

Reginald Scot

# SCOTS

## Discovery of VVitchcraft:

PROVING

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

WHEREIN ALSO,

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

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

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

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

Printed by R. C. and are to be sold by Giles Calvert, dwelling at the Black Spread-Eagle at the West-end of Pauls, 1651.



To the Honorable, mine especial good  
Lord, S. Roger Manwood Knight,

Lord chief Baron of her Majesties Court  
of the Eschequer.

133.4  
Scobld

English



N-so-much as I know that your  
Lordship is by nature wholly in-  
clined, and in purpose earnestly  
bent to relieve the poor, and that  
not onely with hospitality and  
almes, but by divers other de-  
vifes and waies tending to their  
comfort, having (as it were) framed and set your  
self to the help and maintenance of their estate, as  
appeareth by your charge and travell in that behalf.  
Whereas also you have a speciall care for the sup-  
porting of their right, and redressing of their  
wrongs, as neither despising their calamity, nor yet  
forgetting their complaint, seeking all means for  
their amendment, and for the reformation of their  
disorders, even as a very father to the poor. Finally,  
for that I am a poor member of that *Common-wealth*  
where your Lordship is a principall person; I  
thought this my travell, in the behalf of the poor,  
the aged, and the simple, might be very fitly com-  
mended unto you: for a weak house requireth a  
strong stay. In which respect I give God thanks,  
that hath raised up unto me so mighty a friend for  
them

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then as your Lordship is, who in our laws have such knowledge, in government such discretion, in these causes such experience, and in the Common-wealth such authority; and never the lesse vouchsafe to descend to the consideration of these base and inferior matters, which minister more care and trouble, than worldly estimation.

And inasomuch as your Lordship knoweth, or rather exerciseth the office of a Judge, whose part it is to hear with courtesie, and to determine with equity; it cannot but be apparent unto you, that when punishment exceedeth the fault, it is rather to be thought vengeance than correction. In which respect I know you spend more time and travell in the conversion and reformation, than in the subversion and confusion of offenders, as being well pleased to augment your own private pains, to the end you may diminish their publike smart. For in truth, that Common-wealth remaineth in wofull state, where fetters and halters bear more sway than mercy and due compassion.

Howbeit, it is naturall to unnaturall people, and peculiar unto witchmongers, to pursue the poor, to accuse the simple, and to kill the innocent; supplying in rigor and malice towards others, that which they themselves want in proof and discretion, or the other in offence or occasion. But as a cruel heart and an honest minde do seldome meet and feed together in a dish; so a discreet & merciful Magistrate, and a happy Common-wealth cannot be separated asunder. How much then are we bound to God, who hath given us a Queen, that of justice is not only the very perfect *image* and *patern*, but also of *mercy* and *clemency* (under God) the mee *fountain* and *body*

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body it self? Inasomuch as they which hunt most after bloud in these daies, have least authority to shed it. Moreover, sith I see that in cases where lenity might be *noisom*, and *punishment wholsom* to the common-wealth; there no respect of person can move you, no *authority* can *abash* you, no *fear*, no *threats* can *daunt* you in performing the duty of Justice.

In that respect again I find your Lordship a fit person to judge & look upon this present Treatise. Wherein I will bring before you, as it were to the bar, two sorts of most arrogant and wicked people, the first challenging to themselves, the second attributing unto others, that power which only apperteineth to God, *who onely is the Creator of all things*, *who onely searcheth the heart and reines*, *who onely knoweth our imaginations and thoughts*, *who onely openeth all secrets*, *who onely worketh great wonders*, *who onely hath power to raise up and cast down*; *who onely maketh thunder, lightning, rain, tempests*, and restraineth them at his pleasure; *who onely sendeth life and death, sicknesse and health, wealth and woe*; *who neither giveth nor lendeth his glory to any creature.*

And therefore, that which grieveth me to the bottom of my heart, is that these witchmongers cannot be content to wrest out of Gods hand his almighty power, & keep it themselves, or leav it with a witch: but that, when by drift of argument they are made to lay down the bucklers, they yield them up to the devil, or at the least pray aide of him, as though the rains of all mens lives and actions were committed into his hand; and that he sat at the stern, to guide & direct the course of the whole world, imputing unto him power & ability enough to do as great things, and as strange miracles as ever Christ did.

But the doctors of this supernatural doctrine say

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sometimes, that the witch doth all these things by vertue of her charms; sometimes that a spiritual, sometimes that a corporal devil doth accomplish it; sometimes they say that the devil doth but make the witch beleve the doth that which he himselfe hath wrought; sometimes that the devil seemeth to do that by compulsion, which he doth most willingly. Finally, the writers hereupon are so eloquent, & full of variety; that sometimes they write that the devil doth all this by Gods permission only; sometimes by his licence, sometimes by his appointment: so as (in effect and truth) not the devil, but the high and mighty King of kings, and Lord of hosts, even God himselfe, should this way be made obedient and servile to obey and perform the will & commandment of a malicious old witch, & miraculously to answer her appetite, as well in every trifling vanity, as in most horrible executions; as the revenger of a doting old womans imagined wrongs, to the destruction of many innocent children, and as a supporter of her passions, to the undoing of many a poor soul. And I see not, but a witch may as well inchant, when she will; as a lier may lie when he list: and so should we possesse nothing, but by a witches licence and permission.

And now forsooth it is brought to this point, that all devils, which were wont to be spiritual, may at their pleasure become corporal, and so shew themselves familiarly to witches and conjurors, and to none other, and by them only may be made tame, and kept in a box, &c. So as a malicious old woman may command her devil to plague her neighbor: & he is afflicted in manner & form as she desireth. But then cometh another witch, and she biddeth her devil help, and he healeth the same party. So as they make

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make it a kingdome divided in it self, and therefore I trust it will not long endure, but will shortly be overthrown, according to the words of our Saviour, *Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur*, Every kingdome divided in it self shall be desolate. And although some say that the devil is the witches instrument, to bring her purposes and practises to passe: yet others say that she is his instrument, to execute his pleasure in any thing, and therefore to be executed. But then (me thinks) she should be injuriously dealt withall, and put to death for anothers offence: for actions are not judged by instrumental causes; neither doth the end and purpose of that which is done, depend upon the mean instrument. Finally, if the witch do it not, why should the witch die for it? But they say that witches are perswaded and think, that they do indeed those mischifs, & have a will to perform that which the devil committeth; and that therefore they are worthy to dy. By which reason ev'ry one should be executed, that wisheth evil to his neighbor, &c. But if the will should be punished by man, according to the offence against God, we should be driven by thousands at once to the slaughterhouse or butchery. For whosoever loatheth correction shall die. And who should escape execution, if this lothfomnesse (I say) should extend to death by the civil lawes. Also the reward of sin is death. Howbeit, every one that sinneth, is not to be put to death by the Magistrate. But my Lord it shall be proved in my book, and your Lordship shall trie it to be true, as well here at home in your native country, as also abroad in your several circuits, that (besides them that be *Veneficae*, which are plaine poisoners) there will be found among our witches only two sorts; the one sort being such by *imputation*, as

Proverbs 5.

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so thought of by others (and these are abused, and not abusers) the other by acceptation, as being willing so to be accounted & these be meer coufeners.

Infti. lib. 5. cap. 8. sect. 6. Item upon Deu. c. 18.

Lib. de lamis, page 5.

Calvine treating of these magicians, calleth them coufeners, saying, that they use their juggling knacks only to amale or abuse the people; or else for fame: but he might rather have said for gain. *Erastus* himself, being a principal writer in the behalf of witches omnipotency, is forced to confes, that these Greek words *μαγία, μαγικία, εραμάνια*, are most commonly put for illusion false packing, consenage, fraud, knavery and deceit: & is further driven to say, that in ancient times, the learned were not so blockish, as not to see that the promises of magicians and inchanters were false, and nothing else but knavery, consenage & old wives fables; & yet defendeth he their flying in the aire, their transferring of corn or gras from one field to another, &c.

But as *Erastus* disagreeeth herein with himself and his friends: so is there no agreement among any of those writers, but only in cruelties, absurdities & impossibilities. And these (my Lord) that fall into so manifest contradictions, and into such absurd asseverations, are not of the inferior sort of writers; neither are they all papists, but men of such account, as whose names give more credit to their cause, then their writings. In whose behalfe I am sorry, and partly for reverence suppress their fondest errors & foulest absurdities, dealing specially with them that most contend in cruelty, whose feet are swift to shed blood, striving

(as *Jesus* the son of *Sirach* saith) & hasting (as *Solomon* the son of *David* saith) to pour out the blood of the Innocents, whose heat against these poor wretches cannot be allayed with any other liquor then blood. And therefore I fear that under their wings will be found the blood of the souls of the poor, at that day, when the Lord shall say,

Depart

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Depart from me ye blood-thirsty men. And because I know your Lordship will take no counsel against innocent blood, but rather suppress them that seek to imbrew their hands therein, I have made choise to open their case to you, & to lay their miserable calamity before your feet: following herein the advise of that learned man *Brentius*, who saith, *Si quis admonuerit Magistratum, ne in miseris illas mulierculas seuiat, enim ego arbitror diuinitus excitatum*, that is, If any admonish the Magistrate not to deale too hardly with these miserable wretches, that are called witches, I think him a good instrument raised up for this purpose by God himself.

In epistola ad Jo. Wier.

But it will perchance be said by witchmongers; to wit, by such as attribut to witches the power which appertaineth to God only, that I have made choise of your Lordship to be a Patrone to this my book; because I think you favor mine opinions, and by that means may the more freely publish any error or conceit of mine own, which should rather be warranted by your Lordships authority, then by the word of God, or by sufficient argument. But I protest the contrary, and by these presents I renounce all protection, and despise all friendship that might serve to help towards the suppressing or supplanting of truth: knowing also that your Lordship is far from allowing any injury done unto man; much more an enemy to them that go about to dishonor God, or to embeazel the title of his immortal glory. But because I know you to be perspicuous, and able to see down into the depth and bottome of causes, & are not to be carried away with the vain perswasion or superstition either of man, custome, time or multitude, but moved with the authority of truth only: I crave your countenance herein, even so far forth, & no further, then the law of God, the law of nature, the lawe of this land, & the rule

out of reason shall require. Neither do I treat for  
 these poore people any otherwise; but so, as with  
 one hand you may sustaine the good; and with the  
 other suppress the evill: wherein you shall be  
 thought a father to orphanes, an advocate to wi-  
 dowers, a guide to the blind, a stay to the lame, a  
 comfort & countenance to the honest, a scourge and  
 terror to the wicked.

Thus farre I have been bold to use your Lordships  
 patience, being offended with my self, that I could  
 not in brevity utter such matter as I have delivered  
 amply: whereby (I confesse) occasion of tediousnesse  
 might be ministred, were it not that your great gra-  
 vity joined with your singular constancy in reading  
 and judging be means of the contrary. And I wish e-  
 ven with all my heart, that I could make people  
 conceive the substance of my writing, and not to  
 misconstrue any part of my meaning. Then doubt-  
 les would I perswade my self, that the company of  
 witchmongers, &c. being once decreased, the num-  
 ber also of witches, &c. would soon be diminished.  
 But true be the words of the Poet,


*Haudquaquam poteris fortiter omnia solus,  
 Namque aliis divi bello pollere dederunt,  
 Huic saltandi artem, voce tuic cytharæque canendi:  
 Rursum alii inseruit sagax in pectore magnus  
 Jupiter ingenium, &c.*

And therefore as doubtfull to prevaile by perswading;  
 though I have reason and common sense on my side; I rest  
 upon earnest wishing; namely, to all people an absolute trust  
 in God the creator, and not in creatures, which is to make  
 flesh our arme: that God may have his due honour; which  
 by the undutifullnesse of many is turned into dishonour, and  
 lesse cause of offence and error given by common received  
 evil example. And to your Lordship I wish, as increase of  
 honour, so continuance of good health, and happy daies.

Your Lordships to be commanded

*Reynald Scot,*


  
**To the right worshipfull Sir Thomas**  
*Scot, Knight, &c.*


 Ir, I see among other malefactors many poor  
 old women convented before you for work-  
 ing of Miracles, otherwise called witch-  
 craft, & therefore I thought you also a meet  
 person to whom I might commend my book.  
 And here I have occasion to speak of your sincere admi-  
 nistration of justice, and of your dexterity, discretion,  
 charge, and travel employed in that behalf, whereof I am  
 oculatus testis. Howbeit I had rather refer the Reader to  
 common fame, and their own eies and ears to be satisfied;  
 then to send them to a Stationers shop, where many times  
 lies are vendible, and truth contemptible. For I being of  
 your house, of your name, and of your blood: my foot being  
 under your table, my hand in your dish, or rather in your  
 purse, might be thought to flatter you in that, wherein (I  
 know) I should rather offend you than please you. And  
 what need I curry-favour with my most assured friend?  
 And if I should only publish those vertues (though they be  
 many) which give me special occasion to exhibit this my  
 travel unto you, I should do as a painter, that describeth  
 the foot of a notable personage, and leaveth all the best  
 features in his body untouched.

I therefore (at this time) do only desire you to consider  
 of my report, concerning the evidence that is commonly  
 brought before you against them. See first whether the evi-  
 dence be not frivolous, and whether the proofs brought  
 against them be not incredible, consisting of guesses, pre-  
 sumptions, and impossibilities contrary to reason, Scrip-  
 a ture,

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ture, & nature. See also what persons complain upon them, whether they be not of the basest, the unwiseest & most faithlesse kind of people. Also may it please you to way what accusations and crimes they lay to their charge, namely: she was at my house of late, she would have had a pot of milk, she departed in a chafe because she had it not, she railed, she cursed, she mumbled and whispered, and finally she said she would be even with me: and soon after my child, my cow, my sow, or my pullet died, or was strangaly taken. Nay (if it please your Worship) I have further proof: I was with a wise woman, & she told me I had an ill neighbour, and that she would come to my house ere it were long, and so did she; and that she had a mark above her waste, and so had she: and that she had a mark above her hath gone against her a great while. Her mother before her was counted a witch, she hath been beaten and scratched by the face till blood was drawn upon her, because she hath bin suspected, and afterwards some of those persons were said to amend. These are the certainties that I hear in their evidences.

Note also how easily they may be brought to confess that which they never did, nor lieth in the power of man to do: and then see whether I have cause to write as I do. Further, if you shall see that infidelity, popery, and many other manifest heresies be backed and shouldered, and their professors animated and heartned, by yielding to creatures such infinit power as is wrested out of Gods hand, and attributed to witches: finally, if you shall perceive that I have faithfully and truly delivered and set down the condition and state of the witch, and also of the witchmonger, and have consulted by reason and law, and by the word of God it self, all mine adversaries objections & arguments: then let me have your countenance against them that maliciously oppose themselves against me.

My

INCEPIT.

My greatest adversaries are young ignorance and old custome. For what folly soever tract of time hath fostered, it is so superstitiously pursued of some, as though no error could be acquainted with custome. But if the laws of nations would join with such custom, to the maintenance of ignorance, & to the suppressing of knowledge; the civillest country in the world would soon be come barbarous, &c. For as knowledge & time discovereth errors, so doth superstition and ignorance in time breed them. And concerning the opinions of such, as wish that ignorance should rather be maintained, than knowledge busily searched for, because thereby offence may grow: I answer, that we are commanded by Christ himself to search for knowledge: for it is the kings honour (as Salomon saith) to search out a thing.

Aristotle said to Alexander, that a mind well furnished was more beautifull then a body richly arraid. What can be more odious to man, or offensive to God, than ignorance: for through ignorance the Jewes did put Christ to death. Which ignorance who so ever forsaketh, is promised life everlasting: and therefore among Christians it should be abhorred above all other things. For even as when we wrestle in the dark, we tumble in the mire, &c. so when we see not the truth, we wallow in errors. A blind man may seek long in the rushes ere he find a needle, and as soon is a doubt dissolved by ignorance. Finally, truth is no sooner found out in ignorance, then a sweet savour in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and give them no leave to use it, men were much better be without it than have it. For it is as to have a talent, and to hide it under the earth; or to put a candle under a bushell: or as to have a ship, and to let her lie alwaies in the dock: which thing how profitable it is, I can say somewhat by experience.

John 5.  
Prov. 15. 1.

Acts 3.  
Proverbs 9.

Matth. 25  
Matthew 5.  
Lnke 8.

Aa 2

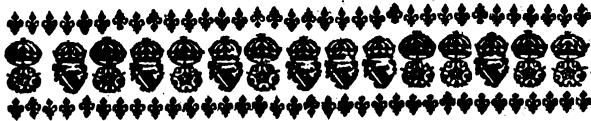
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But hereof I need say no more, for every man seeth that none can be happy who knoweth not what felicity meaneth. For what availeth it to have riches, and not to have the use thereof? Truly the heathen herein deserved more commendation then many christians, for they spared no pain, no cost, nor travell to attain to knowlede. Pythagoras travelled from Thamus to Ægypt, and afterwards into Crete and Lacedæmonia: and Plato out of Athens into Italy and Ægypt, and all to find out hidden secrets and knowledge: which when a man hath, he seemeth to be separated from mortality. For pretious stones, and all other creatures of what value soever, are but counterfeits to this jewell: they are mortall, corruptible and inconstant; this is immortal, pure and certain. Wherefore if I have searched and found out any good thing, that ignorance and time hath smothered, the same I commend unto you: to whom though I owe all that I have, yet am I bold to make others partakers with you in this poor gift.

Your loving cousen

Reg. Scot.



To the right worshipful his loving  
friends, Master Doctor Coldwell Deane of  
Rochester, and Master Doctor Read-man  
Arch-deacon of Canturbury, &c.



Having found out two such civil Magistrates, as for direction of judgement, and for ordering matters concerning justice in this common-wealth (in my poore opinion) are very singular persons, who (I hope) will accept of my good will, and examine my book by their experience, as unto whom the matter therein contained doth greatly appertaine: I have now again considered of two other points: namely, Divinity and Philosophy, whereupon the ground-work of my book is laid. Wherein although I know them to be very sufficiently informed, yet doth not the judgement and censure of those causes so properly appertain to them as unto you, whose fame therein hath gotten preeminence above all others that I know of your calling: and in that respect I am bold to joyne you with them, being all good neighbours together in this common-wealth, and loving friends unto me. I do not present this unto you, because it is meet for you; but for that you are meet for it (I mean) to judge upon it, to defend it, and if need be to correct it; knowing that you have learned of that grave counsellor Cato, not to shame or discountenance any body. For if I thought you as ready, as able, to discharge me from mine insufficiencie: I should not have been hasty (knowing your learning) to have written unto you: but if I should be abashed to write to you, I should shew my selfe ignorant of your courtesie.

I know mine own weaknesse, which if it have been able to maintain this argument, the cause is the stronger. Eloquent words may please the eares, but sufficient matter perswadeth the heart. So as, if I exhibit wholesome drink (though it be small) in a treene dish with a faithful hand, I hope it will be as well accepted, as strong wine offered in a silver bowle with a flattering heart. And surely it is a point of as great liberality to receive a small thing thankfully,

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ly, as to give and distribute great and costly gifts, bountifully for there is more supplied with courteous answers than with rich rewards. The tyrant Dionysius was not so hated for his tyranny, as for his churlish and strange behaviour. Among the poore Israelites sacrifices, God was satisfied with the tenth part of an Ephah of flower, so as it were fine and good. Christ liked well of the poore widowes mite. Lewis of France accepted a rape-root of clownish Conan. Cyrus vouchsafed to drink a cup of cold water out of the hand of poore Sinates: and so it may please you to accept this simple book at my hands, which I faithfully exhibit unto you, knowing your opinions to meet with mine: but knowing your learning and judgement to be able as well to correct me where I speake hence unskilfully, as others when they speake thereof maliciously.

Some be such dogs as they will barke at my writings, whether I maintaine or refute this argument: as Diogenes snarled both at the Rhocians and at the Lacedaemonians: at the one, because they were brave; at the other, because they were not brave. Homer himselfe could not avoid reprochfull speeches. I am sure that they which never studied to learne any good thing, will study to find faults hereat. If for my part feare not these wars, nor all the adversaries I have; were it not for certain cowards, who (I know) will come behind my back and bite me.

But now to the matter. My question is not (as many fondly suppose) whether there be witches or nay: but whether they can do such miraculous works as are imputed unto them? Good Master Deane, is it possible for a man to break his fast with you at Rochester, and to dine that day at Durham with Master Doctor Matthew; or can your enemy maime you, when the Ocean sea is betwixt you? What reall community is betwixt a spirit and a body? May a spiritual body become temporal at his pleasure? Or may a carnall bodie become invisible? Is it likely that the lives of all Princes, Magistrates, and Subjects, should depend upon the will, or rather upon the wish of a poore malicious dotting old fool, and that power exempted from the wise, the rich, the learned, the godly, &c? Finally, is it possible for a man or woman to do any of those miracles expressed in my book, and so constantly reported by great clarkes? If you say, no; then am I satisfied. If you say that God absolutely, or by means can accomplish all those, and many more, I go with you. But witches may well say they can do

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these things, howbeit they cannot shew how they do them. If I for my part should say I could do those things, my very adversaries would say that I lyed.

O Master Arch-deacon, is it not pittie, that that which is said to be done with the almighty power of the most high God, and by our Saviour his onely Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, should be referred to a baggage old womans nod or wish, &c? Good Sir, is it not one manifest kind of Idolatry, for them that labour and are laden to come unto witches to be refreshed? If witches could helpe whom they are said to have made sick, I see no reason, but remedy might as well be required at their hands, as a purse demanded of him that hath stolne it. But truly it is manifold idolatry, to aske that of a creature, which none can give but the Creator. The papist hath some colour of scripture to maintaine his idol of bread, but no Jesuitical distinction can cover the witchmongers idolatry in this behalfe. Alas, I am sorry and ashamed to see how many die, that being said to be bewitched, onely seek for magical cures, whom wholesome diet and good medicines would have recovered. I dare assure you both, that there would be none of these colening kind of witches, did not witchmongers maintaine them, follow them, and beleewe in them and their oracles: whereby indeed all good learning and honest arts are overbrowne. For these that most advance their power, and maintaine the skill of these witches, understand no part thereof: and yet being many times wise in other matters, are made fooles by the most fooles in the world.

