitts* daily do to *Avicenna*, to whom, (though, in [f] *Egidius Romanus*, he absolutely deny the possibility of their metallick transmutation) they yet attribute the knowledge and practise of the *Philosophers Stone*. For there is nothing, so certain in the *Doctrine of Aristotle*, nor wherein his Interpreters do so much agree; as that he never admitted any other intelligences than those which caused the motion of the celestiall Bodies, discarding all other kinds of *Dæmons* and *Angels*, so confirming his own principles; and admitting nothing which was not known to him either by motion or operation. This is the generall assertion of the *Peripateticks*, with [g] *Aquinas*; [h] *William Bp. of Paris*, [i] *Pompanatus*; [k] *Cardan*; [l] *Theopolus*, [m] *Riolanus*, [n] *Niphus*; and [o] *Bernard Mirandulanus*, who expressly sayes, *illud negare non possumus, Aristotelem ratione naturalis non pervenisse nisi ad formas quæ in corpore aliquo sunt*. To the same purpose *Niphus*, before him, said, that such forms and separated substances, according to the doctrine of the *Peripateticks*, etiam Teretissimæ quadam & figmentæ, such as *Theopolus* sayes *Aristotle* ever slighted, *tanquam Sphinx & Chimæra inania nomina*, attributing what is commonly said of them, to nature, that is, to the properties of naturall things, to the humour and temperment of Animals, to the

c De subtili. l. 19.

f Quodlibet. 3. quest. 8. ex eius comment. in lib. Meteor.

g Quest. de Dæmonib. art. 1. h Parte. 2. partis de universo spiritu.

i De incarnation. c. 10 k Lib. 19. de subtil. et l. 6. de variet. c. 93.

l In Academic. comment. 1. templ.

m Comment. in Fernel. l.

n de abditis. c. 11.

o Lib. de Dæmon. c. 3.

de singul. certam. p.

519.

qualities of places, and to their vapours and exhalations, leaving nothing at all for the substances to do. And that there is not any dispute concerning them in his workes, is, not that he could not assert them without some Demonstration, but that he durst not openly refute them, not because he would not contradict *Plato*, who had gaind much reputation by introducing them, but that he would avoid the censure of impiety by opposing the Lawes of his Country, & the common opinion concerning Gods & Oracles. However it be, we cannot conclude according to his doctrine, that they were any thing but dreames and *Chimera's*. For if there were any, they must be either *Corporeall* or *incorporeall*; to say they were incorporeall were to contradict what he sayes in the 12. of his *Metaphysicks*, that there is no Intelligence but is joyn'd to some body. Besides they must be thought all good; and void of malice and corruption according to what he sayes in the ninth Book of the same treatise, that sin cannot proceed but from matter; wherein, as he explains it in his *Ethicks*, lyes the sensuall appetite, which, when it exceeds and over-rules the rationally, causes that deformity. If they were corporeall, their Bodies were either eternall or mortall; the former they cannot be, because, in all his *Physicks*, he assigns but one only body of that nature, that is that of Heaven. If mortall, they were either simple or compound; if simple, what he sayes in the first and second Book, *de Anima*, that she is never found in a simple Body, cannot any way stand with it; if the latter, they were consequently corruptible, palpable, perceptible, and subject to a thousand changes and alterations, which cannot be admitted,

Nor does it amount to much that he hath the word *Dæmon* in severall places of his Books, for then it must be conceiv'd he speaks according to the opinion of the vulgar & the Platonicks, as *Alexander* & *Niphus* affirme, upon the first of his *Metaphysicks*, and the third, *Of the generation of Animals*, Chap. 14. Or haply he made use of that word speaking of God, as is evident from that passage in the second Book of his *Rhetorick*, where he sayes, that the Demon is sent to divers persons of extraordinary Prosperities, not out of any affection he bears them, but to make their Calamity the more remarkable; for certain it is that only God can send those prosperities.

Besides all these proofs, me thinks there is one very pertinent may be had out of his Book *Of Divination by dreames*, where to shew there was nothing supernaturall in them, he sayes, *Omninò autem quoniam nonnulla etiam somniant animalia, a Deo certè missa non erunt somnia, neque hujus gratià sunt, sed dæmonia sanè erunt, siquidem natura dæmonia est, non divina.* For though it hath bred much controversy among the Interpreters and Commentators of *Aristotle*, about the sense wherein the Epithet, he gives Nature, should be taken, yet me thinks *Leonicus* hath guess'd better than any of the rest; and that the Learned [p] *Carpentarius* hath discover'd the full signification of that Phrase, when he sayes that *Aristotle* would thereby shew, [q] *in naturâ benè ordinatâ dependente ex caelestium orbium conversione ipsis Intelligentiis, eam vim ad omnia explicanda reperiri posse propter quam alii ad Dæmones confugerunt.* This explication does first confirme what we have said before of *Aristotle's* opinion concerning these separated

p *Comment.*
on that
place.

q *In cap.*
13. *Aleinoi*
digress. 4.
pag. 338.

separated substances, and then confute the only Reason which *Cesalpino* gives to assert them, even out of his very doctrine.

This certainly were enough to satisfie the World how much this Philosopher is injur'd, when he is charg'd with the familiarity of one of these *Genii*, or *Demons*, which he never took for any thing but dreams and imaginations. But here are yet some trivall Objections rais'd by certain Authors, who wanting Reason to compass their designe, by so Stratagem and cast dust in our eyes.

st. Secunde
quest 109.
art. 1.

Medina and others upon [s] *Aquinas* would affirme, that the reach of our spirit is not so great, as to be able to dive into the knowledge of nature, as did that of *Aristotle*, without the particular assistance of some good or bad *Genius*. And that he made use of the latter, is not, say they, to be questioned, after the proofs which [s] *Laertius*, and [c] *William*, Bishop of Paris, afford.

s In proem.
de vit.
Philosoph.
r 1. Part.
de universo
spirit.
Cap. 92.
153. & 2.
part. c. 6.

The former cites a Book of his treating of *Magic*; the latter, in divers places of his Works, sayes that this Philosopher had for Counsellour in all his Actions, a Spirit he made to come down out of the Sphere of *Venus*, by the sacrifice of an insnar'd Lamb, and some other Ceremonies.

Lib. de En.
fal. Sect. 2;
c. 3. n. 19.

This piece of superstition gave *Emanuel de Moura* occasion to relate out of *Philoponus* in the life of *Aristotle*, against those who would make him an *Atheist*, that he was so strangely cajoll'd by a Woman, that she made him consult the oracle of *Apollo*. Add to this what *Plutarch* and *Laertius* affirme, that he ord'rd by his last will, that there should be dedicated to *Jupiter Sover* and *Minerva Sover* the effigies of certain Animals, of stone, of four cubits, in performance of the

vow

vow he had made for *Nicanor's* health. Besides all which, the said *de Moura* would have him confesse in his first book, *Of Heaven and the World, Secum aliis obtulisse diis prima sacrificia, in recognitionem trina perfectionis in eis inventa.* sect. 2. c. 2. num. 20.

From these passages may be inferr'd, not only that he believ'd *Devils*; and was very superstitious in his Religion, but also that he had stumbled on the hardest & highest mystery of our Faith, that is, the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of Essence, as [y] *Salmeron* would have it, and before him [z] *Trapezontinus*, who hath writ a compleat book, *Of the conformity of Aristotles doctrine with the Scriptures.* It was also the opinion of that famous Divine; [a] *Henry de Assis*; that *Aristotle* might naturally arrive to as perfect a knowledge of Divinity, as that discover'd to our first Parents, when he slept in the terrestriall Paradise, or that of *St. Paul* when he was taken up into Heaven. But the spinning out of these proofs, would bring us at last to discourse of the salvation of this Philosopher, an opinion so common, that one of the Fathers and Doctours of the Church hath said, speaking (as it were) of him, *Aristotels staudern ubi naves, & cruciaria naves*; and *Werklinus* cites a certain Philosopher called *Lambert du Moine*, who hath made a Magistrall question, upon what may be rationally thought of it. It were therefore much more rationally to unravell all these absurdities, which fall one in the neck of another, without aim or end, and clear up the fore-mentioned, than to digresse into further repetitions.

We shall then begin with the authority of *Medius*, who seems to have little reason in his *Aristotle*

y Tom. 2.
17 aff. 25
sect 3.
z Lib. 2. de
comparat.
Aristot. &
Platonis.
a Apud Si-
byllam 1.
Decad. Pe-
regr. quest.
cap. 8. quæ-
st. 2.
quæstio-
cula 4.

In addit. 2.
ad Trithe-
mium.

Stotle

Stotle of his own proper faculties, to bestow on him others; and to deny him the excellencie of his own nature, to make him subject to that of a *Dæmon*. For what ground is there, that those naturall Truths, which he sayes, *Aristotle* arriv'd to the knowledge of, should now be thought suspicious and doubtfull, through a swarm of *Moderns* and *Innovators*, daily encreasing under the banners of *Telesius*, *Patricius*, *Campanella*, *Verulamio*, *Jordan*, *Brun*, and *Bassonius*, out of no other designe, than to put a slur upon that Philosophy, and to undermine that great building which *Aristotle*, and above twelve thousand who have writ upon him, have spent so many ages to build up; and this not so much by any demonstration or force of reason, as the advantage of that vicissitude and revolution of all things, which insensibly brings it to a declination,

Virgil.
Æneid. 3.

— *Et jam per mania clarior ignis*
Auditor, propinqua; æstus incendia volvunt.

The book cited by *Laertius* of *Aristotle's* *Magick*, cannot at all confirm this opinion of *Medina*; for it is clear, that he thought it spurious, when citing it onely in the Proem to his *Lives*, he mentions it not in the particular Catalogue of this Philosophers works. Besides that, it may well be thought of the same cloth with that of *Democritus*, mentioned before, and all those Magicall Manuscripts, which, as *M. Gassius* thinks, the modern Greeks have published under the name of *Salomon*, and divers of the Ancients. For it may be gathered from *Laertius*, that *Aristotle* affirm'd therein, that the *Persian* Mages medled not with

Ex notis
ad Psellum
de Demo-
nib.

with Divinations; and consequently, it being farther'd on him, there is more reason to conclude for our opinion, than that of our Adversaries.

Nor should they be so confident upon the authority of *William of Paris*, since that in another place speaking of this Genius, he sayes, that *Aristotle*, *deceptus fuit ab ipso familiari Damone suo quem de celo Veneris descendisse opinabatur, quod hoc ex somno Rustici cujusdam acceperat.* This clearly shews he had taken this flat and pitifull relation out of a certain book of *Conjurations* and *Astrologie*, which *Trithemius* sayes was falsely published under his name.

*Antipali
males. l. 1.
c. 3.*

For *Emanuel de Moura*, he evidently injures *Philoponus*, who, according to the Greek Text, and the old Translation conformable to that of *Nunnesius*, sayes onely, that *Aristotle* having attain'd the seventeenth year of his age, was advis'd by the *Pythian Oracle*, to apply himself particularly to Philosophy.

The clause in his Will, concerning the erection of the Statues he had vow'd for *Nicanor*, might, for a shift, make a better proof than any of the precedent, if this discreet Philosopher had not done it, in imitation of *Socrates*, to preserve his memory from the infamy of *Atheism*, and to leave a remorse of conscience for those who had accus'd him of it, which should make more for his justification, than the three Sacrifices he made the Gods, or the knowledge of the Trinity, attributed to him by diverse Catholike Doctours. For these are all Chimera's grounded meerly on what he sayes, speaking of the *Ternary* number, in his first book of Heaven, *Διὸ πάρεδ' τῆς φύσεως ἀληθύτες ἄλλοι νόμοι ἰσότητος, ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἀμεταβάτας τῶν Θεῶν χρῆματα*

ἡ τριὰς τῶν ἀειδμῶν τῶν ἁγίων; That is, *Quapropter hoc à natura numero sumpto; perinde atq, quadam illius lege, & in Deorum sacrificiis celebrandis uti solemus.* From which passage cannot be concluded any thing, but that *Aristotle* sayes, that the number Three was much used in Sacrifices in his time; Somewhat to confirm this we have in *Theocritus*, when he sayes in his *Pharmacutria*,

Ter libo, terq, hac pronuncio mystica verba.

But that *Aristotle* neither did, or could have thought any such thing, is learnedly shewn by *Cardinall Bessarion*, who laugh't at *Trapezontinus*, for taking so much pains to prove from that Text, that *Aristotle* had a perfect knowledge of the *Trinity*. Which rashness deserves the greater censure, in that he never consider'd, that all the *Fathers*, and after them *Aquinas*, have maintain'd it impossible and impious, to endeavour the proof of it by naturall reasons, and opposite to the authority of *St. Paul*, to make *Aristotle* and *Plato* to Eagle-fight in the mysteries of our Religion. Besides, it is utterly dissonant to the Philosophy of *Jesus Christ*, to celebrate these Philosophers so highly in the apprehension of Christian Truths.

Whence we may also with the same labour give *Henry de Affia* his answer, viz. that the essence of materiall things is the onely object of the spirit of the way-faring man, as the Schoolmen expresse it, that is of man while he is in this world.

Were it our designe to swell up this Chapter into a Volume, we need not only make a particular refutation

refutation of all may be said of the Magick of the *Platonicks*; taking the relations of an infinite number of *Authours*, who would fain persuade us to things utterly impossible. But since it were vainly to squander time away, to lop off the branches in stead of pulling up the roots, we must with that begin the ruine of all these fabulous narrations, and shew, that whatever the *Platonicks* have advanc'd, either of *Dæmons* or *Magick*, can neither be prov'd by reason nor experience. For first, as to what they say, that Nature cannot afford two *Extreams* without some *Medium*, cementing and uniting them; and that *Heaven* and *Earth* are two *Extreams*, which can have no other *Medium* than these intellectuall powers; The *Peripateticks* answer, that they neither assigne the *Medium*, nor the *Extreams* right; for they should have oppos'd the first *Mover*, which is absolutely immutable, impassible, and immoveable, to things sublunary, and afterwards joyn them together by the celestiaall Nature, which is naturally invariable and eternall, and yet potentially subject to mutation, resembling *God* in its intelligences, and things transitory in its motion. We may as easily answer what they say, that the soul of the *World* being diffus'd and dispers'd thorow the whole *Universe* is not idle, but produces *Animals* in all its parts, and that those generated in *Fire* and *Air* are properly these called *Dæmons*. For, besides that this universall *Soul* is formally denied by *Mersennus* in his book against *Deists*, *Aristotle* ^{1 Part. 2,} never held, that an *Animal* that must use severall ^{6. 20.} *Organs*, can be produc'd and conserv'd in the purity of those two *Elements*. And for their last reason, deriv'd from those many effects, which

must

must necessarily be attributed to those causes, I would, before I am forc'd to allow it for good, they had satisfi'd, as they ought, [k] *Pomponatius*, [l] *Cardan*, and the learned Bishop [m] *Bernard Mirandulanus*, who pertinently shew, that to believe Angels and Demons, it were better to refer to the assurances of our Religion, than to all those experiences whereof a reason might be given out of the principles of naturall Philosophy.

This granted, no question; but all that may be said of the Genii attributed to *Porphyrus*, *Plotinus*, and *Iamblicus*, may be refer'd to what we have already said of the Demon of *Socrates*, and that the other stories and miracles related of them, are either merely the flatteries of their Disciples and Followers, or the pure inventions of *Eunapius*, purposely advanc'd by him, to lessen the esteem which men had of the sanctity of the new Christians. And that the case stood thus with these three Philosophers, it may be judg'd by that Treatise of *Plotinus*, *De proprio Damone*, that what he sayes of it, was rather out of conjecture than experience. Nor could *Porphyrus* give better security for the little credit he gave all those superstitious practices, than the Epistle read of him in [n] *Theodoret*, and [o] *Eusebius*. For he layes down therein eight or nine difficulties he made, touching the invocations of Devils, and their Sacrifices; the least whereof were enough to convince us, that he was no Magician. All the trouble then falls upon *Iamblicus*, because he was the man answer'd all those difficulties and doubts, which hath given Authours occasion to tell more miracles of him than the two former. But the best on't is, that it is yet with lesse ground and reason;

k Lib. de Incantat. l Contra-dict. 6. tract. 2. lib. 2. contra-dict. m Lib. 29. de singul. certamine.

n Lib. 3. de curat. Grammatic. assest. o Prap. Evang. l. 5. c. 6.

reason; for as to *Alestromancie*, by which *Zonaras*, and most of the *Dæmonographers* affirm, that he endeavour'd to find out the name of him that should succeed the Emperour *Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who liv'd in the same time, delivers him from that calumny, not making the least mention of him in the particular account he hath given us of that story. And for his *Ecstasies*, evocations, and other miracles, a man needs not take the pains to refute them, because they sufficiently destroy themselves, both by the absurdity that attends them, and that fear *Eunapius* was in, to be thought an Impostour for his relations. This were enough to satisfy us, that these Philosophers were not Magicians, and that if there remain any difficulty concerning their Books, which might any way prejudice their innocence, as such as may be fraught with abundance of superstitious things, we refer them to the sixth Chapter of this *Apologie*, unless we should rather follow the opinion of *Cardan*, who speaking of these *Dæmons*, says very judiciously, *Nolim ego et trutinam hac sectari, velut Porphyrius, Psellus, Iotinus, Proclus, Iamblicus, qui copiosè de his quæ nã videre, velut historiam scripserant.*

Timo 3. in Valent.

Hist. lib. 26.

Lib. de vitis Sophistar. in Iamblico.

De Subtilitat. 1. 19.

The same motive which made me speak of these ancient Philosophers, obliges me to say something of three modern, who are charg'd with an acquaintance and conversation with their *Genii*, that is, *Chicus Esculanns*, *Scaliger*, and *Cardan*, whereof what I shall deliver of the first, tends rather to the vindication of Truth, than the merit of his person; or the advantage may be reaped from his Works. For the onely Commentary we have of his upon the *Spear of Sacrotesco* sufficient

M

ently

Disquisit.
l. 1. c. 3.

ently discovers that he was not onely very superstitious, as *Delrio* calls him; but also that he had a soft place in his head, there being three things in it, that very much lay open his weaknesse. The first is, his interpretation of *Sacrobosco's* book, according to the sense of Astrologers, Necromancers, and Chiroscofists. The second, his citations of abundance of falsifi'd Authours, fraught with old wives tales and fooleries, such as, for instance, that of *Salomon*, *De umbris idearum*; *Hipparchus*, *De vinculo spiritus*; *De ministerio natura*; *De Hierarchiis Spirituum*; *Apollonius*, *De arte magicâ*; *Zoroastes*, *De Dominio quattarum octava Sphera*; *Hippocrates*, *De stellarum aspectibus secundum Lunam*; *Astafon*, *De Mineralibus constellationis*; and divers others of the same metall. The third that he often makes use of the Revelations of a Spirit called *Floron*, which he said was of the Order of the *Cherubims*, and being once ask'd what the spots in the Moon were, he roundly answered, *Ut terra terra est*. But, besides that he does not attribute this spirit to himself in any place of the said Commentary, it may be easily judged, that this relation is like what *Pliny* sayes of the Grammarian *Appion*, who invocated the Devil, to know what Countrey-man *Homer* was. Or to that related by *Bodin*, of *Hermolans Barbarus*, who did the same, to know what *Aristotle* meant by the word *Emelechia*. Or lastly, to what *Niphus* sayes of one in his time, who saw the way to make the [y] Philosophers stone written in a piece of paper that was shewn him by a bearded Devil. For all which extravagancies, what better solution can there be than that of *Lucretia sit veratius*,

lib. 2. c. 30.

In his De-
monoma-
niae

y Comment.
in disput. 3.
instruct.
quest. An
Necroman-
tia sit veratius,

Quis

Quis dubitat quin omne sit hoc rationis egestas?

Were I at liberty to follow my inclination rather than my duty, I should be loth to say any thing against the *Genii* attributed to the two only men, whom we may oppose to the most learned and eminent of the Ancients, as being the last production and miracle of Nature, *Scaliger*, and *Cardan*. For I am clearly of opinion, that either they were themselves deceiv'd in acknowledging those *Genii*, because they could not, after much examination, find any cause of such extraordinary perfection; Or that they have done it out of modesty, as unwilling to discover, by their learning, how much all others were below them. Or lastly, they endeavoured, by those particular assistances, to elude the envie and jealousy, which might have been consequent to the great Fame they have acquir'd by their unwearied industry.

But since Truth is the sooner found by the associated disquisitions of a many, those may well deserve our attention, who say; first, That *Scaliger* practis'd that sleight by the example of all great persons; and secondly, that he might not be thought to give ground to the ambition of his Antagonist. The Genius he attributed to himself, was, as we find in his *Poeticall Art*, a simple Lib. 3. sally and emotion of Spirit, whereby the Soul cap. 26. was (as it were) inflam'd in it self, and so elevated into the knowledge of things, during which a man may sometimes speak or write something he understands not, when the heat of that Enthusiasm is over.

For Cardan, 'tis true he speaks so variously of his *Genius*, that after he had absolutely affirm'd in a Dialogue entituled *Terim*, that he had one, and that *Venercall*, yet participating of the nature of *Saturn* and *Mercury*, and in his Book, *De libris propriis*, that it communicated it self to him by *Dreams*, he in the same place is at a losse, whether he truly had any or no, or that it was the excellencie of his own nature; *Sentientiam*, sayes he, *seu ex Genio mihi profecto, seu quod natura mea in extremitate humana substantia conditionisq; & in consinio immortalium posita esset*, &c. and so concludes in his Book, *De rerum varietate*; that he had not any, confessing ingenuously, *Ego certè nullum Dæmonem aut Genium mihi adesse cognosco*. Whence it may safely be judged, that he and *Scaliger* had no other *Genius*, than that of the vast learning they had acquir'd by their indefatigable labours, and the experience they had of things, upon which raising up their judgement, as on two *Pyramids*, they judg'd pertinently of all things, and suffered nothing to escape them, till they had known and master'd it.

Lib. 16.
c. 93.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of *Alchindus, Geber, Artephius, Thebit, Anselme of Parma, Raymundus Lullius, Arnoldus de villanova, Peter d' Apono, and Paracelsus.*

Should we credit the fabulous Philosophy of the Poets, who represent all things under the Mythology of their inventions, there were some ground to receive the Authority of *Pliny*, for good; *Lib. 30.* where he says that Magick is a Branch of Medicine. *c. 1.* The motive to believe this, is only, that the so much celebrated Sorceresse, *Circe*, is by the Poets thought to be the Sister of *Æsculapius*, the first inventor of Medicine, and one of the Sons of *Phœbus* or the Sun, whose Daughter this Sorceresse also was, according to the Poet, who, speaking of her, says very freely,

*Dives inaccessis ubi solis filia lucis
Uris adoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum.*

But since we have a more authentick Authority, *Ecclus. c. 38* that of the Scriptures, which makes God the first Author of so necessary an Art, we need no more to discover the error of *Pliny*, and with the same labour, to rescue Medicine, *τέχνη φιλόσοφον*, as *Isidorus Pelusiota* calls it, from the calumny of this inveterat persuasion. And if so, it must also deliver the professors thereof from the censure, wch, to the prejudice of their Innocence, seem'd to be fall'n'don them upon the account of the pernicious & Diabolical Magick, which [c] *le Loyer* [d] *Bois-* *c Lib. 2. de Spectr. c. 6. d De divi- n. 1. c. 1.*

e *Disquis. Mag. l. 1. c. 3.* *sardus*, [e] *Delrio*, [f] *Vuierus*, and the rest of the Dæmonographers, with divers Historians, affirme to have been the practise of *Alchindus*, *Geber*, *Lullius*, and the rest whose cause we plead in this Chapter.

f *De præfig. l. 2. Lib. 3.*

For though it be endeavour'd to represent them, especially the Arabians, as the *Bacchantes* did *Orpheus*, and that Empericks, Astrologers, Chymists and Magicians would gladly cut them in pieces, that they might challenge the greatest and best part in every one of them; yet is it easy to judge by the fragments remaining of their workes, and compositions, that they were Physicians. But with this misfortune, that it is as impossible punctually to know the particulars of their Lives, and the time of their birth, (which certainly is as indiscoverable) as that of the people called *Aborigines*, without beginning; or of those, whom the Poets make to come down out of the Clouds, to avoid the blasting of their Noble and generous actions by the meannesse of their Originall. This neverthelesse is not so much to be attributed to any negligence of the *Arabians* to leave us some account thereof; as to the Barbarisme reigning among the Latines in their time who have troubled themselves to translate the Books which might have given us some knowledge and discoveries thereof, so little, that they have not so much as made a collection of the lives of the most learned men that were in esteem even among themselves, In so much that it may be truly said, that what we now know of *R. Lullius*, *Arnoldus de villa novo*, *Peter d' Apono*, and the rest, is rather grounded on the doubtfull conjectures and several passi-

ons of moderne Authors, then the proofs and testimonies derived from the Ancient.

Whence it comes to passe that I can only guesse of this famous person *Alchindus*, with whom we begin the vindication of Physitians, that he might flourish five or 600. years since, because *Averroes* who liv'd about the year 1160. and of whom *Gilles of Rome* saies he had seen his two Sons at the Court of the Emperour *Frederick Red-beard*, gives him great Elogies, and makes a large commemoration of his Books, as *Cardan* relates. To which he adds much in praise of him, giving him the Tittle not only of a great Astrologer, with *Albohazen Haly*, and *Haly Rodoan*; or that of a most learned and experienc'd Physician, with *Rasis* and *Mesue*; or lastly, that of a subtile Philosopher, with *Averroes* and *Wimpinal*, but proceeding further, and grounding, in all probability, his opinion as well upon what they said, as his own judgment, he allows him an honourable place among the greatest Wits, that ever were, that is, *Archimedes*, *Aristotle*, *Euclid*, *Scotus*, *Suisset*, *Apollonius Pergaus*, *Architas*, *Mahomet* the inventor of *Algebra*, *Geber*, *Galen*, and *Vitruvius*. It were not then hard to judge, what an excellently learned person this was, not only by the two Books that are printed of his, *De Temporum mutationibus*, & *De gradibus medicinarum compositarum investigandis*, but also by divers others, frequently cited by Authours, under the titles of, *De ratione sex Quantitatum*; *de quinque Essentiis*; *de motu diurno*; *de Vegetabilibus*; & *de Theorica magicarum artium*. Whereof all the difficulty is concerning this last, since *Francis Picus*, and *Wimpinall* have made whole

Quodlibet.

9.

De subtili.

16.

Treatises out of it, wherein they discourse at large of the Heresies, blasphemies, and absurdities which may be observ'd therein, as also of the Magick which *Alchindus* endeavour'd to introduce. Hence is it, that all the Dæmonographers have taken occasion to speake of him, as an eminent and pernicious Magician. And yet *Johannus Picus*, the miracle and astonishment of his age, sayes expressely in his *Apologie*, that he knew but three men that had made the best advantages of naturall and lawfull Magick, *Alchindus*, *Roger Bacon*, and *William Bishop of Paris*.

But to extract truth out of these so manifest contradictions, me thinks, when a man hath well considered, in *Aimery*, *Wimpinal*, and *Francis Picus* the maine grounds of that Book, there may two things be rationally said of it. One, that it is extreamely superstitious, and full of hereticall propositions and directly opposite to the principles of Faith, as having bin writt by one that liv'd under the Law of *Mahomet*, and took a freedom to write without any respect to Christian Religion, which he accounted false and ill-grounded. Whence it is no miracle, if he, *Avicenna*, *Algazel*, *Averroes*, and all the Arabians have fallen into these abysses and precipies since they were not guided by that pole-Starre which conduct us now through these manifest errors and falities. The other, that there is no ground to make this Author a Magician, when *Delrio* is content to rank him only among the superstitious; & that he was so far from having ought to do with *Theurgick* or *Geotick* Magick, that on the contrary, he seems to have no other designe in his Books than to referre to *Nature* whatever

D'squis. 1.

l. c. 3.

was attributed to *Angels and Devils*. In which opinion he hath been since seconded by *Peter d' Apono*, and *Pompanatius*, who, in order thereto, imagin'd an absolute dependance of things sublunary upon the celestiall, and that the former deriv'd all their vertues and properties from the Latter, and every particular from the whole; by the meanes of certain corporeall rayes which passed from the least even to the greatest. And these he assign'd for cause of whatever was done in nature, as *Plato* did *Idea's*; *Auicenna*, *Intelligences*; *Hermes* and *Marsilius*, *Ficinus*, the *Starrs* and *Planets*; *Camillus* and *Albertus magnus* the *specificiall forme*; and *Galen*, *Temperament*. Whence we may passe a finall judgment with *R. Bacon*, *quod multi libri reputantur inter Magicos qui non sunt tales, sed continent sapientia dignitatem*. If so, *Alchindus* cannot be condemn'd of *Magick*; if we do not in the same sentence include all those *Authors*, who, as he, have endeavour'd to take away the admiration that follows a many extraordinary effects, by the discovery of some more probable causes which they have found out.

Lib. de po-
testate ar-
tis & na-
tura, c. 3.

I should passe by *Geber* without mentioning him among those that have been charg'd with *Magick*, upon the security of *Cassiodorus*, who sayes, *Calumnia non prasumitur, ubi nisi a proba- tio habeatur*, were I not oblig'd to answer the only argument which our *Demonographers* draw by head and shoulders out of a book which *Trithemius* sayes was made by *Geber* King of the *Indians*, upon the relation between the seven *Planets* and the seven names of *God*; and some others quoted for *Magicians* in the second Book of *Pi-*

Parlav.
l. 19. Epist.