He thinks these magicall physicians deale in the commonwealth, much like as a certaine kind of Cynicall people do in the church, whose severe sayings are accepted among some such oracles, as may not be doubted of; who in stead of learning and authority (which they make contemptible) do feed the people with their own devices and imaginations, which they preferre before all other divinity: and labouring to erect a church according to their own fantasies, wherein all order is condemned, and onely their magical words and curious directions advanced, they would utterly overthrow the true Church. And even as these inchanting Paracelsians abuse the people, leading them from the true order of physick to their charms: so do these other (I say) dissuade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whisper in mens eares to teach them their frier-like traditions. And of this see the chiefe author at this time is

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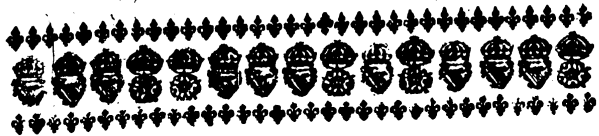
one Browne, a fugitive, a meet cover for such a cup: as becometh before the Anabaptists, the Arriant, and the Franciscane friers.

Truly not onely nature, being the mistress and director thereof, on; but also scripture, being the mistress and director thereof, and of all christianity; is beautified with knowledge and learning. For as nature without discipline doth naturally incline unto vanities, and as it were suck up errors: so doth the word, or rather the letter of the scripture without understanding, not onely make us devoure errors, but yeeldeth us up to death & destruction: and therefore Paul saith he was not a minister of the letter, but of the spirit.

Rom. 2.27  
2. Cor. 3. 6.

Thus have I been bold to deliver unto the world, and to you, those simple notes, reasons, and arguments, which I have devised or collected out of other authors; which I hope shall be hurtful to none, but my selfe great comfort, if it may passe with good liking and acceptation. If it fall out otherwise, I should think my paines ill employed. For truly, in mine opinion, whosoever shall performe any thing, or attaine to any knowledge; or whosoever should travel throughout all the nations of the world, or (if it were possible) should peepe into the heavens, the consolation or admiration thereof were nothing pleasant unto him, unlesse he had liberty to impart his knowledge to his friends. Wherein because I have made special choise of you, I hope you will read it, or at the least lay it up in your study with your other bookes, among which there is none dedicated to any with more good will. And so long as you have it, it shall be unto you (upon adventure of my life) a certain amulet, periapt, circle, charme, &c. to defend you from all enchantments.

Your loving friend  
Reg. Scot.



To the Readers.



For such a one judgeth not at the first sight, nor repro-  
veth by hearsay; but patiently heareth, and thereby increaseth in understanding: which patience bringeth forth experience, whereby true judgement is directed. I shall not need therefore to make any further suite to you, but that it would please you to read my book, without the prejudice of time, or former conceits: and having obtained this at your hands, I submit my self unto your censure. But to make a solemn suite to you that are partial readers, desiring you to set aside partiality, to take in good part my writing, and with indifferent eyes to looke upon my book, were labour lost, and time ill employed. For I should no more prevaile herein, then if a hundred years since I should have intreated your predecessors to beleve, that Robin good-fellow, that great and ancient bull-begger, had been but a coufening merchant, and no devil indeed.

If I should go to a Papist, and say, I pray you beleve my writings, wherein I will prove all popish charmes, conjurations, exorcismes, benedictions and curses, nor onely to be ridiculous, and of none effect, but also to be impious and contrary to Gods word: I should as hardly therein win favour at their hands, as herein obtain credit at yours. Nevertheless, I doubt not, but to use the matter so, that as well the massemonger for his part, as the witchmonger for his, shall both be ashamed of their professions.

But Robin good-fellow ceaseth now to be much feared, and popery is sufficiently discovered. Nevertheless, witches charmes, and conjurors coufenges are yet thought effectuall. Yea the Gentiles have espied the fraud of their coufening oracles, and our cold prophets and inchanters make us fools still, to the shame of us all, but specially of Papists, who conjure every thing, and thereby bring to passe nothing. They say to their candles, I conjure you to endure for ever: and yet they last not longer while the longer. They conjure water to be wholesome both for body and soule: but the body (we see) is never the better for it, nor the soul any whit reformed by it. And therefore I marvel, that when they see their own conjurations confuted and brought to nought, or at the least void of effect, that they (of all other) will yet give such credit, countenance, and authority to the vaine coufenges of witches and conjurors; as though their charmes and conjurations could produce more



The Epistle

apparent, certaine, and better effects then their owne.  
 But my request unto all you that read my book shall be no more, but that it would please you to conferre my words with your own sense and experience, and also with the word of God. If you find your selves resolved and satisfied, or rather reformed and qualified in any one point of opinion, that heretofore you held contrary to truth, in a matter hitherto undecided, and never yet looked into; I pray you take that for advantage: and suspending your judgement, say the sentence of condemnation against me, and consider of the Rest, at your further leisure. If this may not suffice for to persuade you, it cannot prevaile to annoy you: and when, that which is written without offence, may be overpassed without any griefe.

And although mine assertion, be somewhat differing from the old inveterate opinion, which I confesse hath many gray hairs, whereby mine adversaries have gained more authority then reason, towards the maintenance of their presumptions and old wives fables: yet shall it fully agree with Gods glory, and with his holy word. And albeit there be hold taken by mine adversaries of certain few words or sentences in the Scripture that make a shew for them: yet when the whole course thereof maketh against them, and impugneth the same, yea and also their own places rightly understood do nothing at all releve them: I trust their glorious title and argument of antiquity will appear as stale and corrupt as the Apothecaries drugs, or grocers spice, which the longer they be preserved, the worse they are. And till you have perused my book, ponder this in your mind, to wit, that *Saga, Thessala, Striges, Lamie* (which words and none other being in use do properly signifie our witches) are nor once found written in the old or new Testament; and that Christ himself in his Gospel never mentioned the name of a witch. And that neither he, nor Moses, ever spake any one word of the witches bargaine with the devil, their haggings, their riding in the ayre, their transferring of corn or grasse from one field to another, their hurting of children of cattel with words or charmes, their bewitching of burter, cheefe, ale, &c. nor yet their transubstantiation; inso much as the writers hereupon are not ashamed to say, that it is not ablut to affirm that there were no witches in Jobs time. The reason is, that if there had been such witches then in being, Job would have said he had been bewitched. But indeed men took no heed in these daies to this doctrine of devils, or wits, these fables of witchcraft, which Peter saith that they be much regarded, and hearkened unto in the latter daies.

Howbeit, how ancient so ever this barbarous conceipt of witches or nigpotencie is, truth must not be measured by time: for every old opinion is not sound. Veritie is not impaired, how long soever it be suppressed; but is to be searched out, in how darke a corner soever it be hidden: for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be trothed too rarely. Finally, time bewraight old errors, and discovereth new matters of truth: *Danaus* himself saith, that this question hitherto hath never been handled; nor the Scriptures concerning this matter have never bin expounded. To prove the antiquity of the cause, to confirme the opin-

Mal. malef. par. 2. qua. 2.

1 Pet. 4. 1.

Danaus in suo prologo.

To the Readers.

on of the ignorant, to inforce mine adversaries arguments, to aggravate the punishments, and to accomplish the confusion of these old women, is added the vanity and wickednesse of them, which are called witches, the arrogancy of those which take upon them to worke wonders, the desire that people have to hearken to such miraculous matters, unto whom most commonly an impossibility is more credible than a verity; the ignorance of naturall causes, the ancient and universall hate conceived against the name of a witch; their ill-favoured faces, their spitefull words, their curses and imprecations, their charmes made in rime, and their beggerly; the fear of many foolish folke, the opinion of some that are wife, the want of Robin good-fellow and the fairies, which were wont to maintain that, and the common peoples talke in this behalfe; the authority of the Inquisitors, the learning, cunning, consent, and estimation of writers herein, the false translations and fond interpretations offered, specially by Papists; and many other like causes. All which toies take such hold upon mens fantasies, as whereby they are led and enticed away from the consideration of true respects, to the condemnation of that which they know not.

Howbeit, I will (by Gods grace) in this my book, so apparently decipher and confute these cavils, and all other their objections; as every witch-monger shall be abashed, and all good men thereby satisfied. In the mean time, I would wish them to know that if neither the estimation of Gods omnipotency, nor the tenor of his word, nor the doubtfulness or rather the impossibility of the case, nor the small proofes brought against them, nor the rigor executed upon them; nor the pity that should be in a christian heart, nor yet their simplicity, impotency, or age may suffice to suppress the rage or rigor wherewith they are oppressed; yet the consideration of their sex or kind ought to move some mitigation of their punishment. For if nature (as Plinie reporteth) have taught a lion not to deale so roughly with a woman as with a man, because she is in body the weaker vessell, and in heart more inclined to pity (which Jeremy in his lamentations seemeth to confirme) what should a man do in this case, for whom a woman was created as an helpe and comfort unto him? In so much as even in the law of nature, it is a greater offence to slay a woman than a man: not because a man is not the more excellent creature, but because a woman is the weaker vessell. And therefore among all modest and honest persons it is thought a shame to offer violence or injury to a woman; in which respect Virgil saith, *Natum memorabile nomen feminea in pena est.*

God that knoweth my heart is witness, and you that read my book shall see, that my drift and purpose in this enterprise tendeth onely to these respects. First, that the glory and power of God be not so abridged and abased, as to be thrust into the hand or lip of a lewd old woman; whereby the worke of the Creator should be attributed to the power of a creature. Secondly, that the religion of the gospel may be seen to stand without such peevish tromphery. Thirdly, that lawfull favour and christian compassion be rather used towards these poor soules than rigor and extremity. Because they, which are commonly accused of witchcraft

Lam. Jer. 3. & 4. cap. verse 10.  
 1 Cor. 11. 9.  
 Ibid. vers 7.  
 Ge. 2. 22. 18.  
 Arist. lib. problem. 2. 9.  
 Virg Georg.

*The Epistle*

are the least sufficient of all other persons to speak for themselves; in having the most base and simple education of all others; the extremity of their age giving them leave to dote, their poverty to beg, their wrongs to chide and threaten (as being void of any other way of revenge) their humor melancholicall to be full of imaginations, from whence chiefly proceedeth the vanity of their confessions; as that they can transforme themselves and others into apes, owles, asses, dogges, cats, &c. that they can flie in the aire, kill children with charmes, hinder the coming of butter &c.

Eccle: 35. 15.

And for so much as the mighty helpe themselves together, and the poor widowes cry, though it reach to heaven, is scarce heard here upon earth; I thought good (according to my poor ability) to make intercession, that some part of common rigor, and some points of hasty judgement may be advised upon. For the world is now at that stay (as *Brentius* in a most godly sermon in these words affirmeth) that even as when the heathen persecuted the Christians, if any were accused to believe in Christ, the common people cried *Ad leonem*: so now, if any woman, be she never so honest, be accused of witch-craft, they cry *Ad ignem*. What difference is between the rash dealing of unskillfull people, and the grave counsell of more discrete and learned persons, may appear by a tale of *Danzus* his own telling; wherein he opposeth the rashness of a few townsmen, to the counsell of a whole senate: preferring the folly of the one, before the wisdom of the other.

At Orleans on Loyre (saith he) there was a man-witch, not only taken and accused, but also convicted and condemned for witch-craft, who appealed from thence to the high court of Paris. Which accusation the senate saw insufficient, and would not allow, but laughed thereat, lightly regarding it; and in the end sent him home (saith he) as accused of a frivolous matter. And yet for all that, the magistrates of Orleans were so bold with him, as to hang him up within a short time after, for the same or the very like offence. In which example is to be seen the nature, and as it were the disease of this cause: wherein (I say) the simpler and undiscreter sort are alwaies more hasty and furious in judgements, than men of better reputation and knowledge. Nevertheless, *Eunichius* saith that these three things; to wit, what is to be thought of witches, what their incantations can do, and whether their punishment should extend to death, are to be well considered. And I would (saith he) they were as well known, as they are rashly beleaved, both of the learned, and unlearned. And further he saith, that almost all divines, physicians and lawyers, who should best know these matters, satisfying themselves with old custome, have given too much credit to these fables, and to rash and unjust sentence of death upon witches. But when a man pondereth (saith he) that in times past, all that swarved from the church of Rome were judged heretikes; it is the lesse marvell, though in this matter they be blind and ignorant.

And Surely, if the Scripture had been longer suppressed, more absurd fables would have sprung up, and been beleaved. Which credulity though it is to be derided with laughter; yet this their cruelty is to be

*To the Reader.*

I lamented with teares. For (God knoweth) many of these poor wretches had more need to be releaved than chastised; and more meet were a preacher to admonish them, than a Jailer to keep them; and a physician more necessary to helpe them, than an executioner or tormentor to hang or burn them. For proof and due trial hereof, I will requite *Danzus* his tale of a man-witch (as he termeth him) with another witch of the same sex or gender.

*Cardanus* from the mouth of his own father reporteth, that one *Berward*, a poor servant, being in wit very simple and rude, but in his service very necessary and diligent (and in that respect dearly beloved of his master) professing the art of witch-craft, could in no wise be dissuaded from that profession, perswading himselfe that he knew all things, and could bring any matter to passe; because certain country-people resorted to him for helpe and counsell, as supposing by his own talke, that he could do somewhat. At length he was condemned to be burned: which torment he seemed more willing to suffer, than to loose his estimation in that behalfe. But his master having compassion upon him, and being himselfe in his princes favour, perceiving his conceipt to proceed of melancholie, obtained respit of execution for twenty daies. In which time (saith he) his master bountifullly fed him with good fat meat, and with four eggs at a meale, as also with sweet win: which diet was best for so grosse and weake a body. And being recovered to in strength, that the humor was suppressed, he was easily won from his absurd and dangerous opinions, and from all his fond imaginations: and confessing his error and folly, from the which before no man could remove him by any perswasions, having his pardon, he lived long a good member of the Church, whom otherwise the cruelty of judgement should have cast away and destroyed.

Lib. 15. cap. 18. de variis rebus.

This history is more credible than *Sprengers* fables, or *Bodins* fables, which reach not so far to the extolling of witches omnipotency, as to the derogating of Gods glory. For if it be true, which they affirme, that our life and death lyeth in the hand of a witch; then is it false, that God maketh us live or die, or that by him we have our being; our terme of time appointed, and our daies numbered. But surely their charmes can no more reach to the hurting or killing of men or women, than their imaginations can extend to the stealing and carrying away of horses and mares. Neither hath God given remedies to sicknesse or griefe, by words or charmes, but by herbs and medicines, which he himselfe hath created upon earth, and given men knowledge of the same; that he might be glorified, for that therewith he doth vouch safe that the maladies of men and cattle should be cured, &c. And if there be no affliction nor calamity, but is brought to passe by him, then let us desie the devil, renounce all his works, and not so much as once think or dream upon this supernatural power of witches; neither let us prosecute them with such despight, whom our sanse condemneth, and our reason acquitteth: our evidence against them consisting in impossibilities, our proofes in unwritten verities, and our whole proceedings in doubts and difficulties.

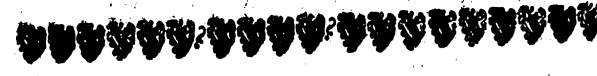
Amos 3. 6. La. 1. 3. 38. 141. 45. 9. Rom. 9. 20.

**The Epistle etc.**

Now because I mislike the extreme cruelty used against some of these silly souls (whom a simple advocate having audience and justice might deliver out of the hands of the inquisitors themselves) it will be said, that I deny any punishment at all to be due to any witch whatsoever. Nay, because I shew the folly and impiety of them which attribute unto witches the power of Gods, these witchmongers will report, that I deny there are any witches at all: and yet behold (say they) how often is this word (Witch) mentioned in the Scriptures? Even as if an idolater should say in the behalfe of images and idols, to them which deny their power and godhead, and inveigh against the reverence done unto them; How dare you deny the power of images, seeing here names are so often repeated in the Scriptures? But truly I deny not that there are witches or images: but I detest the idolaters opinions conceived of them; referring that to Gods work and ordinance, which they impute to the power and malice of witches; and attributing that honour to God which they ascribe to idols. But as for those that in very deed are either witches or conjurers; let them hardly suffer such punishment as to their fault is agreeable, and as by the grave judgement of law is provided.



**The**



**The forreign Authors used in this Book.**

- |                         |                        |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>Æ</b> lianus.        | Cornelius Agrippa.     | Hovinus.               |
| Accius.                 | Cornelius Nepos.       | Hypertus.              |
| Albertus Crantzius.     | Cornelius Tacitus.     | Jacobus de Chusa Cap-  |
| Albertus Magnus.        | Cyrius.                | thufianus.             |
| Albunazar.              | Danzus.                | Jamblichus.            |
| Alcoranum Francisca-    | Demetrius.             | Jaso Pratenfis.        |
| norum.                  | Democritus.            | Innocentius 8. papa.   |
| Alexander Trallianus,   | Didymus.               | Johannes Anglicus.     |
| Algerus.                | Diodorus Siculus.      | Johannes Baptista Nea- |
| Ambrosius.              | Dionysius Areopagita.  | politanus.             |
| Andradias.              | Dioscorides.           | Johannes Cassianus.    |
| Andreas Gartnerus.      | Diurius.               | Johannes Montiregus.   |
| Andreas Massius.        | Dodonæus.              | Johannes Rivijs.       |
| Antonius Sabellius.     | Durandus.              | Josephus ben Gorion.   |
| Apollonius Tyanaus.     | Empedocles.            | Josias Simlerus.       |
| Appianus.               | Ephesius.              | Isidorus.              |
| Apuleius.               | Erasinus Roterodamus.  | Iligonus.              |
| Archelaus.              | Erasinus Sarcerius.    | Juba.                  |
| Argerius Ferrarius.     | Eraustus.              | Julius Maternus.       |
| Aristoteles.            | Eudokus.               | Justinus Martyr.       |
| Arnoldus de villa nova. | Eusebius Casariensis.  | Lactantius.            |
| Artemidorus.            | Fernelius.             | Lavaterus.             |
| Athanasius.             | Franciscus Petrartha.  | Laurentius Ananias.    |
| Averroës.               | Fuchsius.              | Laurentius a villa.    |
| Augustinus episcopus    | Galenus.               | tio.                   |
| Hip.                    | Gerropius.             | Leo 11. Pontifex.      |
| Augustinus Niphus.      | Galasius.              | Lex Salazarum.         |
| Avicennas.              | Gemnia Phrysius.       | Lex 12. Tabularum.     |
| Aulus Gellius.          | Georgius Pistoris.     | Legenda aurea.         |
| Barnardinus de boffis.  | Gofridus.              | Legenda longa Coloni-  |
| Bartholomæus Angli-     | Gofchalvus Boll.       | nia.                   |
| cus.                    | Gratianus.             | Leonardus Vairus.      |
| Berosus Anianus.        | Gregorius.             | Livius.                |
| Bodinus.                | Grillandus.            | Lucanus.               |
| Bordinus.               | Guido Bonatus.         | Lucretius.             |
| Brentius.               | Gulielmus de sancto    | Ladovicus Galus.       |
| Calvinus.               | Cloebald.              | Lutherus.              |
| Cametarius.             | Gulielmus Parisiensis. | Macrobius.             |
| Campanus.               | Hemingius.             | Magna Charta.          |
| Cardanus pater.         | Heraclides.            | Malleus Maleficarum.   |
| Cardanus filius.        | Hermes Trismegistus.   | Manlius.               |
| Carolus Gallus.         | Hieronymus.            | Marbaccius.            |
| Cassander.              | Hilarius.              | Marbodeus Gallus.      |
| Caro.                   | Hippocrates.           | Marsilius Ficinus.     |
| Chrysofomus.            | Homerus.               | Martinus de Arles.     |
| Cicero.                 | Horatius.              | Mattheolus.            |
| Clemens.                | Hostiensis.            | Melancthonus.          |

Memphra-

## Foreign and English Authors.

Memphradorus.	Pythagoras.	Vegetius.
Michael Andreas.	Quintilianus.	Vincentius.
Muculus.	Rabbi Abraham.	Virgilius.
Naucerus.	Rabbi ben Ezra.	Vicellius.
Nicephorus.	Rabbi David Kimhi.	Wiccius.
Nicholaus s. Papa.	Rabbi Josuah ben Levi.	Xanrus historiogra-
Nider.	Rabbi Isaac Natar.	phus.
Olaus Gothus.	Rabbi Levi.	
Origenes.	Rabbi Moses.	
Ovidius.	Rabbi Sedaias Hairs.	
Panormitanus.	Robertus Carocullus.	
Paulus Aegineta.	Rupertus.	
Paulus Marius.	Sabinus.	
Persius.	Sadoletus.	
Petrus de Appona.	Savantrola.	
Petrus Lombardus.	Scotus.	
Petrus Martyr.	Seneca.	
Peuce.	Septuaginta interpre-	
Philarchus.	res.	
Philastrius Brixiosus.	Serapio.	
Philodorus.	Socrat es.	
Philo Judaeus.	Solinus.	
Pirkmairus.	Speculum exemplo-	
Plarinus.	rum.	
Plato.	Strabo.	
Plinius.	Sulpitius Severus.	
Plotinus.	Syneffus.	
Plerarchus.	Tatianus.	
Polydorus Virgilius.	Terrullianus.	
Pomperium sermonum	Thomas Aquinas.	
quadragesimalium.	Themistius.	
Pompanatius.	Theodoreus.	
Pontifical.	Theodorus Bizantium.	
Pozzivibius.	Theophrastus.	
Porihvrius.	Thucydides.	
Proclus.	Tibullus.	
Propercius.	Tremelius.	
Psellus.	Valerius Maximus.	
Ptolomeus.	Varro.	

Vegetius.  
Vincentius.  
Virgilius.  
Vicellius.  
Wiccius.  
Xanrus historiogra-  
phus.

### These English.

**B**arnaby Googe  
Beehive of the Ro-  
with church.  
Edward Deering.  
Geffrey Chaucer.  
Giles Alley.  
Guimelf Maharba.  
Henry Haward.  
John Bale.  
John Fox.  
John Malhora.  
John Reroid.  
Pimer alter Yorke  
use.  
Richard Gallis.  
Roger Bacon.  
Testament printed at  
Rhemes.  
T. E. a nameles Author.  
467.  
Thomas Hilles.  
Thomas Lupron.  
Thomas Moore Knight.  
Thomas Phaer.  
T. R. a nameles Author.  
393.  
William Lambard.  
W. W. a namelesse Au-  
thor. 542.

## The discovery of Witchcraft.

### The first Book.

#### CHAP. I.

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



The Fables of Witch-craft have taken so fast hold and deep root in the heart of man, that few or none can, (now adaies) with patience indure the hand and correction of God. For if any adversity, greese, sicknesse, losse of children, corn, cattell, or liberty happen unto them; by and by they exclaime upon witches: As though there were no God in Israel that ordereth all things according to his will, punishing both just unjust and with greeses, plagues, and afflictions in manner and forme as he thinketh good: but that certajn old women here on earth, called witches, must needs be the contriyers of all mens calamities, and as though they themselves were innocents, and had deserved no such punishments. Infomuch as they stick not to ride and go to such, as either are injuriously tearmed witches, or else are willing so to be accounted, seeking at their hands comfort and remedy in time of their tribulation, contrary to Gods will and commandement in that behalfe, who bids us resort to him in all our necessities. Mat. 12.

Such faithlesse people (I say) are also perswaded, that neither haile nor snow, thunder nor lightning, rain nor tempestuous winds come from the heavens at the commandement of God; but are raised by the cunning and power of witches and conjurers; infomuch as a clap of thunder, or a gale of winde is no sooner heard, but either they runne to ring bells, or cry out to burne witches; or else burne consecrated things, hoping by the smoak thereof, to drive the devill out of the aire, as though spirits could be fraid away with such externall toies: howbeit, these are right enchantments, as Brentius affirmeth.

But certainly, it is neither a witch, nor devil, but a glorious \* God that maketh the thunder. I have read in the Scriptures, that God \* Psal. 25. maketh the blustering tempests and whirle-winds: and I find that it is \* the Lord that altogether dealeth with them, and that they blowe according to his will. But let me see any of them all \* rebuke and still the Luke 8. sea in time of tempest, as Christ did; or raise the stormy wind, as \* God Math 8. did with his word; and I will beleve in them. Hath any witch or conjurer, or any creature entred into the \* treasures of the snow; or seen the Psal. 107.

The

2  
 Job 38. 22.  
 Eccles 1. 43.  
 Leviti. 26.  
 verse. 3. 4.  
 Psa 78. 23.  
 Nahum. 1.

1. Book

The discovery.

Credulity.

the secret places of the haile, which GOD hath prepared against the day of trouble, battell, and warre? I for my part also thinke with Jesus Si- rach, that at Gods onely commandement the snow falleth; and that the wind bloweth according to his wil, who onely maketh all stormes to cease; and \* who (if we keep his ordinances) will send us rain in due season, and make the land to bring forth her increase, and the trees of the field to give their fruit.

But little think our witch-mongers, that the \* Lord commandeth the clouds above, or openeth the doors of heaven, as David affirmeth, or that the Lord goeth forth in the tempests and stormes, as the Prophet \* Nahum reporteth: but rather that witches and conjurers. are then about their businesse.

The *Marconists* acknowledged one God the author of good things, and another the ordainer of evil: but these make the devill a whole God, to create things of nothing, to know mens cogitations, and to do that which God never did; as, to transubstantiate men into beasts, &c. which thing if devils could do, yet followeth it not, that witches have such power. But if all the devils in hell were dead, and all the witches in England burned or hanged; I warrant you we should not fail to have rain, haile and tempests, as now we have: according to the appointment & will of God, & according to the constitution of the elements, and the course of the planets, wherein God hath set a perfect and perpetuall order.

I am also well assured, that if all the old women in the world were witches; and all the priests, conjurers: we should not have a drop of rain, nor a blast of wind the more or the lesse for them. For \* the Lord hath bound the waters in the clouds, and hath set bounds about the waters, untill the day and night come to an end: yea it is God that raiseth the winds and stilleth them: and he saith to the rain and snowes; Be upon the earth, and it falleth. The \* wind of the Lord, and not the wind of witches, shall destroy the treasures of their pleasant vessels, and dry up the fountains; saith *Oseas*. Let us also learn and confesse with the Prophet *David*, that we \* our selves are the causes of our afflictions; and not exclaim upon witches, when we should call upon God for mercy.

The Imperiall law (saith *Brentius*) condemneth them to death that trouble and infect the aire: but I affirme (saith he) that it is neither in the power of witch nor devill so to do, but in God onely. Though (be- sides *Bodin*, and all the popish writers in general) it please *Danau*, *Hypertius*, *Hemingius*, *Erostus*, &c. to conclude otherwise. The clouds are called the pillars of Gods tents, Gods chariots, and his pavillions: And if it be so, what witch or devill can make masteries thereof? *St. Augustine* saith, *Non est putandum istis transgressoribus angelis servire hanc rerum visibilibus materiem sed soli Deo*; We must not think that these visible things are at the commandement of the angels that sell, but are obedient to the onely God.

Finally, if witches could accomplish these things; what needed it seem so strange to the people, when Christ by miracle \* commanded both seas and winds, &c. For it is written; Who is this? for both wind and sea obey him.

Job. 26. 8.  
 Job. 37.  
 Psalme 135.  
 Jer. 10. & 15.  
 Ose. 13.  
 Psa. 39. &c.  
 In eepist. ad  
 10. Wierum  
 Exod. 13.  
 Isai. 66.  
 Pl. 18. 11. 19.  
 August. 3. de  
 sancta Trinit.  
 Mar. 4. 41.

Credulity.

of Witchcraft.

Cap. II.

CHAP. II.

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



Ue the world is now so bewitched and over-run with this fond error, that even where a man should seek comfort and counsell, there shall he be sent (in case of necessity) from God to the devil; and from the Physician to the cosening witch, who will not stick to take upon her, by words to heal the lame (which was proper only to Christ; and to them whom he assisted with his divine power) yea, with her familiar and charmes she will take upon her to cure the blind: though in the tenth of *S. Johns* Gospell it be written, that the devil cannot open the eyes of the blind. And they attaine such credit, as I have heard (to my grief) some of the ministry affirme, that they have had in their parish at one instant, 17 or 18. Witches, meaning such as could worke miracles supernaturally. Whereby they manifested as well their infidelity and ignorance, in conceiving Gods word; as their negligence and error in instructing their flocks. For they themselves might understand, and also teach their parishoners, that \* God only worketh great wonders; and that it is he which sendeth such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect: according to the saying of the Prophet *Haggai*, I smote you with blasting and mildew, and with haile, in all the labours of your hands; and yet you turned not unto me, saith the Lord. And therefore saith the same Prophet in another place; \* you have sowed much, and bring in little. And both in \* *Joel* and \* *Leviticus*, the like phrases and proofes are used and made. But more shall be said of this hereafter.

*S. Paul* fore-saw the blindness and obstinacy, both of these blind shepherds, and also of their scabbed sheep, when he said || They will not suffer wholesome doctrine, but having their eares itching, shall get them a heap of teachers after their own lusts; and shall turne their eares from the truth, and shall be given to fables. And \* in the latter time some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of errors, and doctrines of devils, which speak lies (as witches and conjurers do) but cast them away such prophane and old wives fables. In which sense *Basil* saith; Who so giveth heed to inchanters, harkeneth to a fabulous and frivolous thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe am not only *Oculus testis*, but have examined the cause, and am to justify the truth of my report: not because I would disgrace the ministers that are godly, but to confirme my former assertion, that this absurd error is growne into the place, which should be able to expell all such ridiculous folly and impiety.

At the assizes holden at Rochester, Anno 1581. one *Margaret Simons*, the

A story of the wife of *Iohn Simons*, of *Brenchly* in *Kent*, was arraigned for witchcraft, at the instigation and complaint of divers fond and malicious persons and specially by the means of one *Iohn Ferrall* vicar of that parish: with whom I talked about that matter and found him both fondly assorted in the cause, and enviously bent towards her: and (which is worse) as unable to make a good account of his faith, as she whom he accused. That which he, for his part, laid to the poore womans charge, was this.

His son (being an ungracious boy, and prentise to one *Robert Scotchford* clothier, dwelling in that parish of *Brenchly*) passed on a day by her house; at whom by chance her little dog barked. Which thing the boy taking in evil part, drew his knife, and pursued him therewith even to her door: whom she rebuked with some such words as the boy disdaind, and yet nevertheless would not be persuaded to depart in a long time. At the last he returned to his masters house, and within five or six daies fell sick. Then was called to mind the fray betwixt the dog and the boy: in somuch as the vicar (who thought himself so privileged, as he little mistrusted that God would visit his children with sickness) did so calculate; as he found, partly through his own judgement and partly (as he himself told me) by the relation of other witches, that his said soune was by her bewitched. Yea, he also told me, that this son (being as it were past all cure) received perfect health at the hands of another witch.

He proceeded yet further against her, affirming, that alwaies in his parish-church, when he desired to read most plainly, his voice so failed him, as he could scarce be heard at all. Which he could impute, he said, to nothing else, but to her enchantment. When I advertised the poor woman hereof, as being desirous to hear what she could say for her selfe; she told me, that in very deed his voice did much faile him, specially when he strained himself to speake lowdest. Howbeit, she said that at all times his voice was hoarse and low, which thing I perceived to be true. But sir, said she, you shall understand, that this our vicar is diseased with such a kind of hoarseness, as divers of our neighbours in this parish not long since, doubted that he had the French-Pox; and in that respect utterly refused to communicate with him: untill such time as (being thereunto enjoined by M. D. Lewen the ordinary) he had brought from *London* a certificar, under the hands of two Physitians, that his hoarseness proceeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificar he published in the church, in the presence of the whole congregation: and by this meanes he was cured, or rather excused of the shame of his disease. And this I know to be true by the relation of divers honest men of that parish. And truly, if one of the Jury had not been wiser then the other, she had been condemned thereupon, and upon other as ridiculous matters as this. For the name of a witch is so odious, and her power so feared among the common people, that if the honestest body living chance to be arraigned thereupon, she shall hardly escape condemnation.

Who

## CHAP. III.

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that moveth men so commonly to think, and witches themselves to beleve that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words, and imaginations; and of cosening witches.



None sort of such as are said to be witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, blear-eyed, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; poor, fullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as know no religion: in whose drouse minds the devill hath gotten a faire seat; so as, what mischief, mischance, calamity, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easily persuaded the same is done by themselves; imprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination thereof. They are leane and deformed, shewing melancholy in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are dotting, scolds, mad, devillish; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits, so firme and steadfast in their opinions, as whosoever shall only have respect to the constancy of their words uttered, would easily beleve they were true indeed.

These miserable wretches are so odious unto all their neighbours; and so feared, as few dare offend them, or deny them any thing they aske: whereby they take upon them, yea, and sometimes think, that they can do such things as are beyond the ability of humane nature. These go from house to house, and from door to door for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, portage, or some such releefe; without the which they could hardly live: neither obtaining for their service and paines, nor yet by their art, nor yet at the devils hands (with whom they are said to make a perfect and visible bargaine) either beauty, mony, promotion, wealth, worship, pleasure, honour, knowledge, learning, or any other benefit whatsoever.

It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their expectation is answered or served, in those places where they beg or borrow; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbours reproved. And further, in tract of time the witch waxeth odious and tedious to her neighbours; and they again are despised and despiced of her: so as sometimes she curseth one, and sometimes another; and that from the master of the house, his wife, children, cattell, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stie. Thus in processe of time they have all displeased her, and she hath wished evill luck unto them all; perhaps with curses and imprecations made in forme. Doubtlesse (at length) some of her neighbours die, or fall sick; or some of their children are visited with diseases that vex them strangely: as apoplexies, epilepsie, convulsions, hot fevers, wormes, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches. Yea and their opinions and conceits are confirmed

confirmed and maintained by unskilful physicians, according to the common saying: *Inscitia pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and incantation is the cloke of ignorance: whereas indeed evill humors, and not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their carrell pe ish, either by disease or mischance. Then they, upon whom such adversities fall, weighing the fame that goeth upon this woman, her words, dis, lease, and curse, meeting so justly with their misfortune, do not onely conceive, but also are resolved that all their mishaps are brought to passe by her onely meanes.

The witch on the other side expecting her neighbors mischances, and seeing things sometimes come to passe according to her wishes, curses, and incantations (for *Bodin* himselfe confesseth, that not above two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a Justice, by due examination of the circumstances is driven to see her imprecations and desires, and her neighbours harmes and losses to come, and as it were to take effect: and so confesseth that she (as a goddess) hath brought such things to passe. Wherein, not onely she, but the accuser, and also the Justice are foully deceived and abused; as being through her confession and other circumstances perswaded (to the injury of Gods glory) that she hath done, or can do that which is proper onely to God himselfe.

A nother sort of witches there are, which be absolutely coseners. These take upon them, ei, her for glory, fame, or gaine, to do any thing which God or the devil can do: either for foretelling of things to come, bewraying of secrets, curing of maladies, or working of miracles. But of these I will talke more at large hereafter.

## C H A P. III.

What miracul. us actions are imputed to wittches by witchmongers, pamphists, and poets.



Mal. Malef.  
par. 2. quast.  
1. cap. 2.

Although it be quite against the haire, and contrary to the divels will contrary to the witches oath, promise, and homage, and contrary to all reason, that witches should helpe any thing that is bewitched; but rather let forward their matters businesse: yet we read in *Malleo Maleficarum*, of three sorts of witches; and the same is affirmed by all the writers hereupon, new and old. One sort (they say) can hurt and not helpe, the second can helpe and not hurt, the third can both helpe and hurt. And among the hurtfull witches he saith there is one sort more beastly than any kind of beasts, saving wolves; for these usually devoure and eat young children and infants of their own kind. These be they (saith he) that raise halles, tempests, and hurtfull weather; as lightning, thunder, &c. These be they that procure barrenesse in man, woman and beast. These can throw children into waters, as they walke with their mothers, and

not be seen: These can make horses kick, till they cast the riders. These can passe from place to place in the air invisible. These can so alter the minde of judges, they can have no power to hurt them. These can procure to themselves and to others, taciturnity and insensibility in their tortments. These can bring trembling to the hands, and strike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. These can manifest unto others, things hidden and lost, and foreshew things to come; and see them as though they were present. These can alter mens minds to inordinate love or hate. These can kill whom they list with lightning and thunder. These can take away mans courage, and the power of generation. These can make a woman miscarry in child-birth, and destroy the child in the mothers wombe, without any sensible meanes either inwardly or outwardly applied. These can with their looks kill either man or beast.

All these things are avowed by *James Sprenger* and *Henry Infortor In Malleo Maleficarum*, to be true, and confirmed by *Nider*, and the inquisitor *Cumanus*; and also by *Daneus*, *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, and multiplied by *Bodin*, and *Frier Bartholomaeus Spineus*. But because I will in no wise abridge the authority of their power, you shall have also the testimonies of many other grave authors in this behalfe; as followeth.

And first *Ovid* affirmeth, that they can raise and suppress lightning and thunder, rain and haile, clouds and winds, tempests and earthquakes. Others do write, that they can pull down the moon and the stars. Some write that with wishing they can send needles into the livers of their enemies. Some that they can transfere corn in the blade from one place to another. Some, that they can cure diseases supernaturally, flie in the air, and dance with devils. Some write, that they can play the part of *Succubus*, and contract themselves to *Incubus*; and so young prophets are upon them begotten; &c. Some say they can transubstantiate themselves and others, and take the formes and shapes of asses, wolves, ferrets, cows, apes, horses, dogs, &c. Some say they can keep devils and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats.

They can raise spirits (as others affirme) drie up springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sun, and stay both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at awger-holes, and saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscel-shell, through and under the tempestuous seas. They can go invisible, and deprive men of their privities, and otherwise of the act and use of vengery. They can bring soules out of the graves. They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with lookes kill lambes. But in this case a man may say, that *Miranda canunt*, sed non credenda *Poeta*. They can also bring to passe, that cherne as long as you list, your butter will not come; especially, if either the maids have eaten up the cream; or the good-wife have sold the butter before in the market. Whereof I have had some trial, although there may be true and naturall causes to hinder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a litle sope or sugar into your cherne of cream, and there will never come any butter, cherne as long as you list. But *M. Mal.* saith, that there is not so little a village, where many women are not that

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*Ovid. Epist. 4. Lex. 12. Ta-*

*bularum.*

*Mal. Malef. Lucan. de bel-*

*lo civili. lib. 6. Virg. eclog. 8.*

*Ovid de remedio am-*

*oris lib. 1. Hyperius.*

*Erastus. Rich. Galin*

*his horrible creati-*

*se. Hemingius. Bar. Spineus.*

*Bryan Darcy Confesso*

*Windsor. Virgil. Aeneid. 4.*

*C. Manlius astrol. lib. 1. Mal. Malef. part 2. quast. 1. cap. 14.*

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*Mal. Malef. Lucan. de bel- lo civili. lib. 6.*

*Virg. eclog. 8. Ovid de re- medio amo- ris lib. 1.*

*Hyperius. Erastus.*

*Rich. Gal. in bis horrible treatise.*

*Hemingius. Bar. Spineus.*

*Bryan Darcy Confessio Windesor.*

*Virgil. Aen- eid. 4.*

*C. Manlius astral lib. 1.*

*Mal. Malef. part 2. quæst. 1. cap. 14.*

*be*



1 Cor. 9. 9.

bewitch, infect, and kill kine, and dry up the milke: alledging for the strengthening of that assertion, the saying of the Apostle, Nunquid Deo cura est de bobus? doth God take any care of oxen?

CHAP. V.

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

But whatsoever is reported or conceived of such manner of witchcrafts, I dare avow to be false and fabulous (cofenage, dotage, and poysoning excepted: ) neither is there any mention made of these kind of witches in the Bible. If Christ had known them, he would not have pretermitted to inveigh against their presumption, in taking upon them his office: as, to heale and cure diseases; and to work such miraculous and supernaturall things, as whereby he himselfe was specially known, beleevd, and published to be God; his actions and cures consisting (in order and effect) according to the power by our witch-mongers imputed to witches. Howbeit, if there be any in these dayes afflicted in such strange sort, as Christs cures and patients are described in the new testament to have been: we fly from trusting in God to trusting in witches, who do not only in their cofening art take on them the office of Christ in this behalfe; but use his very phraze of speech to such idolaters, as come to seeke divine assistance at their hands, saying; Go thy waies, thy son or thy daughter, &c. shall do well, and be whole.

Johns, 6. Mark 5. 34.

To go to witches, &c. is idolatry.

It will not suffice to dissuade a witch-monger from his credulity, that he seeth the sequels and event to fall out many times contrary to their assertion; but in such case (to his greater condemnation) he seeketh further to witches of greater fame. If all faile, he will rather thinke he came an hour too late; than that he went a mile too far. Truly I for my part cannot perceive what it is to go a whoring after strange gods; if this be not. He that looketh upon his neighbours wife, and lusteth after her, hath committed adultery. And truly, he that in heart and by argument maintained the sacrifice of themasse to be propitiatory for the quick and the dead, is an idolater; as also he that alloweth and commendeth creeping to the crosse, and such like idolatrous actions, although he bend not his corporall knees.

In like manner I say, he that attributeth to a witch, such divine power, as duly and onely appertaineth unto GOD (which all witch-mongers do) is in heart a blasphemers, an idolater, and full of grosse impiety, although he neither go nor send to her for assistance.

CHAP. VI.

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

If witches could do any such miraculous things, as these and other which are imputed to them, they might do them againe and againe, at any time or place, or at any mans desire: for the devill is as strong at one time as at another, as busy by day as by night, and ready enough to do all mischief, and careth not whom he abuseth. And inso much as it is confessed, by the most part of witch-mongers themselves, that he knoweth not the cogitation of mans heart, he should (as I thinke) sometimes appear, unto honest and credible persons, in such grosse and corporall forme, as it is said he doth unto witches: which you shall never heare to be justified by one sufficient witnesse. For the devill indeed entrench into the mind, and that way seeketh mans confusion.

The art alwaies presupposeth the power; so as, if they say they can do this or that; they must shew how and by what meanes they do it; as neither the witches, nor the witch-mongers are able to do. For to every action is required the faculty and ability of the agent or doer; the aptnes of the patient or subject; and a convenient and possible application. Now the witches are mortall, and their power dependeth upon the analogy and consonancy of their minds and bodies; and with their minds they can but will and understand; and with their bodies they can do no more, but as the bounds and ends of terrene sense will suffer: and therefore their power extended not to do such miracles, as surmounteth their own sense, and the understanding of others which are wiser than they; so as here wanteth the vertue and power of the efficient. And in reason, there can be no more vertue in the thing caused, than in the cause, or that which proceedeth of or from the benefite of the cause. And we see; that ignorant and impotent women, or witches, are the causes of incantations and charmes; wherein we shall perceive there is none effect; if we will credit our own experience and sense unabused, the rules of philosophy, or the word of God. For alas! What an unapt instrument is a toothles, old, impotent, and unweildy woman to flie in the aire; Truly, the devill little needs such instruments to bring his purposes to passe.