Antipal. l.
1. c. 3.

carrix

catrix. To which it may briefly be reply'd that this *Geber* King of the Indians was nothing to this we speake of; and that that Book ought no more to be condemn'd as treating of Magick, than the Commentary of *R. Abraham Aben-Ezra*, upon the sixth treatise of the first part of the *Thal-mud*, where he makes a Symbolization between the ten Hebrew Sephirots and ten celestiall Spheres, and the ten Commandements of the Law.

But to take away all suspicion there may be of truth in this proof, it must be said, it is absolutely false and absurd; since that, notwithstanding the Authority of *Vigenero*, it is unquestionable, that this *Geber*, who, they say, was King of the Indians, is a meer fable and Chimera of these wretched Charcole-marchants; who by that pitifull fiction, would gain more reputation to the Chymicall writings of a Philosopher of the same name. This *Geber*, as *Leon* of Africa affirms, was a Greek by Nation, first a Christian, then a Mathometan; and lived, as he sayes, 100 yeares after *Mahomet*, or, according to the calculation of [a] *Vigner* about the year 723. though, if the 100. yeares be taken precisely, it should be affirm'd he liv'd rather in the year 732. whereto yet. [b] *Blancanus* does not agree but makes him flourish in the year 801. unlesse the mistake be, that he went upon the time of his death, and *Vigner* upon that of his Navity. However it be, this takes away nothing from his Learning, upon occasion whereof *Cardan* hath not forgot to put him to the rest, among the most eminent advancers of Literature. Nor indeed was the honour above his deserts, since he was so great

In his Cy-
phers, fol.
118.

a Descrip:
of Africa.
Bibliothec.
part. 2.
b Prolog.
Mathematic.

great an Astrologer, that, as *Blancanus* affirms, he reform'd many things in the *Almagestum* of *Ptolemy*; and for Chymistry, [a] *Fallopus* and [b] *Erastus* seem to approve the judgment of the Chymists, who call him the Master of Masters in that Art. Adde to this, that the Catalogue of his works faithfully got together by *Gesner*, is an evident proof that he knew all but Magick, of which or of the Books he writ thereof, neither he nor any good Author hath deliver'd any thing, as knowing what *Laetantius* sayes, *Turpe est hominem ingeniosum dicere id, quod si neges, probare non possit.*

a De Metall. 2.

b Par. 4. advers.

Paracels.

De vera.

Sapient. c.

29.

And indeed if all those who make it their business to write, had been as carefull to observe this precept, as they have been ambitious to make ostentation of their knowledge and reading, by heaping together all those fabulous Stories which make ever so little to their purpose, we should not be now to shew that that of *Arctephus*, and his living 1025. years by the force of his Magick, is, if not absolutely false, extremely suspicious, as having been gloss'd upon by the Alchymists and *Roger Bacon*. For he sayes in his Book of the abridgment of Theology, that this Philosopher or Chymist travell'd all over the East, and was to see *Tantalus*, who sat in a throne of Gold; and discoursed very pertinently of the most abstruse secrets of all the Sciences. In [a] another of his works, he sayes that he was a live in *Germany* even in his time. To which adde what others say in [b] *Franciscus Picus*, that it is he who is represented to us by *Philostratus* under the name of *Apollonius*. All this put together and well considered, sufficiently discovers, how far they are mistaken,

a Lib. sua Philosophic.

b Lib. 2. de pranot. c. 6.

whō,

*Animad. in
cap. 38.
Scholæ Sa-
lernit.*

who, notwithstanding the impossibility of this length of life, evinc'd by *M. Moreau* and divers others, do yet maintaine, and fagot together so many fables upon this person, and, to make it the more plausible, will needs father on him two Books or fragments. One, call'd *Clavis majoris sapientia*, treats so perfectly well of the order and procedure to be observ'd in getting the Philosopher's stone, that *Johannes Pontanus*, one of the greatest Dreamers among the Chymists, confesses ingenuously, that he had never known the degrees of fire, the principal agent in this Art, had he not read that Book. The other is a little treatise, superstitious and ridiculous beyond expression, where he teaches a way to know the Characters of the Planets, the signification of the motion of Animals, as also what they mean when they sing, the vertues of all Herbs, the Philosopher's stone, things past, present, and to come; with divers other secrets and experiments, and at last, the way to prolong life. All which may be seen in *Cardan*, who hath transcrib'd it word for word, rather to laugh at, than out of any credit he gave those absurdities; the relation whereof he concludes with his own judgment in these words, *Quidnam stultius excogitari potest. ut quod Nero tanta impensa, tot immolationibus, deductis ex Arabia Magis impetrare non potuit, hic verbis simplicibus ostendere promittat.* In like manner, one *James Gohory*, who would needs be call'd *Leo Suavius*, a great favourer and abetter of such extravagancies, had no way to disguise the Magick of *Artephius*, than to make it with the terme of *Chymicall morality*, when speaking of it and his

*De rev. va-
riet. l. 16,*

his fair promises, he saies, that, *si scriptum sit* Comment: in c. 7. l. 1.
quærit, non solum incredibilia videntur, sed ridi- Paracles. de vita longa.
cula; rerum si scientiam parabolicam, non abhorre-
re omnino à fide sapientum. For my part, I think
 the businesse were soones decided by saying that
 that Treatise was some man's who had a designe
 to abuse the strange credulity of a many Authors,
 or ground a practise of Magick upon the fooleries
 of his own braine and the speculations of *Alchindus*,
 whose maximes he makes use of though he
 names him not.

Nor is it a lesse ingratitude towards the me-
 mory of that famous Astrologer *Thebit Ben-Coran*
 (whom some would have a Jew or Spaniard by
 Nation; but, as *Lelandus* affirmes, he was an En-
 glish man) the first finder out, according to *Blan-* In prole-
canus, of the trepidation of the eighth Sphere, in gom.
 the year 1270. to ranke him amongst the Magi- Mathematic.
 cians, and to say with the facecious Poet and pro-
 totype of *Rabelais*, *Merlin Coccaius*,

*Ecce Magnus Thebit, qui tempestate, venenis,
 Grandinibus, quadam destruxit imagine regnum.*

For if a man look narrowly into the reasons
 whence the suspicion is deriv'd, he will find they
 have no other ground then certain Books attri-
 buted to him, treating of *naturall Magick*, the
 composition of *Annulets* and *Images*, and the pro-
 perties of herbs, stones, and the Planets, whence
 I doubt not but the Demonographers easily
 pompe out the sutlest and obscurest part of Ma-
 gick. But for my part, I can perceive nothing
 in it but the track of a superstitious Astrologie
 which in this time, was in greater reputation
 than

then any of the other Sciences, by reason of the particular inclination *Alphonfus* King of *Spain*, had for the study of it not long before. Wherefore it is not much to be admir'd, when, as *Lactantius* saith, *Mores ac vitiâ Regis imitari, genus obsequii judicatur*, if *Thebit* &c. many more endeavour'd so much the propagation of it, that like a fat and fertile soyle it brought forth abundance of weeds, and tares, among the good wheat, that is, that it was burthened with a many vaine and superstitious things amidst the fundamentall rules and the certain precepts which their daily observations laboured out. But if the Book publish'd under this *Astrologers* name were a sufficient testimony to convince him of the crime he is charg'd with, we must in like manner conclude *Ptolemy* an eminent Magician, because *Trithemius* cites three Magicall Books as unjustly attributed to him as the forementioned to *Thebit*. And that this is the misfortune of the latter, is sufficiently evident by the account which *Arthur Thomas* gives of one of his Books treating of the vertue of herbs and the Starrs; which was, that *Thebit* explain'd in it the opinion of *Marcilius Ficinus* (who yet liv'd 250. years after him) concerning Planetary Annulets and images made under certain Constellations. Whence it may be safely concluded, that these superstitious treatises are the meer forgeries of some Mountebanks and moderne Cheates; And consequently, that it is a foule shame to harbour any such calumny against *Thebit*, who hath furnish'd us with so many good Books of Astrology, that he can hardly be allow'd time to mind these triuiall fragments, and that moreover, as *Jacobus Curio* hath well observ'd

De Instit.
c. 6.

Antipod. l.
s. c. 3.

On c. 14. l.
3. of Pbi
lostratus.

The History of
serv'd; *Quàm in non vatis seu inerrabilis sphaera ve-*
stigandis motibus generosè cum obscuris & propè
inexplicabilibus difficultatibus certaverit, eruditus
non est incognitum.

My next step should be to *Raimundus Lullius*,
were I not obliged to say a word or two in the
defence of one *Anselm* of *Parma*, who is celebra-
ted by [a] *Bartholomew Cocles*, as a great Philoso-
pher, and blasted by [b] *Wierus*, [c] *Delrio*, and the
rest of the *Dæmonographers*, with the title of a
Sorcerer and Magician; because, say they, the
Empsalimists, or those who cure wounds by words,
take their name from this *Anselm*. But there is
more ground to believe, that the Professours of
this kind of Medicine abuse the name of *St. An-*
selm, from whom they pretend the derivation of
this vertue, as the *Salvators* in *Spain* do that of
St. Catharine; those who heal the biting of Ser-
pents in *Italy*, that of *St. Paul*; and some others
in *France*, that of *St. Hubert*. Or it is more pro-
bable that the *Empsalimists* are, as *Bravus* and *Car-*
valho affirm, so called, because they make frequent
use of certain verses of the *Psalms*, which might
properly be called *Empsalms*; as he who practis'd
them to do some cure, *Empsalmasor*, or *Empsal-*
mista.

This being clear, and beyond all considerable
contradiction, we come at last to the two Idols
and tutelary Gods of the *Alchymists*, *Raimundus*
Lullius, and *Arnoldus de Villa nova*, though their
atlegations, who make them Magicians; are
grounded rather on the custom which Authours
have taken to make them act all parts, than on
the number or truth of the proofs which may be
had of this suspicion. For as to *Raimundus Lul-*
lius,

De unius
legis veri-
tate, l. 5.
c. 53.

In vita
A. Lullii.

lius, I find *Peter Montanus* laughing at the new
Dialectick, which he would needs introduce, af-
ter he had transcrib'd it by open robbery out of
the Arabian *Abezebron*, grounding his so doing
upon *Lullius's* laying himself, that it were very
good in the time of *Antichrist*, to satisfy his de-
mands in generall terms, *Ut si interrogaretur quid
credis? in Deum; quare? quia placet mihi: cur
placet tibi? quia Deus est; quid est Deus? cui pro-
prie competit deificare; quare deificat? quia talis est
ejus natura.* I find also that *Charles Bovillius* takes
occasion from the imposture of certain miracles,
to put him into the Catalogue of Blessed; that
Gregory the Ninth governing at *Avignon*, in the
year 1371, condemn'd his Doctrine, because a
certain Bishop had discovered therein above
five hundred errors. That the Chymists attri-
bute to him the knowledge of the Philosophers
Stone, by a simple Metamorphosis of the Impost
put by *King Edward* upon the wools, which were
transported out of *England* into *Brabant*, to the
Sum of six millions of gold, which was bestow'd
on him by this Chymist, to make war against the
Turk and the Infidels. And if we would shew
how far the vapours of the *Mercury* had disturb'd
his brains, we need onely quote the voyages he
made, as *Bovillius* relates, as well to the Pope, as
King *Philip the Fair*, to have the three Proposi-
tions granted, which may be seen at the end of his
Book, *De natali pueri.* Which were these, that all
the Military Orders that were up in his time
should be formed together into one body; That
the works of the Philosopher *Averroes* should be
absolutely suppress'd; and that Monasteries
should be built in all parts of the world to in-
struct

struct in strange languages, such as should enter into vows for the conversion of Infidels. But I could never yet discover upon what reasons the greatest part of the Demonographers, and some Historians, as *Vigner*, have presum'd to represent him as a Magician.

In his Ecclesiast. History, art. 1285.

To give them time to produce them, we shall in the mean while speak of *Arnoldus de Villa nova*, who was not an ignorant Friar or Beguin, as *R. Lullius*; or some wretched and wandering Chymist, as he is represented to us. For, on the contrary, it is certain, he was the learnedst Physician of his time, equally acquainted with the Latine, Greek, and Arabian Tongues, and one whose writings sufficiently witness his abilities in the Mathematicks, Medicine, and Philosophy; the practice whereof gain'd him favour and employment about Pope *Clement*, and *Frederick* King of *Sicily*, who certainly would never have made use of him, if they had thought him a Conjuror or Magician; such as a many are perswaded he was.

Among these is *Francis Pegna*, who refers to Satanicall delusion the metallick transmutation, which *John Andreas*, a famous Canonist, says, he saw him do at *Rome*. Adde to this the proof they draw from two little books publish'd under his name, one treating, *De physicis ligaturis*, the other, *De Sigillis 12 Signorum*. But to shew that he is as unjustly charg'd with Magick by these Authors, as he is with the writing of the Book, *De contribus Impestoribus*, by [a] *Postellus*, or to have been the first that tried the generation of a man in an Alembick, by some in [b] *Mariand*, we are first to consider that [c] *Delrio* absolutely clears him of this accusation; affirming against the said *Pegna*,

Comment. 36. in 2. partem Directorii Eymertii. q. 11. a Lib. de Alcoran. & Cenevange-listar. cordia. f. 27. b Lib. 14. Rev. Hispanicar. c. 9. c Lib. 1. c. 5. qu. 1. sect. 4.

N

that

that it was injurious to the Clergie of *Rome* at that time, to imagin they should employ *Arnoldus de Villa-nova*, or permit him to practise so freely in their City, if they could have discover'd in him the least *indicia* of Magick. Nor is it a lesse manifest abuse to attribute to him the Book, *De physiciis ligaturis*, since it is evident he did only translate it out of an Arabian, one *Larus Ben Costa*. And for that, *De Sigillis 12 Signorum*, besides the question it is, whether it be his, as being not comprised in the collection of his works, we may roundly answer, that it is like those of *Thebit*, *Chicus*, and the rest, and that all the prejudice it can do him, is to confirm the opinion of the vain and superstitious speculations he was guilty of in Astrologie. But even of this no man will doubt, that shall observe in *Picus*, how he laugh'd at the very Science, when he would assigne the birth of Antichrist in the year 1345, and confirm and maintain all his other heresies, which *Vigner*, in his Ecclesiasticall History, takes the more pains to particularize, by how much the more sympathy and resemblance there is between them, and those of the Hereticks and new Religionaries of these time.

Ib. 5. cont.
Astrolog.
c. 1.

But if the particular and over-curious study of Astrologie, hath ever prov'd prejudiciall to those who have practis'd it, we may truly say, that the famous Physician *Peter d' Apono*, hath felt the stings of Calumny more than any of the precedent upon that account. For the common opinion of almost all Authours, is, that he was the greatest Magician in his time, that he had mastered the seven Liberall Sciences, by the assistance of seven familiar Spirits, which he had constantly lodg'd

In the year
1308.

lodg'd in a Cryſtall; That he had the way, like another *Pafetes*, to force back the money he had ſpent into his purſe again; and, to conclude with a proof as manifeſt as undeniable, That it is certain he was accus'd of Magick, in the eightieth year of his age, & that dying in the year 1305, before ſentence was paſſ'd upon him, he was nevertheleſſe (as *Caſtellanus* affirms) condemn'd to the fire, and it was order'd, that a bundle of Straw or Oſier, repreſenting him, ſhould be burn'd in the publike place at *Padua*, purpoſely by an example ſo rigorous, and the fear of incurring the like puniſhment, to prohibit the reading of three ſuperſtitious and abominable books of his. Of theſe the firſt was call'd *Heptameron*, now printed at the end of the firſt Tome of *Agrippa's* Works; the ſecond, that which *Trubemius* calls, *Elucidarium Necromanticum Petri de Albano*; and the laſt, one, by the ſame Authour, call'd; *Liber experimentorum mirabilium de annulis, ſecundum 28 mansiones Luna.*

All which proofs, as well of his practice and his books, as the Sentence thundered againſt him by the *Inquiſition*, might indeed perſwade us that he was the moſt deeply guilty of all that medled with thoſe magickall and ſuperſtitious obſervations. But we are as well to conſider the face, as the reverse of his Medall, and take it out of the falſe light, wherein his adverſaries have placed it, to view it in its proper ſituation, and obſerve therein the draught of a man that appear'd as a miracle amidſt the ignorance of his age. One he was, that beſides the knowledge of the Tongues and Medicine; had ſo ſearch'd into that of the leſſe common Sciences, that having left, by his writings

tings of Physiognomy, Geomancie, and Chiro-mancie, enough to prove his abilities therein, he shook hands with them all, and his own youthfull curiosity, to apply himself wholly to Philosophy, Physick, and Astrologie. In these he proved to fortunate, that not to say any thing of the two former, whereby he insinuated himself into the Caresses of the Popes and Princes of his time, and gain'd that reputation wherein he now shines among all the learned; it is evident he was excellently well skill'd in the last, as well by the Astronomical figures he caused to be painted in the great Hall of the Palace at *Padua*, as his translations of the books of Rabbi *Abraham Ben Ezra*. To which we may adde those he made himself of the *Criticall dayes*, and the illustration of *Astronomy*, as also the suffrage of the famous Mathematician *Regiomontanus*, who made an excellent Panegyrick to him, in the quality of an Astrologer, in an Oration he pronounc'd publicly at *Padua*, when he was upon the explanation of the book of *Alfraganus*.

From his so great celebration of this Science, through all his works, especially in the hundredth fifty sixth Difference of his *Conciliator*, have some Authours taken occasion to maintain an opinion directly contrary to that of the precedent, to wit, that that Sentence pass'd upon him not for his Magick, but because he would give an account of the miraculous effects that happen many times in Nature, by vertue of the Celestiall Bodies, without referring them either to Angels or Demons. This is clear by the collection which *Symphorianus* hath made of the passages of his *Differences*, as such as are not to be read without the precaution and

and peremptory authority of *Franciscus Picus De prænor.* who, speaking of him, says expressely, *Ab omni-^{l. 7. c. 7.} bus ferme creditus est Magnus; verum constat quàm oppositum dogma ei aliquando tributum sit, quem etiam Haresum inquisitores vexaverunt, quasi nullos esse Demones crediderit.* To which may be added, that [a] *Baptista of Mantua*, upon this score, ^{a Lib. 1. de} calls him, *Virum magna, sed nimium audacis tem-^{-patientia,} rariq; doctrina*; that [b] *Casimirus* numbers ^{c. 3.} him among those who referr'd all miracles to ^{b Angelogr. part. 2. c. 21} nature; and that [c] *le Loyer* affirms, that he ^{c De Spectr. qu. 2. l. 4.} laugh'd at *Sorcerers* and their *Sabats*. Whence it might be wonder'd at, that yet the same Authors, ^{c. 3.} in divers other places, rank him among *Conjurers* and *Magicians*, were it not ordinary with those who write upon this Subject, so to swell up their books, by copying out whatever they find in others, that they seldom observe the Poets advice,

Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet immum.

Nor can it but happen so, when having gotten to the middle or end, they forget what they said at the beginning, and become like that *Didymus*, who having deni'd a thing in one of his books, another was produc'd wherein he affirm'd it.

But I should not have insisted on all these proofs of the impiety of *Peter d' Apono*, so to rescue him from the crime of *Magick*, by charging him with that of *Archeism*, if I had not something to clear him of both. For this, I have not onely the testimony of the most illustrious and religious *Frederick Duke of Urbin*, who, for his great deserts, erected a *Statue* to him, among those of the

most eminent men that are to be seen in his Citadel; but also the publick attestation of the City of *Padua*, causing his Effigies to be set up over the gate of their Palace between those of *Titus Livius*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Julius Paulus*; with this inscription upon the Gate.

PETRUS A PONUS PATAVINUS
PHILOSOPHIÆ MEDICINÆQUE
SCIENTISSIMUS, OB IDQUE
CONCILIATORIS NOMEN A-
DEPTUS, ASTROLOGIÆ VERO
ADEO PERITUS, UT IN MAGIÆ
SUSPICIONEM INCIDERIT, FAL-
SOQUE DE HÆRESI POSTULA-
TUS, ABSOLUTUS FUERIT.

This me thinks were enough to shew, that all the Objections formerly made to convince him of Magick are rather imaginary then reall. But to make an absolute discovery of their falshood, we may answer what *Ludwigius* hath said of the seven spirits who taught him the seven Liberal Sciences, that this fabulous relation proceeded from the said *Peter's* affirming, after *Albumazar*, that the prayers made to God, when the Moon is in conjunction with *Jupiter* in the Dragon's head, are infallibly heard; and that for his own particular, he had no sooner made his addresses, but, according to his own expression, *Sapientiam à primo visus est sibi in illa amplius proficere*. Not indeed could it but give diverse Anthours occasion to smile at his indiscretion in disacknowledging his great Industry and Labours, to become oblig'd for his Learning to the superstition of a certain prayer

*Demono-
magia. qu.
16.*

*Differentia
356.*

prayer which must needs be vain & ineffectual taken in what sense soever. For if it be directed to the Stars, it were absolute bestiality to think they could heare it; if to God, I would gladly know whether he were deaf before that conjunction; whether he would not receive our prayers without it, or whether that force did necessitate him to condescend to our desires. Hence was it, that *Johannes Picus*, speaking of this new *Salomon* had reason to say, *Consularem Petro istam totam quod profecit sua potius industria, ingenioq; acceptum referret, quam Jovia illi sua supplicationi.*

Lib. 4. adv.
Astrolog. c.

8.

In like manner, for the three Books divulg'd under his name, it may be sayd, they are no lesse unjustly attributed to him than diverse others to most of the great Wits; besides that *Trithemius* will not acknowledge them to be legitimate, because of the great number of fables therein sather'd upon this Author; and what he had said before in his Catalogue of *Ecclesiasticall* Writers, that he thought nothing true of what was said of the Magick of *Peter d' Apano*, because he could never understand he had writ any Book upon that subject. To which if we adde the generall silence of all Libraries, and the confirmation *Symphorianus* gives the Authority of *Trithemius*; affirming he had never seen any of his Magickall Books, save a certain *Difference* where he treats of it by the way, I conceive there is nothing can hinder us from declaring him innocent, and concluding with the more ratioll party, that the suspicion men have had of his being a Magician proceeds, as its true originall, from the power he attributes to it in the Hundred fifty six difference of his *Conciliator*, and his faculty of predicti-

Antipal.
Lib. cap. 3.

Tract. 4.
Lib. de
clavis Me-
dicina
Scriptori-
bus.

ons by the assistance of Astrology, upon which, in proceſſe of time, all theſe tables and Chime-
ra's crept in, according to the true ſaying of *Pro-*
pertius,

Omnia poſt obitum pingit majora Vetuſtas.

Laſtly for this Arch-heretick in Philoſophy, Medicine, and Religion, *Theophrastus Paracelſus*, who is now the Zenith, and riſing Sun of all the Alchymiſts, me thinks thoſe who would reſcue him from the crime of Magick, yet without abatement as to any other he ſtands charg'd with, may with reaſon ſay much in his vindication. Among other things, that the novelty of his conceptions, the difficulty of his ſtyle, and the obſcurity of a many words frequent in his workes, ſuch as, for inſtance, *Ens Pagoicum*, *Cagaſtricum*, *Cherionium*, *Leſſas*, *Jesadach*, *Trarames*, *Stannar*, *Perenda*, *Rellolenn*, and abundance of the like, make the reader ſo doubtfull of his meaning, that he muſt needs go feeling in the darkneſſe of ſuch Mæanders, and knows not whether he ſpeakes of a Sheeps trackle or a pill, a ſtone or bread, the Devil or Nature. Which if ſo, there is much more ground to doubt, whether he makes uſe of Magick as of riddles (after the example of *Tri-
themius*) to diſguiſe his precepts, and to conceal the vanity of his Art, which he thought ſhould be the moſt admir'd, the leſſe it is under-
ſtood.

Omnia

Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur, amantq̄ Lucret. l. 1.
Inversis que sub verbis latentia cernunt.

But for my part, since I have not studied the Dictionary *Rulandus* hath compil'd of the Phrases of this Author, so far as to be able to judge of his workes and to understand them, I shall, in this question of his Magick be guided by the opinion of his chiefest Interpreters, *Severinus* the Dane, and *Crollius*. These make it only the vaile and vizard of his doctrine, witnesse the latter, In Epistola page 77. of his preface, *Paracelsum expertis stylo scrip. Par-*
magica scripsisse, non vulgo, sed sibi & intelligen-
ribus in schola magica educatis, sapientia filijs,
mysteria sua sub variis nominibus occultasse. And indeed it is certain, that the names of diverse Spirits scatter'd frequently up and down his Books, such as might be taken for covies of Devils, are to be understood, according to the opinion of *James Gehory*, the first favourer of *Paracelsus* Comment. in l. 4. in France, of extractions and diverse essences, of Paracelsi de vita longi- their properties and preparations, or lastly of de vita longi- things mineriall, vegetall and animate, such as he made use of in the composition of his Remedies. With this agrees that of *Johannes Oporinus*; who Apud Era- was his servant a long time, and having made sum. part. 2 the first discovery of what is now objected to him, makes no mention of his Magick, or his invocati-
 ons; and *Heterius*, who having stayd twenty seven months with him, sayes only, that, when he was drunk, he would threaten to, bring in millions of Devils, to shew what power he had over them, not to take any notice of what a many say of the familiar Dæmon which was lock'd up
 within

within the pommel of his sword. For, not to bring upon the stage the opinion of the Alchymists who maintaine, it was the secret of the Philosophers stone, it were more rationally to believe, that, if there were any thing within it; it was certainly two or three doses of his *Laudanum*, which he never went without, because he did strange things with it, and us'd it as an universall medicine to cure all manner of diseases.

It might here be said that it signifies not much to have glean'd up these proofs to strike *Paracelsus's* name out of the Catalogue of Magicians, when he himself, not content to have put Magick for one of the four pillars of Medicine, hath endeavour'd further to acquaint us with the precepts and nature of it, and that, in all his Books and particularly in that *de Philosophiâ sagaci*, where he divides it into six species and different parts. The first treats of the signification of the signes happening besides the order of Nature, as the Starr that appear'd to the wise men. The second, of the Metamorphoses and transmutation of Bodies; the third, of the vertue of words and speech; the fourth, of Amulets; the fifth, of enchanted images; and the last, of the Cabal, which he said was to be us'd to do all those extraordinary actions which cannot be reduc'd to any of the other five parts. Such are these, to ripen fruits in an instant; to make one horse travell further in a day, then another shall in a month; to discourse intelligibly with those that are above 500 miles distance from us; and in a word, to do whatever seems; and ever hath been thought impossible. But I extremely wonder since he pretended to the absolute knowledge of all these kinds of

of Magick, why he never did any thing by the assistance of them. For certainly it had been much more reputation to him, to confirme this new doctrine by some of his *experiences*, than to follow the ordinary track of *Mountebanks*, who break out into a torrent of common and popular eloquence to celebrate the miraculous power of their Druggs, and call themselves *Professors* and *Operators*, as if they had the certain cure of all diseases.

*At nusquam, totos inter qui talia jactant,
Apparet quisquam qui re miracula tanta
Comprobet.*

But, however it be, I shall not quarrell with their opinion, who hold, that one of the principall advantages which learned and industrious men have over the ignorant, is, that it is in their power to make new Systems, and advance new Principles, nay change the order, precepts and method of the Sciences, shortening or lengthening them, like a Stirrop, as they please. Of which number *Paracelsus* being one thought he might as well invert the course of Magick, as he had done that of Medicine and Philosophy, and boasted he could have done of Religion, threatening both the *Pope* and *Luther* to bring them both to his Maxims when he should think fit to do it. Though therefore he might justly be condemn'd as an Arch-heretick for the depravednesse of his opinion in point of Religion, yet do I not think he should be charg'd with Magick. For this consists not in the *Speculations* and *Theory*; which every one may explicate and amplify according

to

to his fantasie, but in the practice of the *Circle* and *Invocations*, wherein, as we have already shewn, not any one of the Authours, that have the greatest averſion for his Doctrine, would ever maintain he employ'd himſelf.

CHAP. XV.

Of Cornelius Agrippa.

WERE there no more requiſite to declare a man a Magician, than that he ſhould give himſelf the title, or were it juſt, that who ſhould brag he could do thouſands of tricks and invocations, were truly guilty of the practice thereof, that Impoſtor and Mountebank that wander'd up and down *Germany* in the time of *Trithemius*, ſhould certainly be taken for the moſt exquisite Conjuror of our laſt ages, ſince he was ſo ambitious to be known, and called every where by theſe honourable titles, *Magiſter Georgius Sabellicus*, *Fauſtus junier*, *Fons Necromanticorum*, *Aſtologus*, *Magus*, *Chiromanticus*, *Agromanticus*, *Pyromanticus*, & *in Hydra arte nulli ſecondus*. With the ſame confidence of Truth may we affirm, that if the compoſition of Magicall Books were a ſufficient proof to convince their Authours of this crime, no compurgation of Eloquence could deliver *Agrippa*, ſince he is at ſuch loſſe of modeſty, as to publiſh, by writings printed even in his life time, the rules and precepts thereof. But as the ſaid *Trithemius* tells us in his *Epiſtles*, that this *Sabellicus* had no other ground for that fooliſh oſtentation, than the impudence and temerity

*Epil. ad
Fac. Fr.
dampis.*

temerity he was guilty of, in promising all things without effecting any; so may it be said, that this Book of *Agrippa* discovers him to be rather of their rank, who, to make a noise, and gain reputation, pretend to know many things beyond the ordinary reach of men, than of that of Conjurers and Magicians.