Aristot. de anima lib. 3.

Why should not the devill be as ready to helpe thee really as a witch? I. multum. I. quis dicitur libi.

It is strange, that we should suppose, that such persons can worke such feats: and it is more strange, that we will imagine that to be possible to be done by a witch, which to nature and sense is impossible; specially when our neighbours life dependeth upon our credulity therein; and when we may see the defect of ability, which alwaies is an impediment both to the act, and also to the presumption thereof. And because there is nothing possible in law, that in nature is impossible; therefore the judge doth not attend or regard what the accused man saith; or yet would

do:

do: but what is proved to have been committed, and naturally falleth in mans power and will to do. For the law saith, that to will a thing impossible, is a signe of a mad-man, or of a foole, upon whom no sentence or judgement taketh hold. Furthermore, what jury will condemne, or what Judge will give sentence or judgement against one for killing a man at *Berwick*; when they themselves, and many other saw that man at *London*, that very day, wherein the murther was committed; yea though the party confesse himselfe guilty therein, and twenty witnesses depose the same; But in this case also I say the judge is not to weigh their testimony, which is weakened by law; and the judges authority is to supply the imperfection of the case, and to maintain the right and equity of the same.

An objection answered.

Seeing therefore that some other things might naturally be the occasion and cause of such calamities as witches are supposed to bringier nor us that professe the Gospel and knowledge of Christ, be bewitched to believe that they do such things, as are in nature impossible, and in sense and reason incredible. If they say it is done through the devils helpe, who can worke miracles; why do not theeves bring their businesse to passe miraculously, with whom the devil is as conversant as with the other; Such mischiefs as are imputed to witches, happen where no witches are; yea and continue when witches are hanged and burnt: why then should we attribute such effect to that cause, which being taken away, happeneth neverthelesse?

CHAP. VII.

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

Miracles are ceased.

The opinions of people concerning witchcraft are diverse and inconstant

Surely the naturall power of man or woman cannot be so enlarged, as to do any thing beyond the power and vertue given and ingrafted by God. But it is the will and mind of man, which is vitiated and depraved by the devill: neither doth God permit any more, than that which the naturall order appointed by him doth require. Which naturall order is nothing else, but the ordinary power of God, powred into every creature, according to his state and condition. But hereof more shall be said in the title of witches confessions. Howbeit you shall understand, that few or none are thoroughly perswaded, resolved, or satisfied, that witches can indeed accomplish all these impossibilities: but some one is bewitched in one point, and some are cosened in another; untill in fine, all these impossibilities, and many more, are by several persons affirmed to be true.

And this I have also noted, that when any one is cosened with a cosening coie of witchcraft, and maketh report thereof accordingly, verifing a matter most impossible and false as it were upon his own knowledge, as being overtaken with some kind of illusion or other (which illusions are right in the judgement), even the selfe same man will deride the

like ly proceeding out of another mans mouth, as a fabulous matter unworthy of credit. It is also to be wondered, how men (that have seen some part of witches cosenages detected, and see also therein the impossibility of their own presumptions, and the folly and false-hood of the witches confessions) will not suspect, but remaine unsatisfied, or rather obstinately defend the residue of witches supernatural actions: like as when a jugler hath discovered the slight and illusion of his principal feats, one would fondly continue to thinke, that his other petty jugling knacks of legier demaine are done by the helpe of a familiar: and according to the folly of some papists, who seeing and confessing the Popes absurd religion, in the erection and maintenance of idolary and superstition, specially in Images, pardons, and reliques of saints, will yet persevere to think, that the rest of his doctrine and trumpetry is holy and good. Finally, many maintain and cry out for the execution of witches, that particularly beleve never a whit of that which is impured unto them; if they be therein privately dealt withall, and substantially opposed and tryed in argument.

CHAP. VIII.

Causes that move as well witches themselves as others to think that they can work impossibilities, with answers to certain objections: where also their punishment by law is touched.

**C**ardanus witeth, that the cause of such credulity consisteth in three points; to wit, in the imagination of the melancholike, in the constancy of them that are corrupt therewith, and in the deceit of the Judges; who being inquisitors themselves against hereticks and witches, did both accuse and condemne them, having for their labour the spoile of their goods. So as these inquisitors added many fables hereunto, least they should seem to have done injury to the poor wretches, in condemning and executing them for none offence. But sithens (saith he) the springing up of *Luthers* sect, these priests have tended more diligently upon the execution of them: because more wealth is to be caught from them: insomuch as now they deale so loosely with witches (through distrust of gaines) that all is seen to be malice, folly, or avarice that hath been practised against them. And whosoever shall search into this cause, or read the chief writers hereupon, shall find his words true.

Car. de. var. rerum. lib. 15. cap. 80.

It will be objected, that we here in *England* are not now directed by the Popes laws; and so by consequence our witches not troubled or constrained by the inquisitors *Heretica pravitate*. I answer, that in times past here in *England*, as in other nations, this order of discipline hath been in force and use; although now some part of old rigor be qualified by two severall statutes made in the first of *Elizabeth*, and 33 of *Henry* the eight. Neverthelesse the estimation of the omnipotency of their words and charmes seemeth in those statutes to be somewhat maintained, as a matter hitherto generally received; and not yet so looked into, as

that it is refuted and decided: But how wisely soever the Parliament hath dealt therein, or how mercifully soever the Prince beholdeth the cause: if a poor old woman, supposed to be a witch, be by the civil or canon law convented; I doubt, some canon will be found in force, not onely to give scope to the tormentor, but also to the hangman, to exercise their offices upon her. And most certain it is, that in what point soever any of these extremities, which I shall rehearse unto you, be mitigated, it is through the goodnesse of the Queens Majesty, and her excellent magistrates placed amongst us. For as touching the opinion of our writers therein in our age; yea in our country you shall see it doth not onely agree with foreign cruelty, but surmounteth it far. If you read a foolish pamphlet dedicated to the Lord Darcy by *W. W.* 1582. you shall see that he affirmeth, that all those tortures are farre too light, and their rigor too mild; and that in that respect he impudently exclaimeth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when murderers, and such malefactors be so used, which deserve not the hundredth part of their punishments. But if you will see more folly and lewdnesse comprised in one lewd book, I commend you to *Ri. Ga.* a Windsor-man; who being a mad-man hath written according to his frantick humor; the reading whereof may satisfie a wife man, how mad all these witch-mongers dealings be in this behalfe.

## C H A P. IX.

*A conclusion of the first book, wherein is fore-shewed the tyrannical cruelty of witch-mongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same.*

**A**ND because it may appeare unto the world what trecherous and faithlesse dealing, what extreame and intolerable tyranny, what grosse and fond absurdities, what unnatural and uncivil discourtesie, what cankered and spitefull malice, what outrageous and barbarous cruelty, what lewd and false packing, what cunning and crafty intercepting, what bald and pievish interpretations, what abominable and devilish inventions; and what flat and plaine knavery is practised against these old women; I will set down the whole order of the inquisition, to the everlasting, inflexible, and apparent shame of all witch-mongers. Neither will I insert any private or doubtfull dealings of theirs; or such as are published ther deny to be usuall, or justly cavill at; but such as are published and renewed in all ages, since the commencement of popery, established by laws, practised by inquisitors, priviledged by princes, commended by doctors, confirmed by popes, counsels, decrees, and canons; and finally be left of all witch-mongers; to wit, by such as attribute to old women, and such like creatures, the power of the Creator. I pray you therefore, though it be tedious and intolerable (as you would be heard in your miserable calamities) so heare with compassion, their accusations, examinations, matters given in evidence, confessions, presumptions, interrogatories, conjurations, cautions, crimes, tortures and condemnations, devised and practised usually against them.

## The second Book.

## C H A P. I.

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



**E**Xcommunicate persons, partakers of the fault, infants, Mal. Malef. wicked servants, and run-a-waies are to be admitted *quast. 5. pa. 3.* to bear witness against their dames in this matter of *1. Bod. lib. 4.* witch-craft, because (saith *Bodin* the champion of *cap. 2. de da-* witch-mongers) none that be honest are able to detect *mon-* them. Hereticks also and witches shall be received to *Arch. in C. al-* accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finally, the *le. accusatur.* testimony of all infamous persons in this case is good and allowed. Yea, in *S. l. x. Super-* one lewd person (saith *Bodin*) may be received to accuse and condemn *verba.* a thousand suspected witches. And although by law, a capitall enemy *1. Bod. lib. 4.* may be challenged; yet *James Sprenger*, and *Henry Institor*, (from *cap. 1. de* whom *Bodin* and all the writers that ever I have read, do receive their *demon-* light, authorities and arguments) say (upon this point of law) that the poor *Mal. Malef.* friendlesse old woman must prove, that her capitall enemy would have *quast. 56.* killed her, and that he hath both assaulted and wounded her; otherwise *pa. 3. et qua.* she pleadeth all in vain. If the judge ask her, whether she have any *ca. 5. part. 3.* pitall enemies; and she rehearse other, and forget her accuser: or else *ibidem.* answer that he was her capitall enemy, but now she hopeth he is not so; such a one is neverthelesse admitted for a witness. And though by law, *Qu. 7. art. 2.* single witnesses are not admittable; yet if one depose she hath bewitched her cow; another, her sow; and the third, her butter: these (saith *M. Mal.* and *Bodin*) are not single witnesses; because they agree that she is a witch.

## C H A P. II.

*The order of examination witches of by the inquisitors.*

**W**OMEN suspected to be witches, after their apprehension may not be suffered to go home, or to other places, to seek sueties: for tish custome then (saith *Bodin*) the people would be worse willing to accuse them; of accusing for fear least at their returne home, they worke revenge upon them. In a witch which respect *Bodin* commendeth much the *Scottish* custome and order in this behalfe: where (he saith) a hollow peece of wood or a chest is placed in the church, into the which any body may freely cast a little scroll of paper, wherein may be contained the name of the witch, the time, place, and fact, &c. And the same chest being locked with three

*W. W.* his book printed in Anno Dom. 1582.

three severall locks are opened every fiftenth day by three inquisitors or officers appointed for that purpose: which keepe three severall keyes. And thus the accuser need not be knowne, nor thamed with the reproch of slander or malice to his poor neighbour.

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

Item, there may alwaies be promised impunity and favour to witches, that confesse and detect others; and on the contrary, there may be threatnings and violence practised and used.

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

Item, witches must be examined as suddenly, and as unawares as is possible: the which will so amaze them, that they will confesse any thing, supposing the devill hath forsaken them; whereas if they should first be committed to prison, the devill would tamper with them, and informe them what to do.

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

Item, they must be examined, whether their parents were witches or no: for witches (as these Doctors suppose) come by propagation. And Bodin fetterh downe this principle in witch-craft, to wit, *Si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia*: howbeit the law forbiddeth it; *Ob sanguinis revulsionem*.

Item, the examiner must look steadfastly upon their eyes: for they cannot look directly upon a mans face (as Bodin affirmeth in one place, although in another he saith, that they kill and destroy both men and beasts with their lookes.)

Item, she must be examined of all accusations, presumptions, and faulces, at one instant; least Satan should afterwards dissuade her from confession.

Item, a witch may not be put in prison alone, least the devill dissuade her from confession, through promises of her indemnity. For (saith Bodin) some that have been in the goale have proved to fly away, as they were wont to do when they met with *Diana* and *Minerva*, &c. and so brake their own necks against the stone wales.

Item, if any deny her own confession made without torture, she is nevertheless by that confession to be condemned, as in any other crime.

Item, the judges must seem to be in a pittifull countenance and beseech them; saying, that it was not they, but the devill that committed the murder, and that he compelled them to do it; and must make them beleieve that they thinke them to be innocents.

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

Item, if they have charmes for taciturnity, so as they feel not the common tortures, and therefore confesse nothing: then some sharpe instrument must be thrust betwixt every nail of their fingers and toes; which

I. Bod. lib. de  
demon. 4.  
cap. 4.  
L. parentes  
de testibus.

K. Childe-  
berts cruel  
devise.

Bodin saith) was king *Childeberts* devise, and is to this day of all others the most effectuall. For by meanes of that extreame paine, they will (saith he) confesse any thing.

Item, *Paulus Grillandus*, being an old doer in these matters: wistheth that when witches sleepe, and feel no pain upon the torture, *Dominus P. Grillandus* should be said; and so (saith he) both the torments will be felt, and the truth will be uttered: *Et sic ars deluditur arte.*

Item, Bodin saith, that at the time of examination, there should be a semblance of great do, to the terrifying of the witch; and that a number of instruments, gives, manacles, ropes, halters, fetters, &c. should be prepared, brought forth, and laid before the examinee: and also that some be procured to make a most horrible and lamentable cry, in the place of torture, as though he or she were upon the rack, or in the tormentors hands: so as the examinee may hear it whiles she is examined, before she her selfe be brought into the prison; and perhaps (saith he) she will by this meanes confesse the matter.

Item, there must be suborned some crafty spy, that may seem to be a prisoner with her in the like case; who perhaps may in conference undetermine her, and so bewraie and discover her.

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

## CHAP. III.

## Matters of evidence against witches.

If an old woman threaten or touch one being in health, who dieth shortly after; or else is infected with the leprosie, apoplexie, or any other strange disease: it is (saith Bodin) a permanent fact, and such an evidence, as condemnation or death must insue, without further proofe: if any body have mistrusted her, or said before that she was a witch.

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

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

Item, if any inchant or bewitch mens beasts, or corne, or stye in the air, or make a dog speak, or cut off any mans members, and unite them again to men or childrens bodies; it is sufficient proofe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and conjectures are sufficient proofes against witches.

Bar. Spineus  
Cy I. Bod. de  
demon. lib. 2.  
cap. 2.  
Alexander.  
L. ubi nume-  
rus de testi-  
bus.  
I. Bod. de da-  
mon. lib. 2.  
cap. 2.

Item, if three witnesses do but say, Such a woman is a witch; that it is a clear case that she is to be executed with death. Which matter Bodin saith is not onely certain by the canon and civill lawes, but by the opinion of Pope Innocent, the wisest Pope (as he saith) that ever was.  
Item, the complaint of any one man of credit is sufficient to bring a poor woman to the rack or pully.  
Item, a condemned or infamous persons testimony is good and allowable in matters of witch-craft.  
Item, a witch is not to be delivered, though she endure all the torments, and confesse nothings; as all other are in any criminall cases.  
Item, though in other cases the epositions of many women at one instant are disabled, as sufficient in law; because of the imbecillity and frailty of their nature or sex, yet in this matter one woman, though she be a party, either accuser or accused, and be also infamous and impudent (for such are Bodins words) yea and already condemned; she may nevertheless serve to accuse and condemne a witch.  
Item, a witness uncited, and offering himselfe in this case is to be heard, and in none other.

Par. in. L.  
post lentum.  
9. bis, de iis  
quibus ut  
indig.  
Alex. cap. 72.  
L. 2. &c.

In his foolish pamphlet of the execution of Windfor-witches.  
I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 3.  
Is there any probability that such would continue witches?  
Idem ibid.  
Ioan. An. ad specular. in de litis contest. part. 2.

Item, a capitall enemy (if the enmity be pretended to growe by means of witch-craft) may object against a witch; and noone exception is to be had or made against him.  
Item, although the proove of perjury may put back a witness in other causes; yet in this a perjured person is a good and lawfull witness.  
Item, the proctors and advocates in this case are compelled to be witnesses against their clients, as in none other case they are to be constrained thereunto.  
Item, none can give evidence against witches, touching their afflictions, but witches onely: because (as Bodin saith) none other can do. Howbeit, Ri. Ga. writeth, that he came to the God-speed, and with his sword and buckler killed the devill; for at the least he wounded him in the forehead, that he made him stinke of brimstone.  
Item, Bodin saith, that because this is an extraordinary matter; there must herein be extraordinary dealing: and all manner of waies are to be used, direct and indirect.

CHAP. III.

Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.

Some witches confesse (saith Bodin) that are desirous to dy; not for glory, but for despair: because they are tormented in their life-time. But they may not be spared (saith he) although the law doth excuse them.  
The best and surest confession is at strife, to her ghostly father.  
Item, if she confesse many things that are false, and one thing may be true; she is to be taken and executed upon that confession.

Item she is not so guilty that confesseth a falsehood or ly, and d'enieth a non alienem rutch; as she that answereth by circumstance.  
Item, an equivocall or doubtfull answer is taken for a confession against a witch.  
Item, Bodin reporteth, that one confessed that he went out, or rather up in the air, and was transported many miles to the fairies dance, only because he would spy unto what place his wife went to haggings, and how she behaved her selfe. Whereupon was much ado among the inquisitors and lawyers, to discusse whether he should be executed with his wife or no. But it was concluded that he must die, because he bewrayed not his wife: the which he forbore to do, Propter reverentiam honoris & familie.  
Item, if a woman confesse freely herein, before question be made; and yet afterward deny it: she is nevertheless to be burned.  
Item, they affirme that this extremity is herein used, because not one among a thousand witches is detected. And yet it is affirmed by Sprenger in M. Mal. that there is not so little a parish, but there are many witches known to be there.

CHAP. V.

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.

If any womans Child chance to dy at her hand, so as no body knoweth how; it may not be thought or presumed that the mother killed it, except she be supposed a witch; and in that case it is otherwise for she must upon that presumption be executed; except she can prove the negative or contrary.  
Item, if the child of a woman that is suspected to be a witch, be lacking or gone from her; it is to be presumed, that she hath sacrificed it to the devill: except she can prove the negative or contrary.  
Item, though in other persons, certain points of their confessions may be thought erroneous; and imputed to error: yet (in witches causes) all oversights, imperfections, and escapes must be adjudged impious and malicious; and tend to her confusion and condemnation.  
Item, though a theefe be not said in law to be infamous in any other matter than in theft; yet a witch defamed of witch craft is said to be defiled with all manner of faults and infamies universally, though she were condemned; but (as I said) defamed with the name of a witch. For rumors and reports are sufficient (saith Bodin) to condemne a witch.  
Item, if any man, woman, or child do say, that such a one is a witch; it is a most vehement suspicion (saith Bodin, and sufficient to bring her to the rack; though in all other cases it be directly against law.  
Item, in presumptions and suspicions against a witch, the common brute or voice of the people cannot erre.  
Item, if a woman, when she is apprehended, cry out, or say; I am undone; Save my life! will tell you how the matter standeth &c. she is thereupon most vehemently to be suspected and condemned to dy.

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

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

Item, if their parents were thought to be witches, then is it certainly to be presumed that they are so : but it is not so to be thought of whores. Item, it is a vehement presumption if she cannot weep, at the time of her examination : and yet Bodin saith, that a witch may shed three drop out of her right eye.

Item, it is not only a vehement suspicion, and presumption, but a evident proof of a witch; if any man or beast dy suddainly where she has been seen lately; although her witching-stuffe be not found or espied.

Item, if any body use familiarity or company with a witch convicted it is a sufficient presumption against that person to be adjudged witch.

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

L.s. de adult. S.g. & Bart. c. venerabilis de electio. &c. Bod. de demon. lib. 4. cap. 4.

Idem Ibid.

Item, herein judgement must be pronounced and executed (as Bodin saith, without order, and not like to the orderly proceeding and forme judgement in other crimes.

Item a witch may not be brought to the torture suddenly; or before long examination, lest she go away scotfree : for they feel no torment and therefore care not for the same, as Bodin affirmeth.

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

Item, if she have any privy marke under her arme pits, under her haire, under her lip, or in her buttock, or in her privities : it is a presumption sufficient for the judge to proceed and give sentence of death upon her.

The onely pity they shew to a poor woman in this case, is: that though she be accused to have slain any body with her enchantments; yet if she can bring forth the party alive, she shall not be put to death. Wherein marvell, in as much as they can bring the devill in any bodies likeness or representation.

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

Item, their law saith, that an uncertain presumption is sufficient, whereas a certain presumption faileth.

CHAP. VI.

Particular interrogatories used by the inquisitors against witches

I Need not stay to confute such partiall and horrible dealings, being apparently impious, and full of tyranny, which except I should have so manifestly detected, even with their own writings and assertions, or none would have beleeved. But for brevities sake I will passe over the same; supposing that the citing of such absurdities may stand for a sufficient

ent confirmation thereof. Now therefore I will proceed to a more particular order and manner of examinations, &c. used by the inquisitors, and allowed for the most part throughout all nations.

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

Item, why her two kine give more milke than her neighbours. And the note before mentioned is here again set down, to be specially observed of all men : to wit; that though a witch cannot weep, yet she may speak with a crying voice. Which assertion of weeping is false, and contrary to the saying of Seneca, Cato, and many others; which affirme, that a woman weepeth when she meaneth most deceit; and therefore saith M. Mal. she must be well looked unto, otherwise she will put spite privily upon her cheeks, and seem to weep; which rule also Bodin saith is infallible.

But alas that teares should be thought sufficient to excuse or condemne in so great a case, and so weighty a triall! I am sure that the worst sort of the children of Israel wept bitterly: yea, if there were any witches at all in Israel, they wept. For it is written, that all the children of Israel wept. Finally, if there be any witches in hell, I am sure they weep; for there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

But God knoweth many an honest matrone cannot sometimes in the heavynesse of her heart shed teares; the which oftentimes are in ready and common with crazy queanes and strumpets, than with sober women. For we read of two kinds of teares in a womans eye, the one of true grief, the other of deceipt. And it is written, that *Dediscere flere falsum est mendacium*: which argueth, that they ly which say, that wicked women cannot weep. But let these tormentors take heed, that the teares in this case which runne down the widows cheeks, with their cry spoken by Iesus Sirach, be not heard above. But lo what learned, godly, and lawfull meanes theie popish inquisitors have invented for the triall of true or false teares.