This I undertake to make good in this Chapter, not so much out of opposition to most Authors, as to propose it as a probleme, for those who desire to see the reasons of both sides, as a Paradox in respect of the common opinion, and as a true resolution to those, who by my reasons shall think it such. For I doubt not, but amidst the great diversity of mens judgements, such an opinion must needs fall under one of these three interpretations. Whereof as I shall alwayes find favour from the two extreams, so do I expect that those who hold it new and paradoxall, should excuse me, if I endeavour to clear up the truth, because, if it be not such, it is a charity to rescue what is so near it from so dangerous a calumny, and to deliver the person, to avoid the censure of *Lactantius*, who sayes that, *Non major est iniquitas probatam innocentiam damnasse, quam inauditam.* But if it be such, a man is at liberty to maintain it, and celebrate the praises of *Agrippa*, as *Isocrates* some time did those of *Bustiris*, and *Cardan* those of *Nero*. With this caution by the way, that their opinion be absolutely discarded, who hold that *Agrippa* cannot be represented, but like an Owl in a Night-piece, because of his magical deformity; that he was a superstitious vagabond; that all his travels and peregrinations were but so many flights and escapes; and that he died in
great

*Instit. l. 9.
c. 1.*

great necessity, (as being forsaken by, beca
abominable to, all the world) among Beggars a
the Scurf of the City of Lyons. For to do othe
wise, were, to speak ingenuously, to be guided
the ignorance or passion of *Paulus Jovius*, and th
Demonographers, rather than the truth of th
History, and thereby to passe such a disadvan
geous judgement on a man; who was not only a
new *Trismegistus* in the three superiour faculties
Theologie, the Civill Laws, and Medicine; but
one, who by travelling thorow all parts of *Eu-
rope*, would roll his mind into all Sciences and
Dilciplines, to be like that *Argus*, who,

Centum luminibus cinctum caput unus habebat.

By this means, came he from one employment
to another, at last to that [z] of Secretary to the
Emperour *Maximilian*; a Favourite of *Antonius
Delevus*, and Captain in his Troops; Professour
of Divinity at *Dole*, and *Pavia*; *Syndic*, and *Ad-
vocate-Generall* of the City of *Metz*; Physician to
her Highnesse the Dutchesse of *Anjou*, Mother
to King *Francis* the First; and lastly, Concellour
and Historiographer to the Emperour *Charles* the
Fifth. All these charges may well secure his re-
putation amongst the greatest persons, and there-
fore we needed not to have cast into the balance,
that he was employ'd at twenty years of age by
some Gentlemen of *France*, to endeavour the
transmutation of metals; that two years after he
publicly explan'd that obscure and difficult book
of *Renclin*, *De Verbo mirifico*; that he understood
eight severall Languages; that he was chosen by
the *Cardinall de Sainte-Croix*, to assist him in the
Councell

z *Agrippa*
l. 6. ep. 18.
Lib. 7.
epist. 21.
Thevet in
his life.
Agrippa 2.
tom. p. 596.
Idem l. 3.
e. 4. epist.
Idem l. 6.
e. 7.
Idem 13.
primis e-
pist. l. 1.
Idem in
Expostul.
Catilin. fol.
510, 511.
Id. epist.
47. l. 7.
Id. in de-
fens. propo-
sit. fol. 598.
Idem ep.
38. lib. 1.
Idem 76.
e. 79. l. 3.
Idem 84.
l. 5.
Idem passim
n. epist.

Councell which was to be held at *Piso*. To this we may adde, That the Pope writ a Letter to him to exhort him, as he had begun, to continue in well-doing; That the Cardinall of *Lorraine* would needs be Godfather to one of his sons in *France*; That a Marquesse of *Italy*, a King of *England*, the Chancellour *Mercurius Gatinaria*, and *Margaret* Princeesse of *Austria*, courted him into their service at the same time: And lastly, that he was singular friend to four Cardinals, five Bishops, and all the learned men of his time, such as *Erasmus*, *Faber Stapulensis*, *Trithemius*, *Capito*, *Melancthon*, *Capellanus*, *Montius*, and *Cantiancula*.

This granted, I cannot much wonder, that [a] *Paulus Jovius* calls him, *Portentosum ingenium*; a In *Elogiis* that [b] *James Gohory* places him, *inter clarissima* lib. de My-
sui *seculi lumina*; that [c] *Ludwigius* calls him, ster. nota-
Venerandum Dominum Agrippam, literarum lite- rum,
ratorumq; omnium miraculum, & amorem bono- Quaest. 16.
rum; that [d] *Uviernus*, *Melchior Adam*, and a mag. p. 209.
many others, speak of him very honourably, com- c Lib. de
plaining that all these elogies, and testimonies, prestig.
these extraordinary perfections, these great em- pass.
ployments and dignities should not any way d Lib. de
shake the opinion men have to this day of his be- vit. Medis.
ing a Magician. Which indeed is the more deplora- in ejus
ble, because there are but two or three proofs vita.
to make him such, which since they are so false
and forged, that it were madnesse or malicious
ignorance, to take them for authentick, I should
rather beleieve that this opinion hath not crept
into the imaginations of Authours so much by
any of these three wayes, as by the indiscretion of
the first Advancer of it. For what he first broach'd,
the rest took for good security, to describe *Agrippa*

as the Prince of Magicians, and blast his reputation with all the injuries imaginable, so far as to curse him with Bell, Book, and Candle. Nor is this any thing extraordinary in them, it being their designe to praise or dispraise to the worlds end, right or wrong it matters not, and that without any heed or moderation, a many persons, of whom they neither have nor would know any thing, save that they have been condemn'd or approv'd by such and such; and consequently, that they cannot be mistaken, if they passe the same judgement on them;

Horat.

*O imitatores servum pecus! ut tibi sapè
Bilem, sapè jocum, vestri movère tumultus!*

But haply I may be thought too harsh with these Authors, since that what was allodg'd before, may somewhat clear *Agrippa*; yet is not so pregnant, as absolutely to acquit him from all suspicion of Magick. I would therefore ask *Delrio*, one of his greatest advertaries, why the judgement of the *Pope*, the authority of so many *Cardinals & Bishops*, the favour of two *Emperours*, and so many *Kings*, are not as good and authentick proofs to clear his innocence, as that whereby he would justify *Arnoldus de Villa nova* from being a Magician, because the Clergie of Rome, among whom he liv'd a while, would not have employ'd him, if they had known him to be such. Besides, if this first reason, out of which it were not hard to deduce a many more, give them not full satisfaction, I wish they would, for their better, consider what *Declamations* the said *Agrippa* makes against *Magick*, not only in his *Book, Of the Vanity of the Sciences,*

*From cap.
41. to cap.
48.*

Sciences, but also in his treatise of *Original Sin*, in his Complaint against the School-men in the fourteenth Epistle of the fifth Book, wherein he was indeed a little elevated by a holy zeal, and some animosity against the French: and in Epist. 26. of the same Book, of which Epistle I shall only give notice, that the title is tranſpoſ'd in the last edition; where it is *Amicus ad Agrippam*, instead of *Agrippa ad Amicum*, as it is printed with the three Books of his *occult Philosophy*, Anno 1533.

Adde to this, that being *Syndic*, and *Advocat Generall* of the City of *Metz*, he directly oppos'd the proceedings of *Nicolas Savini* then *Inquisitor* for the Faith in the said City, who would have punish'd a poor Country woman as a Witch; and tickled so much in the business that he got her releas'd, and the accusers and witnesses well fined; which shews he was not so superstitious as the greatest part of those who calumniate him.

To make his charge high enough, it is further urg'd that the Divines of *Lovaine* pass'd a severe censure upon his Declaration against the Sciences; that *John Catilinet*, a Franciscan declaim'd publicly against the explication he had made at *Dola*, *de Verbo mirifico*; that the Dominicans of the City of *Metz* writt against the propositions he had publish'd in defence of the opinion of *Faber Stapulensis*, concerning the Monogamy of *St. Anne*. And yet not one of these censurers could take occasion to make any remarks upon the two first Books of his *occult Philosophy* printed long before any of these pieces, at *Paris*, *Antwerp*, and other places, and every where with the Pri-
viledge

viledge and approbation of those who had the management of such affaires. But it may haply be conjectur'd that the Adversaries will answer this last reason, by saying, that there is indeed no danger in those Books, it being *Agrippa's* designe to make that advantage of the curious Philosophy and Learning therein contained, as a gilt pill, to make the poison of the other to slide down more easily; imitating therein the subtlety of the Crocodile, which counterfeits the voice of a man, to devour him, or rather the stratageme of Satan transforming himself into an Angell of Light, or of some beautifull Creature, the more easily to deceive us. We shall therefore take this occasion to discover, how much the avarice of Booksellers, and the vanity of certain men; who have no other employment then to make counterfeit keys to all Books and treatises that are ever so litle difficult and obscure, have injur'd the memory of this Author, tathering on him a fourth Book full of vain, Magical, superstitious, and abominable Ceremonies, and publishing it with the three of his Occult Philosophy, together with some other shreds and fragments of *Peter d' Apono*, *Arbatel*, *Pictorius*, *Trithemius*, and commentaries upon the whole History of *Pliny* by *Stephannus Aquens*; the reading whereof we must acknowledge much more dangerous to a mind carry'd through weaknesse, away with such vanities, then that of *Ovid* to a debauch'd person, of *Martiall* to a Flatterer and detractor, of *Lucian* to a Scoffer, of *Cicero* to a proud man, and of *Lucretius* to an irreligious man and an Atheist. But note by the way, that these Books are as falsely father'd on them, as that fourth upon *Agrippa*, as *Vniuers*, in

Depressig.
1. 16. 2. c. 5.

in defence of the last, affirms, that that Book was not publish'd till twenty seven years after his death, and that certainly he was not the Author of it. And for *Agrippa*, we may object, that he saies in his Epistles, that he had reserv'd to himself the key of the three Books he had publish'd. For besides that we may probably answer, that he mention'd such a Key meerly to be courted by the curious, upon which account, [a] *James Gohory* and [b] *Vigenere* affirme he boasted that he knew the secret of *Pythagoras's* glasse, as also that of [c] extracting the spirit of Gold, to turn Silver or Copper into perfect Gold, yet not for a greater quantity then the waight of the Body whence it was extracted amounted to. Besides this reason, I say, he clearly expresses what he means by such a key when he saies in the 19. Epist. of the 5. Book. *Hac est illa vera, & mirabilium operum occultissima Philosophia. Clavis ejus Intellectus est, quanto enim altiora intelligimus, tanto sublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoq; & majora, & facilius & efficacius operamur.* This I suppose takes away all difficulty concerning this occult Philosophy unlesse we would raise any out of the third Book printed with the other two, in the year 1532. he being then a [a] Domestick of the Archbishop's of *Cullen*, who thought himself much honour'd with the [b] dedication of them and [c] permitted him to publish them according to the Priviledge of the Emperour *Charles, V.* From which circumstances may be infer'd, that as the two first were publish'd long before, without any prejudice to the Author's reputation, so is there not any thing in the third, that may give any suspicion of Magick, unlesse

Lib. 4. Ep. 56.

Lib. 5. ep. 14.

a Lib. de myst not.

b Comment. in Paracels.

de vita longa. f. 61.

c In his Cyphers f. 16. 27.

a Lib. 7. Epist.

b Epist. dedicat.

c De occ. Phil. l. 25

it be particularly to such, as, like fearfull travellers, take roots for folded Serpents, huts and bushes for Highway-men waiting for them, *Et mota ad Lunam trepidant arundinis umbram*. For he treats not of any thing, under the title of Divine and Ceremonious Magick, but of Religion, of God, and of his names and attributes, as also of Dæmons and Angels, of Intelligences and Genius's, of sacrifices, of Man and his severall operations. And all this according to the opinions of Divines, Philosophers and Cabalists, not advancing any thing, but what, as he acknowledges himself, he had taken out of the printed, much read, and much approved Books of *Plato*, *Porphyrus*, *Proclus*, *Calcidus*, *Synesius*, *Ammonius*, *Pfellus*, *Albertus magnus*, *Roger Bacon*, *William of Paris*, *Gatalinus*, *Johannes Picus*, *Reuclinus*, *Riccius*, and such like; who are only suspected of Magick by those that are frightned at any thing they are unacquainted with, and as *Lucretius* sayes, fear,

——— *Nihilo qua sunt metuenda magis, quam
Qua puori in tenebris pavitant finguntq; futura.*

To this we may adde, that he hath, in his preface, cautiously retracted what ever might have crept into his works contrary to the doctrine of the Church, & does both [a] there and all thorow his workes, excuse himself, saying that, *Minor quam adolescens hoc composuit*. It is then out of all controverly that there will not hereafter be any so barbarous & inhumane as to glosse more disadvantageously upon the heats & fallies of his youth, then on those of *Picus*, *Albertus magnus*, *Ane-*

■ Lib. 4.
Ep. 56. l. 5.
Ep. 14.
Medic. l. 3.
Philosoph.

us Sylvius, and divers others, who may as well as Agrippa imitate the penitent King, where he sayes, *Remember not, O Lord the sins and ignorances of my youth.*

Having thus defeated the strongest and most unsuspected proof of the Adversaries, and rendered it vain and of no consequence, the rest are easily rooted, as such, as are fitter to fill up the Magi- call Romances of *Merlin, Maugis* and *Dr. Faustus*, than that they should be found in the serious and considerate writings of Historians and Dæmonographers, at least such as ought to be such. Among these, *Delrio, Thevet,* and *Paulus Jovius* are the most considerable witnesses that come in against the life, manners, and doctrine of *Agrippa*. The former was a man of such a vast and prodigious reading that he hath omitted nothing that any way made for his purpose; the other two seem to speak of him with more candour and integrity, in as much as they prudently rank him amongst the most illustrious men, and liken him to that altar of *Midas*, which seem'd sometimes to be of Gold, but for the most part of stone.

To begin then with the deposition of *Thevet*, In the lives of illustrious men. who having first drawn him according to the Originall of *Bohemians* and *Cingarists*,

Quos aliena juvant, propriis habitare molestum,

very confidently gives you a reason for all his Travells, which was, that he could not stay long in any place, before he had shewn some trick of his Art, which being discover'd, and he thereby known to be an Enchanter and Necro-

Disquisit.

l. 2. qu. 12.

Lib. 2.

quest. 39.

manner, all he could do was to fly from one Country to another like those apes that leap from one tree to another, and from one bough to another, till at last they are taken by the Hunters. To make this testimony the more authentick, *Delrio* makes oath that the Emperour *Charles V.* would never admit him to his sight, after he had entertain'd him with some discourtes that he could find out and discover great treasures by his Magick: as also that, being at *Lo-vaine*, when the Devil had murdered one of his Pensioners, he commanded him to enter into his body, and to walke seven or eight turnes in the publick place of the City before he quitted it, that so he might not be troubled or suspected for his death, when the people should find him dead of a sudden and naturall one. To which adde that of the third witnessse *Paulus Jovius*, who, in his Elogies, sayes, that, discarded by all the world, he dy'd very poor at *Lyons*, and that touch'd with some remorse of conscience, he dismiss'd a great black Dog that had follow'd him all his life, taking off his neck a Coller full of images and Magickall figures, saying to him with some exasperation, *Abi perdita bestia qua me totum perdidisti*, whereupon the Dog went and cast himself into the *Saone*, and was never seen afterwards.

Though the ridiculousnesse of these relations sufficiently discover their falsity, yet to pluck them up by the roots, we are to reflect on that saying of *Machiavel*, that if *Cesar* had been vanquish'd by *Pompey*, no question, but he would have been describ'd to us, not such as he is now, but more extravagantly wicked then ever *Catiline* was. Thus the greatest part of Mankind inrer-

preting the actions of others alwayes suitably to their fortune, all the Vertues we now admire in him, would have been turn'd into so many vices, nor could nature have afforded colours sad enough to disguise him so as to please some Writers. For we may inferre from this Maxim that we may dash out of the Calumnies fasten'd upon *Agrippa*, the story of the pensioner of *Lovaine*, as such as we may more rationally deny with *Ludwigius*, than *Delrio* affirme it, since he hath taken it word for word out of a Book called *The Theatre of Nature*, publish'd in *Italian* and *Latine* under the name of *Stroza Cicogna*, and in *French* and *Spanish* under that of *Valderama*. For the rest, they are saign'd upon the reall actions of his life, which ever since he put out his Book of *the vanity of Sciences*, men endeavour'd to interpret in a contrary sense, and make them as deformed and abhominable, as they would have been thought noble, vertuous, or at least tolerable, if he had not committed that fault, which indeed prov'd the cause of all his misfortune. This it was also, and not his Magick, that incens'd the Emperor *Charles V.* as he himself acknowledges in * severall places of his works, and made him slight his service; nay he would have gone further, if *Cardinall Campege*, and the Bishop of *Liege* had not appeas'd him. This disgrace gave his envyers, and emulators occasion to calumniate him with *Magick*, grounding their malice on his publishing his three Books of *occult Philosophy*. The two former, as we have shewn, were publish'd long before this tempest arose, and stood out the surges of detraction, but coming again into the presse they underwent the same

* 2 Tomi. fol. 251.
Epist. dedicat. Apol. in buerela advers. Scholast. p. 447.
In defensione. prop. De Monogam. p. 584.
& Epist. 15. 27. lib. 6.

fate with the third, so that there was no more mercy for them than the others as if all things had conspired both their and their Authors ruine. Thence it comes that *Thevet* attributes all his travells to a base shifting from place to place, and from Country to Country by reason of his Magick. And yet there's nothing so certain, as that all the voyages he undertook from the twenty second year of his age were upon the Negotiations of some Kings and Princes that employ'd him, in the quality of an Agent.

a *Tom. 2. f.*
596 l. 3.
ep. 58. &
60. l. 7. ep.
1. 21. 44.
26. and
elsewhere.

Thus his coming into *England* was, as [a] he himself affirms, to manage an affaire of great consequence; it was upon the account of *Maximilian* the Emperour that he follow'd the army he sent into *Italy*; the Dutchesse of *Anjou* sent for him into *France*, *Margaret* of *Austria* into *Antwerp*; the Archbishop of *Cullen* into *Germany*. And upon some such other occasion he return'd again into *France*, where he dy'd, in the year 1535. not at *Lyons*, as [b] *Thevet* and [c] *Paulus Jovius* affirme; but, more truely, according to *Wiorus* and *Melchior Adam*, in the City of *Grenoble*, at the Receiver General's house, of the province of *Dalphine*, whose Son dy'd, some years since, first President of the said City.

Lastly for the story of the *Dog*, represented to us with greater eloquence than truth by *Paulus Jovius*,

Venalis cui penna fuit, cui gloria flocci;

what surer judgment can be pass'd on it, after so evident a falsity, but that it is a pure Calumny forg'd by his emulators? For as men have strange

inclinations

inclinations for certaine animals, as that of *Alexander* for his *Horse*, of *Augustus* for a *Parrat*, of *Nero* for a *Starling*, of *Virgil* for a *butterfly*, of *Commodus* for an *ape*, of *Heliogabalus* for a *Sparrow*, of *Honorius* for a *Hen*, and of others for others; so *Agrippa* plac'd his affection on the most ordinary, keeping constantly five or six Dogges in his house, whose names are often mention'd in five or six of his [n] Epistles, as also in the Epitaphs which some of his Friends made upon them. Though [o] *Wierus*, who was his servant sayes he had but two, which were perpetually with him in his study, whereof one was called *Monsieur*, and the other *Mademoiselle*. But since the incertainty of the number of his Dogs, which he might daily change, makes nothing to his prejudice, I conceive it best concluding with the said *Wierus*, that they might indeed give his enemies occasion to raise the report that the *Devill* convers'd with him under the forme of a great black Dog, as they had before heard that *Simon Magnus*, *Sylvester*, *Dr. Faustus*, and the *Bragadochio* of *Venice*, had one perpetually at their heeles under the shape of such a Creature.

Having thus faithfully layd down the reasons producible on both sides, though I leave all persons to incline to which they think it most rati-
onall, yet shall I for my own particular conclude the Chapter with that saying of *Seneca*, more true on this occasion then many others, *Crede mihi De ira, lib. levia sunt, propter qua non leviter excandescimus.* 3.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Merlin, Savonarola, and Nostradamus.

There is a story, that among many birds that came not near the Temple of *Minerva*, the Goddesse of Sciences and Reason, the Crows durst not take their flight about it, much lesse light upon it. If it be lawfull to give it any other sense than the literall, I think the most probable were this; that that bird, so considerable in the superstitious Augury of the Ancients, according to this verse of *Virgil*,

Sape sinistra cava predixit ab ilice cornix,

being the true Hieroglyphick of those who search after things to come, it is to teach us, that all those who are over-inquisitive in such things, together with the Authours and Observers of I know not what chimericall and fabulous prophecies, *quæ unicuiq; pro ingenio finguntur, non ex vi Scientiæ,* should be eternally excluded the Temple of *Minerva*, that is, the conversation of learned and prudent men. For indeed, it were more rationall to acknowledge with *Arnobius*, *Quæ nequeunt sciri nescire nos consistuntur, neque ea conquirere aut investigare curamus quæ comprehendi liquidissimum est non posse, quamvis mille per corda suspicio se rigat atq; intendat humana,* than to waste our spirits in the pretended mysteries of the *Cabala*, the superstitious invocations of Magick, the fruitlesse study of the Philosophers stone, and the fantastical predictions

Senec.

*Lib. 2. cont.
Gent.*

dictions of certain Figure-fingers, and Cunning-women, since they are extravagancies that find no entertainment, but in the imaginations of vulgar and reptile souls, easily taken in such cobwebs, as a mind any thing masculine cannot be ensnar'd in, without an absolute losse of reputation and prudence.

For two reasons have I brought in *Savanorola* and *Merlin* into the number of the great persons, for whom I make this Apologie; one is, that they were the Prophets of their Countries, as they say *Nostradamus* was of *France*, *Lolhardus* of *Germany*, and *Telephorus* and the Abbot *Joachim* of *Calabria*. The other, that it is a kind of justice to make a true discovery of them, so to raise them from under those heaps of calumnies, which cover both them, and what we should know of them. As to the famous *Merlin*, all Authours hitherto have thought him gotten by an *Incubus*, who was a little too familiar with a certain Kings daughter, then a Nun in a Monastery at *Carmarthen*. What credit can be expected for all the other stories of his life, when we must be lesse prudent, and more credulous than [z] *Godfrey* of *Monmouth*, from whom we have them, to beleieve such a nativity as this any way possible? Whence we may safely infer, that the foundation of such a prodigious relation, being so ill laid, it must needs be absolutely false and forg'd, as we shall without any difficulty demonstrate: For if our Demonographers will not admit the generation of *Merlin* to have been by the ordinary way, they must needs acknowledge, that whatever is said of him is nothing but pure fiction; and consequently, the surest and safest way to answer them is, to

z Lib. 4. de
origine &
gestis Bri-
tannor.

deny

deny what they say, as confidently as they affirm it.

I shall not therefore at the present make it any question, whether there are such Dæmons as the *Incubi* and *Succuba*, but onely with [a] *Wierus*, [b] *Sibilla*, [c] *Cardan*, [d] *Casmanus*, [e] *Ulric Molitor*, [f] *Guibelet*, [g] *Engubinus*, [h] *Nicholas Remy*, *Maldonat*, and divers others, deny that their copulations with mankind can produce any generation, whether they do it by eluding the imagnation, or make use of humane bodies. Not because, as *Nicholas Remy* would have it, man and the Devil differ *in specie*; for a Mule is engendered between a Horse and an Ass; nor yet because God will not co-operate with such an action, by the infusion of a soul, for Adulterers, Fornicators, and incestuous persons, should never ingender for the same reason; but for that if they ingender, it is necessary it should be of their own seed, or a borrow'd. To think they have any of their own, were too palpable an absurdity, since that, as they are immateriall substances, they cannot possibly have that excrement, and (as it were) quintessence extracted out of abundance of nourishment, and consisting of blood and spirits. Besides that, if this were granted, their productions would be like themselves, or rather some mediate substance between a man and a Dæmon, than an absolute man;

*Burdonem ut sonipes generat commixtus asella,
Mulus ut Arcadicis ab equina matre creatur,
Tityrus ex ovibus oritur hircoq; parente.
Musixonem capra ex vervegno semine gignit
Apris atq; sue setosus nascitur ibris,
Uls lupus & casula formant coeundo liciscam.*

On the other side, to attribute to the Dæmons a power to transport the seed from one place to another, without diminishing the generative vertue, and the principle which it contains, is a tenent hath no reason at all to support it, when even those that have the instrument of generation of an over-great length, are not so able for the act, because the conduit being so long, the seed cools, and the principle is weakened. And that it must be much more thus in the seed of the *Incubi*, is not to be question'd, since that *Witches*, & *cottidiana ista*, as they are called in *Lipsius*, *genialiam libidinum victima*, *infelices muliercula*, do all unanimously confesse in their depositions, that they find it extremely cold, and receive it without either pleasure or satisfaction, as having not those spirits without which there cannot be any, nor indeed generation be effected. Further, as Gold being the most perfect of Metals, is accordingly of the most difficult production, so must it be thought, that man, the noblest of all Creatures, hath by the same reason a more difficult, a more perfect, and a more accomplish'd generation than any other. Adde to this, that the most considerable authority, which may be brought against this negative, out of *Genes. 6.* is no more advantageous to our Adversaries, than the great number of experiences they endeavour to collect from *Apollo-nius*, *Alexander*, *Romulus*, *Servius Tullius*, *Simon Magus*, *Geffrey Great-tooth*, *Balderus*, *Luther*, the *Huns*, and *Counts of Cleveland*, or the *Corocoton* of new *Spain*, and the *Nesefoglians* of the *Turks*. For that passage of *Genesis*, where it is said, *After the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, &c.* is to be understood, according to *Engubinus*, and

Maldonat,

Maldonat, of the sons of *Seth*, who was a holy man, and esteem'd by God, and the daughters of *Cham*, the most corrupt man of his age; Or, as some interpret it, by the Sons of God are meant *Judges*, whom the Scripture often calls by the name of *Elohim*. And lastly, for the said experiences, no doubt, but they are fabulous, and the meer fictions of such as thought to make those persons more recommendable by such *Romances*, which indeed, while the world was yet in swadling clouts, were good to cover and conceal Adulteries, and to preserve the reputation of those Ladies, who were more than ordinarily desirous of their pleasure. But now, that the world's grown up to yeers of discretion, and more than ever refin'd,

Mart.

Et pueri nasum Rhinocerotis habent,

such inventions are thought as vain and triviall, as all the stories of the *Magicall Romances* of *Maugis d' Aigremont*, *Dr. Faustus*, or our *Merlin*. Of this latter, all, I think, may be truly and rationally said, is, that he was not the son of one of these *Incubi*, and that according to the description we have of him from *Lelandus* and *Balaus*, he was the most excellent *Philosopher* and *Mathematician* of his time, Disciple to *Telestinus*, and a great Favourite to four Kings of *England*, viz. *Vortigern*, *Ambrose*, *Utherpendragon*, and *Arthur*, whom all *Romancists* make the first Institutor of the *Knights of the Round Table*, with whom agrees the Poet *Annevillanus*,

*In Scripto-
rib. Angliae.*

*In centu-
riis.*

*a In proem.
libror. 5. de
reb. Anglic.
b Lib. I. bi-
storiae An-
glicanae.*

Arthurus teretis mensae genitiva venustas.

But as to the rest of his actions, what is not buried in the ruins of Time, is come to us darkened with such clouds of fables and lies, that [a] *Gulielmus Neubrigensis*, and [b] *Polydor d' Urbin* do with

with reason laugh at this *Godfrey of Monmouth*, who hath transplanted some of those of *Merlin's* Romance into his History, and hath made a collection of certain Prophecies, as falsely attributed to him, as to that other *Merlin*, firnam'd the *Savage* or *Caledonian*, whom *Ranulphus* and *Trevisa*, in *Vigner* and *Balaus* would distinguish from the former. Nor are their conjectures without some ground, who would maintain that there was but one *Merlin* under these two names, but in severall times and successively, *Ambrose* and then the *Caledonian*, since they were both Contemporaries, that they liv'd under the same Kings, and excell'd in the same Science, and that, according to the vulgar error, they both writ certain short Prophecies and predictions. Upon which when I find the Commentaries, of a large Volume, of *Alanus*, a man not ignorant in his age, I am forced to acknowledge with *Cicero*, that, *Nihil tam absurde dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum*, For I cannot think any thing at a greater distance with possibility, than the accident on which *Merlin* took occasion to publish his excellent Prophecies, which was this. King *Vortigern* was advised by the Magicians, to build a strong Tower in some part of his Realm, where he might live securely, not fearing the Saxons whom he had brought out of *Germany*. Coming to build, they had hardly laid the foundations, but the earth in one night swallows up all, and leaves not so much as the tracks of any Edifice. Upon that, the Magicians perswaded him, that to fasten the stones well, they should be sprinkled with the blood of a child born without a father, such as *Merlin*, after a long search, happened to be. Being

2. Part of his Library, an. 536.

In Centur. Script. Anglic.