Mal. malef. super interrog. Seneca in traged. Mal. malef. par. 3. quest. 1. 5. art. 10. Num. 11. 4. 1 Sam 11. 4. 2 Sam 15. 23. Mar 8. & 13. & 22. & 24. & 25. Luke 3. &c. Seneca in traged. Eccl. 35. 15.

CHAP. VII.

The inquisitors triall of weeping by conjuration.

I Conjure thee by the amorous teares, which Iesus Christ our Saviour shed upon the crosse for the salvation of the world; and by the most earnest and burning teares of his mother the most glorious Virgin Mary, spinkled upon his wounds late in the evening; and by all the teares, which every saint and elect vessel of God hath powred out here in the world; and from those eyes he hath wiped away all teares; that if thou be without fault, thou mayest powre down teares abundantly; and if thou be guilty, that thou weep in no wise: In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost; Amen. And note, saith he, that the more you conjure, the lesse she weepeth.

Tryall of teares.

Mal. malef. 2. 25. pa. 31.

CHAP. VIII.

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

Use to manifest their further follies, I will recite some of their cautions, which are published by the ancient inquisitors, for perpetual lessons of their successors: as followeth.

The first caution is that, which was last rehearsed concerning weeping; the which (say they) is an infallible note.

Secondly, the judge must beware she touch no Part of him, specially of his bare: and that he alwaies weare about his neck conjured salt palme, herbes, and wax hallowed: which (say they) are not only approved to be good by the witches confessions; but also by the use of the Romish church, which halloweth them onely for that purpose.

Item, she must come to her arraignment backward, to wit, with her taile to the judges face, who must make many crosses, at the time of her approaching to the barre. And least we should condemne that for superstition, they prevent us with a figure, and tell us, that the same superstition may not seem superstitious unto us. But this resembleth the persuasion of a thief, that dissuadeth his sonne from stealing; and never thelesse telketh him that he may pick or cut a purse, and rob by the high way.

One other caution is, that she must be shaven, so as there remaine not one hair about her: for sometimes they keep secrets for taciturnity, and for other purposes also in their hair, in their privities, and between their skinnes and their flesh. For which cause I marvell they flea them not for one of their witches would not burne, being in the midst of the flame, as M. Mal. reporteth; untill a charme written in a litle scroll was espied to be hidden between her skin and flesh, and taken away. And this is so gravely and faithfully set down by the inquisitors themselves, that one may beleve it if he list, though indeed it be a verity. The like doth *Bodin*, of a witch that could not be strangled by the executioner, do what he could. But it is most true, that the inquisitor *Cumanus* in one year did shave one and fourty poor women, and burnt them all when they had done.

Another caution is, that at the time and place of torture, the hallowed things aforesaid, with the seven words spoken on the crosse, be hangd about the witches neck; and the length of Christ in wax be knit about her bare naked body, with reliques of saints, &c. All which stuffe (say they) will so worke within and un them, as when they are racked and tortured, they can hardly stay or hold themselves from confession. In which case I doubt not but that Pope, which blasphemed Christ, and curst his mother for a peacoke, and curst God with great despight for a peece of porke, with lesse compulsion would have renounced the trinity, and have worshipped the devill upon his knees.

Ia. Sprenger. H. Infortior.

Mal. malef. pa. 3. qua. 15.

Prolepsis or Preoccupatio.

Mal. Malef.

John Bod. Anno. 1485. a knave inquisitor. Q. 16. de tempore & modo Interrog. Blasphemous Pope July. of that name the third.

Another caution is, that after she hath been racked, and hath passed over all tortures devised for that purpose; and after that she hath been compelled to drink holy water, she be conveyed again to the place of torture: and that in the midst of her torments, her accusations be read unto her; and that the witnesses (if they will) be brought face to face unto her: and finally, that she be asked, whether for trial of her innocency she will have judgement, *Candentis ferri*, which is, To carry a certain weight of burning iron in her bare hand. But that may not (say they) in any wise be granted. For both *M. Mal.* and *Bodin* also affirm that many things may be promised, but nothing need be performed: for why, they have authority to promise, but no commission to performe the same.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. qua. 16.

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

Another caution is, that after the witch hath confessed the annoying of men and beasts, she be asked how long she hath had *Incubus*, when she renounced the faith, and made the reall league, and what that league is, &c. And this is indeed the chief cause of all their incredible & impossible confessions: for upon the rack, when they have once begun to ly, they will say what the tormentor list.

The last caution is, that if she will not confesse, she be had to some strong castle or goale. And after certain daies, the jayler must make her beleve he goeth forth into some farre country: and then some of her friends must come in to her, and promise her, that if she will confesse to them, they will suffer her to escape out of prison: which they may well do, the keeper being from home. And this way (saith *M. Mal.*) hath served, when all other meanes have failed.

Mal. malef. par. 3. qua. 16. ar. 11.

And in this place it may not be omitted, that above all other times, they confesse upon *fydaies*. Now saith *James Sprenger*, and *Henry Infortior*, we must say all, to wit: If she confesse nothing, she should be dismissed by law; and yet by order she may in no wise be bailed, but must be put into close prison, and there be talked withall by some crafty person, those are the words, and in the mean while there must be some eyes-droppers with pen and inke behind the wall, to harken and note what she confesseth: or else some of her old companions and acquaintance may come in and talke with her of old matters, and so by eyes-droppers be also bewraied; so as there shall be no end of torture before she have confessed what they will.

Another

The

The fifteen crimes laid to the charge of witches by witch-mongers  
specially by Bodin in Demonomania.

1 They deny God, and all religions.  
Answer Then let them dy therefore, or at the least be used liked in  
dies, or spectacles.

2 They curse, blaspheme, and provoke God with all despite.  
Answer Then let them have the law expressed in Levit. 24. and  
Deut. 17 & 19.

3 They give their faith to the devill, and they worship and offer sacri-  
fice unto him.

Answer Let such also be judged by the same law.  
They do solemnly vow and promise all their progenie unto the  
devill.

4 Answer This promise proceedeth from an unsound mind, and is not  
to be regarded; because they cannot performe it, neither will it be  
proved true. Howbeit, if it be done by any that is sound of mind, let the  
curse of Ieremie 32. 36. light up on them, to wit, the sword, famine and  
pestilence.

5 They sacrifice their own children to the devill before baptisme, hold-  
ing them up in the aire with their hands, and then thrust a needle into their  
braines.

Answer If this be true, I maintein them not herein: but there is a law  
to judge them by. Howbeit, it is so contrary to sense and nature, that  
were folly to beleve it; either upon Bodins bare words, or else upon his  
presumptions; especially when so small commodity and so great danger  
and inconvenience inhere to the witches thereby.

6 They turn their children when they have sacrificed them.  
Answer Then let them have such punishment, as they that offered the  
children unto Moloch: Levit. 20. But these be meer devises of witch-  
mongers and inquisitors, that with extreame tortures have wrung false  
confessions from them; or else with false reports have belyed them;  
by flattery and fair words and promises have won it at their hands, at  
length.

7 They swear to the devill to bring as many into that society as they can.  
Answer This is false, and so proved elsewhere.

8 They swear by the name of the devill.  
Answer I never heard any such oath, neither have we warrant to  
them that so do swear; though indeed it be very lewd and impious.

9 They use incestuous adultery with spirits.  
Answer This is a stale ridiculous ly, as is proved ar parently hereafter.

10 They boile infants, after they have murdered them unbaptised, and  
their flesh be made potable.

Answer This is untrue, incredible, and impossible.

11 They eat the flesh and drink the blood of men and children openly.  
Answer Then are they kin to the Anthropophagi and Canibals. But, I be-  
leeve never an honest man in England nor in France, will affirme that he  
hath seen any of these persons, that are said to be witches, do so; if they  
should, I beleeve it would poyson them.

12 They kill men with poyson.  
Answer Let them be hanged for their labour.

13 They kill mens cattell.  
Answer Then let an action of trespassse be brought against them for so do-  
ing.

14 They bewitch mens corne, and bring hunger and barrenesse into the  
country; they ride and flie in the air, bring stormes, make tempests &c.

Answer Then will I worship them as Gods; for those be not the works  
of man, nor yet of a witch: as I have elsewhere proved at large.

15 They use venery with a devil call'd Incubus, even when they ly in bed with  
their husbands, & have children by them, which become the best witches.  
Answer This is the last ly, very ridiculous, and confuted by me elsewhere.

CHAP. X.

A refutation of the former surmised crimes patched together by Bodin,  
and the onely way to escape the inquisitors hands.

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

In this libell you do see is contained all that witches are charged with;  
and all that also, which any witch-monger surmisseth, or in malice im-  
puteth unto witches power and practise.

Some of these crimes may not onely be in the power and will of a  
witch, but may be accomplished by naturall meanes: and therefore by them  
the matter in question is not decided, to wit; whether a witch can work  
wonders supernaturally; For many a knave and whore doth more com-  
monly put in execution those lewd actions, than such as are called witches  
and are hanged for their labour.

The questi-  
on or mat-  
ter in con-  
trovertie:  
that is to  
say, the  
proposition  
or theme.

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

If part be untrue, why may not the residue be thought false: For all  
these things are laid to their charge at one instant, even by the greatest  
doctors and patrones of the sect of witch-mongers, producing as many  
proofs for witches supernaturall and impossible actions, as for the other.  
So as, if one part of their accusation be false, the other part deserve  
no credit. If all be true that is alledged of their doings, why should we  
beleeve in Christ, because of his miracles, when a witch doth as great  
wonders



wonders as ever he did?

But it will be said by some, As for those absurd and popish writers, they are not in all their allegations, touching these matters, to be credited. But I assure you, that even all sorts of writers herein (for the most part) the very doctors of the church to the school-men, Protestants and Papists, learned and unlearned, Poets and historiographers; Jewes, Christians, or Gentiles agree in these impossible and ridiculous matters. Yea and these writers, out of whom I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authority of all writers in this matter. The reason is, because it was never thoroughly looked into; but every fable credited; and the word (Witch) named so often in Scripture.

A generall error.

The onely way for witches to avoid the inquisitors hands.

They that have seen in other of the inquisitors orders and customes, say all; that there is no way in the world for the poor women to escape the inquisitors hands, and so consequently burning; but to gild their hands with money, whereby oftentimes they take pitty upon them, and deliver them, as sufficiently purged. For they have authority to excommunicate the punishment of the body with the punishment of the purse, applying the same to the office of their inquisition: whereby they reap such profit, as a number of these silly women pay them yearly pensions, to the end they may not be punished again.

#### CHAP. XI.

*The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading for a poor woman accused of witch-craft, and how he convinced the inquisitors.*

Cornelius Agrippa saith, that while he was in *Italie*, many inquisitors in the dutchie of *Millen* troubled divers most honest and noble matrones, privily wringing much money from them, untill their knavery was detected. Further he saith, that being an advocate and councillor in the Common-wealth of *Maestricht* in *Brabant*, he had some contention with an inquisitor, who through unjust accusations drew a poor woman of the country into his butchery, and to an unfit place, not so much to examine her, as to torment her. Whom when C. Agrippa had undertaken to defend, declaring that by the things done, there was no proof, no signe or token that could cause her to be tormented, the inquisitor stoutly denying it, said; One thing there is, which is proof and matter sufficient: for her mother was in times past burned for a witch. Now when Agrippa replied, affirming that this article was impertinent, and ought to be refused by the judge, as being the deed of another; alledging to the inquisitor reasons and law for the same: he replied again that this was true, because they used to sacrifice their children to the devill, as soon as they were borne; and also because they usually conceived by spirits transformed into mans shape; and that thereby witch-craft was naturally ingrafted into this child, as a disease that commeth by inheritance.

C. Agrippa replying against the inquisitors folly and superstitious blind. A bitter innesse, said; O thou wicked Priest! Is this thy divinity? Dost thou use vextive to draw poor guiltlesse women to the rack by these forged devises? Dost gainst a thou with such sentences judge others to be heretikes, thou being a cruell inmore heretike than either *Fausus* or *Donatus*? Be it as thou sayest, dost quistor, thou not frustrate the grace of Gods ordinance; namely baptisme? Are the words in baptisme spoken in vaine? Or shall the devill remaine in the child, or it in the power of the devill, being there and then consecrated to Christ Jesus, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? And if thou defend their false opinions, which affirme, that spirits accompanying with women, can ingender; yet dost thou more than any of them, which never believed that any of those devils, together with their soyle seed, do put part of that their seed or nature into the creature. But though indeed we be borne the children of the devill and damnation, yet in baptisme, through grace in Christ, Satan is cast out, and we are made new creatures in the Lord, from whom none can be separated by another mans deed. The inquisitor being hereat offended, threatened the advocate to proceed against him, as a supporter of hereticks or witches. yet nevertheless he ceased not to defend the silly woman, and through the power of the law he delivered her from the claws of the bloody monke, who with her accusers, were condemned in a great summe of money to the charter of the church of *Menix*, and remained infamous after that time almost to all men.

But by the way you must understand, that this was but a petty inquisitor, and had not so large a commission as *Cumanus*, *Sprenger*, and such other had; nor yet as the *Spanish* inquisitors at this day have. For these will admit no advocates now unto the poor soules, except the tormentor or hangman may be called an advocate. You may read the summe of in the acts this inquisition in few words set out by M. *John Fox* in the acts and monuments. For witches and hereticks are among the inquisitors of like reputation; saving that the extremity is greater against witches, because through their simplicity, they may the more boldly tyrannize upon them and triumph over them.

#### CHAP. XII.

*What the fear of death and feeling of torments may force one to do, and that it is no marvell though witches condemne themselves by their own confessions so tyrannically extorted.*

HE that readeth the ecclesiasticall histories, or remembreth the persecutions in *Queen Marias* time, shall find, that many good men have fallen for fear of persecution, and returned unto the Lord again. What marvell then, though a poor woman, such a one as is described elsewhere, and tormented as is declared in these latter leaves, be made to confesse such absurd and false impossibilities; when flesh and blood is unable to endure such triall? Or how can she in the midst of such horrible tortures

Peters apostasie & renouncing of Christ.

and torments, promise unto her selfe constancy; or forbear to confesse any thing? Or what availeth it her, to persevere in the deniall of such matters, as are laid to her charge unjustly; when on the one side there is never any end of her torments; on the other side, if she continue in her assertion, they say she hath charmes for taciturnity or silence?

Peter the Apostle renounced, cursed, and forswore his master and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for fear of a wenches menaces; or rather at a question commanded by her, wherein he was not so circumvented, as these poor witches are, which be not examined by giles, but by cunning inquisitors, who having the spoile of their goods, and bringing with them into the place of judgement minds to maintain their bloody purpose spare no manner of allurements, threatnings, nor torments, untill they have wrung out of them all that, which either maketh to their own defire, or serveth to the others destruction.

Peter (I say) in the presence of his Lord and master Christ, who had instructed him in true knowledge many years, being forewarned, and passing four or five houres before, and having made a reall league and faithfull promise to the contrary, without any other compulsion than (as hath been said) by a question proposed by a gile; against his conscience forsooke, thrice denied, and abandoned his said Master: and yet he was a man illuminated, and placed in dignity aloft, and neerer to Christ by many degrees than the witch, whose fall could not be so great as Peters; because she never ascended halfe so many steps. A pastors declaration is much more abominable than the going astray of any of his sheepe as an ambassadors conspiracy is more odious, than the falshood of a common person: or as a captains treason is more mischeevous, than a private souldiers mutiny. If you say, Peter repented; I answer that the witch doth so likewise sometimes, and I see not in that case, but mercy may be employed upon her. It were a mighty temptation to a silly old woman, that a visible devill (being in shape so ugly, as Danæus and others say her is) should assault her in manner and forme as is supposed, rather avowed; specially when there is promise made that none shall tempt above their strength. The poor old witch is commonly unlearned, unwarmed, and unprovided of counsell and friend-ship, void of judgement and discretion to moderate her life and communication, her kind and gender more weak and fraile than the masculine, and much more subject to melancholy; her bringing up and company is so bad that nothing is to be looked for in her, specially of these extraordinary qualities; her age also is commonly such, as maketh her decrepitate, which is a disease that moveth them to these follies.

Finally, Christ did cleerly remit Peter, though his offence were committed both against his divine and humane nature; yea afterwards he put him in trust to feed his sheep, and shewed great countenance, friendship and love unto him. And therefore I see not, but we may have compassion upon these poor soules, if they shew themselves sorrowfull for their misdeeds and wicked imaginations.

Danæus in dialog.

1 COR. 10.

The third Book.

CHAP. I.

The witches bargain with the devill, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Danæus, Pfellus, Erasmus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartholomæus Spineus, &c.



That which in this matter of witch-craft hath abused so many, and seemeth both so horrible and intolerable, is a plain bargain, that (they say) is made betwixt the devill and the witch. And many of great learning conceive it to be a matter of truth, and in their writings publish it accordingly: the which (by God. grace) shall be proved as vaine and false as the rest.

The order of their bargain or profession is double; the one solemne and publike, the other secret and private. That which is called solemne or publike, is where witches come together at certain assemblies, at the times prefixed, and do not onely see the devill in visible formes; but confer and talke familiarly with him. In which conference the devill exhorreth them to observe their fidelity unto him, promising them long life and prosperity. Then the witches assembled, commend a new disciple (whom they call a novice) unto him: and if the devill find that young witch apt and forward in renunciation of christian faith, in despising any of the seven sacraments, in treading upon crosses, in spitting at the time of the elevation, in breaking their fast on fasting daies, and fasting on Sundaies; the devill giveth forth his hand, and the novice joyning hand in hand with him, promitteth to observe and keep all the devills commandements.

This done, the devill beginneth to be more bold with her, telling her plainly, that all this will not serve his turnes, and therefore requireth homage at her hands: yea he also telleth her, that she must grant him both her body and soule to be tormented in everlasting fire; which she yeeldeth unto. Then he charged her, to procure as many men, women, and children also, as she can, to enter into this society. Then he teacheth them to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the air, and accomplish all their desires. So as, if there be any children unbaptised, or not guarded with the signe of the crosse, or orizons; then the witches may and do catch them from their mothers sides in the night, or out of their cradles, or otherwise kill them with their ceremonies; and after buriall Real them out of their graves, and seeth them in a caldron, untill their flesh be made potable. Of the thickest whereof they make ointments, whereby they ride in the air, but the thinner portion they put into flaggons, whereof whosoever drinketh, observing certain ceremonies, immediately becommeth a master or rather mistresse in that practise and faculty.

The double bargain of the witch the devill.

Mal. malef. de modo professionis.

## CHAP. II.

The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquisitors and peevish witchmongers) to the devill in person; of their songs and dances, and namely of *La volta*, and of other ceremonies, also of their excourses.

Homage of witches to the devill.

Sometimes their homage with their oath and bargain is received for certain terme of years; sometimes for ever. Sometimes it consisteth in the denial of the whole faith, sometimes in part. The first is, when the soul is absolutely yeilded to the devill and hell fire: the other is, when they have but bargained to observe certain ceremonies and statutes of the church; as to conceale faults at shrift, to fast on fndaies, &c. And this is done either by oath, prostration of words, or by obligation in writing, sometimes sealed with wax, sometimes signed with blood, sometimes by kissing the devils bare buttocks; as did a Doctor called *Edlin*, who as (*Bodin* saith) was burned for witch-craft.

Bar. Spinus, cap. 1. in suo Mal. malef.

You must also understand, that after they have delicately banqueted with the devill and the lady of the faries; and have eaten up a fat ox and emptied a butt of malmesie, and a binne of bread at some noble mans house, in the dead of the night, nothing is missed of all this in the morning. For the lady *Sibylla*, *Minerva*, or *Diana* with a golden rod striketh the vessell and the binne, and they are fully replenished againe. Yea, she causeth the bullockes bones to be brought and laid together upon the hide. and lappeth the four ends thereof together, laying her golden rod thereon, and then riseth up the bullocke again in his former estate and condition: and yet at their returne home they are like to starve for hunger; as *Spinus* saith. And this must be an infallible rule, that every fortnight, or at the least every moneth, each witch must kill one child: the least for her part.

Idem Ibid.

I. Bod. de demon. lib. 2. cap. 4.

And here some of *Monsieur Bodins* lies may be inserted, who saith, that at these magicall assemblies, the witches never faile to dance; and in their dance they sing these words; Har har, devill devill, dance here, dance here, play here, play here, Sabbath, sabbath. And whiles they sing and dance, every one hath a broom in her hand, and holdeth it aloft. Item he saith, that these night-walking or rather night-dancing, brought out of *Italy* into *France*, that dance, which is called *La volta*,

Mal. malef.

A part of their league is, to scrape off the oyle, which is received extreme folly (unction I should have said.) But if that be so dangerous, which socke the corps had need to take great care, that they rub not the oyle, which divers other wayes may also be thrust out of the forehead, and then I perceive all the vertue thereof is gone, and farewell it. But marvell how they take on to preserve the water powred on them in baptism, which I take to be largely of as great force as the other; and I think is commonly wiped and washed off, within four and twenty hou

after baptism: but this agreeth with the residue of their folly,

And this is to be noted, that the inquisitors affirme, that during the whole time of the witches excourse, the devill occupieth the room and place of the witch, in so perfect a similitude, as her husband in his bed, neither by feeling, speech, nor countenance can discern her from his wife. Yea the wife departeth out of her husbands armes insensibly, and leaveth the devill in her room visibly. Wherein their incredulity is incredible, who will have a very body in the fained play, and a phantastical body in the true bed: and yet (forsooth) at the name of *Jesus*, or at the signe of the crosse, all these bodily witches (they say) vanish away.

Grillandus. de sort. 10. vol. 1188.

## CHAP. III.

How witches are summoned to appear before the devill, of their riding in the aire, of their accmpts, of their conference with the devill, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell and sacrifices: according to *Danaus*, *Pfellus*, &c.

Hitherto, for the most part, are the very words contained in *M. Mal'* or *Bodin*, or rather in both; or else in the new *M. Mal'* or at the least-wife of some writer or other, that maintaineth the almighty power of *Danaus* in witches. But *Danaus* saith, the devill oftentimes in the likeness of a *dialog. cap. 4.* summoner, meeteth them at markets and faires, and warneth them to appear in their assemblies, at a certaine hour in the night, that he may understand whom they have slaine, and how they have profited. If they be lame, he saith the devill delivereth them a staffe, to convey them thither invisibly through the air; and that then they fall a dancing and singing of bawdy-songs, wherein he leadeth the dance himselfe. Which dance, and other-conferences being ended, he supplieth their wants of powders and roots to intoxicate withall; and giveth to every novice a marke, either with his teeth or with his claws, and so they kisse the devils bare buttocks, and depart: not forgetting every day afterwards to offer to him, dogs, cats, hens, or blood of their owne. And all this doth *Danaus* report as a truth, and as it were upon his own knowledge. And yet else-where he saith, in these matters they do but dreame, and do not those things indeed, which they confesse through their distemperature, growing of their melancholike humor: and therefore (saith he) these things, which they report of themselves, are but meer illusions.

Idem Ibidem. Idem in dialog. cap. 3.

*Pfellus* addeth hereunto, that certain magicall hereticks, to wit; the *Eutyrians*, assemble themselves every good friday at night; and putting out the candles, do commit incestuous adultery, the father with the daughter, the sister with the brother, and the son with the mother; and the ninth moneth they returne and are delivered; and cutting their children in peeces, fill their pots with their blood; then burne they the carcases, and mingle the ashes therewith, and so preserve the same for magicall purposes. *Cardanus* writeth (though in mine opinion not very probably)



3. Book. The discovery Assemblies, &c. confuted.

had pretty skill in the art of divination. For though he wrote before Bodin many a year, yet uttereth he these words in his book De vanitate scientiarum: A certain French protonotary (saith he) a lewd fellow and a cofener, hath written a certain fable or miracle done at Lyons, &c. What Bodin is, I know not, otherwise than by report; but I am certain this his tale is a fond fable: and Bodin saith it was performed at Lyons; and this man (as I understand) by profession is a civill lawyer.

CHAP. VI.

A disproofe of their assemblies, and of their bargain.

That the joyning of hands with the devill, the kissing of his bare buttocks, and his scratching and biting of them, are absurd lies; every one having the gift of reason may plainly perceive: insonmuch as it is manifest unto us by the word of God, that a spirit hath no flesh, bones, nor sinews; whereof hands, buttocks; claws, teeth, and lips do consist. For admit that the constitution of a devills body (as Tatian and other affirme) consisteth in spiritaall congelations, as of fire and aire; yet it cannot be perceived of morall creatures. What credible witness is there brought at any time, of this their corporall, visible, and incredible bargain; saving the confession of some person diseased both in body and mind, willfully made, or injuriously constrained? It is marvell that no penitent witch that forsaketh her trade, confesseth not these things without compulsion. We thinketh their covenant made at baptism with God before good witnesses, sanctified with the word, confirmed with his promises, and established with his sacraments, should be of more force then that which they make with the devill, which no body seeth or knoweth. For God deceiveth none, with whom he bargaineth: neither doth he mocke or disappoint them, although he dance not among them.

The oath, to procure into their league and fellowship as many as they can (whereby every one witch, as Bodin affirmeth, augmenteth the number of fifty) bewrayeth greatly their indirect dealing. Hereof I have made triall, as also of the residue of their cofening devises; and have been with the best, or rather the worst of them, to see what might be gathered out of their counsels; and have cunningly treated with them therabouts: and further, have sent certain old persons to indent with them, to be admitted into their society. But as well by their excuses and de laies, as by other circumstances, I have tried and found all their trade to be meer cofening.

I pray you what bargain have they made with the devill, that with their angry lookes bewitch lambs, children, &c? Is it not confessed, that it is naturall, though it be a ly? What bargain maketh the sooth-sayers, which hath his severall kinds of witch-craft and divination expressed in the Scripture? Or is it not granted that they make none? How characteth it that we hear not of this bargain in the Scriptures?

Tatianus contra Gracos.

The author speaketh upon due proof and triall.

CHAP. VII.

A confutation of the objection concerning witches confessions.

It is Confessed (say some by the way of objection) even of these women themselves, that they do these and such other horrible things, as deserth death, with all extremity, &c. Whereunto I answer, that whosoever considerately beholdeth their confessions, shall perceive all to be vain, idle, false, inconstant, and of no weight: except their contempt and ignorance in religion; which is rather the fault of the negligent pastor, than of the simple woman.

First, if their confession be made by compulsion, of force or authority, or by perswasion, and under colour of friendship, it is not to be regarded; because the extremity of threats and tortures provokes it; or the quality of fair words, and allurements constraines it. If it be voluntary, many circumstances must be considered, to wit; whether she appeach not her selfe to overthrow her neighbour, which many times happeneth through their cankered and malicious melancholike humor: then whether in that same melancholike mood and frantick humor, she desire not the abridgement of her own dayes. Which thing Aristotle saith doth oftentimes happen unto persons subject to melancholike passions: and (as Bodin and Sprenger say) to these old women called witches, which many times (as they affirme) refuse to live; threatening the judges, that if they may not be burned, they will lay hands upon themselves, and so make them guilty of their damnation.

I my self have known, that where such a one could not prevaile, to be accepted as a sufficient witness against himselfe, he presently went and threw himselfe into a pond of water, where he was drowned. But the law saith; *Volenti mori non est habenda fides*, that is; His word is not to be credited that is desirous to dy. Also sometimes (as else-where I have proved) they confesse that whereof they were never guilty; supposing that they did that which they did not, by meanes of certain circumstances. And as they sometimes confesse impossibilities, as that they fly in the air, transubstantiate themselves, raise tempests, transerre or remove corne, &c. so do they also (I say) confesse voluntarily, that which no man could prove, and that which no man would guesse, nor yet beleeve, except he were as mad as they; so as they bring death wilfully upon themselves: which argueth an unsound mind.

If they confesse that, which hath been indeed committed by them, as poysoning, or any other kind of murder, which falleth into the power of such persons to accomplish; I stand not to defend their cause. However, I would wish that even in that case there be not too rash credit given, nor to hasty proceedings used against them: but that the causes, properties, and circumstances of every thing be duly considered, and diligently examined. For you shall understand, that as sometimes they confesse they have murdered their neighbours with a wish, sometimes with a word, sometimes with a look, &c. so they confesse, that with

Confession compulsory; as by Hispanicall inquisition: Look Mal. malef. & lo. Bodin. Confession perswasory; as by flattery: Look Bry. Darcy against Dusu. Kempe. Iohn Bod. Mal. malef. L. absens. de panis. L. 2. cum glo. de iis qui ante senient. moa. tui sunt. ubi necem consciscite.

Aburdities in witches confessions.

the delivering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they have killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added thereunto, which naturally could be noysome or hurtfull.

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

But if this their confession be examined by divinity, philosophy, physick, law or conscience, it will be found false and insufficient. First, for that the working of miracles is ceased. Secondly, no reason can be yielded for a thing so farre beyond all reason. Thirdly, no receipt can be of such efficacy, as when the same is touched with a bare hand, from whence the veines have passage through the body unto the heart, it should not annoy the poyson; and yet retain vertue and force enough, to peare through so many garments, and the very flesh incurable, to the place of death in another person. *Cui argumento* (saith Bodin) *nescio quid responderi possit*. Fourthly, no law will admit such a confession; as yielded unto impossibilities, against the which there is never any law provided otherwise it would not serve a mans turne, to plead and prove that he was at Berwick that day, that he is accused to have done a murder in Cantuarbury: for it might be said he was conveyed to Berwick, and back again by inchantment. Fifthly, he is not by conscience to be executed, which hath no sound mind nor perfect judgement. And yet forsooth we read that one mother Stile did kill one Saddocke with a touch on the shoulder, for not keeping promise with her for an old cloak, to make her safeguard and that she was hanged for her labour.

## CHAP. VIII.

What folly it were for wishes to enter into such desperate perill, and to endure such intollerable tortures for no gain or commodity, and but it comes to passe that witches are overthrowne by their confessions.

Alas! if they were so subtil, as witch-mongers make them to be, they would espy that it were meer folly for them, not onely to make bargain with the devill to throw their soules into hell fire, but their bodies to the tortures of temporal fire and death, for the accomplishment of nothing that might benefit themselves at all: but they would at the leastwise indent with the devill, both to enrich them, and also to enable them; and finally to endue them with all worldly felicity and pleasure, which is furthest from them of all other. Yea, if they were sensible, they would say to the devill; Why should I hearken to you, when you will deceive me? Did you not promise my neighbour mother Dutton to save and rescue her; and yet lo she is hanged? Surely this would appose the devill very fore. And it is a wonder, that none, from the beginning of the world, till this day, hath made this and such like objections, where the devill could never make answer. But were it not more madnesse for them, to serve the devill, under these conditions; and yet to endure

*I. Bod. de demono. lib 2. cap. 8.*

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

whippings with iron rods at the devils hands: which (as the witch-mongers write) are so set on, that the print of the lashes remain upon the witches body ever after, even so long as she hath a day to live?

But these old women being daunted with authority, circumvented with guile, constrained by force, compelled by fear, induced by error, and deceived by ignorance, do fall into such rash credulity, and so are brought unto these absurd confessions. Whose error of mind and blindness of will dependeth upon the disease and infirmity of nature: and therefore their actions in that case are the more to be borne withall: because they being destitute of reason, can have no consent. For, *Delictum sine consensu non potest committi, neque injuria sine animo injuriandi*; that is, There can be no sinne without consent, nor injury committed without a mind to do wrong. Yet the law saith further, that a purpose retained in mind, doth nothing to the private or publike hurt of any man; and much more that an impossible purpose is unpunishable. *Sane mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; A sound mind willeth nothing, but that which is possible.

## CHAP. IX.

How melancholy abuseth old women, and of the effects thereby by sundry examples.

If any man advisedly marke their words, actions, cogitations, and gestures, he shall perceive that melancholy abounding in their head, and occupying their brain, hath deprived or rather depraved their judgements and all their senses: I meane not of colensing witches, but of poor melancholike women; which are themselves deceived. For you shall understand, that the force which melancholy hath, and the effects that it worketh in the body of a man, or rather of a woman, are almost incredible. For as some of these melancholike persons imagine, they are witches, and by witch-craft can worke wonders, and do what they list: so do other, troubled with this disease, imagine many strange, incredible, and impossible things. Some, that they are Monarches and Princes, and that all other men are their subjects: some, that they are brute beasts: some, that they be urinals or earthen pots, greatly fearing to be broken: some, that every one that meeteth them, will convey them to the gallows; and yet in the end hang themselves. One thought, that Atlas, whom the poets feigne to hold up heaven with his shoulders, would be weary, and let the skie fall upon him: another would spend a whole day upon a stage, imagining that he both heard and saw interludes, and therewith made himselfe great sport. One Theophilus a Phisician, otherwise found enought of mind (as it is said) imagined that he heard and saw musicians continually playing on instruments, in a certain place of his house. One Bessus, that had killed his father, was notably detected; by imagining that a Swallow upraided him therewith: so as he himselfe thereby revealed the murder.

But the notablest example hereof is, of one that was in great perplexity,

*Iohn Bod. L. s. per errorem juris. omni cum inde. C. sed hoc d. de publ. leg. Balin. leg. Cc.*

Of one that through melancholy was induced to think that he had a nose as big as a house &c.

ty, imagining that his nose was as big as a house; inſomuch as no friend nor Phyſician could deliver him from this conceit, nor yet either eaſe his grief, or ſatiſfie his fanſie in that behalfe: till at the laſt, a Phyſician more expert in this humor than the reſt, uſed this deviſe following. Firſt, when he was to come in at the chamber door being wide open, he ſuddenly ſtayed and withdrew himſelfe; ſo as he would not in any wiſe approach neerer then the door. The melancholike perſon muſing hereon, asked him the cauſe why he ſo demeaned himſelfe? Who answered him in this manner: Sir, your nose is ſo great, that I can hardly enter into your chamber but I ſhall touch it, and conſequently hurt it. Lo (quoth he) this is the man that muſt do mee good; the reſidue of my friends ſer me, and would hide my infirmity from me. Well (ſaid the Phyſician) I will cure you, but you muſt be content to indure a little pain in the dreſſing: which he promiſed patiently to ſuſtain, and conceived certain hope of recovery. Then entered the Phyſician into the chamber, creeping cloſe by the walles, ſeeming to feare the touching and hurting of his nose. Then did he blindfold him, which being done, he caught him by the nose with a pair of pinſors, and threw down into a tub, which he had placed before his patient, a great quantity of bloud, with many pieces of bullocks livers, which he had conveyed into the chamber, whileſt the others eyes were bound up, and then gave him liberty to ſee and behold the ſame. He having done thus again two or three times, the melancholike humor was ſo qualified, that the mans mind being ſatiſfied, his grief was eaſed, and his diſeaſe cured.

*Thraſſulus*, otherwiſe called *Thraſſilus*, being ſore oppreſſed with the melancholike humor, imagined, that all the ſhips, which arrived at port *Pyreus*, were his: inſomuch as he would number them, and command the mariners to lanch, &c. triumphing at their ſafe returns, and mourning for their miſfortunes. The Italian whom we called here in *England* the Monarch, was poſſeſſed with the like ſpirit or conceit. *Daneus* himſelf reporteth, that he ſaw one, that affirmed conſtantly that he was a cocke; and ſaith that through melancholy, ſuch were alienated from themſelves.

Now, if the fanſie of a melancholike perſon may be occupied in cauſes which are both falſe and impoſſible; why ſhould an old witch be thought free from ſuch fantaſies, who (as the learned Philoſophers and Phyſicians ſay) upon the ſtopping of their monthly melancholike flux or iſſue of blood, in their age muſt needs increaſe therein, as (through their weakneſſe both of body and braine) the aſteth perſons do meet with ſuch melancholike imaginations: with whom their imaginations remaine, even when their ſenſes are gone. Which *Badin* laboureth to diſprove, there ſhewing himſelfe as good a Phyſician, as eſſe where a divine.

But if they may imagine, that they can transforme their owne bodies which nevertheleſſe remaine in the former ſhape: how much more credible is it, that they may falſely ſuppoſe they can hurt and infeebler others bodies; or which is leſſe, hinder the coming of burter? &c. But what is it that they will not imagine, and conſequently confeſſe that they can do; ſpecially being ſo earnestly perſwaded theſe unto, ſo ſorely com-

*Daneus* in dialog. cap. 3.

*I. Baptiſt. P. N. cap. 2. Card. de var. rerum. I. Wie de prestigiis demonum, &c. Aristotle, John Bod.*

mented; ſo craftily examined, with ſuch promiſes of favour, as where by they imagine, that they ſhall ever after live in great credit and wealth &c.

If you read the executions done upon witches, either in times paſt in other countreyes, or lately in this land; you ſhall ſee ſuch impoſſibilities confeſſed, as one, having his right wits, will beleve. Among other like falſe confeſſions, we read that there was a witch confeſſed at the time of her death or execution, that ſhe had raiſed all the tempeſts, and procured all the froſts and hard weather that happened in the winter 1565, and that many grave and wife men beleevd her.

CHAP. X.

That voluntary confeſſions may be untruly made, to the undoing of the confeſſors, and of the ſtrange operation of melancholy, proved by a familiar and late example.

But that it may appear, that even voluntary confeſſion (in this caſe) may be untruly made, though it tend to the deſtruction of the confeſſor; and that melancholy may move imaginations to that effect: I will cite a notable inſtance concerning this matter, the parties themſelves being yet a live, and dwelling in the pariſh of *Sellenge* in *Kent*, and the matter not long ſiſtence in this ſort performed.

One *Ade Davie*, the wife of *Simon Davie* husband-man; being reputed a *Kentish* a right honeſt body, and being of good parentage, grew ſuddenly (as her ſtory of a husband informed me, and as it is well known in theſe parts) to be ſome late accident.

what penſive and more ſad, than in times paſt. Which thing though it grieved him; yet he was loth to make it ſo appear, as either his wife might be troubled or diſcontented therewith, or his neighbours informed thereof; leaſt ill husbandry ſhould be laid to his charge (which in theſe quarters is much abhorred.) But when ſhe grew from penſiveſſe, to ſome perturbation of mind; ſo as her accuſtomed reſt began in the night leaſon to be withdrawne from her, through ſighing and ſecret lamentation; and that, nor without teares, her could not but demande the cauſe of her conceit and extraordinary mourning, but although at that time ſhe covered the ſame, acknowledging nothing to be amiſſe with her: ſoon after notwithstanding ſhe fell downe before him on her knees, deſiring him to forgive her, for ſhe had greevouſly offended (as ſhe ſaid) both God and him. Her poor husband being abaſhed at this her behaviour, comforted her, as he could; asking her the cauſe of her trouble and grief: who told him, that ſhe had, contrary to gods law, and to the offence of all good-chriſtians, to the injury of him, and ſpecially to the loſſe of her own ſoul, bargained and given her ſoul to the devill, to be delivered unto him within ſhort ſpace. Whereunto her husband answered, ſaying; Wife, be of good cheer, this thy bargain is void and of none effect: for thou haſt ſold that which is none of thine to ſell; ſith it belongeth to Chriſt, who hath bought it, and deerly paid for it, even with his blood, which he ſhed upon the croſſe; ſo as the devill hath no intereſt in the.

Note the christian comfort of the husband to his wife.

After this, with like submission, teares, and penitence, she said unto him; Oh husband, I have yet committed another fault, and done you more injury: for I have bewitched you and your children. Be content (quoth he) by the grace of God, Jesus Christ shall unwitch us: for none evill can happen to them that fear God.

And (as truly as the Lord liveth) this was the tenor of his words unto me, which I know is true, as proceeding from unfained lips, and from one that feareth God. Now when the time approached that the devill should come, and take possession of the woman, according to his bargain, he watched and prayed earnestly, and caused his wife to read psalmes and prayers for mercy at Gods hands: and suddenly about mid-night, there was a great rumbling below under his chamber window, which amazed them exceedingly. For they conceived, that the devill was below, though he had no power to come up, because of their fervent prayers.

Confutation.

He that noteth this womans first and second confession, freely and voluntarily made, how every thing concurred that might serve to adde credit thereunto, and yeeld matter for her condemnation, would not think, but that if *Bodin* were foreman of her inquest, he would cry; Guilty: and would hasten execution upon her: who would have said as much before any judge in the world, if she had been examined: and have confessed no lesse, if she had been arraigned thereupon. But God knoweth, she was innocēt of any of these crimes: howbeit she was brought low and pressed down with the weight of this humor, so as both her rest and sleep were taken away from her; and her fancies troubled and disquieted with despair, and such other cogitations as grew by occasion thereof. And yet I beleeve, if any mishap had insued to her husband, or his children; few witch-mongers would have judged otherwise, but that she had bewitched them. And she (for her part) so constantly perswaded her self to be a witch, that she judged her selfe worthy of death, inasmuch as being retained in her chamber, she saw nor any one carrying a saggot to the fire, but she should say it was to make a fire to burn her for witchery. But God knoweth she had bewitched none, neither insued there any hurt unto any by her imagination, but unto her selfe.

A comical catastrophe.

And as for the rumbling, it was by occasion of a sheepe, which was stayed, and hung by the wals, so as a dog came and devoured it; whereby grew the noise which I before mentioned: and she being now recovered, remaineth a right honest woman, far from such impiety, and ashamed of her imaginations, which she perceiveth to have grown through melancholy.

## CHAP. XI.

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

H. Card. de var. rerum. cap. 8.

Io. Wierus de depr. est. lib. 6. cap.

But in truth, this melancholike humor (as the best Physicians affirme) is the cause of all their strange, impossible and incredible confessions.

which are so fond, that I wonder how any men can be abused thereby. Howbeit these affections, though they appear in the mind of man, yet are they bred in the body, and proceed from this humor, which is the very dregs of blood, nourishing and seeding those places, from whence proceed feares, cogitations, superstitions, fastings, labours, and such like.

This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some say) foresight of *Aristotle* de things to come, and preserveth health, as being cold and dry; it maketh *somnia* men subject to leanness, and to the quartane ague. They that are vexed therewith are destroyers of themselves, stout to suffer injuries, fearfull to offer violence; except the humor be hot. They learne strange tongues with small industry (as *Aristotle* and others affirme.)

If our witches phantasies were not corrupted, nor their wils confounded with this humor, they would not so voluntarily and readily confesse that which callth their life in question; whereof they could never otherwise be convicted. *I. Bodin* with his lawyers physick reasoneth contrarily; as though melancholy were furthest of all from those old women, whom we call witches: deriding the most famous and noble Physician *John Wier* for his opinion in that behalfe. But because I am no Physician, I will fet a Physician to him; namely *Erastus*, who hath these words, to wit, that these witches, through their corrupt phantasia abounding with melancholike humors, by reason of their old age, do dreame and imagine they hurt those things which they neither could nor do hurt; and so think they know an art, which they neither have learned nor yet understand.