De divinat. 2.

Galf. de orig. & gest. Britann. l. 4. c. ult. Adamus, initio commentar. f. 8.

accor-

accordingly brought to the King, he first disputed with his Magicians, and told them, that under the foundation of that Tower there was a great Lake, and under that Lake two great and terrible Dragons, one red, signifying the people of *England*, or *Britain*, the other white, representing the *Saxons*. These Dragons were no sooner disburthen'd of the earth that lay upon them, but they began a furious combat, whence *Merlin* takes occasion to bewail the condition of *England* in his Prophecies.

Lib. 2.

But for my part, I cannot imagine there is any thing equally fabulous with this story, unless a man will squander away so much leisure, as to look into this *Godfrey of Monmouth's* book, to observe the subtle invention, like that of *Amphitruo* in *Plautus*, whereby *Merlin* made *Utherpendragon* assume the person of *Gorlois*, and by that means enjoy the fair *Ingerna*; as also that of the *Dance of the Gyants*, that is, great stones and rocks, which he transported out of *Ireland* into *England*, to erect a Trophy near the City of *Ambrosiopolis*.

Lib. 6. c. 2.

But that one [a] *Gervase*, Chancellour to the Emperour *Otho* the Fourth; as [b] *Theodoric a Niemi* relates, hath so glossed upon it, as not to be ashamed to affirm, that these great rocks and mountains turn'd perpetually in the air, and that not held up by any thing, I cannot sufficiently admire. Whereas [c] *Lelandus*, who hath made a more curious search into the Antiquities of *England*, laughs at the indiscretion of these Authours, affirming this Dance of the Gyants to be nothing but diverse heaps of great stones, which *Merlin* caused to be rais'd like *Pyramids* or Trophies near the said City, in imitation haply of those, which

a Lib. 2. de Schismate. c. 19.

b Lib. de rebus imperatoris.

c In Genealogia Edward. princip. Cambriae, in Topograph. Hiberniae.

I Have sometimes wondered there should be a-
 mong the *Romans* a Law so barbarous, as should
 empower the *Dictator* to put to death any Citi-
 zen he pleased, without allowing him to make
 any defence for himself, and that without the least
 fear of being call'd to any account for so doing. But
 there is more reason to wonder now, when a man
 rejects on the temerity of those Writers, who,
 though they have not the power of the ancient
 Dictators of *Rome*, do yet so confidently con-
 demn the most eminent Authors, not as deter-
 ming death, but as guilty of a crime, as *Johannes*
Sarisenensis affirms of it, *morte digni sunt qui a*
morte conantur scirentiam minuire, which deserves
 nothing less. Nay, such is their impudence, that
 they have no more respect for Religious men, Bi-
 shops, and Popes, than they had before for Phi-
 losophers, Physicians, and others of greater au-
 thority among the Learned. For if we look for
 any reason of this rigorous proceeding, there will
 be no other found than that they strike at all,
 without any exception of persons, *Tros Rutilius*
suat, out of an excessive zeal to the truth, as they
 imagine; so under the shadow and conceit of their
 pretended integrity, to the prejudice of the accu-
 sed innocent, to gain the greater credit to certain
 collections and gleanings of I know not what
 ridiculous and ill digested relations, which would
 never

Lib. I. Po-
 tical. c.
 27.

Of St. Thomas, Roger Bacon, Bungey, Michael the
 Scot, Johannes Picus, and Trithemius.

CHAP. XVII.

La Lune au plein de Nuit sur le haut mont,
Le nouveau Sophie, d' un seul cerveau l' a uent.

This he is so confident of, that he affirmes it can not possibly be meant of any other then himself, for certain reasons by him layd down in the said Book. But because it may be objected that the Author of the *French Janus*, who translated divers of the Centuries into Latine verse, does, by the explication he makes of them evince the truth at least of some of those rerafficks, & consequently that I ought not so farre to discredit them, especially those whole events are yet uncertain; I shall briefly answer, and withall conclude this Chapter with that excellent passage of *Seneca*, *Parte eriden aliquando Mathematicos vera dicere, & tot sagittas cum emittant, unam tangere, Noct. aberrantibus ceteris.* To which add that of *Attic. Phanorinus* in *Gellius*, that, *ista omnia que aut. 14. c. 13. temere aut astute vera dicunt, pro ceteris que mentuntur, pars ea non sit millefima.*

of that little hope there is to see these prophesies
 verify'd as being such as we cannot compare to
 any thing more fitly then to *Theremene's* shoe,
 which fitted all feet; or that *Lesbian* rule, which
 being of Lead, bent it self to all figures, con-
 cave, oblique, round, and Cylindrical. So may
 we say of this Authour, that his maine designe was
 so to write as to avoid a clear and intelligible
 sense, that Posterity might interpret his predicti-
 ons as they pleas'd. For though *John Aime*
Chavign, one that, of all others, hath foolishly
 trish'd away his paines upon all kinds ofrophe-
 cyes hath shewn in his *French Janns*, that the
 greatest part of *Nostradamus's* predictions are ac-
 complish'd near thirty years since; yet are they still
 brought upon the stage when any thing remarkable
 falls out, as for instance, those that are scatter'd
 abroad upon the death of the Marshall *d'Ancre*
 the great fortune of *Monheur de Luyne*; and the
 firing of the Palace and the Bridges of *Paris*. And
 indeed, that there are not found some upon all
 occasions, is only because men will not be at the
 paines to search them out, since they met with
 something about that imaginary monstrous fish
 which some years since was sold up and down
in effigie, and that the Authour of a little book
 called, *The Chymist*, or *French Conserver*, sayes
 very ingeniously, pag. 15. that *Nostradamus*
 had spoken of him, above thirty four years be-
 fore he was born, quoting him by his name and

unlike it be by way of Revelation, as Jacob did, or the Pope Pius V. & the Archbishop Angelo Car-
 10. Of these two last, the former knew by reve-
 Comm. 1.
 lation that the Christians had gain'd the battle of 2. c. 3.

Lepanto; the other acquainted Lewis the Sixth with
 the death of the Duke of Burgundy at the very
 hour it happened. And lastly for the foresight of
 certain Creatures, Leonard Vair will tell us, that
 the gesture of their bodies does not portend any
 thing to come, but only what is present, that
 is, the humid influx of the Aire, which, by a
 natural instinct, they feel in their bodies, as soon
 as it gathers together in the Elements. And as
 to the Birds which shift Countries according to
 the several seasons of the year, it is not so much
 out of any foresight in them, of Spring, Winter,
 or Autumn, as a certain knowledge of those vi-
 cissitudes according to the natural alteration of
 their bodies, proceeding merely from heat and
 cold, or some other quality unknown to us.

This premisd, I leave those to judge who are
 not over-easily drawn in to embrace opinions
 without any reason or ground, what esteem
 should be had of these fine Centuries, which are
 so ambiguous, and contradictory, so obscure and
 enigmatical, that it were no miracle if among a
 thousand razzicks, whereof every one speaks
 commonly of five or six several things, and par-
 ticularly such as ordinarily happen, there comes
 in a Hemistick mentioning the taking of a Town
 in France, or the death of a Grande in Italy, a
 plague in Spain, a Monner, a great fire, a victory,
 or something of this nature, as if those Emergen-
 cies were extraordinary, and happen'd not at one
 time or other. And yet this is the main motive

ther known or foreseen by the help of any hu-
 mane science, till such time as they are present.
 In the second place, I inferre, that he could not
 have done it by any revelation from *Demons*, be-
 cause even they, consider'd in their nature, have
 not any knowledge of these actions which are free
 & depend purely on our will, as being not able to
 foresee them either in their causes, or their effects.
 Not in the former, because they are uncertaine
 while they remaine buried in the several motions
 of our mind, as being such as St. *Paul* speaks of
 to the *Corinthians*, *None knows the things of man*
but the spirit of man that is in him: not in the lat-
 ter, as being such as cannot be known till they ap-
 pear. So that if we allow his prophets any
 foundation, it must be that of the third cause,
 grounded on the naturall capacity men sometimes
 have to foretell things to come, which yet is per-
 tinently refused by [a] *Cicero* and the learned [b]
Valesius, who digg up the very corner stones of
 this erroneous opinion.

To answer therefore, in few words, all those
 reasons alleged to confirme it, we are indeed
 to acknowledge, that Melancholy may, by reason
 of its qualities, make men more desirous and
 capable of Sciences, more earnest in the dis-
 quition of causes, and more perseverant in the
 deepest contemplations upon any subject; may that
 it may cause certain motions in the soul, where-
 by it makes sooner discoveries of the reason it
 would find out. But we must deny that there can
 proceed from it this naturall Divination, where-
 of there is not in it either the cause, principles,
 or beginnings. Nor is it to be credited, that old
 men are more likely to foresee things then others,

unlesse

a De divi-
 nat. 2.
 b De Sacra
 Philosoph.
 r. 30.

the changes of seasons, wind, raine, fair weather, tempests, and all this without any other instructi-
on than that of their naturall instinct.

I have been more particular in this last cause, then in the other two, because *Nostradamus* him- self confesses in his Epistle to the three Centuries dedicated to *Henry* the second of France, that he witered his predictions rather through a naturall in- stinct attended by a Poeticall fury, then by any assist- ance of the rules of Poetry, though he had reconcil- d them to *Astronomick Calculations.*

But since the truth & reputation of that so My- sterious book cannot subsist but by one of these three reasons, they certainly are to be blam'd for their over-credulity, who would ground the Au- thority of this Fortune-teller, upon causes, which if they had well examined them, they should have found more false than any of his Centuries. And this it were the more easy to shew, in that, of all predictions and Prophecies that ever came to our knowledge, we have not met with any more particular then those of *Nostradamus*, who precisely marks out all the accidents and severall Circumstances, even to occurrences of little or no concernment. Whence in the first place I in- serte, that he could not compose those predictions by the assistance of *Astrology*, the Authors whereof having not left us any rules whereby we might ascertain the knowledge of those particulars. For these are no more under the jurisdiction of that Art, by reason of the uncertain emergences of their causes, then things purely free and con- tingent, such as are the actions that depend mer- ly on our will, and which in regard they have not any determinate truth or falshood cannot be cer- ther

controversy by what means the Author could arrive to such a certain knowledge of things to come. Some hold he got it by the practice of judicial *Astrology*; others, that it was revealed to him by the means of some familiar *Demon*; and a third sort, that he had no other assistance then that of the capacity of the humane Soul to foretell things to come. For, according to the opinion of *Avicenna*, when he is disengag'd from the government of the body, he suffers a certain paralysis, and leaves it as it were buried in the mass of its terrestrial Element, that so he may be free to consider what is at the greatest distance from her. Then it is that she sees things to come as present, which she could not have done while the exigencies of the body divert her from this contemplation. And this happens for the most part, when, being forc'd against her natural motion by the violent agitation of melancholly the displays and discovers what is most hidden in her, that is her divine and celestial forces and faculties; so that there is nothing hinder'd from exceeding her ordinary Limits, and arriving to the knowledge of things to come. Of this we have some experience in old men, who being in the utmost declination of their age, do often foretell what afterwards comes to pass; as if the soul, by a certain anticipation, were already at Liberty. To strengthen this last opinion, they add that were some reason to charge Nature with a certain dislike of mankind if she deny'd this perfection to man when we see the Gods, as *Empirides* terms them, and several other Creatures, foretell, by the disposition of the Aire

Cap. 7. 1. q. metaph.

Apud Pliu. birds call'd *Beu kynyx*, the Messengers of the

the

him a quite contrary repure: some, as *Ronsard*

and *Montaigne* not knowing what to say to their
falling out true sometimes; and others looking
on them as lyes fooleries and impoures, and
containing such a diversity of crasty ambiguities,

that it were in a manner impossible not to find
something among so many thousands of reraf-
ticks upon any occasion a man can propose to him-
self: Accordingly did some take thence occasion
to make sport with those fallacies, among whom
the most ingenious was he, who, without charg-
ing him with contradictions, or calling him
Monstre d'abus, and *Monstra-damnus* as divers
did, onely sent him this Distick;

Nestra damnus, cum verba damnus, nam fallere nostrum
(est);
Et cum verba damnus, nil nisi nostrum damnus.

But as there is no Cause so desperate which, in
time, meets not with some that will patronise it;
so much it be acknowledged, that there are a ma-
ny hollow braines, and minds fit only to receive
any thing that is extravagant, and that without
any examination, who think their pockets em-
pty without these *Centuries*, which they idly
Humanists do *Petrominus*, and Politicians *Tactus*,
looking on them as more infallible then the Gos-
pell, and making it appear on all occasions that
happen daily though ever so triviall.

— *Novit namque omnia vates!*

Quasint, fuerint, qua mox ventura trahantur.

Virg. geor.

Yet does not this Idolatry hinder, but that
among those who admire them so much, it is a
controverly

ry I leave men to judge, whether Savonarola might not govern at Florence, quando (as *Paulus Jovius*, speaking of him, well observes) nihil vanidius esset ad persuadendum specie ipsa pictatis, in qua etiam tuenda Liberratis studium emmineret.

In elogiis.

I should have left *Michael Nostradamus* out of this Apology, were it not to add some lustre to many excellent persons, by the remembrance; norance and little merit of this upstart prophet, as the sparkling of a Diamond is heightened by a little soile. Or rather to imitate that great *Juvenius Caesar Scaliger*, who having pass'd his judgment on the most famous *Poets*, would needs give the same upon *Rhodophilus* and *Diolet* alledging by way of excuse that it was in imitation of *Aristotle*, who in the same Book treats of living Creatures and their ordure and excrements. This may I much more apply to this Monster of abuses, whose life I shall not set forth according to its principall circumstances, since they are so flat and pitiful that no Historian hath yet meddled with them, but the Author of the *French Janns*, and the *Pleades*, it being my business only to observe the vanity of his Designs. For not content to have cheated us in his predictions, which he printed at the beginning of every year from 1550. till 1567. he further imagined that he might easily blast the memory of *Martin, Telsphorus, Caraldus, Lohardus, Joachim Savonarola, Laurentio Minari, Antonio Torquato*, and all those that had dabled in predictions, by the reputation he was in hope to gaine by publishing a Decad of *Centuries*, upon the future state of all things in the world. These were no sooner abroad, but they immediately got

him

Poetic. l. 6. c. 6.

for Religion hath an extraordinary influence upon us, and that when a man hath once the reputation of living holily, he persuades the people to what he pleases; especially when he is endu'd with the grace of well speaking, and a more then ordinary eloquence. To prove this, we may instance in the fortunate and temerarious enterprise of the Religious man *Almohadi*, who being excellent-ly learned and well vers'd in the *Alcoran*, undertook without any other assistance than that of an *Astrologer* that seconded him with his predictions, and the great opinion men had of his life, to crowne, King of Africk, the Son of a Porter, a poor and necessitous man, called *Abdelmon*. To effect which with more ease, he first got some followers by the introduction of a new Herey, and then perceiving himself sufficiently seconded so far as to engage in the publick Affairs, and to reforme them at his pleasure, he began to propose that *Abdelmon*, was a person rais'd up by God, who through his means, would plant the holy *Alpharansittick* Law through all the world. His next business was to preach down the race of the *Almoravides*, calling them Tyrants and Murders, as such as had driven out the family of the *Alaberi*, and the blood of their Prophet *Mahomet*. This done, he set upon the person of the Caliph of *Baldac*, high Prift of their Law, and did so well, by the force of his persuasions, that, having gotten this *Abdelmon* the assistance of the greatest part of the Nobility, there happened a great battle between them, wherein the King *Alboby* *Aben Tesfin* being kill'd in the year 1147. this Noble Porter *Abdelmon* was made King and *Mirammometin* of Africk. From this sto-

Magick, such as were those of the Prophets, and divers other Saints and favorites of God, that on the contrary, they have prov'd almost all false. For instance, the e: his affirming that *Charles VIII.* would come a second time into *Italy*; that he should come to an unfortunate end, that e: ndea- your'd to rule in *Florence*; that *Johannes Picus* should recover of the sickne: sse, whereof, two dayes after, he dy'd; and divers others of his pro- phesies, much more vaine than these, as they are at large cited and exemplify'd in a Book which *Johannes Rogus* hath purposely written to discover the falsity of them. But if any have fallen out true, it is to be attributed either to Chance, or that he had notice of what should be done by some of those many friends he had in the Councils of the *Florentines*, and the *K. of France*. And lastly for the rest of his actions, they easily dis- cover him a very great Politician, put many times upon very honourable Employments, and end'd with an Eloquence, so ready and persua- sive, that he may well be compar'd to those an- cient Orators, who were as powerfull in popular and democraticall Governments as the winds are upon the Sea, entertaining them as they pleas'd both in the Calmes of peace and Storms of war, tossing them now, on one side, then on the other, turning them upside down; and in a word, dispo- sing them at their pleasure by the Charms of their discourses. This may *Savonarola* presume he did for the space of ten years at *Florence*, though he had withall the assistances of his revelations and a counterfeit sanctimony to keep up his credit for so long a time; knowing well by the examples of *Mahomet* and *Ayris* that the respect we have for

Comines. 7. 8. c. 19.

into his internal dissimulation, or rather because most of them were his intimate friends, as is apparent, in that *Johannes Picus*, who disposed, as he could, of *Beniventus* and *Marsilius Ficinus*, *Dominican*, upon the meer persuasion of this Friar; as also in that *Franciscus Picus* dedicated a Book to him entitled, *De morte Christi & propria cogitanda*. On the contrary the other fort had no ra-

other reason to celebrate him, but that his Doctrine was not perfectly Catholic, that he threatened the Ecclesiasticks with an approaching reformation: that he preach'd scandalously against the manners of the Clergy & Court of Rome, ardently, because he derogated from the Authority of the Popes. For which, if my word may not be taken, take it from *Beza*, who speaking of him in his Elogies, says foundly and confidently, *Hemini tam perditio scelerato quam fuit Alexander ille Borgia Pontifex hujus nominis sextus, usq; adeo displicuisse, ut non nisi re indignissime damnato, & cremato quiescere poterit, maximum esse videtur singularis tuar pietatis argumentum*. Whence it is clear that all the praise hath been given him to this day is to be attributed either to the affection of his favorites and friends, or the subtlety of certain Heretodox persons, who would gladly make him more zealous than *St. Paul*, more eloquent than *Chrysostome*, and more learned than *St. Augustine*, out of an imagination that it is some way advantageous to them.

But to make a more rational and equitable judgement of him, we may say, first, of the *Re-dictions* which have made him so famous, that they are so far from being the effects of divine

piety, Learning and good life, but with a certain admiration. In so much that *Benvenius* a Florentine Priest put forth a Book of his *miracles* and *Prophecies*; and *Franciscus Picus* was so passionate in his vindication, that he stick'd not, though a man very religious and a sound Catholick, to derogate much from the Authority and power of the Pope, to shew that *Alexander* the sixth had no reason to forbid him the Pulpit, and to excommunicate him.

The other sort of people that had a great veneration for him, were of a different religion from *a in elegis*. the former, that is, [a] *Beza*, [b] *Vigner*, *Cap-pel*, *du [c] Plessy*, *Alornay*, and all the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, who ordinarily in their writings call him the faithful witnessse of the Truth, the fore-runner of *Evangelicall* reformation, the scourge of great *apolog.* *Babylon*, the sworn enemy of the *Romane Antichrist*, and in a word, to conclude with [d] *Jes-Lectins* & *senius*, a *Jessen*, the *Italian Luther*. Only it is to be wonder'd they call'd him not also the *John* of this my-*Country* since they both suffered the same punishment, that they were but Archheretics, and are both written in Capitalls in the Catalogue of their *Martyrs*, as may be seen by *Savaudole* these verses put under his effigies.

En Monachus solers, verum scriptator acutus,
Martyrio ornatus, SAVONAROLA prius.

But there is this maine difference between these two sorts of persons; that the former have said much good of *Savonarola*, because; replying on the common opinion, they thought him a good man, not searching any further then others into

praxia.
Savaudole
Philosoph.
d in epist.
quity.
tery of Ant-
His of this my-
Country
to be wonder'd
they call'd him
not also the John
of this my-
Country
since they both
suffered the
same punish-
ment, that they
were but Arch-
heretics, and are
both written in
Capitalls in the
Catalogue of their
Martyrs, as may
be seen by
Savaudole
these verses
put under his
effigies.

which, by his advice, was done upon seven or eight of the noblest among them. So that having no other friends than the faction of Paul Anthony Soderin, who made his advantages of him, to keep up the popular State against Guy Anthony Vesputius, who would have settled a kind of an Aristocracy, they were not able to resist the contrary party, which in the heat of the commotion forced open the gates of his Monastery to bring him to execution, so to quiet the City by the death of a man who kept them at a distance with the Pope, by reason of the novelty of his Doctrine, and raised such factions and parties amongst them, as had they gone further, must needs have buried them in the ruin of their State and Seignury.

I am not ignorant that many Authors are of a direct contrary opinion to me, as who am inclin'd to assent to Paulus Jovius, Machiavel, and Cardan, who rank this Author, if not among the most fortunate, yet among the most eminent and famous Politicians, as being one of those Monks St. Hierom speaks of, *Qui Dæmonum contra se pugnantium portenta fingunt, ut apud imperitos, & vulgi homines miraculum sui faciant.* For one half of the book he hath writ upon his Prophecies, contains nothing but the conceits he had with the Devil, taking him for a Hermit. But what indeed contributed much to his reputation, was the influence he had over two sorts of persons who favoured him very much. The former were certain Catholics, as Johannes Picens, and Francisus of Mirandola, de Benivenis, Marcellus Ficinus, Flaminius, [g] Mathæus Testa-

ms, and divers others, who receiv'd his predictions as celestiall and divine, and speak not of his

g In Peplo
 illa error

Actually observe, to make their State the most flourishing of those of all *Italy*. Whereupon, though affairs were not carried on as he had imagin'd to add himself, yet did he make it his business to add daily to the reputation he had gain'd among the people, teaching in his Sermons of the year 1489, upon explication of the *Apocalypse*, that the Church was threaten'd with an approaching reformation, to succeed that of the little Kings and Tyrants of *Italy*, who were soon after to feel the revenging scourge for all their iniquities. This he could do so strangely, by passages out of the Scripture, and the security he gave them of his own revelations, that after the coming of *Charles* the Eighth into *Italy*, foretold by him two years before, it was generally expected he should return again, upon no other ground than his affirmation of it. Nor indeed could they be convinc'd of the contrary, till the year 1498, wherein both *Charles*, and he who had favour'd him so much in his predictions, exchanged this life for a better; the former by a sickness that took him at *Ambrose*; and *Savonarola* by the punishment of fire, which, in the commotion that happened in the City of *Florence*, upon the refusal to manifest the truth of his Prophecies, he suffer'd publicly, with two of his Brethren, entering into the fire with a *Franciscan*, who had offer'd to maintain the falsity of them, by such a demonstration and trial.

But to this contributed not a little, the indignation, not onely of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, and most of the Clergie, against whom he ordinarily rais'd in the Pulpit, but also of the principal Citizens of *Florence*, by reason of the execution, which,

which Sylvester Girard layes were in Ireland upon the mountain *Cyllarus* in the time of *Henry* the Second of *England*. By these patterns you may judge of the whole piece of these ridiculous fictions, and so, whether *Badus Ascensus* had not in *Epiph* ad some ground, speaking of the nine books of this *Leborum* *Godfrey* printed by him, to say, *In quibus si diligenter legeres, agnosces, aut meram antiquitatis inegritatem, aut admirandam illius facultatem in nominibus, tum vero in temporibus suspitandis castiditatem.*

From this *Merlin*, so highly favour'd by the

Kings of *England*, we passe to Brother *Hierom Savanorola*, born in the City of *Ferrara*, a Friar of the Order of *St. Dominick*. This man knew so well how to husband his eloquence; and so discover the candor and integrity of his life, that having gain'd extraordinary reputation among the people of *Florence* by his preaching, which did not only charm the most delicate ears of his Audience with Rhetoricall expressions and figures, but also raised the hearts and affections of all sorts of persons, by his zeal and great devotion, he began by degrees to discover some symptoms of his creter ambition. This happen'd, when in the year, 1484, as he acknowledges himself, in the book he hath made upon his Prophecies, he intruded into matters of Politie, and caus'd himself to be call'd to the Councell then held at *Florence* for the settling of a popular Government, wherein he first'd up all the Citizens unanimously to embrace it, proposing to them four or five points of great consequence much conducing therunto, which he said had been reveal'd to him by Almighty God, & which accordingly they must pun-
 Equally

never find Readers, were there not more fools who are delighted to see extravagant pictures, than wise men that have the patience to contemplate a simple and naturall Beauty.

Since therefore it were indiscretion in me to break off this Apologie, when I am come to that point for which principally I undertook it, I think it now time to speak of *Religious* men, and to shew what ingratitude it were in us to make so slight acknowledgement of the obligation we owe them for the preservation of Letters, from the times of *Boetius*, *Symmachus*, and *Cassiodorus*, to the last taking of *Constantinople*. At which time Learning began to creep out of *Monasteries*, which for all the time before, had been (as it were) publike Christian Schools, where not only youth, but also such men as would apply themselves that way, were instructed in all manner of Disciplines, Sciences, & Morality, and that to such a height, that not content with that so famous *Quadrivium* of the *Mathematicks*, which, besides all that is now shewn in Colledges, was then taught, *Medicine*, both as to Theory and Practice was so well cultivated, that we need no more to convince us how expert they were therein, than the writings of *Aegidius*, *Constantine*, and *Damascene*, *Joannitius*, *Peter of Spain*, and *Turisanus*. So that it were easie for me to answer those who charge them with illiterature and ignorance, did I not think it more requisite to apply the remedy where there is most need, and by culling out five or six among them,

— *Qui ob facta ingentia possunt
Verè homines, & Semidei, Herotsq; vocari,*

Q

10

to rescue them from the crime of this Magiceall Idolatry, which were so much the more horrid and abominable, practis'd by them, by how much they are principally those who should oppose it, and cleanse mens minds thereof, as well by the example of their good lives, as by the zeal and fervencie of their learned instructions.

We are then to consider, that the Authour of the Book entituled *Ars notoria*, publish'd by *Giles Bourdin*, layes this foundation for the reputation thereof, that the holy Ghost had dictated it to

a Lib. 1. advers. Astrolog. Franc. Picus l. 5. de chantments, pran. c. 6.

[a] *St. Hierom*, which we must allow upon another assurance of his, that he translated the history of *Judith* in one night. To which adde, that *Johannes Picus* affirms, he had seen a book of *Enchantments*, which diverse weak judgements hold was interpreted by the same *St. Hierom*, though with as little reason, as *Trithemius* affirms, as some attribute certain conjurations of the four principall Devils to *St. Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*. This consideration premi'd, I doubt not, but the evident falshood of these calumnies, will prove a certain light to the judgement we should passe on those books of *Necromanticall Images*, the *Metallick Art*, the *Secrets of Alchymy*, and that *De essentiis essentiarum*, divulg'd and vented

a to. Picus l. 1. advers. Astrolog. Idem. in Heptaplo in Ecclesiaste, & in lib. de Theolog. studio. b De trad. Discipl. l. 5.

daily under the name of *St. Thomas Aquinas*, justly firnam'd by [a] *Picus*, *Splendor Theologie*, by *Erasmus*, *Vir non sui saculi*, by [b] *Vives Scriptor de schola omnium sanissimus*, and by the content of all Authours, with that of the Church, *The faithful Interpreter of Aristotle and the holy Scripture*, *The base and foundation of Scholasticall Divinity*, and in a word, the *Angelicall Doctor*. For I would know, what ground there were to imagine, that

this

this great Intelligence, canoniz'd in the year 1322, and whose doctrine was approv'd by a Decree of the Univerſity of *Paris*, in the year 1333; and by three Popes, *Innocent V*, *Urban VI*, and *John XII*, ſhould trouble himſelf with either *Magick*, or the extravagancies of the *Alchymiſts*, who might indeed have brought him over to their party, had they not forgot one thing, which is to daſh out and corrupt, as ſome Hereticks do, that paſſage of his Commentaries, upon the ſecond Book of the *Maſter of Sentences*, where he formally impugnes the poſſibility of their tranſmutations of Metals. Whence, me thinks, they ſhould take warning not to expoſe themſelves to freely to the ſcorn of thoſe who diſtruſt whatever comes from them, & who read theſe ſuppoſitious books out of no other deſigne, than to obſerve their great indiscretion therein, and the little judgement they have to carry on their ſubtle plots. We may inſtance, not to engage into an infinity of proofs, in their making this great Doctor ſpeak ſo childishly in the Book *De eſſentiis eſſentiarum*, that he might very well be ſaid to have no more acquaintance with his works, than the barbarous Inhabitants of *Margajats* and *Topinamboux* in *Africk*, who ſhould beleeve that ſuch low and reptile conceptions could fall from a mind ſo high and ſublime; or that he ever dreamt of what they make him ſay in the ſame Treatiſe of an *Aſtrollogicall* Book, which *Abel*, ſon of *Adam*, lodg'd within a ſtone, found after the *Deluge* by *Hermes*, who took the book out of it, wherein was taught the Art of making Images under certain Planets and Conſtellations. Beſides the ſtory concerning himſelf, that being diſturb'd in his ſtudies,

Diſtinct. 7.
queſt. 3.
art. 1. ad 5.

De eſſent.
eſſentiar.
tr. 4. c. 2.

dies, by the great noise of Horses passing by his door every day at watering time, he made the image of a Horse, according to the rules of the said Book, which being put in the street two or three foot under ground, the Grooms were thenceforward forc'd to find out another way, as being not able to make a Horse passe that way,

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici ?

For I think a man must be more *Agelastus* than ever *Crassus* was, if he can restrain laughing at this pretty relation, since that, not to say any thing of the absurdity of its circumstances, there could not possibly be found out another more contrary to the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, who in all his works, and particularly in his *Sum*, in his *Quodlibet Questions*, and in his Treatise of *Secret Vertues and Properties*, denies, that these images can receive any vertue from the Stars and Constellations under which they were made. This certainly were enough to shew the impertinence and absurdity; it is, to charge this great person with contributing ought to the composition of these books, though we should not presse, that *Trithemius* in his Catalogue of *Ecclesiasticall Authours*, mentions not any one of them printed with the body of his works, collected into seventeen Tomes; nor take any notice, that *Johannes Picus* laughs at that book of *Necromanticall Images*, and *Franciscus* his nephew, though much a servant and favourer of the *Alchimists*, makes it a great question, whether those Books of the *Metallick Art*, are not to be attributed rather to the *Alchymists* then *St. Thomas*. To which I may adde, that,

Scund.
Secund.
quest. 69.
art. 2.
quest. 12. art.
14.

that, as *Delrio* affirms, the Commentaries upon the Nativity of one *Thomas* an English man, have been publish'd under his name because of the nearness there is between these two Latine words, *Anglicus* and *Angelicus*; so it may safely be interr'd, that since, according to all the Dæmonographers, there have been diverse other persons of the same name that have writ severall Books in Magick, it were more rationall to imagine that that of the Necromanticall images should be rather father'd on them than on St. *Thomas* of *Aquin*, of whom it shall be said, in spite of all Ignorance, and to the despair of the Authours of these calumnies,

— *Et molliter ossa quiescent*
Semper, & in summo mens aurea vivet Olympo.

Had we the Book, which *John Dee*, Citizen of London a very great Philosopher and Mathematician saies he had written in defence of *Roger Bacon*, where he shews that whatever was said of his miraculous operations is rather to be attributed to the knowledg of nature, & the Mathematicks than to any commerce or conversation he ever had with Dæmons; I should have as litle to say of him as of *Apuleius* who clear'd himself from the like accusation in two Apologies. But since that Book (at least that I know of) never yet came abroad, I must imitate the grasshopper in *Ælian*, and supply the want of this broken string, with what is to be had, so to rescue the reputation of this English *Franciscan*, who was a doctor of Divinity, and the greatest *Chymist*, *Astrologer* and *Mathematician* of his time, from being con-

*In epist. de-
 dicat. lib.
 propæden-
 mat. Apho-
 ristior. de
 Naturæ vi-
 ribus.*

demn'd and buried among the multitude of *Conjurers* and *Magicians*. For, so far was he from making one of their number, that a man can no way better justify and defend him, then by producing his own declamations against Magick, unlawfull Books, Characters and Spells, as you have them in the three first Chapters of an Epistle he writ of the Power of Art and Nature. Adde to this that *Delrio* is content to observe only that there were some superstitious propositions in his Workes, such as haply was that which *Franciscus Picus* saies he had read in his Book *Of the six Sciences*, where he affirms that a man may become a Prophet and foretel things to come by the meanes of the Glasse *Almuchefti*, compos'd according to the rules of *Perspective*, provided he made use of it under a good constellation, and had before hand made his body very even, and put it into a good temper by *Chymistry*. Nor indeed am I at all satisfy'd, why *Wierus* and divers others *Dæmonographers* should so readily charge this Philosopher with the exercise of *Geotick* or prohibited Magick, when he, whom they all so much acknowledge, *Johannes Picus* of *Mirandula*, maintains, that he studied only the *Naturall*. Whereto may be added the testimonies of three famous English Authors, [a] *Lelandus* [b] *Selden* and *Bayly*; as also that of Dr. [c] *Pits*, who laughs at their foolish credulity who give any credit to this popular Errour, especially since, as *Selden* affirms, there's no English Historian ever made mention of his *Magicall* operations or any *brasen Head*, which the populace believe he made. Upon occasion whereof *Majerus* observes that he is brought in as a great Magician in all *Comedies* and

Disquisit. l.
31. c. 3.
quest. 1.

Lib. 2. de
prænotione
c. 1. & l.
7. c. 7.

Lib. 2. de
Præstig. c. 2.

a In præfa.
Apolog. lib.
de Script.
Anglicis.

b Lib. de
Diis Syris
Syntag. I.
c. 2. In

posteriori
editione
Cantab.

c Lib. I. de
rebus An-
glicis.

Lib. 10.
Symbolor.
aureæ men-
te pag. 453.

and that the common report is, that he and his Fellow-Frier *Thomas Bungey* were seven years about that *Head*, meerly to know of it whether there were not some meanes to compassie England with a wall or Ramparr, whereto it gave an answer which yet they could not understand; for, not expecting to receive it so soon, they were taken up with something else than hearkening to that Oracle.

A very fine relation certainly and suitable to the false witnessse from whom we have it, if ever there were any false, that is, the multitude, as having alwayes been accounted such by all good Authors, especially [a] *Seneca* and [b] *Lactantius*.^{a Lib. de vita beata. b Divin ar. instit. l. 2. c. 3.} The former affirms, you must never appeal to it in any thing of Consequence, *Quarendum non quod vulgo placet, pessimo veritatit is interpreti*: and the other had reason to admonish us, that *Vulgus indoctum pompis inanibus gaudet animisq; puerilibus spectat omnia, oblectatur frivolis, nec ponderare secum unamquamq; rem potest*. This were enough to stifle that vulgar story, should I say nothing of all the impertinences that accompany it, since they so evidently discover themselves. I take it therefore to be enough for my purpose to note that the structure and composition of this head was a thing absolutely impossible for the reasons I shall give for it in the next Chapter, and without that *Roger Bacon* never minded the making of it, the whole fable having no other ground then common and popular reports. For it being ordinary old wives talk that Pope *Sylvester*, *William of Paris*, *Robert of Lincolne*, and *Albertus Magnus* had made such discoursing Statues, it might very well be added that *Rober Bacon* had in like

manner made one, since that, being a great Mathematician, as may be seen both by the Treatises and instruments of his invention he sent to Pope Clement the fourth and his two Books, printed within these fifteen years, of *Perspective* and *Glasses*, it is not unlikely he did many extraordinary things by the help of that Science; whereof the cause being not known to the vulgar, (which was much more rough-hewn, and barbarous than it is now) it could do no lesse then attribute them to Magick. But for that he hath for compurgators all learned men, and particularly the *Jesuits*, who put into their Mathematicall *Theses* defended at *Pont à Mousson* in the year 1622. on the day of the Cannonization of *Ignatius*, and *Xavier*, That it was possible for a man well verid in *Opticks* and *Catoptricks* (such as undoubtedly *Bacon* was) *dato quolibet objecto, quodlibet representare per specula, montem ex atomo, suillum aut asinum caput ex humano, Elephantem à capillo.*

Proposit.
12. optic.

What hath been said of *Bacon*, may be also apply'd to *Thomas Bungey*, who, meerly because he was his Colleague in studies lying under the same misprision, must be included in the same defence. And for this there is so much the more reason, in that *Delrio* sayes not any thing of the Book he writ of *Naturall Magick* But that it containes certain superstitious propositions. Besides had he been in the least thought guilty of this crime, they would have been more carefull then to make him *Provinciall* of the Order of *St. Francis* in England, as *Dr. Pitts* affirms he was; and withall that whatevver is said concerning his Magick, proceeds only from his being an excellent *Philosopher* and *Mathematician*.

Disquisit. 1.
1. c. 3. qu.
1.

The

The like solution may serve to justify *Michael* the Scot, who was no Ignorant person as those imagine who never saw his name but in the books of Dæmonographers, a people that would have nothing to say of him, were it not to rank him among the Magicians, in imitation haply of the Poet *Merlin Coccains*, who took a pleasure to describe his enchantments, and *Dante* the *Florentine*, who speaks thus of him, at the end of the twentieth Canto of his *Hell*.

*Quell' altro, che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Schotto fu, che veramente
Delle Magiche frode seppe il gioco.*

— See you that trifling fellow there?
*'Twas Michael the Scott, who knew his part
In all the roguing cheats of Magick Art.*

For, besides that he is cited as a great divine by the most learned of the *Carmelites*, and Prince of the *part. sen. Averroists*, *Johannes Bacco*, it is easily judg'd, *tent. di-* as well by the two Books we have of his, *Of Physicist. 33.* *siognomy*, and *Questions upon the Sphear of Sacro-* *bosco*, as by his *History of Animals* and the testimony of *Pits*, that he was one of the most excellent Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Astrologers of his time; and upon that account much favour'd by the Emperour *Frederic II.* to whom he dedicated all his Books, and foretold him that he should die in a castle called *Fiorenzola*, having also foreseen that himself should end his dayes in a Church. And indeed it came to pass, as *de Granger* in his Commentary upon *Dante* affirms, when being on a certain day adoring the
body

body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, kneeling near the place, where a bell was then tolling, the rope drew down with it a stone, which falling on his barehead, killed him in the place, where afterwards he was buried.

This lay'd down, I leave men to judge whether they who calumniate him without any proof, and that rather out of custome then any knowledg they had of him, are to be credited rather then the

De reb. Anglicis.

Authority of *Pits*, a divine and moderne Author, who speaking of him, saies expresly, that though he was look'd on as a Magician by the Vulgar, *prudantium tamen et cordatorum hominum longe aliud fuit iudicium: qui potius perspicax eius in scrutandis rebus abditis admirabantur ingenium, laudabant industriam, quam reprehendendam iudicabant curiositatem, inspiciebant quæ hominis scientiam, non suspicabantur culpam.* And for the formall authority of *Dante* and *Coccius*, it cannot conclude any thing to our prejudice, since these two Poets might well derive such a narration from the vulgar, meerly to sweeten and embellish their Poems, and that *Cicero* justly laughs at those who take the Poets for good security for any thing they say, when there is so great a difference between the conditions of a *Poem* and that of a *History*, *quippe*

Lib. de Leg.

cum in illa ad veritatem referantur omnia, in hoc ad delectationem pleræque.

a *In Cen-
sur. miscel.
præmio.*
b *Epist.
Polit. l. 9.
ep. 4.*

Since then it is easily discover'd by what we have already said, that the ordinary judgment falling on learned men is to be charg'd with Magick if conceive few will wonder, if he who was called by [a] *Scaliger*, *Monstrum sine vitio*, and by [b] *Politian* (with the suffrages of the publick voicé) *the Phoenix of all the great Witts*, *Picco* of

Mirandula

Mirandula, could not give *Hermolani Barbarus* so slender an account of his expence of Six whole years in the reading of Scholasticall Authors, but that the lustre of his great learning must needs so dazzle those who measur'd it with the fewnesse of his years when he began to break forth, that some, as [a] *Zara*, look'd on it as a *miracle*, and others, in [b] *Tarquini Gallusius*, are so injurious to him, as not to believe he could arrive to that wisdom and capacity but by the meanes of *Magick*. Upon which if I may give my opinion, I conceive I may truly say, that those who are so much prejudic'd against the Learning of this great man, were persons certainly as ignorant as that Divine, who, as the same *Picus* affirms in his *Apologie*, being ask'd what the word *Cabala* signify'd, answer'd, it was the name of a wicked man and an abominable *Heretick*, who had written divers things against Jesus Christ, and that all his followers were called *Cabalists*. For though it may be said, haply more truly of him than any other,

——— *Primordia tanta*

Vix pauci meruere senes———

and that his Learning is to be admir'd as well in respect of his age as the time he liv'd in, wherein Letters did but as it were bud out of the thorns of Barbarism; yet is it too great a mistrust and limitation of nature and her forces to think she could not raise this man to such a supreme degree of perfection, as might be a marke for all those that would be like him. Mankind is a large field wherein Nature exercises her self severall wayes, sometimes sporting her self with

an

an *Amphistides*, who could not tell as far as four, a *Thersites*, a *Meletides* or a *Cecilian*; and sometimes priding it in an *Alexander*, a *Cesar*, a *S^t. Augustine*, or a *Picus* of *Mirandula*; using, according to the opinion of *Trismegistus*, gold, silver, and lead in their Composition. It was a saying of *Neocles* in commendation of his Brother *Epicurus*, that Nature, in his generation, had assembled together all the Atomes of prudence into his Mother's Belly. And why may we not, with the same flourish, affirm that she may have united all the externall causes of Aire, climate, Stars, diet, towards the composition of a body, so to produce a Mind that should be the paragon of others, and as it were the mold by which others might be made. In this was cast that of *Paulus de la Scale*, who, in the year 1552. maintained, at *Boulogne* 1543 *Conclusions* upon severall subjects of all kinds, and that before he was 22. years of age. That of the young man mention'd by Cardinall *Bembus*, who propos'd 4500. at *Rome*. That of *Postellus* who moderated in the Schooles at 13. years of age. That of *Gesner* and *Erasmus*, who were more learned at twenty, then others ordinarily are at fifty. That of *Agrippa*, who at twenty two interpreted the *Pymander* of *Trismegistus*, and the Book *De verbo mirifico*. That of *Maldonat*, who was admir'd for his reading of Divinity at twenty seven. And lastly that of *Edward du Monim*, who may be said to have been made up all of fire and spirit, since that, ere he was arriv'd to the twenty sixth year of his age, wherein he was kill'd, he was so great a Master of the Italian, Spanish, Latine, Greek and Hebrew Tongues, as also of

Lib. de
Virg. Culice
et Terentii
fabulis

Philosophy,

Philosophy, Physick, Mathematicks and Theology, and had withall so fluent a vein of poesy in all those Languages, that he translated into Latine verse, and that in lesse then fifty dayes, *Du Bartas's* work of the Creation, and saw printed before his death, five or six large Volumes of his Poetry highly celebrated by the greatest witts of the last age, *Fumeau, du Perron, Goulu, Daurat, Morel, Baif, and du Bartas*. Since therefore *Pliny* tells us, that *Natura rerum vis atq; majestas in omnibus fide caret, si quis modo partes ejus ac non totum animo complectatur*, and that we can exemplify in so many that came so near this *Picus* of *Mirandula*, were it not more rationall to admire the extraordinary effects of *Nature* by judging of the one by the other, then basely to subject it to *Spirits* and *Demons*, especially in things where in there is not ought beyond the reach of her power and performance?

Lately, for the Abbot *Trithemius*, who is call'd by *Thevet* in his life, a *subtle Philosopher, an ingenious Mathematician, a famous Poet, an accomplish'd Historian, a very eloquent Orator, and eminent divine*; I find that those who would make him a Magician, may in the first place, ground their so doing on a little Book of three or four sheets printed under his name in the year 1612. intituled, *Veterum Sophorum Sigilla & imagines Magicae, sive Sculpturae Lapidum aut Gemmarum ex nomine Tetragrammaton cum signatura planetarum, Authoribus Zoroastre, Salomone, Raphaelè, Chaele, Hermete, Thelete, ex Joas Trithemii manuscripto eruta*. Another ground may be his own speaking so pertinently of Magick, and his giving himself the title of Magician in some of his Epistles.

stles. And a third and last, his writing the Book of *Steganography*, a treatise stuff'd with the names of *Devils*, and full of invocations, and, as very pernicious, condemn'd chiefly by *Charles Boville* a learned and eminent Divine, who makes it worse then that of *Agrippa* or any other Authour, in the Epistle he sent to *Germain Ganay* Counsellor to the King, and since Bishop of *Orleans*, four years after he had seen and read it in the very study and Abbey of the said *Trithemius*. This was Authority enough for [a] *Wierus*, [b] *Thevet*, [c] *Delrir*, [d] *Godelman* and most of the *Dæmonographers* to be of the same opinion.

But for my part, I am of another, as conceiving that those who would judge with more truth than passion as well of this last as the two former proofs, will beware how they blast with eternall infamy the memory of any man especially an Ecclesiastick, upon such poor grounds as these light conjectures, which are absolutely vaine, false, and forg'd. For besides the reasons layd down in our 6. Chap. that Pamphlet of making images and Characters upon Stones under certain Constellations is a pure imposture and cheat of *Booksellers*, who thought fit to print it as newly retriev'd out of *Trithemius's* study, whereas, above 120. years before *Camillus Lienard* made it the third Book of his *Mirroure of precious Stones*, besides that it was publish'd by *Ludovicus Dulcis* in a treatise on the same subject, as also by *Rodolphus Goclinus* in above four or five severall impressions of his Book *De Unguento Armario*; so true is that axiome of *Aristotle*, that, *Ad pauca respicientes de facili enuntiant*. But be it suppos'd that that little treatise had been transcrib'd out of *Trithemius's*,

Lib. de intellectu
sensu. &c.
p. 73.

a Lib. 2. de
præstig. c. 8.
b In the
lives of il-
lustrious
men.
c D'squis.
l. 2. q. 1.
d Lib. de
Magis &
venefic.

De gener. &
corrupt.

Trithemius's, who would thence inferre that a Book of superstitious Astrologie were a sufficient testimony to condemne thole of Magick who have it in their possession, especially since there cannot the least *indicium* be drawn from five or six Epistles printed at the end of *Trithemius's* Polygraphy, to confirme that opinion to his prejudice, nay they rather justifie him, as may appear by the reading thereof and by [a] *Gerard Dorne* and [b] *James Gohory*, who shew from their enigmaticall sense that they cannot be interpreted of any thing but Chymistry. So that it may be truely said that all the suspicion there is of his being a Magician, as he himself confesseth, proceeds only from the publication of a Letter he sent to a Carmelite of Gaunt named *Arnoldus Boscius*, wherein he specifid many miraculous and extraordinary effects, whereof yet he discover'd the wayes of performance in his treatise of *Steganographie*. For the judgment thereof of *Charles Boville* being publish'd about the same time, people were presently perswaded that such things could not be taught in any but a Magick Book, and that *Trithemius* must needs be excellently well vers'd in Conjuring and Invocations.

a *In clavi philosoph. Chymica, sub finem.*
 b *Lib. de mysteriis notar & l. I. Comment. in Paracel. de vita longa in Epist. ad Joannem Westenburg.*

a *Præfat. Comment. in Paracel. de vita longa.*
 b *Pag. 12. of his Cyphers.*
 c *De divinat. cap. 5.*
 d *History of Tongues. c. 14. fol. 152. 159.*

Now the first that oppos'd this calumny, after he, who was most concern'd in it, had clear'd himself, as well by the key to that book, and diverse passages of his Works, was [a] *James Gohory*, who writt a short vindication of this *Steganography*, against the calumnies of *Wierus Boville* and *Cardan*. In which designe he was seconded by [b] *Vigenere*, [c] *Boissardus* and [d] *Duretus*, who have shewn that *Trithemius* had no other designe in that book then to discover a new, and much

much surer way then that of his *Polygraphie*, to write and communicate freely one to another wharever were more secret, by the meanes of an invention which could never be suspected to have any other then the right sense, nor dis-cypher'd by any but him that had the key of it. This is further confirm'd by one *Sigismond* an Abbot of the order of *St. Benedict*, who writt a Book, called, *Trithemius sui ipsius vindex*; and by the divine *Adam Tamerus*, in an Oration printed by him on that subject at *Ingolstadt*. But more remarkably then any, and so as to silence all difficulty, is it done by *Gustavus Selenus* who hath lately given us an explication of this *Steganography* in the third book of nine, that he hath publish'd concerning *Cryptographie*. For he first shews why *Trithemius* would make it so difficult; why he would make use of that maske of spirits and invocations; and then he explains them and gives such overtures, as whence we may easily judge how far they disparage their own judgment, who with so little consideration blame things they understand not, and withall, that ordinary saying is true, that the most *learned* are not always the most *discreet*.

Adam Tamerus

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Robert of Lincolne, and Albertus Magnus.

IF it be true that the Authority of a many makes errour the lesse censurable, and that the number of those that erre with us makes our faults seem the more excusable, gives our opinions some ground, and hides the defects of our persuasion; I doubt not but those may easily make such an excuse their sanctuary, who seem to write out of no other design than to revive, in their workes, all those calumnies which have been hitherto maintain'd by vulgar ignorance to the prejudice of the happy memory of *Albertus Magnus*, since that according to the Satyrist,

———*Faciunt hi plura, sed illos
Defendit numerus, junct aq; umbone phalanges:*

But if the number of these Authors were not yet leis considerable than the proofs they bring, I should ingenuously confess, that it were in me no lesse temerity to take a course contrary to them, than it was anciently in Travellers not to cast a stone at those Pillars and *Mercuries* in the highwaies, to give others notice of them. And since it is not always, according to the saying of *Pythagoras*, the surest way to follow the most beaten track, & that the most common opinions are ordinarily the most false, as being such as are rather applauded than examined; I shall stand upon the same liberty, which I have taken from the first Chapter of this *Apology*, to passe from the vindication of

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Religious

Religious men to that of *Bishops*, and shew, that it ever great Learning and the ignorance of a barbarous age prejudic'd any man, *Robert Great-head*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, or, as others, of *Lancaster*; and *Albertus Magnus* Bishop of *Ratisbonne* have just cause to complain.

As to the first, if we only except certain Demographers, who, upon the account of a *Brazen Head* that spoke, which *John Gower* an English Poet, said he had endeavoured to make, to serve him instead of an Oracle, rank him among the Magicians; all Authors agree with *Pits*, that he was one of the most learned men of his time, a subtile Philosopher, an excellent Divine, a man equally acquainted with the seven liberal Sciences, and the Latine, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, one that writ a great number of Books, whereof there are some remaining in Philosophy. Besides all which, he was of so holy and exemplary a life, that (not to prove it by the Fable, so well refuted by *Delrio*, concerning his death, and that of Pope *Innocent* fourth) *Matthew Paris* writes in his *Chronicles*, that he was in so much reputation among the English, that they called him, *the holy Prelate, the King's faithful Counsellour, the Reformer of the Monks, the Director of Priests, the Instructor of the Clergy, the Nursing-father of Scholars and Students, the Preacher of the People, and the Scourge of Vices.*

And for *Albertus*, I am very much oblig'd to *Panlus Jovius*, that he had not honour'd him with his Elogy, but upon the Title of *Great*, which was given him even while he liv'd by the universal consent of all Schools. For if we consider with *Bosero*, on what persons, and upon what occasions that

In confessori-
one Aman-
tis apud
Selden.

Vol. 1. de
reb. Angli-
cis.

Disquis. l.
c. 4 qu. 4.
Sect. 1.

In elogiis
viri doc-
torum.

Livre du
gouverne-
ment d'e-
st.

that title hath been bestow'd, I believe there will be some miracle in it, to see a simple *Fryar* of the Order of St. *Dominick* have an Epithet given him, not so ordinary with *Popes*, *Emperours*, and Sovereign *Princes*, had not his works discover'd his desert to be so great, and his Learning so extraordinary, that such a recompence might seem inconsiderable, if *Trismegistus* had not so refer'd the title of *thrice great* to himself, that it hath not been since communicated to any. Nor shall I need to say with *Trithemius*, that *Non surrexit post eum vir similis ei qui in omnibus literis, scientiis et rebus tam doctus, eruditus, et expertus fuerit.* Nor yet with *Thevet*, that he was so curious in the disquisition of the Secrets of Nature, that it might be said, one part of his soul was transported into the Heavens, another into the aire, the third under the earth, and a fourth upon the waters, and that he had by some extraordinary course, so united and contracted together his whole soul, that nothing that this world comprehends could escape it. For all those Elogies, added to what is commonly said of him,

*Inclytus Albertus doctissimus atq; disertus,
Quadrivium docuit, ac totum scibile scivit,*

cannot so well help us to judge of his Learning as the reading of his own works which would make almost as many volums as those of his Disciple *Aquinas*, if they were as well reprinted. It is not therefore to be admir'd, if so many things may be said of him upon the account of his knowledge, which being so great and extraordinary, some may very well be extremely doubtful,

170 R 2

others

L. de Ker.
inventor.
c. 12.

others, absolutely false and fictitious. To confirm this we have *John Mathew de Luna*, who living about 120 years since, held, though contrary to the opinion of *Polydor Virgil*, *Magius*, *Mayerus*, *Pancirollus*, *Florence*, *Rivault*, *Zezoldus*, and all Authors that writ of the invention of Fire-workes, that *Albertus Magnus* first found out the use of Canon, Arquebule and Pistol; For I could never find in these Authors any thing that came near this opinion save that such inventions were put in practice in his time, and that by a Germane Monk call'd *Berthold Schwartz*, or by a certain *Chymist*, who, as *Cornazanus*, an Author ancient enough, conceives, liv'd in the City of *Cullen*, where it is certain that *Albertus Magnus* liv'd, ever after he had taken the habit of a *Dominican*.

And this makes me not a litle wonder that the Alchymists should never bethink them of holding this opinion, since they might have done it with much more reason, than attribute to him the knowledge of the Philosophers stone, as hath lately done their great favourer and abetter *Majerus*, who is not ashamed, in his *Symbols upon the golden table* of the 12 Nations, to affirm, that *St. Dominick* had it first, and that those to whom he had left it, communicated it to *Albertus Magnus*, who by the advantages he made of it, discharg'd in lesse then three years, all the debts of his Bishoprick of *Ratisbonne*, and afterwards taught it *St. Thomas Aquinas*, while he was his disciple. To give this the greater Authority, he highly celebrates three Books of *Chymistry*, which he attributes to him, whereof since there is not any of them either among the collection of his works, or specified in the Catalogue made of them by

Tri-

Trithemius, we are only to take notice of that L. 3. de which *Fran. Picus* saies he writ, *Of Quintessence*, cap. 10. to shew by the forgery of that, what account should be made of the others, it being certain that *Albertus Magnus* never contributed a thought a Tract. 1. towards it. This may be prov'd, not only from c. 2. his laughing at the Alchymists and their pretended Transmutations in his third Book of (a) *Miraculosa*, b L. 3. as (b) *Velcurion*, and (c) *Guybert* endeavour to shew, since he there maintains a quite Physic. c. contrary opinion; but because the Author of that 13. Book calls himself therein, a Friar of the Order c Alchym. of St. *Francis*, and saies he writ it in prison. These two circumstances, which must infallibly relate to *John de Rupescissa*, easily evince, that some Impostor made it his businessse to play the Plagiary, and steal it out of a Book he had written on that subject, to divulge and gain it reputation under the name of *Albertus Magnus*, according to the ordinary cheat of all Alchymists, who make this their common sleight to inveigle people into a belief of their promises, and by that means,

Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus addere nubem.

To come then to what is most essential in this Chapter, and to what lies in our power to deliver this eminent person out of the Quagmire of the *Magicians*, as we have already drawn him out of that of the *Alchymists*. This were soon done a In Cata- if we would but appeal to the judgement of *An- log. Script. *thony de Siennes*, and Father *Justinian*, who writ his Eccl. Hist. Life, or to take witnesses disengag'd from all in- et Antipa. terest or passion, (a) *Trithemius*, and (b) *J. Picus* L. 1. c. 3. of *Mirandula*, who absolutely clear him from b Apolog. art. 5.*

R 3

this

this calumny. Adding withal, that when it is said that *Albertus Magnus* was addicted to Magic, it must be understood of the *Natural*, for fear lest the false opinion of the contrary, might give many occasion to imagine that it were unlawful for us to do what he hath done.

But since all these Authorities conclude nothing if some answer be not made to the proofs ordinarily produc'd to blast his innocence (not to mention that even from his youth, he had such a particular devotion to the *B. Virgin*, that she wrought such an alteration in his mind, that of an unrefin'd and unpolish'd one, she made it capable of comprehending all things) we are to consider, that these proofs have no other ground than that of two Books falsly publish'd under his name, and that *Androides*, which hath given occasion to thousands of Fables and impertinencies frequent in Authors.

*Brevius de
sign. Eccles.
10m. I. l. 9.
c. 11. fig.
36.*

*a De pre-
not. l. 7.
c. 7.
b Disquis.
l. 1. c. 3.*

For the two Books *Franciscus* (a) *Picus*, and (b) *Delrio* agree in this, that it were an extraordinary injury to think this holy person Author of that *de Mirabilibus*, and in these words clear him of it, *Alberto Magno tributus Liber de Mirabilibus, vanitate et superstitione repertus est, sed magno Doctori partus suppositivus.* To which *F. Picus* adds, that it is falsly attributed to him, as many others were, as, among the rest, that *de secretis Mulierum*, since *Albertus* is not so much as nam'd at the beginning of it, as he who hath writ a Comment upon it would perswade us; besides that it is easily perceav'd, that the Author of it, who ever he was, liv'd some time after him, because he often cites his Authority. So that all the quarrel now lies against that intitled, the

Mirror

Mirror of Astrology, where is treated of the approved and forbidden Authors that have written of that Art. This is condemn'd by *Gerson* and *Agrippa* as extremely superstitious, and by *F. Picus* and divers others, because the Author of it maintains a very erroneous opinion in favour of Magical Books, which, with submission to better advice, he holds, should be carefully preserv'd, because the time then drew near, that, for certain reasons, not specify'd, men would have occasion to read and make use of them.