But why should there be more credit given to witches, when they say they have made a reall bargain with the divell, killed a cow, bewitched butter, inseedled a child, foretold her self, maketh it rain or hail, fieth in the air, goeth invisible, transferreth corn in the grasse from one field to another? &c. If you think that in the one their confessions be found, why should you say that they are corrupt in the other; the confession of all these things being made at one instant, and affirmed with like constancy, or rather audacity? But you see the one to be impossible, and therefore you think thereby, that their confessions are vain and false. The other you think may be done, and see them confesse it, and therefore you conclude, *A posse ad esse*; as being perswaded it is so, because you think it may be so. But I say, both with the divines, and philosophers, that that which is imagined of witch-craft, hath no truth of action; or being besides their imagination, the witch (for the most part) is occupied in false causes. For whosoever desireth to bring to passe an impossible thing, hath a vain, and idle, and childish perswasion, bred by an unsound minde; for *Sana mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*. The will of a sound mind, is the desire of a possible thing.

August. lib. de Trinit. 3. Idem de civit. Dei.

Clemens, recog. Iamblicus. Io. Wierus. Cardanus. Pampia. &amp;c.

A



CHAP. XII.

A confutation of witches confessions, especially concerning their league.

An objection. The resolution.

But it is objected, that witches confesse they renounce the faith, and as their confession must be true, or else they would not make it; so must their fault be worthy of death, or else they should not be executed. Whereunto I answer as before; that their confessions are extorted, or else proceed from an unfound mind. Yea I say further, that we ourselves, which are found of mind, and yet seek any other way of salvation than Christ Jesus, or break his commandments, or walk not in his steps with a lively faith, &c. do not onely renounce the faith, but God himselfe; and therefore they, in confessing that they forsake God, and embrace Satan, do that which we all should do. As touching that horrible part of their confession, in the league which tendeth to the killing of their own and others children, the seeing of them, and the making of their potion or portage, and the effects thereof; their good fridays meeting being the day of their deliverance, their incests, with their returne, at the end of nine moneths, when commonly women be neither able to go that journey, nor to returne, &c. it is so horrible, unnatural, unlikely, and impossible; that if I should behold such things with mine eyes, I should rather think my selfe dreaming, drunken, or some way deprived of my senses; than give credit to so horrible and filthy matters.

A forged miracle.

How hath the the oyle or portage of a sodden child such vertue, as that a staffe annointed therewith, can carry folk in the air? Their potable liquor, which, they say, maketh masters of that faculty, is it not ridiculous. And is it nor, by the opinion of all philosophers, Physicians, and divines, void of such vertue, as is imputed thereunto?

Their not fasting on fridays, and their fasting on sundays, their spitting at the time of elevation, their refusal of holy-water, their despising of superstitious crosses, &c. which are all good steps to true Christianity, help me to confute the residue of their confessions.

CHAP. XIII.

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

And to speak more generally of all the impossible actions referred unto them, as also of their false confessions; I say, that there is noise which acknowledgeth God to be onely omnipotent, and the onely worker of all miracles, nor any other endowed with meane sense, but will deny that the elements are obedient to witches, and at their commandment; or that they may at their pleasure send rain, hail, tempests, thunder, lightning; when she being but an old dotting woman, casteth a flint-stone

ver her left shoulder, towards the west, or hurleth a little sea-sand up into the element, or wetteth a broom-sprig in water, and sprinkleth the same in the air; or diggeth a pit in the earth, and putting water therein, stirreth it about with her finger; or boileth hogs bristles, or laiech sticks acrosse upon a banke, where never a drop of water is; or burieth sage till it be rotten; all which things are confessed by witches, and affirmed by writers to be the meanes that witches use to move extraordinary tempests and rain, &c.

We read in M. Maleficarum, that a little girle walking abroad with her father in his land, heard him complaine of drought, wishing for raine, &c. Why Father, quoth the child, I can make it raine or haile, when and where I list? He asked where she learned it. She said, of her mother, who forbad her to tell any bodie thereof. He asked her how her mother taught her? She answered, that her mother committed her to a master, who would at any time do any thing for her. Why then, said he, make it rain but onely in my field. And so she went to the streame, and threw up water in her masters name, and made it rain presently. And proceeding further with her father, she made it haile in another field, at her fathers request. Hereupon he accused his wife, and caused her to be burned; and then he new christened his child again: which circumstance is common among Papists and witch mongers. And howsoever the first part hereof was proved, there is no doubt but the latter part was throughly executed. If they could indeed bring these things to passe at their pleasure, then might they also be impediments unto the course of all other naturall things, and ordinances appointed by God: as, to cause it to hold up, when it should raine; and to make it midnight; of high noon; and by those meanes, I say, the divine power should become servile to the will of a witch; so as we could neither eat nor drink; but by their permission.

Mc. thinks Seneca might satisfie these credulous or rather idolatrous people, that runne a-whore-hunting, either in body or phantasie; after these witches, beleeving all that is attributed unto them, to the derogation of Gods glory. He saith, that the rude peoply and our ignorant predecessors did beleve, that rain and showers might be procured and stayed by witches charmes and iuchanments: of which kind of things that were can nothing be wrought, it is so manifest, that we need not go to any philosophers school, to learn the confutation thereof.

But Jeremy, by the word of God, doth utterly confound all that which Jer. 16. 22. may be devised for the maintenance of that foolish opinion, saying: Are Dii gentium there any among the gods of the gentiles, that send raine, or give dew, or showers from heaven? Art not thou the selfe same our Lord God? We will trust in thee, for thou doest and maketh all these things. I may therefore with Brentius boldly say, that is neither in the power of witches nor devils, to accomplish that matter; but in God onely. For when exhalations are drawne and lifted up from out of the earth, by the power of the Sun, into the middle region of the air, the coldness thereof condenseth and thickeneth those vapours: which being become clouds, are dissolved again by the heat of the sunne, whereby rain or hail is ingendred; raine if by the way the drops be not frozen and made hail. These circumstances

The waies that witches use to make raine &c. Nider. Mal. Malef. I. Bod. Friar Barth. Heming. Dancus, &c. Mal. Malef. par. 2. qu. 1. cap. 12.

He that can ly, can steale, as he that can play.

The naturall generation of haile and raine.

circumstances being considered with the course of the whole Scripture, it can neither be in the power of witch or devill to procure raine or fair weather.

Job. 11.

1b. vers. 16.

Job. 2. 5.

Mal. malef. pa. 1. qua. 2.

And whereas the story of Job in this case is alledged against me (where in a witch is not once named) I have particularly answered it else-where And therefore thus much onely I say here; that even there, where it pleased God (as Calvine saith) to set down circumstances for the instruction of our grosse capacities, which are not able to conceive of spirituall communication, or heavenly affaires; the devill desireth God to stretch out his hand, and touch all that Job hath. And though he seemeth to grant Satans desire, yet God himself sent fire from heaven, &c. Whereby it is to be gathered, that although God said, He is in thine hand: it was the Lords hand that punished Job, and not the hand of the devill, who said nor, Give me leave to plague him; but, Lay thine hand upon him. And when Job continued faithfull notwithstanding all his afflictions, in his children, body and goods; the devill is said to come again to God, and to say as before, to wit; Now stretch out thine hand, and touch his bones and his flesh. Which argueth as well that he could not do it, as that he himselfe did it not before. And be it here remembered, that M. Mal. and the residue of the witch-mongers deny, that there were any witches in Jobs time. But see more hereof else-where.

CHAP. XIII.

What would ensue, if witches confessions or witch-mongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witch-craft, enchantments, &c.

But these suppositions are false, Ergo the consequences are not true.

If it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that witch-mongers report, or that fools beleeve, we should never have better in the chearnes, nor cow in the close, nor corne in the field, nor weather abroad, nor health within doots. Or if that which is contained in M. Mal. Bodin, &c. or in the pamphlets late set forth in English, of witches executions, should be true in those things that witches are to confesse, what creature could live in security? Or what needed preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe? Prince should be able to raigne or live in the land. For (as Danus saith) that one Martin a witch killed the Emperour of Germany with witch-craft; so would our witches (if they could) destroy all our magistrates. One witch might overthrow an army roiall: and then what needed weapons, guns, or wild-fire, or any other instruments of warre? A witch might supply all wants, and accomplish a Princes will in this behalfe, without charge or blood-shed of his people.

If it be objected, that witches worke by the devill, and christians princes are not to deale that way; I answer, that for princes disposed to befall would make conscience therein, specially such as take unjust wayes, hand, using other helps, devices, and engines as lawfull and devillish that; in whose campe there is neither the rule of religion or christi order observed; inasomuch as ravishments, murders, blasphemies

thefts are there most commonly and freely committed. So that the devill is more feared, and better served in their campes, than God Almighty. But admit that souldiers would be scrupulous herein, the Pope hath authority to dispense therewith; as in like case he hath done, by the testimony of his own authors and friends. Admit also, that throughout all christendome, warres were justly maintained, and religion duly observed in their camps; yet would the Turke and other Infidels cut our throats, or at least one anothers throat, with the helpe of their witches; for they would make no conscience thereof.

CHAP. XV.

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

In the wars between the kings of Denmarke and Sueveland, 1563, the Danes do write, that the king of Sueveland carried about with him in campe, foure old witches, who with their charmes so qualified the Danes, as they were thereby disabled to annoie their enemies: inasomuch as, if they had taken in hand any enterprize, they were so infeebled by those witches, as they could performe nothing. And although this could have no credit at the first, yet in the end, one of these witches was taken prisoner, and confessed the whole matter; so as (saith he) the threads, and the line, and the characters were found in the high way and water-places.

The Irishmen addict themselves wonderfully to the credit and practise hereof; inasomuch as they affirme, that not onely their children, but their cattell, are (as they call it) eybitten, when they fall suddenly sick, and rearme one sort of their witches eybiters; onely in that respect: yea and they will not stick to affirme, that they can time either man or beast to death. Also the West-Indians and Muscovits do the like, and the Hunnes (as Gregory Turonensis writeth) used the helpe of witches in time of warre.

I find another story written in M. Mal. repeated by Bodin; that one souldier called Pumber, daily through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrows three of the enemies, as they stood peeping over the walls of Pumber a castle besieged: so as in the end he killed them all quite, saving one. The trial of the archers simister dealing, and a proof thereof expressed, is; for that he never lightly failed when he shot, and for that he killed them; by three a day; and had shot three arrowes into a rod. This was he that shot at a peny on his sonnes head, and made ready another arrow, to have slaine the Duke Remgrave that commanded it. And doubtlesse, because of his singular dexterity in shooting, as he reputed a witch, as doing that which others could not do, nor think to be in the power of man to do: though indeed no miracle, no witch-craft, no impossibility nor difficulty consisted therein.

H 2

But

Witches in warres.

Eybitting witches.

A skillfull archer punished by an unskillfull justice.

But this latter story I can requite with a familiar example. For in Towne Malling in Kent, one of Q. Marias justices, upon the complaint of many wife men, and a few foolish boyes, laid an archer by the heeles; because he shot so neer the white at buts. For he was informed and persuaded, that the poor man played with a fly, otherwise called a devill or familiar. And because he was certified that the archer aforesaid shot better than the common shooting, which he before had heard of or seen, he conceived it could not be in Gods name, but by enchantment whereby this archer (as he supposed by abusing the Queenes liege people) gained some one day two or three shillings, to the detriment of the common wealth, and to his owne intriching. And therefore the archer was severly punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wife example of justice; but specially to the overthrow of witch-craft. And now again to our matter.

CHAP. XVI.

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

Certaine generall counsell, by their decrees, have condemned the confessions and erroneous credulity of witches, to be vain, fantastical and fabulous. And even those, which are partell of their league, whereupon our witch-mongers do so build, to wit; their night-walkings and meetings with Herodias, and the Pagan gods: at which time they should passe so farre in so little a space on cockhorse; their transubstantiation, their eating of children, and their pulling of them from their mothers sides; their entering into mens houses, through chinks and little holes where a flie can scarcely wring out, and the disquieting of the inhabitants &c. all which are not onely said by a generall counsell to be mee fantastical, and imaginations in dreames; but so affirmed by the ancient writers. The words of the counsell are these; It may not be omitted, that certain wicked women following Satans provocations, being seduced by the illusion of devils, beleve and professe, that in the night-times they ride abroad with Diana, the goddess of the Pagans, or else with Herodias, with an innumerable multitude, upon certain beasts, and passe over many countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and do whatsoever those faities or ladies command &c. And it followeth even there; Let all ministers therefore in their severall cures, preach to Gods people, so as they may know all these things to be false, &c. It followeth in the same counsell; Therefore, whosoever beleeveth that any creature may be, either created by them, or else changed into better or worse, or be any way transformed into any other kind or likeness of any, but of the creator himselfe, is assuredly an infidell, and worse, than a Pagan. And if this be credible, then all these their bargaines and assemblies, &c. are incredible, which are onely certified by the certaine foolish and extorted confessions; and by a fable of S. Germane, who watched the faities or witches, being at a reet banquet, and through his holinesse stayed

Concil. Acquirensin decret. 26. qu. 5. can. episcopi. August. de spiritu & anijna cap. 8. Fran. Pontivib. trall. de lam. numero 49. Grillandus de sort. numero 6. In histor. vel vita. sancti Germani.

stayed them, till he sent to the houses of those neighbours, which seemed to be there, and found them all in bed; and so cried, that these were devils in the likeness of those women. Which if it were as true, as it is false, it might serve well to confute this their meeting and night-walkings. For if the devils be only present in the likeness of witches, then is that false, which is attributed to witches in this behalfe.

But because the old hammer of Sprenger and Inquitor, in their old Malleo maleficarum, was insufficient to knock down this counsell; a young beetle-headed called Frier Bartholomaeus Spineus hath made a new leaden beetle, to beat down the counsell, and kill these old woman. Wherein he counterfeiting Aesops alle, claweth the pope with his heeles, affirming upon his credit, that the counsell is false and erroneous; because the doctrine swarveth from the Popish church, and is not authentical but apocryphall: saying (though untruly) that that counsell was not called by the commandment and pleasure of the Pope, nor ratified by his authority, which (saith he) is sufficient to disannul all counsels. For surely (saith this frier; which at this instant is a cheef inquisitor) if the words of this counsell were to be admitted, both I, and all my predecessors had published notorious lies; and committed many injurious executions: whereby the Popes themselves also might justly be detected of error, contrary to the catholique beleef in that behalfe. Marry he saith, that although the words and direct sense of this counsell be quite contrary to truth and his opinion; yet he will make an exposition thereof; that shall somewhat mitigate the lewdnesse of the same; and this he saith is not onely allowable to do, but also meritorious. Marke the mans words, and judge his meaning.

Nonus mal. in qua. de strigib. cap. 21, 22. &c. Bar. Spineus Mal. malef. cap. 23. in qua. de strigib. &c.

CHAP. XVII.

Witch-mongers reasons, to prove that witches can worke wonders, Bodins tale of a Friseland priest transported, that imaginations proceeding of melancholy do cause illusions.

Old M. Maleficarum also saith, that the counsell and doctors were all deceived herein, and alledging authority therefore, confuteth that opinion by a notable reason, called Petris principii, or rather, Ignotum per ignotum, in this manner: They can put changelings in the place of other children; Ergo they can transerre and transforme themselves and others, &c. according to their confession in that behalfe. Item he saith, and Bodin justifieth it, that a priest in Friseland was corporally transferred into a faire country, as witnessed another priest of Oberdorf his companion, who saw him aloft in the air: Ergo saith M. Mal. they have all been deceived hitherto, to the great opportunity of horrible witches. Wherein he opposeth his foily against God and his church, against the truth, and against all possibility. But surely it is almost incredible, how imagination shall abuse such as are subject unto melancholy; so as they shall beleve they see, hear, and do that, which never was nor shall be; as is partly declared, if you read Galen de locis affectis, and may more

Mal. malef. pa. 1. cap. 3. Guli. Petris.

August. de spiritu & anima. Lib. 1. cap. 7. de haereticis.

plainly appear also if you read Aristotle De somnia. And thereof S. Augustine saith well, that he is too much a fool and a block head, that supposeth those things to be done indeed, and corporally, which are by such persons phantastically imagined: which phantastical illusions do as well agree and accord (as *Algerus* saith) with magicall deceits, as the verity accompanieth divine holinesse.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the confession of witches is sufficient in civill and common law to take away life. What the sounder divines, and decrees of council determine in this case.

It is not likely they would so do: Ergo a ly.

As last what creature being found in state of mind, would (without compulsion) make such manner of confessions as they do; or would for a trifle, or nothing, make a perfect bargain with the devil, for her soul to be yeilded up unto his tortures and everlasting flames, and that within a very short time; specially being through age most commonly unlike to live one whole year? The terror of hell-fire must needs be to them diversly manifested, and much more terrible; because of their weaknesse, nature, and kind, than to any other: as it would appear, if a witch were but asked, whether she would be contented to be hanged one year hence, upon condition her displeasure might be wreaked upon her enemies presently? As for thieves, and such other, they think not to go to hell-fire; but are either perswaded there is no hell, or that their crime deserveth it not, or else that they have time enough to repent: so as, no doubt, if they were perfectly resolved hereof, they would never make such adventures. Neither do I thinke, that for any summe of money they would make so direct a bargain to go to hell-fire. Now then I conclude, that confession in this behalf is insufficient to take away the life of any body; or to attain such credit, as to be beleevèd without further proof: For as *Augustine* and *Isidore*, with the rest of the sounder divines say, that these pestigious things, which are wrought by witches, are fantasticall: so do the sounder decrees of councils and canons agree, that in that case, there is no place for criminall action. And the law saith, that the confession of such persons as are illuded, must needs be erroneous and therefore is not to be admitted: for, *Confessio debet tenere verum & possibile*. But these things are opposit both to law and nature, and therefore it followeth not; Because these witches confesse so, Ergo it is so. For the confession differeth from the act, or from the possible of the act. And whatsoever is contrary to nature faileth in his principles and therefore is naturally impossible.

August. de civit. Dei. Isidor. lib. 8. cap. 9. Etymol. 26. qua. 5. ca. non mirum. Pontius de lamiis, volum. 10. L. error; & L. cum post. c. de juria & falli ignor. ac in L. de erat. S. item de interrog. action. Per glos. Bal.

The law also saith, In criminalibus regulariter non statit soli confessioni in criminal cases or touching life, we must not absolutely stand to the confession of the accused party; but in these matters proofes must be brought more clear than the light it selfe. And in this crime no body must be condemned upon presumptions. And where it is objected and urged, that since God onely knoweth the thoughts, there is none other way of proofe

but by confession: It is answered thus in the law, to wit: Their confession in this case containeth an outward act, and the same impossible both in the law and nature, and also unlikely to be true; and therefore *Quod glos. nec si de verisimile non est, attendi non debet*. So as, though their confessions may be worthy of punishment, as whereby they shew a will to commit such mischief, yet not worthy of credit, as that they have such power. For, *L. Neracius. Si factum abfit, sola que opinione laborent, estultorum genere sunt*; If they confesse a fact performed but in opinion, they are to be repured among the number of fooles: Neither may any man be by law condemned for criminall causes, upon presumptions, nor yet by single witness: neither at the accusation of a capital enemy; who indeed is not to be admitted to give evidence in this case; though it please *M. Mal. and Bodin* to affirme the contrary. But beyond all equity, these inquisitors have shifts and devises enough, to plague and kill these poor soules: for (they say) their fault is the greatest of all others; because of their carnall copulation with the devill, and therefore they are to be punished as hereticks, four nannes of waies, to wit, with excommunication, deprivation, losse of goods, and also

with death. And indeed they find law, and provide meanes thereby to maintaine this their bloody humor. For it is written in their popish canons, that as for these kind of hereticks, how much soever they repent and returne to the faith, they may not be retained alive, or kept in perpetuall prison; but be put to extreame death. Yea, *M. Mal.* writeth, that a witches sinne is the sinne aganist the Holy Ghost; to wit, irremissible; yea further, that it is greater than the sinne of the angels that fell. In which respect I wonder, that *Mose* delivered not three tables to the children of *Israel*; or at the least, wile, that he exhibited not commandments for it. It is not credible that the greatest should be included in the lesse, &c.

But when these witch-mongers are convinced in the objection concerning their confessions; so as thereby their tyrannicall arguments cannot prevaile, to imbrue the magistrates hands in so much blood as their appetite requireth: they fall to accusing them of other crimes, that the world might think they had some colour to maintain their malicious fury against them.

CHAP. XIX.

Of four capital crimes objected against witches, all fully answered and confuted as frivolo us.

If therefore they lay to their charge idolatry. But alas without all reason; for such are properly known to us to be idolaters, as do external worship to idols or strange gods. The furthest point that idolatry can be stretched unto, is, that they, which are culpable therein, are such as hope for and seek salvation at the hands of idols, or of any other than God; or fix their whole mind and love upon any creature, so as the power of God be neglected and contemned thereby. But witches nei-

ther seek nor beleve to have salvation at the hands of devils, but by them they are onely deceived; the instruments of their fantasie being corrupted, and so insatuated, that they suppose, confesse, and say they can do that, which is as farre beyond their power and nature to do, as to kill a man at *Torke* before noon, when they have been seen at *London* in the morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters; whose idolatry is spiritual and committed onely in mind, should be punished by death, then should every covetous man or other, that fettereth his affection any way too much upon an earthly creature be executed, and yet perchance the witch might escape scot free.

2. Apostasie, confuted.

Secondly, apostasie is laid to their charge, whereby it is inferred, that they are worthy to dy. But apostasie is, where any of sound judgement forsake the gospell, learned and well known unto them; and do not onely imbrace impiety and infidelity; but oppugne and resist the truth erst while by them professed. But alas these poor women go not about to defend any impiety, but after good admonition repent.