To clear *Albertus* from all suspicion of Magick upon the account of this Book, I can produce no better testimony than that of *J. Picus*, a person more fit to judge of this difficulty than any other, who in his first Book against *Astrologers*. maintains that the Treatise *De Libris licitis et illicitis*, was infallibly writ by *R. Bacon*, whose custome it was to cite and produce such Authors in all his Books, which cannot be observ'd in *Albertus Magnus*. Besides the said *R. Bacon* was so strangely addicted to judicial Astrology, that *Henry d'Assia*, *William of Paris*, and *Nicholas Oresmus*, all very eminent Doctors, thought themselves oblig'd to inveigh against his works, and all the vanities of Astrologers. But be it imagin'd this Book was writ by *Albertus*, I see not why his affirming that *Magical Books* should be preserv'd by *Inquisitors*, and persons of like Authority should make so much noise, since that about 100 years since, it was the advice of *Revelin* not to^a *Antipal.*
burn those of the *Jewes*. [a] *Trithemius* is of the^{l. 1. c. 2.}
same opinion, & [b] *Vasquez*. saies peremptorily, ^{b 1. part. 9.}
that *Magical Books* are necessary, and *Magicians* ^{2. art. 3.}
permitted by God for the greater conviction of ^{disp. 20. c.} 4.

R 4.

Libertines

bertines and Atheists, who by this means might be drawn to acknowledge there are other substances than what we judge of by the finger and the eye: *Quo admissio, saies he, facilius in eam sententiam adducantur ut numen aliquod fateantur, et magis ab Atheismo deterreantur, quo avidius Magicis artibus student, quod nisi inter Hereticos Deus permisisset, pœnè omnes in Atheismo versarentur.* To which concurs also *Lactantius*, when he saies, that *Democritus, Epicurus, Et Dicaearchus* would not have so confidently deny'd the immortality of the Soul, *Mago aliquo presente, qui sciret certis criminibus cieri ab inferis animas, et adesse, et præbere se humanis oculis videndas, et loqui et futura prædicere.*

a Apud E-man. de Moura, Sect. 2. c.

17. art. 6.

b 3. Decad. Peregr.

quest. c. 2

qu. 3.

c De gestis R. g. Anglor. l. 2.

c. 10.

d Apud Selden. de

Diis Syriæ

Syntag. 1.

c. 2.

e In Exod.

f Harmon. Cant. 3.

tom. 4.

g Disquis.

l. 1. c. 4.

h Lib. 2.

i Epist. ep. 6.

De incon.

Ant. l. 2. c.

2.

If after all this *Albertus* be charg'd with any thing of Magick, it must be on some other pretence then that of these two books; since it is clear from what hath been said, that he never had any hand in them, All therefore we have now to do, is to refute their error who are perswaded that *brassen heads* made under certain Constellations may give answers, and be as it were guides and Counsellors, upon all occasions, to those that had them in their possession. Among these is one [a] *Yefes*, who affirms that *Henry de Villeine* made such a one at *Madrid*, broken to pieces afterward by the order of *John 2. King of Castile*. The same thing is affirm'd by [b] *Bartholomew Sibillus*, and the Author of the *Image of the world*, of *Virgil*; by [c] *William of Malmsbury*, of *Sylvester*; by [d] *John Gower*, of *Robert of Lincoln*; by the common people of *England*, of *Roger Bacon*; and by [e] *Tostatus Bishop of Avilla*. [f] *George of Venice*, [g] *Delrio*, [h] *Sibillus*, [i] *Raguseus*, [i] *Delancre*.

and others, too many to mention, of *Albertus Magnus*; who, as the most expert, had made an entire man of the same metal, and had spent 30 years without any interruption in forming him under several Aspects and Constellations. For example; he made the *eyes*, according to the said *Tostatus*, in his Commentaries upon *Exodus*, when the Sun was in a Sign of the Zodiack correspondent to that part, casting them out of diverse Metals mixt together, and mark'd with the Characters of the same Signs and Planets, and their several and necessary Aspects. The same method he observ'd in the Head, Neck, Shoulders, Thighs and Leggs, all which were fashioned at several times, and being put and fastened together in the form of a Man, had the faculty to reveale to the said *Albertus* the solutions of all his principal difficulties. To which they add (that nothing be lost of the story of the Statue) that it was batter'd to pieces by *Sr. Thomas*, meerey because he could not endure its excessive of prating.

But to give a more rational account of this *Androides* of *Albertus*, as also of all these miraculous heads, I conceive the original of this Fable may well be deduc'd from the *Teraph* of the *Hebrews*, by which as *Mr. [a] Selden* affirms, many are of opinion, that we must understand what is said in [b] *Genesis* concerning *Laban's* Gods, and in the first book of [c] *Kings* concerning the Image which *Michol* put into the bed in *David's* place. For *R. Eleazar* holds that it was made of the head of a male child, the first born, and that dead-born, under whose tongue they applyed a Lamen of Gold, whereon were engrav'd the Characters and Inscriptions of certain Planets, which

^a *De diis Syris, Syn.*
 I. c. 2.
 b c. 31.
 c c. 19.

Pergr. qu.
decad. 3. c.
2. q. 3.

which the Jews superstitiously wandred up and down with, instead of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, or the *Ephod* of the high Priest. And that this Original is true and well deduc'd, there is a manifest *indicium*; in that *Henry d' Assia* and *Bartholomæus Sibilus* affirm, that the *Androides* of *Albertus*, and the Head made by *Virgil*, were compos'd of flesh and bone, yet not by Nature but by Art. But this being judged impossible by modern Authors, and the vertue of *Images*, *Annulets*, and Planetary *Sigills* being in great reputation, men have thought ever since (taking their opinion from *Trismegistus* affirming in his *Asclepion*, that, of the Gods, some were made by the Sovereign God, and others by men, who, by some Art, had the power to unite the invisible Spirits to things visible and corporeal, as he is explain'd at large by *St. Augustine*) that such Figures were made of Copper or some other Metall, whereon men had wrought under some favourable Aspects of Heaven and the Planets. Which opinion, since it is the more common, it is fit we earnestly buckle with, and shew that it was not without reason refuted by *St. Thomas*, *William of Paris* & *Niphon*, as false, absurd, and erroneous. To prove this the more easily we are to presuppose, that speech is the action of some thing that is living, and is not perform'd but by the voice which is defin'd by *St. Thomas*, after *Aristotle*, *Sonus ab ore animalis protatus*. For it must needs be granted, that, if these Heads spoke, it was either because they were living and animate, or that the Demons spake in them. If the former, the Soul whereby they did it, must be vegetative, sensitive, or rational. It could not be vegetative,

De civit.
dei. l. 8.
c. 23.

sive, because, according to the faculties of the said Soul; such bodies should be ranked among *Plants*, be nourish'd, increase and produce their like. It could not be *sensitive*, for that, besides the faculties of the vegetative Soul, it presupposes two more, which are particular to it, and never granted to those Statues. Much less then can it be *rational*, unless we grant withal, that they could apprehend the Species of things, discourse, remember them, and, in a word, be like us.

Moreover, if these Heads and Statues were really such, that is, living and animate; it was either by an *accidental* form or a *substantial*; not the first, at least according to the opinion of all Philosophers, who will never grant, that to discourse, to speak, to teach, to foresee what is to come; and such effects can depend on an accident, and not on a Substance. The latter is less possible, because such Statues could not receive that substantial form till they had been de-vested of what they had before; which there is no colour to imagine they should have done by a simple transmutation of figure, since the form of the copper and of their matter was still such as it was wont to be. Further, I would gladly know, where was their *motion*, the first *indivium* of life; where their *senses*, the sources of all knowledge; and, in a word, (not to ravel out selves into thousands of difficulties, arising from the original and operation of that Soul) where were the Parts and *Organs* necessary for their discourse and ratiocination.

Nor

Nor does it avails any thing, to grant that the *Demons* have spoken in them; for it must be done either as the Soul does in our Body, by the assistance of its Organs, or as one should do that answers in a Chest, or some broken pot. The former way is impossible such Statues being not furnish'd with *Muscles*, *Lungs*, an *Epiglottis*, and what is requisite to a perfect articulation of the Voice. The latter is as ridiculous, for, if it be true, why should those men take such pains to make a Man rather than a Trumpet, or a Head rather than a Bottle, since the Devil might as well answer by the one as the other, and that if he hath heretofore uttered his Oracles in *Statues*, it was to engage men to adore them, to the contempt of their Creator, whereas there is not the least mention of any Idolatry, in the Stories of this *Androides*, and these fine *Heads*. So that we may well conclude with the Royal Prophet, *The Idols of the Gentiles are Silver and Gold, they have mouths and speak not, nor is there any breath in their nostrils*; all we have to do (the reasons of *Trismegistus* being fully refuted by *Niphus*) being to satisfy the Authority of *Tostatus*, one of the most ancient and most authentick Patrons of *Albertus's Androides*, that so we may at length give a final sentence against the vanity of all these Fables and pernicious falsities.

L. 2. de
Demonibus
c. 12. 13.

I must indeed confesse, that *Tostatus* was the most learned, nay the miracle, if I may so expresse my self, of the learned men of his age; since that, being *Counsellour* to the King, great *Referendary* of *Spain*, and *Professour*, in *Salamanca*, of *Philosophy*, *Divinity*, *Civil* and *Canon Law*, and all at the same time, he hath neverthelesse written
such

such large and laborious Commentaries, that were we not certain he dy'd at forty, they were enough to perswade us he had liv'd an entire age. But when I find him affirming therein many things justly accounted fabulous by the World, as for instance, what is said concerning the birth of the Prophet *Merlin*, the Magick of *Virgil*, a brazen head that discover'd the Jewes in *Spain*, a certain earth in *Hebron* that was good to eat, the *Androides* of *Albertus Magnus*, and abundance of the like, I cannot but look on them as so many black patches of his humanity; nay, if we appeal to *Scaliger*, we must ingenuously acknowledge, that *hoc ostentationis vitium fuit magnis viris, ut globatim congererent omnia, non ut nihil reliquisset. sed ut nihil nescivisse viderentur.* To re-inforce which Argument, if any shall with *Aristotle* insist, that common report cannot be absolutely false, and consequently, that so many Authors would not have spoken of the *Androides* of *Albertus*, if something had not been in the wind, I shall finally answer, That my design is only to shew that he could not by the help of superstitious Magick, make a Statue that should give him answers in an intelligible and articulate voice, upon all the doubts and difficulties he propos'd thereto, as well of things present as to come; and not absolutely so deny that he might compose some Head or Statue of man, like that of *Memnon*, from which proceeded a small sound, and pleasant noise, when the rising Sun came, by his heat, to rarify and force out, by certain small Conduits, the aire which in the cold of the night was condens'd within it. Or haply they might be like those Statues of *Bostins*, whereof *Cassiodorus* speaking

L. 1. de Plantis
Theoph.
Ethic. l. 7.

L. 1. Vari- speaking said, *Metalla mugiunt, Diomedis in ere*
 ar. epist. 45. *grues buccinant, aeneus anguis insibilat, aves simu-*
lata frinnunt, et qua propriam vocem nesciunt,
ab ere dulcedinem probantur emittere cantilena; for
 such I doubt not but may be made by the help of
 that part of *Natural Magick* which depends on
 the *Mathematicks*. It were therefore much more
 rational thus to interpret whatever hath been
 said of this *Androides*, than to prostitute the re-
 putation of *Albertus Magnus*, *Robert of Lincoln*,
 and so many other persons of considerable quali-
 ty to the judgment of certain Authors, who are
 so easily carried away with the slender assurance
 of a common opinion,

Ovid. Met.
 6.

————— *Qua veris addere falsa*
Gaudet, et è minimo sua per mendacia crescit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Popes, Sylvester II. and Gregory VII.

AS it was not lawful for every one in the old Testament to lend a shoulder to uphold the Ark of the Covenant, even though it were ready to fall, so these are a many that think it were not convenient, that all kinds of Writers undertook the defence of him whom *Christ Jesus* hath left as Head and Vicegerent of his militant Church. The reason is, that being persecuted by the enemy of mankind, who hath taken into his service all the modern Hereticks, the better to oppose him, and so to strike at the foundation of spiritual Monarchy, He should employ no other than such Christian and Catholick *Hercules's*, as were *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, and the ornament of Gascony *Florimundus Remundus*, to whom it properly belongs to vindicate the injuries done to the Successors of *St. Peter*, to purge their *Annals* of errors, and to heal their blindness who are imprudently carryed away with the forgeries & calumnies of Hereticks. And yet since, as *Tertullian* saies, every one may be a Soldier in what concerns the defence of Religion; and that God was pleas'd to make use of the sling of a poor Shepherd to abate the pride of the *Philistins*, we may presume (yet without searching into the secrets of his will to find out the cause of *Uzzah's* death, for endeavouring to uphold the Arke) that, as he permits the Devil to set upon the Church by the means of the most inconsiderable Heretick, so is he not displeas'd that any one should

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The History of Magic
should defend her. And this I think it my duty to do, as to what concerns the crime of *Magick* wherewith the simplicity of some ancient Authors and the malice of modern Hereticks, would blast the reputation of those who have sat at the helm thereof in the quality of Popes. Not that I am so unadvised as to think their innocence stands in any need of my pen, since it is strong enough to rescue it self, with the assistance of the holy Spirit who never forsakes it, from such an accusation, and to overcome all the tempestuous hurricans of such calumnies,

*Illis fluctus rupe ut vasta retundit,
Et varias secum latrantes dissipat undas
Mole sua. —*

But being both by the relation of a Catholic, & the title of this Apology oblig'd to this duty, I might well be laugh'd at, if presuming to vindicate all the eminent persons, I should forget my self so far, as not to say something of those, who, by reason of their dignity, are the most highly considerable. And this the rather, since I wishal pretend to draw from this Chapter the strongest Argument that may be, to justify all the others mentioned in this Book, whom no man will hereafter wonder to find charg'd with *Magick*, when even those who command us as Liverenants of God, and whom we respect as the high Priests & Prelates of our Religion could not avoid that reproach. Yet as God never permits error so to insinuate into any thing of importance, but there is light enough to discover it, if a man will look but narrowly thereto; so in this case, so many justifying circumstances offer themselves, and there are so many proofs to undermine the
very

very ground-work of these accusations that men must needs be either strangely passionate or ignorant, it, having ever so little reason or judgment they do not perceive, that all those things which concern the Magick of the Popes, are nothing but *Dreames, Castles in the Aire, Chimaræ's & Fables.*

For to begin with those that are lesse suspected, and by consequence may the most easily be vindicated, I conceive the first charg'd though but slightly, with this crime, was *Leo* the III. to whom is attributed a little Book called, *Enchiridion Leonis Papa, contra omnia mundi pericula*, containing abundance of *Crosses*, a many names of God, and the *Cabala*, abundance of mysticall and unintelligible words. Whence it haply comes, that [a] *Le Loyer* and [b] *Delrio* do, with reason, laugh at those who think that Book was sent by this Pope to the Emperour *Charlemagne* since it containes only a certaine *Theurgy* very flat and ill manag'd which yet some have since endeavour'd to disguise in *Italy* under the name of *St. Ubald* Bishop and Confessor. But as for that sending, theres no more likelihood in it then in what is related by *Emanuel De Moura*, who sayes that there being a certain Scholler in the City of *Conimbra*, who heal'd wounds by vertue of certaine words and prayers, the common report was, that they had been first sent by Pope *Sixtus V.* to *John of Austria*, then in war against the *Turk*, to be us'd in order to the curing of his wounded men. For as the said *de Moura* affirms, the Scholler gave him another reason of the vertue of those prayers, such as had no coherence with that of the Common opinion.

Next to *Leo III.* may be put that Monster,

S

or

or rather Chimera, *John* the eighth, otherwise called *Pope Joan*, a very knowing person and one that had writt a Book in Magick, as *Balans* and the *Centuriators* affirme, if that *Achilles* of the holy see, and the Patrone of Papall honour, *Florimundus Remnndus*, had not undeceived us as to that fable, discovering the popular Errour which had kept it in vogue, and snatching it out of the Trophey which Hereticks had rais'd thereby against the Popes, so to turn it to their own shame and confusion, there being not now any among them so unadvised as to presume to revive it in his books, unlesse he expects to be immediately declar'd a malicious person in the superlative degree, or one very eminent for his ignorance and want of Judgment. Having not therefore any thing to adde to what that learned Counsellour of the City of *Bourdeaux* hath said of him, I shall passe to *Martin* II. whom I shall not acknowledge justly charg'd with magick though *Platinus* said of him, that *malis artibus Pontificatum adeptus est*. For we are to consider it meerly as a reproach of his enemies, and that that manner of expression, frequent in *Platinus*, even in the lives of divers other Popes who were not Magicians, must be understood of the *favour, violence, corruption, Simony*, and a many other unjustifiable wayes, whereby such as endeavour the satisfaction of their ambition more than the tranquillity of their Conscience and the well fare of the universall Church, may happily attain, though not without abundance of trouble, that supreme dignity of Ecclesiasticall Monarchy.

De praesig.
l. 4. c. 20.

To that Catalogue, if we credit *Wierus*, we must

must adde all those inclusively who had the
 Chaire from *Sylvester* II. to *Gregory* VII. that
 is about fisteene or sixteene. But since *Benno* ,
 a schismaticall Cardinall, who made a Catalogue
 of the Popes that were Magicians, reckons but
 four or five, that really were such, viz. *Sylvester* II.
Benedict IX. *John* XX. and XXII. and *Gre-*
gory VII. three whereof had never been sus-
 pected but by occasion of the other two, I think
 I need do no more then shew what this *Benno* was,
 and endeavour the particular vindication of *Syl-*
vester and *Gregory* so to clear them all together of
 that calumny, and discover how little reason men
 have had to be corrupted so long by the Leaven
 of this erroneous opinion. For when I reflect on
 the first and most ancient Authors from whom
 this kind of injurie hath been deriv'd against the
 successors of *St. Peter*, I cannot but say with *Apu-*
leius , *per injuriam est ei fidem in pejoribus habere* ,
qui in melioribus non haberes , and consequently ,
 fall into a double admiration ; First, at the sim-
 plicity of a many of our *Demonographers* and mo-
 derne *Historians* , who fill their Books with such
 triviall stories and fables taken out of those Au-
 thours without any discretion. Secondly, at the
 inveterate malice of *Hereticks* who, to satisfie
 the envy and hatred they bare the holy See,
 (whose ruine they have as much conspir'd as ever
Hannibal did that of Rome) make it still their bu-
 sinesse to seek out those calumnies and reproaches
 which good Authours cannot furnish them with,
 in the sepulchers and common shores of Schisma-
 ticks, and, as the Civilian *Michael Riccius* hath *Apolog. 2.*
 well observ'd, *Antiquos & manuscriptos libros in* *Lib. de fide*
lucubrosius lucis laboriose evolvunt et ex fœtido pulvere *Gallica.*

autores quosvis excitant, quos licentiosè in ipsos Pontifices scripsisse deprehendum. Whether this be so, I appeal to that Collection which *Matthias Flaccius Illyricus* hath made in that great Volume entituled, *Catalogus testium veritatis*, which I cannot more fitly compare to anything then to that *Poneropolis* of *Philip* of Macedon. For as that City was inhabited only by Exiles, Rogues, Cutpurises, pillory'd persons, and all the dregges and offalls of the Country; So may it be truly said, that (the depraved passages out of the Fathers and Councils only excepted) all that so vast Catalogue is only a heap of their shreds and fragments who had before either kick'd against the Church; or been cutt off from it as rotten and gangren'd Members, such as, among a million of others, was the pretended Cardinal *Benno*, who made it his busines to give us the representation of a bad Pope in *Gregory VII.* as *Xenophon* did that of a Vertuous and accomplish'd Prince under the person of *Cyrus*. For I can hardly believe that a man could say such strange things of the wickedest person in the world, as what this Author saies of such a Pope, and upon his account of *Sylvester I.* *John XX. XXI.* and *Benedict IX.* who, if we may believe him, did by his Magick, force women to run after him through Woods and over Mountains, and gave infallible predictions of things to come. And yet these fables are nothing in comparison of what he addes concerning the Archbishop *Laurence*, who perfectly understood the singing of Birds, and *Gregory VII.* who cast the holy Host into the fire, conspir'd the Emperours death, poison'd six Popes, by the help of his friend

friend and Confident *Gerard Brauztus*, and had so well Learn'd Magick of *Theophylact* and *Laurence Sylvester's* disciples, that he scatter'd fire when he shook his armes, and sent out thunder-cracks out of his sleeve. But this Authour speakes too liberally to be believ'd, and since it was his designe to traduce the Popes, he should have done it with more modesty and judgment, and so not have given [a] *Delrio* and [b] *Florimundus Romanus* occasion to Imagine his Book supposititious and forg'd, at the eruption of *Lutheranisme*: or rather that he might have avoided the distaste of the more re'ver'd and conscientious among those of the *Reformation*, and particularly [c] *Vigner*, who hath these words of him, *Cardinall Benno speakes after a strange manner of the Popes of these times, as also of the meanes whereby they arriv'd to that height, I know not whether he be an Authour that may be credited, or no.* Adde to that the Censure given of him by * *Papyrius Massan*, in the History he hath written with too much liberty of Conscience of the Bishops that have govern'd the Church of *Rome*; for speaking of *Sylvester* and the injury done him by accounting him a Magician, he sayes, *Atque hujus fabula inventorem suspicor Bennonem presbyterum Cardinalem: is enim odio Hildebrandi multa quoque de predecessoribus eius fingit, quos ob mathematicas disciplinas velut Maleficos damnat, et hanc de Sylvestro narrat fabulam.* Whence may easily be interr'd that *Bibliander* hath a mind maliciously to deceive us, when he affirms, in his *Chronicle*, that this *Benno* was created *Cardinall* by *Hildebrand*, with whom he was in great friendship, whereas it is evident that that dignity was conferr'd on him by the

a *Disquis.*
l. 2. qu. 9.
b *Of Anti-christ cap.*
17.

c *Biblioth. Histor. part.*
2. p. 650.

where he speaks of the death of *Sylvester* at the end of the year 1003.

* *Lib. 4.*

Tabula 13.

Pope *Clement* III, and that he ever follow'd the party of the Emperour *Henry* IV. a Schismatick and excommunicated person. To which may be added, for confirmation, his Letter found at the Councell conven'd by the Cardinalls who sided with *Henry* and his Antipope, against *Urban* II. and those whom they call'd favourers and followers of the Heresies invented by Pope *Hildebrand*; to disgrace whom, *Ultramus* Bishop of *Noremberg* and all the Partisans of the Emperour scatter'd abroad abundance of Challenges and Libells, as it is ordinary with Princes to be ever well furnish'd with such Advocates and defenders of their Causes, be they good or bad.

But as this pretended Cardinall *Benno*, a person equally discarded both by Protestants and Catholics, seems to have done all he did out of a set designe and purpose, to calumniate *Gregory* VII. so must it be acknowledg'd, that *Platinus*, an eminent writer of the lives of Popes, hath too credulously embraced what was said before him by *Martin de Citeaux* and *Godefrey* of *Monmouth*, in his Additions upon *Sigebert*, concerning Pope *Sylvester*, to represent him to us as a famous Conjurer and Magician. It were much better to search the truth of this story to the bottom, and not to trust either this *Martin*, who had been already deceiv'd in the life of Pope *Joan*, or *Godefrey*, who enterraines us with the fine Romance of *Arthur* and his Prophet *Merlin*. For had he pursu'd his designe, with as much integrity as he was oblig'd to have done, those ridiculous fables, so frequent in his Writings, would not give us at this day occasion to think him not well affected towards the Popes, because of *Paul* II. who

who devested him of all honours and dignities after he had put him to the Torture. Or haply he made his advantage of whatever came to his hands taking all for current mony, so by those segaries, to humour the Readers, and shew he was not ignorant of what others had said before him, than not that he gave them any credit himself.

The same judgment may we passe upon *Martinus Polonus* who publish'd such another story of *Sylvester* in the year 1320. for it is clear that he hath translated all he sayes of him, in his *Chronologicall Supputations*, out of this *Godofrey* who liv'd about the year 1150. and one *Gervase* an Orator of the City of *Arles* and Chancellour to the Emperour *Otto III.* but withall the most confident forger of Fables and the most egregious Lyer that ever took pen in hand. To prove which, there needs no more than the reading of his own Book, *De oculis Imperatoris*, where all he sayes is so extravagant, and at such a distance with reason and both ordinary and extraordinary possibility, that the Fables of *Æsop*; and the stories of *Amadis* are a hundred times more credible. Besides, not to make any difficulty about the diversity of Coppies, and the Additions made to this *Martinus Polonus*, it were more prudence to conclude, that this authority cannot any way prejudice *Sylvester*, not only for the foregoing reason, but also because he tires us with such abundance of fabulous things in his *Supputations*, that it were no lesse lightnesse of pertwasion than want of judgement to credit any thing he sayes of *Sylvester*. I produce for testimony the tales he hath stollen out of the Book

de Infantia Salvatoris, and those he makes upon the history of *Pilate*, of the Greeks, who would steal the bodies of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, of *Sylveſter's* Dragon, which deſtroi'd every day ſix thousand perſons, and that of another that was of ſuch vaſt bulk that eight yoke of Oxen were not able to draw him to the place where he was to be burnt. To which may be added thoſe of *Arthur* of Britain, of the Prophet *Merlin*, of *Pope Joan*, of the *Golden Letters* of a hundred pound weight a peice, which *Charlemaigne* beſtow'd on twenty three Monafteries he had founded, & abundance of the ſame ſuſſe good for nothing but, with the help of a cradle, to rock little Children aſleep.

And laſtly, for *Vincent d' Beauvais*, and *Antonine de Florence* who may have ſer fall ſomewhat of the Magick of theſe Popes, I ſhall. with *Melchior Canus*, and *Florimundus Remundus*, confidently affirme, that though they were creditable perſons, yet in regard they have not been at the paines to conſider well the places whence they have taken their Stories, nor weigh'd the things they have left behind them, they are of little or no Authority among ſuch as cannot brook it, to ſee the Nob'e name of *Hiſtory* upon the Portalls of theſe monſtrous Edifices built of Materialls to conſus'd and different, ſo far from being ſolid and well cemented. I have been the more large in anſwering theſe ancient Authors, becauſe, theſe foundations once undermi'd, there's nothing ſo eaſy as to pull down the ſuperſtructure; ſuch as are, the Authorities of *Nauclerus*, *Funccius*, *Goldaſt*, *Gualternus*, *du Pleſſis*, *Balaus*, the *Centuriators*, and a whole Ant-hill of *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* who have with much curioſity, not

Chap. 22. of
his Popular
Errors.

only transcrib'd out of those Ancients, but made on small additions to these plausible relations. Not that they were so simple & stupid as to take them for true, but because they imagin'd all makes for them that hurts their adversaries, and thought this kind of battery would prove very effectual, by the delinquency of 2. or 3. Popes, to make a Breach in the veneration due to all the rest, and to reproach the whole body with the imperfection of some one of its members; *Est enim, as Sidonius saith, hac quaedam vis malis moribus, ut innocentiam multitudinis devenustent scelera paucorum.* Lib. 9. Epist. 9.

To levell, therefore, this Tower of confusion, which, in some of our Historians & Demonographers, want of judgment; in Hereticks, envy hatred and malice, have engag'd them to build up to the dishonour of the Monarch of the Church, upon the too simple and easy credulity of those ancient Authors, we must begin with this *Gerbert*, or *Sylvester I I.* He, they say, was Master in Magick to four or five of his successors, whereas there is more ground to acknowledge that he was the most vertuous person, and greatest Light as to all manner of Sciences, of the age he liv'd in, it being much more easy for us to give an account of his learning than the place of his extraction and manner of life, till he arriv'd to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims*. For some, according to the common opinion, affirme, that he was first a Religious man at *Fleury*, or *St. Bennet's* upon the *Loire*. Others there are that hold the contrary, grounding their opinion upon what he saith himself in one of his Epistles to the Emperour *Otho III.* wherein he openly tells him, that he had, from his Childhood, serv'd his

his Father and Grandfather *Otho* the Great, before he was entertain'd into the service of *Adalbero* Archbishop of *Rheims*. But the true story is, that being chosen by *Hugh Capet*, to be Tutor to his Son *Robert*; he conferr'd on him that Archbishoprick, whereof being devested by *John XVII.* he retir'd into Germany, to *Otho II.* who committed to this charge *Otho III.* and gave him, by way of recompence the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna*, which he peaceably enjoy'd, till that, his Disciple coming to the Empire, he was by him ordained *Pope* and maintained against the *Romans* in the dignity of supream Bishop.

These things well consider'd, I see not upon what ground *Martinus Polonus* and *Platinus* misrepresent him as a Magician. For I pray, what likelihood is there he should quit his Frier's frock to go and learne Magick at *Toledo*, *Salamanca*, or *Sevill*, the Metropolis of *Andaluzia* in Spain, when he never stirr'd out of the Abbey of *Fleury*, till he was taken thence by *Hugh Capet*, or as he saith himself, spent his youth in the service of *Otho I.* and *II.*; And is it not more probable he should arrive to all these Ecclesiasticall Dignities by the favour of two *Kings* of *France* and three *Emperours*, to whom he had done great and considerable services, rather then by any assistance or industry of the Devill, who never yet was so good a Master as to bestow a half-peny on all the Magicians, notwithstanding their most remarkable beggery, as [a] *Delrio*, [b] *Bodin*, [c] *Majole*, *Remy*, and all Authours knowledge? And this they say proceeds from the speciall providence of God, who hath reserv'd in his own hands the power to enrich men and to distribute his favours and

a *Disquis.*
l. 2. qu. 12.
b *Demonom.* l. 3. c. 3
c *Lib. I. de monolat.*
c. 4.

and rewards according to the Psalmitt, *The earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof; he openeth his hand, and filleth every living thing with blessing, he giveth unto every one; and upbraideth not; in his left hand are riches and glory.*

Nor is there any more marrow in what is added, that, having been answer'd by the Devil, that he should not dy till such time as he had said *Mais in Hierusalem*, he was extremely surpriz'd upon warning given him that he was near his death, when, not minding any thing he said it in the Church of the *Holy Crosse in Hierusalem*, which is in *Rome*. As if he should be ignorant there was a Temple in the placé of his constant residence called by that name, or should not have reflected on the ambiguity of *Oracles*, and would have celebrated Masse in a place unknown to him. But what is said of his *end* is much more flat and ridiculous, at least, if we could but be perswaded, that, as *Martinus Polonus* and *Platinus* affirm, he made a publick acknowledgment of his fault, and that after he had given assured expressions of a sincere and perfect repentance, he committed a thing extremely superstitious, ordering that his body should, after his death, be put in a Chariot to be drawn by Oxen, without any body to guide them, that it might be buried in the place where they should stop. That happened before the Church of *St. John Lateran*, where the foresaid Authors with divers others, affirm that his Sepulchre gives a certain presage of the death of Popes both by a shock and crashing of the bones that are within, and by a great sweat and moistnesse of the stone without, as is observable, according to *Platinus* in the *Epitaph* set upon it.

But

But this is all pure cheat and imposture, not only as to experience, never any such thing having been observ'd by any one to this day; but also as to the Inscription of this Sepulchre compos'd by *Sergius IV.* which is so far from making any mention of all these fables and extravagances, that, on the contrary, it is one of the most considerable testimonies we can have of the good life and integrity of this *Sylvester.* And indeed it is no small shame, that many Catholicks should so much countenance this calumny, when *Marianus Scotus, Glaber, Ditmare, Hilgandus, Lambert,* and *Herman Contract,* who were his Contemporaries, make not the least mention of it. Not to urge, that it is refuted even by some dispassionate Hereticks, as *Vigner* in his *Bibliotheca,* and *Papyrius Masson* in his *History of the Bishops of Rome,* where speaking of *Sylvester,* he saies, *Plurimum miramur confictam de eo fabulam mortalium aures ita penetrasse, ut nunc quoque, evelli ex plurimorum mentibus non possit;* and so concludes that all this Tragedy came from Cardinal *Benno's* invention. Of which opinion is also *Baronius,* who speaking of him, saies, *Is fuit primus fingende fabule architectus, cujus authorem nominasse solum, sit refutasse.* But it is withal *Vigner's* judgment, that it may be very likely the *Romans,* haply not satisfy'd with *Sylvester,* as well for that he was a stranger, as because the Emperour had made him Pope without their Election, and that he express'd more earnestness and affection for his service than their inconstancy would permit, added somewhat to the suspicion, in that, he being well vers'd and excellent in the *Mathematicks,* they out of their ignorance therein, look'd on them

as disallow'd and damnable Sciences. And this indeed I am the more inclin'd with [a] *Ciaconus*,^{a In vitis Poncific.} [b] *Genebrard*, [c] *Florimundus Remundus*, and [d] *Delrio*, to assign for the true cause of this suspicion, in that we are certain of two things which may confirm us very much. One is, that he flourish'd in the 9th age after Christ, which was incredibly rude, barbarous, and ignorant. The other, that he was certainly the most eminent, or one of the most eminent persons of his time, as well for matters of State, as for Learning and the knowledge of things divine, humane, and liberal. Of this we have pregnant proofs in his own *Epistles*, and the *Decads* of *Blondus*; besides his intimate acquaintance with the *Mathematicks*,^{b Lib. Chronolog. ad ann. 1002.} which was such that he could discover and discern better than any other as *Apuleius* sayes, *temporum ambitus, ventorum flatus, et Stellarum meatus, tonitruum sonora miracula, syderum obliqua curricula, Solis annua reverticula*, and with the help of the *Mechanicks*, make many rare and subtil instruments. Of that kind were those *Hydraulick* Machines which *William* of *Malmsbury* sayes, he made with such industry at *Rheims*, that by force of the water they made a sweet harmony; or that *Clock*, which as *Ditmare* relates, he made in such manner, that it discover'd the Pole-Star; and that *Brazen head*, which was done with such ingenious artifice, that the said *William* of *Malmsbury* was himself deceiv'd in it, when he attributed it to *Magick*.^{c In his book of Antichrist.} Adde to this what *Onuphris* saies, viz. that he had seen in the Library of the *Farneses*, a learned Book of *Geometry* written by this *Gerbert*.^{d Disquis. l. 2. quest. 19.} And for my part (not to meddle with the opinion of *Erfordiensis*, and some others who make

Decad. 2.

l. 3.

Lib. 4. Floridorum.

L. 2. de gestis Reg. Ang. c. 10.

In his additions upon Platinus.

make him Author of *Clocks* and the *Arithmetick* now among us) I think these proofs sufficient to evince, that those, who never had heard of *Cubes*, *Parallelograms*, *Dodecaedra's*, *Almicanthare's*, *Valsagora's*, *Almagripa's*, *Cathalsen's*, and other terms, frequent among *Mathematicians*, might well imagine they were certain spirits that he invocated, and that so many extraordinary things could not proceed but from a man that had something in him extraordinary, and consequently, that he was a Magician.

Having been so large in the vindication of this *Gerbert*, or *Sylvester II.* 'tis fit something be said for his Schollers and particularly the Archbishop *Laurence*, who is traduc'd by the said *Berno*, as having learnt Magick of *Sylvester*, and taught it *Hildebrand* or *Gregory VII.* This he does without alledging any other proof than that he was very intimately acquainted with both, and understood very well, and could interpret the singing of Birds, as, for experience sake, he one day did at *Rome*, before certain Prelates upon an accidental meeting with a Sparrow, that by his chirping acquainted his companions of a Cart full of Wheat overturn'd at the Gate called *Major*, and that it was much for their advantage. But the question is whether be the more censurable, *Berno*, who forg'd the story upon such another done by *Apollonius* in *Philostratus*, or *du Plessy Monnay*, who was so blinded by passion as to quote it as true and Authentick with all the fore-mentioned of *Gregory VII.* lest he should leave out any thing that might swell up his *Mystery of Iniquity*. And yet this pretended Cardinal is forc'd to acknowledge in the same place, that

Pope.

L. 4. c. 1.
de vita
Apollonii.

Pope *Benedict IV.* (whom he hath as little favour for, as any of the rest) and this Archbishop *Lawrence* were very well skill'd in the *Mathematicks*. And *Baronius* shews, by the relation of *Petrus Damianus*, that this Archbishop was so far from having any hand in Magick, that, on the contrary, he was a man of a very holy life, and, upon the account of his good works, after his death, put into the number of the Blessed Saints. Which thing, were there nought else, were enough to answer that scandalous Libel, divulg'd by *Benno* or the Lutherans to blast the memory and reputation of Pope *Hildebrand*, who could expect no lesse then to be bespatter'd with the detractions of that mercenary Author, when he had before felt the indignation of his Persecutor the Emperour *Henry IV.* For this implacable enemy of his in two severall Assemblies of Bishops in Germany held at *Majance* and *Brexina*, because *Hildebrand* had twice excommunicated him as a Schismatick, and devested him of all his Lands and Dignities, caus'd him to be declar'd a *perjur'd man*, a *Murtherer*, a *Necromancer* and a *Heretick*, setting up against him, as Anti-Pope, *Clement III.* sometime Bishop of *Ravenna*, not omitting any thing he imagined would be prejudicial to him. This proceeding of the Emperour was that encourag'd the modern Hereticks to be so outrageous against this Pope, as may appear by the writings and bitter Satyres of *Goldast*, *Gaultier*, *Balaus*, *du Plessis*, and the *Centuriators*, who call him *Sorcerer*, *Adulterer*, *Sodomite*, and by a simple clinch, *Brand-of-Hell*, and all, because he was one of the greatest pillars that ever were of the Church, and, to speak of him sincerely and without

Annal. To.

without passion, he it was that first put her into possession of her priviledges, and rescu'd the Papacy from the slavery it was in, to the Emperois. Not to note that he is so highly celebrated in * *Genebrard*, by a great number of Authors, that, since *Marianus Scotus* and *St. Anselme*, who were his contemporaries, say nothing of his Magick, no more than *Martinus Polonus*, *Otho Frisingensis*, *Hugh of Cluny*, *Lanfranc*, *Bernard of Marseille*, *Platinus*, *Naclerus*, *Masson*, and many more, who would not have been silent had they discover'd any such thing, it were absolute barbarisme, in us to credit what this *Benno* saies of him in particular. Upon his text have the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* written their Comments never speaking of this man, but in the burning feaver of indignation, and ever dipping the pen wherewith they draw him, in the gall of their own passions, purposely to make him, the most filthy and horrid monster that ever was clad with humane nature, never considering that their attempts are dash'd to pieces against that Corner-stone on which *J. Christ* is pleas'd to build his Church, and that they gain nothing by all these calumnies, but shame and confusion to themselves, since that, as *Tertullian* saith, *Telum aliquod in Petram constantissimam & duritiei libratum, repercusso in eum qui emisit reciproco impetu saevit.*

* L. 3. Chronol. ad an Christi 1075.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of Joseph, Salomon, and the Wise men.

Vere we to judg of a many Authors with a rigour sutable to the *liberty* they take to condemn even the most eminent men; or be so severe as to accuse & convict them of their impudence by the testimonies of their own forg'd calumnies: I conceive we might well rely on what *Plato* sayes in his *Lawes*, that it is a temerarious *liberty* to pronounce of what is known and unknown with a like confidence, whereot he who hath once exceeded the limits, will never afterwards be confined thereby. For if we reflect on the precedent chapters of this *Apology*, it is easily obiervable, how that divers *Historians* and *Demonographers* have taken such a strange freedom to charge all sorts of men with *Magick*, that, not content to have impeach'd *Philosophers*, *Physicians*, *Astrologers* and others, they have pats'd to *Monkes*, *Bishops*, and *Popes*, nay spare not those for whose good life and integrity we have the security of the *Scripture*, never considering the dangerous consequences of such an impeachment, as well in regard of the disorder and scandal it would occasion to such as are devout and truly Christian, as of the ill example which persons of loose lives might thence take, according to the saying of *Sarisberiensis*, *Fortius et citius nos corrumpunt exempla magnis cum suberunt animos Authoribus*. But L. 1. de magis curial. c. 5. since I have not hitherto charg'd them with impudence, I shall forbear also in this Chapter,
 T where

where they are the more excusable, for that what they say of the Magick of *Joseph*, *Salomon*, and the *Wise men*, seems to be deriv'd from the authority of certain Catholick Authors and Doctors, whom yet we should not too rigorously tax with the little reason they had to teach any such thing, by reason of their candor, and the sincerity of their doctrine otherwise.

Not to determine therefore these three Questions but with a modesty suitable thereto, I think, that if the collection I have been forc'd to make of so many fooleries and evident extravagancies, hath bred some little choller in me, the best way were to discharge it on the ordinary madnets and impiety of our Alembick-Idolaters and Alchymists. These are a sort of people so strangely besotted with the Philosopher's stone, that, having found out the secret Mysteries thereof under the *Metamorphoses*, the *Aeneid*, the *Odyssey*, the love of *Theagenes & Chariclea*, *Epitaphs*, *Pictures*, *Sculpture*, *Antick*, and *Fantastick* representations, and there being nothing but the *Scriptures* to make any further search in, they have been so prophane as to take the sacrifice of the *Masse*, and the miracle of the *Incarnation* for Emblems and figures of what they found to be literally exprest'd in *Genesis*, the last chapters of the Prophet *Esdra*s, the *Canticles*, & the *Apocalypse*, concerning that Sovereign transmutation. That, they say, was a thing infallibly known to the good man, *Job*, who by the assistance of it multiply'd his wealth sevenfold; to *Abraham*, who wag'd wars against 4 Kings; to *Joseph* who of a sudden became so powerful; to *Moses* who turned the molten Calf into ashes, & *Gideon* who represented it under a fleece, though

not

Vid. *Majestus*, *Sandivarius*, *Conrad* & other Alchymists.

not a golden one as that of the *Argonauts*; to *Salomon*. who made no more account of Gold than of pebble-stones; to *St. John*, of whom it is said in his *Hymne*,

*Inexhaustum fert thesaurum,
Qui de virgis fecit aurum,
Gemmas de Lapidibus :*

and lastly to *St. Dominick*, who taught it two of the most learned men of his Order, *Albertus Magnus*, and *St. Thomas*. All which extravagancies consider'd, it may well be said,

*Proh superi, quantum mortalia pectora caca
Noctis habent! ———*

*Ovid. Met.
6.*

and admir'd, how such impertinencies and blasphemies should be harbour'd in the hollow brains of these melancholy persons, who, for recompence of their rashness or ignorance, deserve no lesse than to forfeit the name of *men*, since they have lost that which denominates him such, *judgement* and *reason*.

This premis'd, we come to explicate that passage of *Genesis*, which hath given divers occasion to imagine, that *Joseph*, son of *Jacob*, and one highly commended by *David* as the Image and mystical representation of *Christ*, was addicted to all kinds of superstitious divinations, then in vogue among the *Egyptians*. For, from what he caus'd his Steward to say to his Brethren who were come to buy corn in *Egypt*, speaking of the Cup, *Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh?* and what he says himself when they were brought

Chap. 44.

Psal. 104.

*Gen. c. 44.
v. 5.*

v. 15.

before him, *Wot ye not that such a man as I am can certainly divine?* Some have imagin'd that he profess'd Divination, which he perform'd by a certain kind of Hydromancy, doing it either simply by the cup, as is ordinarily done by some Chrystal vessel, looking-glasse or any thing that is clear and smooth, or by the means of the water that was in it, as *Julian* the Apostate did, and those who at this day (though it be ill and superstitiously done by them) discover the thief & things lost, in a Viol or Bottle. Or lastly, he did it by the inspection of certain precious stones which were fastned within it. But certainly it were no hard matter to deliver this great Favorite of God from so dangerous a suspicion, if we will but follow the common opinion of all the Doctors of the Church, who, in *Pererius* would only finde out a way whereby he might be excus'd from having addicted himself to the practise of that Divination, whereto he indeed had not so much as contributed a thought. Nor need we search for any other explication than that of *Petrus Burgen-*
sis, if it be true, as he affirms, that instead of what we have in the vulgar translation, *An ignoratis quod non sit similis mei in augurandi scientia?* The Hebrew Text will bear this, *Know you not that it is easy for great Lords and Princes, such as I am, to consult Southsayers and Diviners?* wherewith *Egypt* was at that time well furnish'd. But since this explication hath not been yet acknowledg'd, and that the vulgar version, authorized by the Council of *Trent*, admits the words before recited, we may, in the first place with [a] *Theodoret*, St. [b] *Augustine*, St. [c] *Thomas*, [d] *Tostatus* and [e] *Torreblanca*, affirm, That *Joseph* spoke this

a *Quaest.*
 104. in *Gen-*
nesin.

b *Quaest.*
 95. in *Gen.*
 2.2.

c *Quaest.*
 95. art. 7.
 in resp. ad
 1.

d *In eum*
locum.

e L. 1. 12
Magia di-
vinativ.

c. 10.

this ironically, alluding to the common opinion then current over all *Aegypt*, nay even in strange Countries, that he had been advanc'd to that dignity by the happy events of his Predictions; or to daunt his Brethren and make them the more guilty, as having taken away that bowle or cup, whereon depended the continuance as well as the original of his great fortune, and that he foretold things that should certainly come to passe by the means thereof.

This explication may be thought the more probable, in that when he commanded his Steward to put that vessel into the sack of the youngest, he only said to him, *Put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest, and his Corn-money,* not mentioning it to be that whereby he was wont to presage and divine. Whereas when he commands him to pursue them and to bring them back, he gave him strict instructions what he should do and say, *Up, follow after the men, and having overtaken them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this the Cup in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth; ye have done evil in so doing.* Whence it is clear, that the addition of these words, *and whereby indeed he divineth, et in quo augurari solet,* was only put in the, more to frighten them, as that one of them should take that vessel, whereby *Joseph* had attain'd so high a fortune beyond the ordinary sort of people. But if, notwithstanding this reason, the words of *Joseph* and his servant are to be understood without any ambages or fiction, we must consider what *Rupertus* saies of it, who observes that the word *augurari* is not in that place taken precisely to signifie or guesse

Gen. 44.
v. 2.

L. 9. in
Genes.

Epistol. 1.4.

Quest. 2.
in c. 44.
Gen.

at something, whether by the observation of birds or some other superstitious way, but in its general acception to foresee or foretell things to come by any way whatsoever. Thus did *Pliny* the younger, use it writing, to *Tacitus*, *Auguror* (*nec fallit augurium*) *Historias tuas immortales futuras*; in which sense *Rupertus* and *Pererius* affirm, that the speech of *Joseph* may be taken, without quitting the literal, in that by reason of the gift he had of Prophecy, he might make use of the word *augurari*, and know future events. Which that he did, there needs no further proof than that of the interpretation of the dreams of *Pharaoh* and his Officers. To which may be added his detention of his Brethren for three daies in *Egypt*, and then causing them to be pursued by his servants at their departure, which might be to intimate that the *Israelites* should sojourn there for the space of three Generations, and that when they were to leave it, they should be pursued by all that multitude which was afterwards overwhelmed in the Red Sea.

a Antipal.
l. 1. c. 3.
b Lib. 36.
bistor.

Whence I leave men to judge of the probability there may be that he should have written the Book entituled *Speculum Joseph*, mentioned by [a] *Trithemius*, or that we may believe [b] *Justine*, who speaking of the Jewes, saies that *Joseph* envied by his Brethren, was sold by them to certain Marchants who carry'd him into *Egypt*, where in a short time he learnt the magical Arts, and grew the best of any for the interpretation of dreams and prodigies, being not ignorant of any thing that could be known, in so much that he foretold the great dearth which happened in that Countrey, and, for that reason was much favoured

your'd by *Pharash*. From which story all that may be drawn, is, that he, *Tacitus*. and others either speak at random, or give a passionate account of that people, and that God, who is pleas'd to give us a true history of them by his faithful Secretary *Moses*, would not have us to stand in need of the Authority of those prophane Authors, as to any thing they might say consonant to what he hath left in his admirable Books of the *Pentateuch*,

It, from what is said of *Joseph* in the 44. chap. of *Genesis*, he hath been reproach'd with Magick, I think there is much more ground to imagine the same thing of King *Solomon*, because of his great and prodigious Idolatry; considering the Wisdom he was master of before. For as there is nothing so certain as that he never practis'd any thing that were superstitious, while he continued in the grace of God, and a right administration of the favours he had received of him; So we must needs acknowledge (to avoid *Lactantius's* censure, who saies, that, *eadem cacitas est, et de vero falsitatis, et mendacio nomen veritatis imponere*) that possibly, forsaken of God for his luxury and Idolatry, he might sell himself over to all manner of vices and abominations, and particularly as [a] *Delrio*, [b] *George of Venice*, and [c] *Pineda* affirm, to that of Magick, there being thousands of examples whence may be drawn this conclusion to his prejudice, that Luxury, Idolatry, and the vanity of Divinations,

Instit. l. 5. c. 5.
a Lib. Disquisit. c. 5. b To. 1. Sect. 9. probl. 487. et tom. 5. Sect. 1. probl. 81. c L. 7. de reb. Salom. c. 13.

Et bene conveniant, & in una sede morantur.

Galat. 5. For which we have the testimony of St. Paul, and
 2 Kings 21. what is said of King *Manasses*, in the Old Testa-
 3. ment, that he reared up *Altars for Baal*, and a
 Verse 6. little after, he observed times and used inchant-
 ments and dealt with familiar spirits and Wizzards.
 And since women are more adicted to Magic
 then men, as is learnedly shewn by the Civilian
Tiraqueau in his *Conjugall Lawes* by the authori-
 ties of *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Quintilian*, *Diodorus*, and
 Lib. de reb. diverse other good Authors, I make no question,
 Salom. c. with *Pineda*, but the 700. wives and the 300.
 13. Concubines which *Salomon* had might easily en-
 snare him in a Labyrinth of Charmes, divinations,
 drinks, and other superstitious practises, which,
 if we credit *Lucan*, (disprov'd indeed by *Ovid*)
 have a greater influence on that passion then any
 other, since that he says,

— *Quas non concordia mixti
 Alligat ulla thori, blandæq; potentia formæ,
 Traxerunt torti Magicâ vertigine fili.*

But though we should allow this might hap-
 pen to *Salomon* that we have said, yet are we to
 beware how we exceed much further, and too
 easily be perswaded, that he should steal so
 much time from his pleasures and enjoyments,
 as it would require to write so great a number of
 Magicall Books as there are at this day publish'd
 under his name. This indeed is so great, that to
 prove they are false attributed to him, we need
 no more then make a Catalogue of such only as
 have

have been seen and cited by divers Authors. For though [a] *Genebrard* make mention but of three, a *Lib. 1.* and [b] *Pineda* but of 4. or 5. yet is it easily shewn ^{Chronolog.} that there are a many more; for *Albertus Magnus* ^{ad annum diluvii.} in his Book of the *Mirror of Astrology* quotes ^{1460.} five: the first dated *Liber Almadal*, the se- ^{b Lib. 3. de cond.} *Liber 4. Annulorum*, the third *Liber de reb. Salo- novem candariis*; the fourth, *de tribus figuris Spi- mon. c. 29.* *rituum*, and the fifth *de Sigillis ad Demoniacos*. To these we may add four mentioned by *Trithe- Lib. 1. An- mius*, intituled, the first; *Clavienula Salomonis ad tipal. c. 3.* *filium Roboam*, the second *Liber Lamene*, the third *Liber Pentaculorum*, and the fourth *de Officiis spiri- tum*. Whereto if we add these three, viz. that of *Raziel* cited by [a] *Reuclin*, *de umbris Idaarum*, mentioned by *Chicus* upon the Sphere ^{a Lib. 10.} of *Sacrobosco*; *de Hydromantia ad filium Roboam*, *de arte ca- balistica.* which [b] *Greiserus* saith, he saw in Greek in the ^{b Lib. 1. de more prohib- endi malos libros. c. 10.} Duke of *Bavaria's* Library. And lastly that *Testamentum Salomonis*, out of which *M. [c]* ^{c In notis ad Psellum. d In fine 4. Annal.} *Gauvin* cites, many passages written in the same Language, we finde that without comprising that called by [d] *Nicetas*, *Liber Salomonius*, here are thirteen different ones, and yet withall Au- thentick. Which number, might well engage us to make the same judgment of them, as did sometime *Roger Bacon*, whose reflection there- upon I shall the rather quote, because it makes something for all those for whom I make this Apology. *Quicumq;*, saith he, *asserunt quod Sa- Cap. 2. de lomom composuit hoc vel illud, aut alii sapientes ne- secretis gandum est; quia non recipiuntur ejusmodi libri operibus ar- tibus & natu- rae. auctoritate Ecclesie, nec a sapientibus sed a seductori- bus qui mundum decipiunt; etiam & ipsi novos libros componunt, & novas ad inventiones multiplicant, sicut scimus*

scimus per experientiam, & ut vehementius homines alliciant, titulos proponunt famosos suis operibus; & ea magnis authoribus impudenter ascribunt.

This granted takes away all the difficulty may arise about the Books of *Salomon*, unlesse it be about that of *Exorcisms*, which *Pineda* affirms, either not to have been written by *Salomon*, or that he did it in the time of his Idolatry. And yet me thinks it were more rationall, with *Jansenius*, *Salmeron*, *Genebrard* and *Delrio*, to grant, that, during the time that by his wisdom he knew all things, and was fill'd with good affection by reason of his sanctity, he might prescribe certain forms to chase away Devils, and to exercise people possess'd by them; such as were those practis'd by the Jews, in *St. Luke*, *St. Mathew*, and the *Acts*. Such were also those, as *Josephus* affirms, practis'd since by *Eleazar*, who cast a Devill out of the body of a possess'd person, in the presence of the Emperour *Vespasian*, not by the vertue of a root, which could naturally have no power over Demons and Creatures purely spirituall, but by the force of his exorcisms, which only had that power, as *Delrio*, [x] *Cas-*
mannus and divers others explaine it.

From these two passages of the Old Testament, we come now to that of the new, which is in the second of *Math.* where mention is made of the wise men who came from the East to adore *Jesus Christ*. I have no designe to repeat in this place a number of Fables, such as *Vipertus*, a Dr. of Divinity and the Canon-Law hath taken such paines to gather together, in the History he hath written; of them, it being enough to my purpose to take out of the writings of [a] *Baronius* [b] *Ca-*
saubon

De reb. Sa-
lom. l. 3.
c. 29. §

Luk. 11.
Math. 12.
Acts 19.
Antiq. Jus
daic. l. 8.
c. 2.

x Angelo-
graph.
part. 2, c.
17.

a ad ann.
1. Christi.
b Exercitat
2. num. 19.

saubon [c] *Maldonat*, [d] *Bullenger* & many other, who have written at large on this subject, what is fit not to be omitted in this Chapter, and in few words, to discover what these wise men or *Magi* were, and by what means they had notice to come and adore Jesus Christ in *Betlehem*. For the first, the difficulty lyes in the signification of the word *Magi*, being either ambiguous and equivocall, that is, such as many be understood of enchanterers & focerers; such as signify'd a certain people among the *Medes*; who are so called in [a] *Herodotus*, [b] *Strabo*, and [c] *Epiphanius*; and lastly might be said of the Sages of *Persia*. These three severall interpretations have all had their patrons and favourers; [d] *Tertullian* understanding that passage of the first, *Epiphanius* and *Panigarolus* of the second, and *Maldonat* with *Casaubon*, of the last, that is for *Mages*, that is, the most vertuous and most venerable persons, among the *Persians*, such as were in the same reputation in their Country, as the *Brachamans* were among the *Indians*, and the *Druids* among the *Gaules*. Which last opinion seems to be the more rationally, in that the word *Magi* is *Persian*, that it is the custome of the *Persians* not to accost Kings without *Presens*, that the *Evangelist* speaks of them as persons of great quality and reputation; in a word, the Scripture it self lights as it were to the truth, when it sayes, that these wise men came from the East, there being no Author that ever held there were any other *Magi* that way than those of *Persia*. Yet is there no necessity to have any recourse to the sottish imagination of *Paracelsus*, who would have them ride post upon enchanted Horses, so to bring them in lesse then thirteen dayes out of so re-

c In cap. 2.

Marb.

d Eclogæ ad

Arnob. c. 6.

a Hist. l. 3.

b Geogr. l.

5.

c In Epitom.

fidei Catho-

lice.

d Lib. de

Idololatria.

Lib. de vita

longâ.

Cap. 9.

note

Homil. 7.
in Math.

mote a Country, since there's nothing to convince us they might not spend more time in their journey, as *St. Chrysostome* would have it, or were not of the nearett parts of that Country; besides that History affords us many instances of greater expedition and diligence, and that these wise men rid on *Camells*, which go with ease after the rate of at least 100. miles a day.

a Lib. 1.
cont. Cel-
sum.

b In cap. 19
Isaie.

In cap. 2.
Math.

This difficulty taken away, we are now only to find out the meanes whereby the wise men might be advertised of the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*. In which search, we shall not with the *Priscilianists*, affirme they it knew naturally by the meer inspection of the Star, lest we incurre, with them, the censure of *St. Augustine* and *Chrysostome*. And there being as little ground with [a] *Origene* and *St. [b] Hierome* to think it was revealed to them by *Demons*, as it had been to the Shepherds by *Angels*, because this were to make them *Magicians*, contrary to the truth before maintained, our safest course is to conclude with *Maldonat*, that they had learn'd it from the prophecy of *Balaam*, that a new Star should appear at the birth of the Saviour of the world, according to what is said, *Orietur stella ex Jacob*, and in effect, they shewed no lesse when they peremptorily said, *Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his Star*, speaking of that Starr, as a thing they thought well known among the *Jews* since it was so much among the *Gentiles* and *Idolaters*. But the subject of this Chapter is not so much my businesse as that of Divines, yet have I a confidence they will not take it ill, that I have done what I have, and therein follow'd the doctrine and resolutions of the
most

most eminent among them, so the better to clear up the difficulties arising out of this Chapter:

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Poet Virgil.

WHEN I seriously reflect on the Condition of those learned men, who flourish'd four or five ages before the restauration of Sciences and disciplines in *Europe*, nothing seemes more miraculous to me then that the most learned and best grounded among our Authors have appear'd amidst that Barbarism like Roses among thorns, or Diamonds on the desert Mountaines. And this so much the rather, in that at this day when we are encompass'd with so great light as should make us judge of things with more caution, those who should make greatest use thereof are so dazzl'd therewith that they revive many opinions whose first Authors we daily declame against, either for their want of judgment or ignorance. Whereof though the precedent Chapters of this Apology afford sufficient instances, yet have I reserv'd for this that which we have upon the authority of [a] *Bodin* and de [b] *Lancre* concerning the Magick of *Virgil*, as one of the most pregnant proofs may be given of it, if we in the first place consider the reputation of these two persons, (the former being one of the most esteem'd men of his age) and then, the little ground they had to draw that error, out of the workes of certaine Authors, that are but che dirt and dreggs of the most Barbarous Writers, and who by the impertinences of their relations

a *Demonom. l. 2. c. 2*
 b *Traité de la mescreance des sortilege convaincu, pag. 281.*

rions teach us that the great Chancellour of
 England, *Vernham*, had reason to tell us, that
 De aug- *hoc habet ingenium humanum, ut cum ad solida non*
 ment, Sci- *suffecerit in supervacaneis & futilibus se atterat.*
 ent.
 For can there be any thing imagin'd that were
 more fantastick, and disconsonant to common
 sense and reason, then to see the Phœnix of Latine
 Poesy impeach'd not of that Poeticall Magick,
 and fury, which, by the perfection of his workes,
 hath charm'd the greatest wits into an imitation
 of him, such as *Statius*, *Sylvius*, and the *Floren-*
tine Poet; and gain'd him the Title of most ex-
 cellent Orator with *Quintilian*, *St. Hierome*,
 and *Seneca*; of Father of Eloquence with *St.*
Augustine, and to be the only man worthy the
 name of Poet, with *J. C. Scaliger*; but of
 the *Geotick*, superstitious, and unlawfull. Which
 certainly had never been layd to the charge of
 this Ornament of *Parnassus*, had it not been for
 a sort of wretched Fabulists who by the excre-
 scencies of their pittifull writings have traduc'd
 him, which yet I know not, whether I ought
 rather to quarrell with, than these two moderne
 Authors and some others, *quos fama obscura re-*
condit who are so light of belief, as to take such
 impostots for lawfull proofs of a calumny that
 turpes much more to their prejudice than
 that of *Virgil*. For his life is so well known,
 and whatever he did that were any thing remark-
 able, so faithfully preserv'd by a many Authors,
 that we may well be astonish'd at those, who, at
 this day, would make use of the forgeries and fabu-
 lous inventions of 7. or 8. Barbarian slaves, and the
 opinions of the populace, to augment the Ca-
 talogue of Magicians with the name of this Poet,
 and

and to entertain us with thousands of little stories and fooleries, which, were they true, could do no lesse then make him be reputed one of the most expert that ever was in the Art. But since, on the contrary, they are false and ridiculous, they destroy themselves, there needing no more for their refutation, then to draw them up all together to find, (it being presupposed that they are all equally to be credited) that Dr. *Faustus*, *Zedechias*, *Trois-eschelles* and the most famous Conjurers that ever were, have not done any thing comparable to what they say *Virgil* hath, and consequently that they are not to be believ'd unless by such as will also grant, that

*Omnia jam sient, fieri qua posse negantur,
Et nihil est de quo non sit habenda fides.*

But having said in the first Chapter of this Apology that we are indebted to the Monk *Helinandus* for all these fables, as finding (according to *Gesner*, who makes him flourish in the year 1069.) no Author more ancient then he that made any mention thereof, and meeting since with the Collection of the Lives of the *White Friars*, whose Authour cites *Vincent de Beauvais* affirming in his *mirrour of History* that the said Monk liv'd about the year 1209. I am forc'd ingenuously to confesse I was mistaken, and that the first Author of all these extravagances, is, in my judgment no other than that *Gervase*, who, *Theodoric à Niemfayes*, was Chancellour to the Emperour *Otho III.* to whom he presented his Book entituled *Ocia Imperatoris*. This is a piece fraught with things so absur'd, fabulous & impossible, as I have already observed that, I can hardly believe the

Lib. 2. de

schismate

c. 19. & 20

man

man was in his wits when he writt it ; and that wrong him not, I appeal to the Reader. He saies then (not to meddle with any thing but what is to our present purpose) that the wise *Virgi* set up a *Brazen Fly* on one of the gates of *Naples*, which for the space of 8. years, that it remain'd there, permitted not a fly to enter the said City, That in the same place he caus'd a *Shambles* to be made wherein meat never smelt or was the least tainted, that he placed on one of the gates of the same City two great images of Stone, one whereof was said to be *handsome* and *merry*, the other *sad* and *deformed*, having this power, that if any one came in on the side of the former all his affairs prospered according to his own desires, as he who came on the other, was unfortunat and disappointed in all things ; that he set up, on a high mountain near *Naples*, a *brazen Statue*, having in its mouth a *Trumpet* which sounded so loud when the North wind blew, that the fire and smoke issuing out of those forges of *Vulcan*, which are at this day seen near the City of *Poussola*, were forc'd back towards the Sea, without doing any hurt or injury to the Inhabitants. That it was he made the baths of *Calatura di petra bagno & adjunto di l' homo*, with fair inscriptions in Letters of Gold, defac'd since by the Physicians of *Salerna* who were troubled that men should thereby know what diseases every bath could cure. That the same *Virgil* took such a course that no man could be hurt in that miraculous *Vault* cut through the mounraine of *Pauslippo*, to go to *Naples*; and lastly that he made a *publick fire*, whereat every one might freely warme himself, near which he had plac'd a *brazen Archer* with his
arrow

arrow drawne out, and such an inscription, *If any one strike me, I will shoot off my arrow.* Which at length happened, when a certaine foocie striking the said Archer, he immediatly shot him with his arrow, and sent him into the fire, which was presently extinguished.

These impertinences were first transcribed out of this Author by *Helinandus* the Monk into his *Univerfall Chronicle*, and then by an English man one *Alexander Neckam* a *Benedictine* Monk, who relates some of the precedent in his book *Of the Nature and property of things.* To which he addes, that *Naples* being troubled with an infinite number of infectious *Leaches*, it was deliver'd, as soon as *Virgil* had caus'd a golden one to be cast into a well: that he compass'd his dwelling house and garden (where it never rain'd) with an *immoveable streame of aire*, which was instead of a *Wall*, and had built in it a *brassen bridge*, by meanes whereof he went whither he pleas'd. That he had made also a *Steeple* with such miraculous artifice, that the *Tower* wherein it was though, of *stone*, mov'd in the same manner as a certain bell, that was in it, did, and that both had the same shaking and motion. Besides all which, he had made those *Statues* call'd the *Preservers of Rome*, which were watch'd night and day by *Priests*, for that as soon as any Nation entertain'd any thought of revolting and taking armes against the *Romane Empire*, immediately the *Statue* representing that Nation, and adored by it, moved; a bell, it had about the neck rung, and with its finger it pointed at that rebellious nation, in so much that the name of it might it be perceiv'd in writing, which the *Priest* carrying to the *Emperour*,

Lib. 16.

he immediately rais'd an Army to reduce and quell it.

Cap. 103.

Nor could this be miss'd by a certaine Anonymous Author, who, about 120. years since, undertook to make a collection of the *lives of Philosophers and Poets*. For coming to speak of *Virgil*, he confidently sayes, *Hic Philosophia naturalis praeitus etiam Necromanticus fuit & mira quadam arte haec fecisse narratur*. Which premis'd, he brings in the forementioned stories, which have been since copy'd out *verbaim* out of the Latine Book of that *Anonymus*, by *Symphorianus Champier*, and *Albertus de Elib*, who hath been so indiscreet and simple, as to put them into the second part of his *Poeticall Margarite*, under the Title of *Sentences and Authorities taken out of Lactantius*. Nay not content with that, he hath add'd thereto the story of a *Roman Curtezian*, who having hang'd up *Virgil* in a basket, half way down a great Tower; he, to be reveng'd of her, put out of all the fire that was in *Rome*, making it withall impossible to light it again unlesse they took it out of the privy parts of that abusive woman, which yet so taken could not be communicated one to another, so that the whole City was oblig'd to come and visit her. Add yet this likely story was no sooner abroad but one *Gratian du Pont* thought it worth the inserting into his *Controversies of the two Sexes male and female*, printed at *Thoulonse* 1534. as a demonstration of the malice and wickednesse of women.

These fables I thought fit to faggot up together, and that according to the order of those that have maintain'd them, to shew what credit we should give the great number of Authors affirming the same thing.

Lib. de clavis
Medicinae Scrip-
tor. tract.
2.

thing, without examining the sufficiency and integrity of him that first advain'd it. But it would take up abundance of time to search narrowly into the businesse of the *Fly* and *Leach*; and it were as much vaine glory as importunity to rake together all that may be said upon Astrologically stamps and Sculptures, which the Greeks called *Stoecheiodes* and the Arabians *Talismanicks*. Such as were those of *Constantinople* and divers other such graven Stones, on which [a] *Casaubon*, [b] *Scaliger*,^{a In notis ad Vopiscum.} and [c] *Camerarius* have already made many excellent and curious observations, either to examine and refute, as well according to the rules of Polymathy, as Physick and Metaphysick, all the above-recited Stories, which need no other solution than a good confident Negative. And that the rather, for that *Aristotle* sayes very well, *de fabulose sophisticantibus non est dignum cum studio intendere*; and in the first of his *Ethicks*, A man should not spend his time so trivially as to refute all sorts of opinions, but only such as have some probability and appearance of reason. Since therefore the relations of these Authors are fitter to entertaine *Old wives*, *Thracians*, and *Abderties*, then to satisfy those who can judge and distinguish *quid solidum crepet*, we will dismiss this crue of Barbarians, such as are rather to be pittied than censur'd, to satisfy the Authorities of certaine writers of greater reason, and consequently such as ought to be treated with more respect than the precedent.

Those who read the life of this Poet, thought to be written by *Tiberius Donatus*, Master to *St. Hierome*, might haply be somewhat surpris'd, and be guilty of some litle inclination to believe this suspicion

suspicion may be true, in that speaking of *Virgil's* father, he sayes, *Hunc quidam opificem figulum, plures Magicu jusdam viatoris inisio mercenarium, mox ob industriam generum tradiderunt.* But it were more safe to follow the judgment of *Delrio* agreeing with that of *Lacerda*, who will not allow that *Lile*, such as we have it now, to have been written by that ancient *Donatus*. For since he gives not any reason of that criticall censure, I think, were there no other, this very line enough to make us account the whole piece counterfeit and that *Donatus* would never have committed an error, which *Crinitus*, and others treating of the same subject have avoided. Nor can I imagine that *Johannes Sarisberiensis* would have mention'd this *brasen fly* that forc'd away all others from *Naples*, had it not been, from this story, though fabulous, to draw an excellent morall inscription, and to teach us by the example of *Augustus*, which he hath in the four Chapter of his Book *de nugis curialium*, that the publick benefit is to be preferr'd before any private man's advantage and satisfaction. Besides, we are not more oblig'd to believe what he sayes by the way and under the caution of a hearsay, concerning this fly, than what divers Authors have said of so many other places, whence these little insects were banish'd, that their number might well make us doubt whether they ever were from any. For if we credit the *Rabbins*, there was not one to be seen in the *Slaughter-house* where the Beasts were kill'd and prepar'd for sacrifice, though the place was perpetually full of blood and raw hides. If *Calius Rhodiginus*, there was not one in the place where the *Olympick* games were celebra-

ted;

Comment.
vol. 1.
traitte des
eloges.

Lib. 3. de
poet. Lat. c.
37.

red; nor yet in the City of *Leucade* in *Acarmania*. If *Pliny*, the Oxe-market at *Rome*; if *Solinus*, *Hercules's*, Temple, if *Cardan*, a certain house at *Venice*; if *Dr. Gervais*, the *Refectory* of the *Abbey of Maillerais* in *Poitou*, were never troubled with any. And lastly, if we credit *Fusil*, there is but one to be seen all the year long in the *Shambles of Toledo* in *Spain*. And for my part, I think *Scaliger* did very well to laugh at one of these Fly-drivers who having made a little plate grav'd with diverse figures and Characters, and that under a certain constellation, had no sooner plac'd it on a window to try the experience, but one fly more confident than the rest, came and hawsell'd it with her ordure.

The third whose authority is somewhat considerable is *Tostatus* Bishop of *Avila*, who ranks *Virgil* among those that practis'd *Necromancy*, and that because, as he sayes himself, he had read in the 16. Book of *Helinandus's* *Chronologie*, concerning the *Fly* and *Shambles* he had made at *Naples*. • To which, not to discourse of the severall wayes there are to preserve diverse things for a long time, and somewhat to excuse this great person, who should have examin'd these two stories before he had believ'd them, I should rather affirme, that all the blame is to be laid on this *Helinandus*, who hath so faithfully transcrib'd and stollen all these falsities, lyes, and *Impostures* out of *Dr. Gervase* into his *Chronicle*, that he hath made it very much like *Enelio's* house in *Plantus*, *quæ inanis oppleta est atq; araneis*. Nay I can, without passion, affirme, that I never found him cited by any Author, but upon the account of some ridiculous fables; of which citations I could easily produce such a number.

Exercit.
246. 211. 3.

Comment
in Epist. D.
Hieron. ad
Paulinum.

as would more then justify the truth of what say, were it as easy to lay them down in few words as it were requisite it should be done.

But since the Authors who have made mention of the Magick of *Virgil* are so many that they cannot be examin'd one after another without losse of much time and abundance of repetitions we must imitate the *Civilians*, who take Authorities *per saturam*, and so digesting all that remaine into one Article, shew, That, [a] *Le Loy* er makes mention of his *Eccho*, [b] *Paracelsus* of his *Magickall images and figures*, [c] *Helmoldus* of his representation of the City of *Naples* shut up in a glasse bottle, [d] *Sibyllus*, and the Authour of the Book entituled *the Image of the World*, of the head he made to know things to come by; [e] *Petrarch*, and [f] *Theodoric à Njem*, of the Vault he made at *Naples*, at the request of *Augustus*; [g] *Vigenere*, of his *Alphabet*; [h] *Trithemius* of his Book of *Tables and Calculations* whereby to find out the *Genius's* of all persons; and lastly of those who have seen the Cabinet of the Duke of *Florence*, of an extraordinary great Looking-glasse which they affirme to be that in which this Poet exerci'd *Catopromancy*. To all which there needs no other answer, than that all these Authorities are too young, absurd, and ill grounded, and consequently too light to outweigh the Generall silence of all Authors that flourish'd during the space of ten Ages, and who certainly were extreamey to blame not to have left us the least observation of all the'e miracles, if there had been any such thing, since they have given us a faithfull account of a many other particularities of lesse consequence.

a De Spectr.
l. 1. c. 6.
b 1. Tom.
oper. tract.
de imaginibus c. 11.
c Lib. 4.
Histor. Slav.
vor. c. 19.
d Peregr.
quest. de
cad. 3. c. 2.
questione.
3.
e In Itine.
rario.
f Lib. 3. de
schismat. c.
19.
g Cap. 19.
pag. 330. of
his Cyphers.
h Antipal.
l. 4. c. 3.

For what ground is there to imagine that the Emperour *Caligula*, who did all that lay in his power to suppress the works of this Latine *Homer*, and so many other *Zoilus*'s who have found something to quarrel at, even in the most inconsiderable actions of his life, would not have laid hold on a business which might have afforded so much fuel to their detraction? Or that the Emperour *Augustus*, who caus'd all Magicall Books to be burnt, should so far forget and contradict himself as to receive him, being a Magician and Necromancer, into the number of his most intimate friends and favorites? There were certainly as much reason to believe that all *Sodomites* that were in the world dy'd the night of our Saviours birth, and that as the famous Civilian *Salicetus* affirms, *Virgil* was one of that number. Apud Em. de Moura l. de Enfal. Sect. 3. c. 4. num. 12.

And yet for what concerns the precedent Authorities, it is not to be imagin'd that *Petrarch*, *Theodoric à Niem*, *Vigenere*, and *Trithemius* have been so indiscreet as thus basely to prostitute their reputation to the censures and satyrs of those who are not so easily laid asleep with these Fables. For it is certain that whatever they say thereof, hath been only to refute them, and to let us know that they were not so credulous as those others who have furnish'd us with the rest of those Authorities, as such as can no way expiate the fault they have committed in being so miserably ensnar'd in the cobwebs of Hearsaies, vagrant reports, and the common opinion of the inhabitants of *Naples* and places adjacent; who have alwaies attributed to the conjurations of *Virgil* whatever seem'd to them ever so little extraordinary & miraculous, and where-

of they could find out no other beginning. This may be exemplify'd in that admirable cave or grott made in the mountain of *Pauslippo* near the City of *Naples*, whereof though *Strabo* (who liv'd in the time of *Scipio*, and the taking of *Carthage*, according to *Athenaus*, or of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, according to *Patricius*) make mention as of a thing very ancient; yet the Countrey people thereabouts will not be perswaded but that it was made by *Virgil*, at the importunity of the Emperour *Augustus*, because the top of the mountrin under which it is cut was so pestred with Serpents and Dragons, that there was not any man so confident as would presume to travel over it. So that the main stress of the business consists now in knowing what gave the first occasion of this suspicion, which certainly can be nothing else but the knowledge of the *Mathematicks*, wherein *Virgil* was so excellent, according to the relation of *Macrobius*, *Donatus*, *Lacerda*, and the common consent of all Authors, that, besides his being an eminent Philosopher and well experienc'd in Medicine, it may neverthelesse be affirm'd, that the chiefest of his perfections, next to *Poesy*, was his acquaintance with *Astronomy*, and other parts of the *Mathematicks*. And these, having ever been more subject to be charg'd with Ma ick than any o' the other Sciences, have given some occasion to these unsettl'd minds to be confirm'd in that erroneous opinion they had before entertain'd of him; by reason of his *Pharmacentria*, or eighth *Eclogue* where he hath so learnedly renre'nced as *Apuleius* affirms *vittas molles, et verbenas pingues et thura mascula et licia discolora*, and whatever relates to Magick, that it would

would have been very much if he had avoided the suspicion of the practise thereof, especially from those, whom ignorance and the barbarism of the Ages they liv'd in, would not suffer to know that he had translated it word for word out of *Theocritus*. To which number we may adde some others who are so stupid as not to know what advantages a great Wit can make of these fictions and embellishments, which certainly should no more prejudice *Virgil*, than the sorceries of *Circe* have done *Homer*; of *Medea*, *Seneca*; of *Canidia*, *Horace*; of *Ericthon*, *Lucan*; of *Tiresias*, *Statius*; of the *Thessalian women*, *Lucian*, and *Apuleius*; of the old *Witch*, *Heliodorus*; of *Maeffalina*, *Coccius*; of *Angelica*, *Ariosto*; of *Armida*, *Tasso*; or lastly *Mandraca*, the Author of *Astrea*. Whence it is evident to any one, that, from this Chapter, may be drawn a most favourable conclusion for all those great persons for whom we have made this Apology; and that if so many fables, frivolous suspicions and sleight persuasions have found entertainment in the stragling imaginations of those who will needs quarrel with common sense and the opinion of all the world, to make *Virgil* a Magician, what I have produc'd before, as also all that hath been said against *Zoroastes*, *Pythagoras*, *Numa Pompilius*, *Democritus*, *Albertus Magnus*, and the rest that have been brought upon the stage and vindicated, should no way derogate from their reputation, nor give any other impression of their learning and deportment than such as we ought to have of such as have been

Magnanimi Heroes, nati melioribus annis,

and

and indeed so innocent as to these superstitions and fooleries, that their memory ought to be freed from the least suspicion of their ever having any hand therein.

CHAP. XXII.

By what means all these erroneous opinions are maintain'd, and what may be expected from them, if not suppress'd.

HAVING through all the precedent Chapters, both by general and particular reasons, shewn how it might come to passe that so eminent and extraordinary persons have been charg'd with Magick, and consequently deduc'd all I thought requisite for their vindication; I think there cannot any thing be now expected from me, save that, by way of conclusion to this Apology, I should specify the true causes and several occasions whereby these calumnies are entertain'd and gain reputation daily, and what prejudice and inconvenience (if some course be not taken) they will do as well the Authors, who maintain them, as what is to be truly believ'd concerning Magicians, and what order is to be taken for the punishment of those whom their forceries and misdeeds discover and declare to be such. For the former, me thinks the several causes of such a suspicion may be reduc'd principally to three. The *first* is, that all the world is perswaded, and satisfy'd, that the strongest proof and
greatest

greatest assurance that can be had of Truth, depends on a general consent and universal approbation, which, as *Aristotle* in the seventh of his *Ethicks*, affirms, cannot be absolutely false and tainted; besides that it is a thing very plausible, & hath a great shew of goodness & justice to follow the track that's approved by all. Hence it comes to passe, that the last that come to the businesse of writing and books, as well other Authors, as *Dæmopographers*, grounding what they do on this Maxime, never mind the examination of what they find believ'd, and allow'd for true by their Predecessors, and those who have written before them upon the same subject. So that what was false in them, spreads by this contagious approbation and applause, though not proceeding from judgement and the knowledge of the cause, but meerly to second him that first led the dance, without ever considering that he who would be a wise and discreet Judge, ought very much to suspect what ever the people, that *pessimus veritatis interpres*, is most taken with, and is approved by the greatest number, taking good heed that he be not carried away with the current of common & popular opinions. Nay he is to be the more circumspect in this point, because the greatest part is commonly the worst, the number of Fools infinite, infection most dangerous, and most to be fear'd in a throng, the most beaten way the most easily deceives a man, that the wise man saies, *qui cito credit levis est corde*; and that it is most certain, that when we are sway'd by example and custome, without consulting reason, desert, and truth, we slip and fall one upon another,

*Sen. de vi:
ta beata.*

Chap. 19.

ther, forfeit our reputation, run into precipices and, in a word *alienis perimus exemplis.*

The *second* general Cause is, that the greatest part of those who employ themselves in the composition and evulgation of some piece, such as they are able to work out, do commonly flatter themselves into a persuasion of such things, that they may do their business with greatest ease. And as they write not so much for any benefit to the publick, to oblige it by an exact anatomy of Truth, as out of some motive of vanity or ambition or to comply with that necessity which forces them to satisfy *famem non famam*, as *Thuanus* saies; so is it their custome to go to work as slightly and as cheap as possibly they can, not troubling themselves with a long and difficult evolution of the first Authors, or searching into the occasions they had to scatter all these fables & calumnies; nor racking their judgement with the consideration of those circumstances which should oblige them to ruminare, recollect, and reflect on things, so as to bring them to the grand Test of Reason, and thence draw solid and certain resolutions. And here certainly they much discover their weaknesse, and, because the advantages they derive from Nature are very slender, shew, how they are led away by example, groping after things by hear-saies and conjectures, without ever sitting or examining them as they ought, especially in this Age, which is more fit to refine and sharpen mens judgements, then all the precedent put together were, by reason of the great revolutions that now happen, through the discovery of a new world, the disturbances occasion'd

by

by Religion, the restauration of Letters, the declination of Sects and ancient opinions and so many strange inventions and artifices; insomuch that *Salomon* might now, more truly than ever, say, *Doth not wisdom cry? and understanding put forth her voice? She standeth on the top of high places, by the way in the places of the paths. She cryeth at the Gates, at the entering of the City, at the coming in at the Doors.* Whence it may be inferrd, that there never was a more favourable conjuncture than that of the present, to raise mens minds out of the Lethargy they are in, and enliven them to a retractation, and so to a contempt of abundance of false and absurd opinions; were they not, for the reasons before mentioned, indifferent as to the eternizing their memories by the *quality* of their writings, out of a conceit that they gain reputation enough by the *quantity*, thereof, which they can swell up as they please, without much trouble or difficulty, with the assistance of a *Method*, devoutly observ'd of transcribing word for word, whatever hath been said a hundred and a hundred times over by others.

And to do this, they are much oblig'd to the *third* and last cause of the propagation of all these falsities, which is a Custome lately introduc'd, of making ostentation of *Polymathy* or great reading, speaking on any subject of all things, and upon any occasion of all subjects, as if there were no other design in writing than to collect and faggot together *all*, that may be said, and with all what hath *ever* been said on the subject then to be treated of; it being not the question who hits the

the mark, but who makes most shots. So that it is not to be admir'd if those who exactly observe such a method, are, like Marchants that take up all, burthen'd with many things of no value, and such as only corrupt and disparage others, which would be much more in request and reputation, were they cull'd out of the Chaos and confusion of those great Volums. It is certainly a strange thing, that *Delrio, Le Loyer, Bodin, de Lancre, Godelman*, who have been, nay yet are, persons of credit and desert should write so passionately upon the subject of *Demons, Sorcerers and Magicians*, as never to reject any Story, though ever so fabulous and ridiculous, of all those false and absurd ones, which they have without any discretion shuffel'd in among the true and legitimate. Nay had they no more than what we have refuted, it were enough to prejudice and discredit the truth of the rest, since that, as *St. Augustine*

De Civ. dei.
l. 7. cap. 35.

well observes *Solent res gesta aspersione mendaciorum in fabulas verti*, and as *St. Hierome*, Lyers are not believ'd when they speak truth: witnesse *Aesops* herd-boy, who had so often call'd for help against the Wolf when there was no need, that he was neither believ'd nor assist'd by any when afterwards he play'd the Tyrant in his Flock.

Epist. 44.
l. 6. vari-
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So that if we obey the precept of *Cassiodorus* who saies, that *instructus redditur animus in futuris, quando prateritorum commovetur exemplis*, we may, to resolve the second point propos'd, very probably infer that all the ridiculous stories, fables and manifest untruths, which these Authors suffer so easily to slip into their writings, will infallibly turn to their prejudice, and, which

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is worse, to a mistrust of the truth of the subject they treat of, whenever some more free and unconfin'd wit, shall be pleas'd to examine things with much more diligence and circumspection than the Demonographers do. Thus have those of the *Reformation* within the last Century, made use of the Catholicks armes against themselves, by bringing upon the stage the stories of the *Golden Legend*, the *Apparitions of Tyndal*, the *Sermons of Maillart, Menot, & Barlette*, & such other pieces written with no lesse superstition than simplicity, to confirm themselves in the opinion they hold of the nullity and falsity of their *Miracles*. Thus hath the learned and judicious *Ludovicus* [a] *Vives*, and after him *Ramus*, and the moderne

Philosophers, took no other course to ruine and level that Labyrinth of frivolous difficulties, comprehended under the title of *Parva Logica*, than to make a full discovery of the impertinencies, flatness, and extravagance of all those fooleries of *Suppositions*, *Ampliations*, *Restrictions*, *Sophisms*, *Obligations*, *Appellations*, and other subtilties much more trivial and ridiculous. And yet these were in such reputation for the space of 400 years, that they found work enough for those who were accounted the greatest Sophists and Philosophers in the world, such as, in comparison of whom, *Cassiodorus* and *St. Augustine* understood nothing, as many are persuaded, of *Dialectick*, because they have not, in the precepts they have left us thereof, made any mention of the *Chimera*, *Antichrist*, *Sortes*, *Buridan's Ass*, *Nullus et Nemo*. But these, together with all those frivolous rubricks and sophistications

a Lib. 2. de
tradend.
discipl. et
lib. adversus
Pseudo-
Dialecticos.

The History of MAGICK.

Corruptions have been so fortunately leuell'd with the ground, by the foresaid *Vives*, that they are banish'd both out of the Schools and the memory of men, with as much confusion and contempt, as they had bin introduc'd & maintain'd with *Spain*, who the time of *Lombard*, and *Peter of plause*, from were the two first Authors and Promoters of this excellent kind of *Dialectick*.

The result of all this, then, will be, that those who can make better advantages of what they read and learn than the slaves of *Pedantism* do, and who are so industrious as to judge of things to come, by a consideration of what are past, may by these examples easily foresee That the writings of *Demonographers*, hydropically blown up with so many fables as almost stifle the truth, are threatned with the accomplishment in them, of *Paterculus's* saying, *Naturalis quod procedere non potest, recidit*; and will prove like that great *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, which was ruin'd only by its own vast and prodigious height or those great Edifices, which make the foundations crack by the weight of their superstructures. And indeed experience teaches that there is nothing more dangerous than to shuffle old wives tales, and relations that are doubtful, if not apparently false, among things of consequence: for the more circumspect of mankind not able to credit, nay not to admire them, it often happens, that the vulgar, who hath not the ability to judge of things by themselves, is lead away by the opinion of those whom it esteems the most prudent, and, is perswaded to understand them much better. So that being

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their example once arriv'd to so much confidence as to sleight and carp at any one of those stories and opinions it had sometimes field for true, it presently jumps into an equall uncertainty and contempt of all those others for which it had not greater authority and better grounds than they had for those that were discarded,

Nam cupidè conculcatur nimis antè metutum.

It were therefore much to be wish'd, as well for the reputation of our Demonographers, as the maintenance & explanation of the truth of the Subject they treat of, that they would be hence forward more cautious than to advance any History or Authority before they have diligently examined all circumstances, and would afford all things their true worth and weight. So doing shall they not be led into a disadvantageous opinion of any one but upon good ground, nor without reason advance these frivolous accusations, fraught with nought but wind and forgery, since that when they come to be narrowly examin'd, and the truth thereof discuss'd, it commonly happens that they prove meer *Calumnies*, weakly-grounded suspicions, and indeed but vaine, light and inconsiderate words; which the Devill doth insensibly impose on the good names of the innocent, to the end they may one day prove occasions that

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that men shall not be able to discern and punish the guilty.

Lucret. l. 1. *Verum animo satis hac vestigia parva sagaces
Sunt, per qua possis cognoscere cetera tute.*

F I N I S.

Wm. Rollicon

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