3. Seducing of the people, confuted.

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

4. Carnall copulation with Incubus, confuted.

Fourthly, as touching the accusation, which all the writers use heretofore against them for their carnall copulation with *Incubus*: the folly of mens credulity is as much to be wondered at and derided, as the others vaine and impossible confessions. For the devil is a spirit, and hath neither flesh nor bones, which were to be used in the performance of this action. And since he also lacketh all instruments, substance, and seed ingendred of blood; it were folly to stay overlong in the confutation of that, which is not in the nature of things. And yet must I say somewhat herein, because the opinion hereof is so strongly and universally received; and the fables hereupon so innumerable; whereby *M. Mal. Bodin, Hemingius, Hyperius, Dicautus, Erastus*, and others that take upon them to write heretofore are so abused; or rather seek to abuse others; as I wonder at their fond credulity in this behalfe. For they affirme undoubtedly, that the devil playeth *Succubus* to the man, and carryeth from him the seed of generation, which he delivereth as *Incubus* to the woman, who many times that way is gotten with child; which will very naturally (they say) become a witch, and such a one they affirme *Merline* was.

How the devill playeth Succubus and Incubus.

CHAP. XX.

A request to such readers as are loth to hear or read filthy and bawdy matters, which of necessity are here to be inserted; to passe over eight chapters.

A peroration to the readers

But in so much as I am driven (for the more manifest bewraying and clearing of this most filthy and horrible error) to stain my paper with writing

writing thereon certaine of their beastly and bawdy assertions and examples, whereby they confirme this their doctrine (being my selfe both ashamed, and loth once to think upon such filthinesse, although it be to the condemnation thereof) I must intreat you that are the readers hereof, whose chaste eares cannot well endure to hear of such abominable lecheries, as are gathered out of the bookes of those witch-mongers (although doctors of divinity, and otherwise of great authority and estimation) to turne over a few leaves, wherein (I say) I have like a grooms thrust their bawdy stufte (even that which I my selfe loath) into a stinking corner: howbeit, none otherwise, I hope. but that the other parts of my writing shall remain sweet, and this also covered as close as may be.



I The



## The fourth Book.

## CHAP. I

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

Mal. mal. f. part. 2. cap. 4. que. 1.



Ames Sprenger and Henry Insitor, in M. Mal. agreeing with Bodin, Barth. Spineus, Danaus, Erasmus, Hemingius, and the rest, do make a bawdy discourse; labouring to prove by a foolish kind of philosophies that evil spirits cannot onely take earthly formes and shapes of men; but also counterfeit hearing, seeing, &c. and likewise, that they can eat and devour meats, and all that they retaine, digest, and avoid the same; and finally, use diverse kinds of activities, but specially excell in the use and art of vengery. For M. Mal. saith, that the eyes and eares of the mind are farre more subtil than bodily eyes or carnall eares. Yea it is there affirmed, that as they take the dily eyes or carnall eares. Yea it is there affirmed, that as they take the bodies, and the likenesse of members; so they take minds and similitudes of their operations. But by the way, I would have them answered this question. Our minds and soules are spirituall things. our corporall eares be stopped, what can they hear or conceive of any eternall wisdom? And truly, a man of such a constitution of body, they imagine of these spirits, which make themselves, &c. were of farre more excellent substance, &c. than the bodies of them that God made in paradise; and so the devils workmanship should exceed the handy work of God the father and Creator of all things.

## CHAP. II.

Of bawdy Incubus and Succubus, and whether the action of vengery be performed between witches and devils, and when witches first yield to Incubus.

Nider in fornicario. T. Brabant. in lib. de apib. in sen. dist. 4. art. 4. Gen. 6. 4.

Heretofore (they say) Incubus was saide to ravish women against the will, untill Anno. 1400. but now since that time witches countenancing to their desires; inso much as some one witch exercised that trade of lechery with Incubus twenty or thirty yeares together; as was confessed by fourty and eight witches burned at Ravenpurg. But what goodly fellowes Incubus begeth upon these witches, is proved by Thomas of Aquine, Bodin, M. Mal. Hypertus, &c.

This is proved first by the devils cunning, in discerning the difference of the seed which falleth from men. Secondly, by his understanding of the aptnesse of the women for the receipt of such seed. Thirdly by the knowledge of the constellations, which are friendly to such corporall effects. And lastly, by the excellent complexion of such as the devils maketh choice of, to beget such notable personages upon, as are the

causes of the greatnesse and excellency of the child thus begotten. And to prove that such bawdy doings betwixt the devil and witches is not fained, S. Augustine is alledged, who saith, that All superstitious arts had their beginning of the pestiferous society betwixt the devill and man. Wherein he saith truly; for that in paradise, betwixt the devill and man, all wickednesse was so contrived, that man ever since hath studied wicked arts: yea and the devill will be sure to be at the middle and at both ends of every mischief. But that the devill ingendred, with a woman, in manner and form as is supposed, and naturally begetteth the wicked, neither is it true, nor Augustines meaning in this place.

Howbeit M. Mal. proceedeth, affirming that All witches take their beginning from such filthy actions, wherein the devill, in likenesse of a pretty wench, lieth prostitute as Succubus to the man, and retaining his nature and seed, conveyeth it unto the witch, to whom he delivereth it as Incubus. Wherein also is refuted the opinion of them that hold a spirit to be unpalpable, M. Mal. saith, There can be rendred no infallible rule, though a probable distinction may be set down, whether Incubus in the act of vengery do alwayes powre seed out of his assumed body. And this is the distinction, Either she is old and barren, or young and pregnant. If she be barren, then doth Incubus use her without decission of seed; because such seed should serve for no purpose. And the devill avoideth superfluity as much as he may; and yet for her pleasure and condemnation together, he goeth to worke with her. But by the way, if the devil were so compendious, what should he need to use such circumstances, even in these very actions, as to make these assemblies, conventions, ceremonies, &c. when he hath already bought their bodies, and bargained for their soules? Or what reason had he, to make them kill so many infants, by whom he rather loseth than gaineth any thing; because they are, so farre as either he or we know, in better case than we, of riper years by reason of their innocency? Well, if she be not past children, then stealeth he seed away (as hath been said) from some wicked man being about that lecherous businesse, and therewith getteth young witches upon the old.

Ane note, that they affirme that this businesse is better accomplished with seed thus gathered, than that which is shed in dreames, through superfluity of humors: because that is gathered from the vertue of the seed generative. And if it be said that the seed will wax cold by the way, and so lose his naturall heare, and consequently the vertue: M. Mal. Danaus and the rest do answer, that the devil can so carry it, as no heat shall go from it, &c.

Furthermore, old witches are sworne to procure as many young virgins for Incubus as they can, whereby in time they grow to be excellent bawds: but in this case the priest playeth Incubus. For you should find, that confession to a priest, and namely this word Benedict, driveth Incubus away, when Ave Marias, crosses, and all other charmes fail.

Mal. malef. part. 7. qua. 1. August. de doctrina. Christ.

Mal. malef. qua. 1. part. 1. Mal. Malef. par. 1. qua. 1.

Danaus in dialog. de sartiariis. Ja. Sprenger in Mal. malef.

## CHAP. II I.

*Of the devils visible and invisible dealing with witches in the way of lechery.*

**B**UT as touching the devils visible or invisible execution of lechery, it is written, that to such witches, as before have made a visible league with the priest, (the devill I should say) there is no necessity that *Incubus* should appear invisible: marry to the standers by he is for the most part invisible. For proof hereof *James Sprenger* and *Institior* affirme, that many times witches are seen in the fields and woods, prostituting themselves uncovered and naked up to the navill, wagging and moving their members in every part, according to the disposition of one being about that act of concupiscence, and yet nothing seen of the beholders upon her; saying that after such convenient time as is required about such a peece of work, a black vapor, of the length and bignesse of a man, hath been seen as it were to depart from her, and to ascend from that place. Nevertheless, many times the husband seeth *Incubus* making him cuckold, but because the body is nothing but air: it closeth together again: so although the good-wife be sometimes hurt thereby; yet she maketh him believe he is mad or possessed, and that he doth he knoweth not what. For he hath more pleasure and delight (they say) with *Incubus* than with any mortall man; whereby you may perceive that spirits are palpable.

## CHAP. III I.

*That the power of generation is both outwardly and inwardly impeached by witches, and of divers that had their genitals taken from them by witches, and by the same means again restored.*

**T**HEY also affirme, that the vertue of generation is impeached by witches, both inwardly, and outwardly: for intrinsically they repress the courage, and they stop the passage of the mans seed, so as it may not descend to the vessels of generation: also they hurt extrinsically, with images, herbs, &c. And to prove this true, you shall heare certain stories out of *M. Mal.* worthy to be noted.

A young priest at *Mespurge* in the diocese of *Constance* was bewitched so as he had no power to occupy any other or mo women than one: and to be delivered out of that thraldom, sought to flie into another country, where he might use that priestly occupation more freely. But all in vaine for evermore he was brought as far backward by night, as he went forward in the day before; some times by land, sometimes in the air, as though he flew. And if this be not true, I am sure that *James Sprenger* doth ly.

For the farther confirmation of our beleeve in *Incubus*, *M. Mal.* citeth a story of a notable matter executed at *Ravenspurge*, as true and as cleare

This was done at Ravenspurge.

*Mal. malef.*

*Mal. malef. cap. 6. qua. 2. pa. 2.*

as the rest. A young man lying with a wench in that towne (saith he) was faine to leave his instruments of venery behind him, by meanes of that prestigious art of witch-craft: so as in that place nothing could be seen or felt but his plaine body. This young man was willed by another witch, to go to her whom he suspected, and by fair or fowle meanes to require her helpe: who soon after meeting with her, intreated her faire; but that was in vaine; and therefore he caught her by the throat, and with a towel strangled her, saying: Restore me my toole, or thou shalt dy for it: so as she being swolne and blacke in the face, and through his boisterous handling ready to dy, said Let me go, and I will helpe thee. And whilst he was loosing the towel, she put her hand into his cod-peece, and touched the place; saying; Now hast thou thy desire: and even at that instant he felt himselfe restored.

Item, a reverend father, for his life, holinesse, and knowledge notorious, being a frier of the order and company of *Spire*, reported, that a young man at first made lamentable moan unto him for the like losse: but his gravity suffered him not to beleeve lightly any such reports, and therefore made the young man untrusse his codpeece-point, and saw the complaint to be true and just. Whereupon he advised or rather injoynd the youth to go to the witch whom he suspected, and with flattering words to intreat her, to be so good unto him, as to restore him his instrument: which by that meanes he obtained, and soon after returned to shew himselfe thankfull; and told the holy father of his good successe in that behalfe: but he to beleeved him, as he would needs be *Oculatus testis*, and made him pull down his breeches, and so was satisfi ed of the truth and certainty thereof.

Another young man being in that very taking, went to a witch for the restitution thereof, who brought him to a tree, where she shewed him a nest, and bad him climbe up and take it. And being in the top of the tree, he took out a mighty great one, and shewed the same to her, asking her if he might not have the same. Nay (quoth she) that is our parish priests tool, but take any other which thou wilt. And it is there affirmed, that some have found 20. and some 30. of them in one nest, being there preserved with provender, as it were at the wrack and manger, with this note, wherein there is no contradiction (for all must be true that is written against witches) that if a witch deprive one of his privities, it is done onely by prestigious meanes, so as the senses are but illuded. Marry by the devill Note: it is really taken away, and in like sort restored. These are no jestes, for they be written by them that were and are judges upon the lives and deaths of those persons.

*Ia. Sprenger. in Mal. malef. part. 2. qua. 1.*

*Mal. malef. cap. 7. par. 2. qua. 1.*

Note

## CHAP. V.

*Of bishop Sylvanus his lechery opened and covered again, how maidens having yellow hair are most combered with Incubus, how married men are bewitched to use other mens wives, and to refuse their own.*

*In vita Hieronym.*

*Saints as holy and chaste as horses & mares.*

*Maidens having yellow hair. Mal. malef. par 2. quæ. 2. cap. 2.*

**Y**ou shall read in the legend, how in the night-time *Incubus* came to a ladies bed-side, and made hot love unto her: whereat she being offended, cried out so loud, that company came and found him under her bed in the likeness of the holy bishop *Sylvanus*, which holy man was much defamed thereby, untill at the length this infamy was purged by the confession of a devil made at *S. Ieroms* tombe. Oh excellent peece of witch craft wrought by *Sylvanus*! Item *S. Christine* would needs take unto her another maides *Incubus*, and ly in her roome: and the story saith, that she was shrewdly accloyed. But she was a shrewd indeed, she would needs change beds with her fellow, that was troubled every night with *Incubus*, and deale with him her selfe. But here the inquisitors note may not be forgotten, to wit; that maides having yellow hair are most molested with this spirit. Also it is written in the Legend, of *S. Bernard*, that a pretty wench that had had the use of *Incubus* his body by the space of six or seven years in *Aquitania* (being belike weary of him for that he waxed old) would needs go to *S. Bernard* another while. But *Incubus* told her, that if she would so forsake him, being so long her true lover, he would be revenged upon her, &c. But befall what would, she went to *S. Bernard*, who took her his staffe, and bad her lay it in the bed besides her. And indeed the devill fearing the bed-staffe, or that *S. Bernard* lay there himself, durst not approach into her chamber that night: what he did afterwards, I am uncertain. Marry you may find other circumstances hereof, and many other like bawdy lies in the golden Legend. But here again we may not forget the inquisitors note, to wit; that many are so bewitched, that they cannot use their own wives, but any other bodies they may well enough away withall. Which witchcraft is practised among many bad husbands, for whom it were a good excuse to say they were bewitched.

## CHAP. VI.

*How to procure the dissolving of bewitched love, also to enforce a man (how proper soever he be) to love an old hag: and of a bawdy trick of a priest in Gelderland.*

**T**he priests say, that the best cure for a woman thus molested, next to confession, is excommunication. But to procure the dissolving of bewitched and constrained love, the party bewitched must make a jakes of the lovers shoe. And to enforce a man, how proper soever he be, to love an old hag, she giveth unto to eat (among other meates) her own dung: and this way an old witch made three abbats of one house successefully

sively to dy for her love, as she her selfe confessed, by the report of *M. Of bawdy Mal.* In *Gelderlend* a priest perwaded a sick woman that she was bewitched: priest in Gelderland; and except he might ting a masse upon her belly, she could not be deiland, holpen. Whereupon she consented, and lay naked on the alter whilst he sung masse, to the satisfying of his lust; but not to the release of her grief. Other cures I will speak of in other places more civill. Howbeit, certain miraculous cures, both full of bawdery and lies, must either have place here, or none at all.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of divers saints and holy persons, which were exceeding bawdy and lecherous, and by certain miraculous means became chaste.* In col. patrum,

**C**assian writeth, that *S. Syren* being of body very lecherous, and of mind wonderfull religious, fasted and prayed; to the end his body might be reduced miraculously to chastity. At length came an angel unto him by night, and cut out of his flesh certaine kernels, which were the sparkes of concupiscence; so as afterwards he never had any more motions of the flesh. It is also reported, that the abbat *Aquicus* being naturally as unchaste as the other, fell to his beads so devoutly for recovery of honesty, that there came an angel unto him in an apparation, that seemed to geld him; and after that (forsooth) he was as chaste as though he had never a stone in his breech; and before that time being a ruler over monkes, he became afterwards a governour over nunnies. Even as it is said *Helias* the holy monke gathered thirty virgins into a monastery, over whom he ruled and reigned by the space of two yeares, and grew so proud and hot in the cod-peece, that he was faine to forsake his holy house, and fly to a desert, where he fasted and prayed two daies, saying; Lord quench my hot lecherous humors, or kill me. Whereupon in the night following, there came unto him three angels, and demanded of him why he forsook his charge: but the holy man was ashamed to tell them. Howbeit they asked him further, saying; Wilt thou returne to these damfels, if we free thee from all concupiscence? Yea (quoth he) with all my heart. And when they had sworn him solemnly so to do, they took him up, and gelded him; and one of them holding his hands, and another his feet, the third cut out his stones. But the story saith it was not so ended, but in a vision: Which I beleeve, because within five dayes he returned to his minions, who pitiously mourned for him all this while, and joyfully embraced his sweet company at his returne. The like story doth *Nider* write of *Thomas*, whom two angels cured of that lecherous disease; by *Nider* in putting about him a girdle, which they brought down with them from heaven. *in vita patrum. Heraclides in paradiso.*

## CHAP. VIII.

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

**F**or direct care to such as are bewitched in the privy members, the first and speciall is confession; then follow in a row, holy-water, and those



those ceremoniall trumperies, *Ave Mariæ*, and all manner of crossings; which are all said to be wholesome, except the witch-craft be perpetual, and in that case the wife may have a divorce of course.

Item, the eating of a haggister or py helpeth one bewitched in that member.

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

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

*Aliter.* Item, to fill a quill with quick-silver, and lay the same under the cushion, where such a one sitteth, or else to put it under the threshold of the door of the house or chamber where he dwelleth.

*Aliter.* Item, to spit into your own holome, if you be so bewitched is very good.

Item, to pisse through a wedding-ring. If you would know who is hurt in his privities by witch-craft; and who otherwise is therein diseased; *Hofstiensis* answereth: but so, as I am ashamed to english it; and therefore have here set down his experiment in Latine; *Quando virgo nullatenus movetur, & nunquam potuit cognoscere; hoc est signum frigiditatis; sed quando movetur & erigitur, perficere autem non potest, ist signum masculii.*

*Aliter.*

But Sir Th. Moore hath such a cure in this matter, as I am ashamed to write, either in Latine or English: for in filthy bawdery it passeth all the tales that ever I heard. But that is rather a medicine to procure generation, than the cure of witch-craft, though it serve both turnes.

S. Thomas Moores, medicinal receipt &c.

*Aliter.*

Item, when ones instrument of venery is bewitched, certain character must be written in virgin-parchment, celebrated and hollyed by a popish priest; and thereon also must the 141. Psalm be written; and bound *ad viri fascinati coxam.*

*Aliter.*

Item, one *Katharine Loe* (having a husband not so readily disposed that way as she wished him to be) made a waxen image of the likenesse of her husbands bewitched member, and offered it up at S. *Antonies* altar; so as, through the holiness of the masse it might be sanctified, to be more courageous; and of better disposition and abilitie, &c.

#### CHAP. IX.

##### *A strange cure done to one that was molested with Incubus.*

Now being wearied with the rehearsal of so many lecheries most horrible, and very filthy and fabulous actions and passions to witches together with the spirit *Incubus*, I will end with a true story taken out of *Iason Pratenfis*, which though it be rude, yet it is not altogether so unclean as the rest.

*Iaso Pratenfis de cerebrimorbo, ca. 16.*

There came (saith he) of late a masse-priest unto me, making pitious moan, and saying, that if I holpe him not, he should be undone, and utterly over-thrown; so great was his infirmity: for (saith he) I was wont to be fair and fat, and of an excellent complexion; and so how I look, being now a very ghost consisting of skinn and bone, &c. What is the matter (quoth *Iason*?) I will shew you sir, said the priest. There cometh unto me, almost every night, a certain woman, unknowne unto me, and

lieth so heavy upon my breast, that I cannot fetch my breath, neither have any power to cry, neither do my hands serve me to shove her away, nor my feet to go from her. I mild (quoth *Iason*) and told him that he was vexed with a disease called *Incubus*, or the mare; and the residue was phantasie and vaine imagination. Nay (said the priest) it cannot be so: The priest is for by our blessed lady, I tell you nothing but that which waking I saw with opinionative mine eyes, and felt with mine hands. I see her when she commeth upon in the error of me, and strive to repell her; but I am so infecbled that I cannot; and for his fantasie remedy I have runne about from place to place, but no helpe that I could get. At length I went to an old frier that was counted an odd fellow; and thought that for remedy he willed me to pray to God; whom I am sure I wearied with my tedious prayers long before. Then went I unto an old woman, quoth the priest, who was said to be a cunning witch; and she willed me, that the next morning, about the dawning of the day, I should pisse, and immediately should cover the pis-pot; or stop it with my right nether-tock; and before night the witch should come to visit me. And although, quoth he, the respect of mine orders somewhat terrified me from the execution of her advise; yet my necessities diverse waies, and specially my paines moved me to make triall of her words. And by the masse, quoth the priest, her prophesie fell out as sure as a club. For a witch came to my house, and complained, of a grief in her bladder, and that she could not pisse. But I could neither by fair nor fowle means obtain at her hands, that she would leave molesting me by night; but she keepeth her old custome, determining by these filthy means to dispatch me: I could hardly, said *Iason*, reclaime him from this mad humor; but by that time he had been with me three or four times, he began to comfort himselfe, and at last perceiving it, he acknowledged his disease; and recovered the same.

The priest recovered.

#### CHAP. X.

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

Thus are lecheries covered with the cloke of *Incubus* and witch-craft, contrary to nature and verity: and with these fables is maintained an opinion, that men have been begotten without carnall copulation, as *Hypereus* and others write that *Merlin* was, An-440; specially to excuse *Merlin*, begot and maintain the knaveries and lecheries of idle priests & bawdy monkes, ten of *Incubus*, and to cover the shame of their lovers and concubines.

And alas, when great learned men have been so abused, with the imagination of *Incubus* his carnall society with women, misconstruing the Scriptures, to wit, the place in *Genesis* 6. to the seducing of many others; it is the lesse wonder, that this error hath passed so generally among the common people.

K

But



4. Book. The discovery *B. Incubus* discovered.

Blissing halles, kitchens, chambers and bowers,  
 Cities, borroughes, castles and high towers,  
 Thropes, barnes, sheep-pens, and dairies,  
 This maketh that there been now no fairies;  
 For there as wont to walken was an elfe,  
 There walketh now the limitor himselte,  
 In under meales, and in mornings,  
 And saith his mattens and his holy things  
 As he goeth in his limitation,  
 Women may go safely up and down,  
 In every bush, and under every tree,  
 There is none other Incubus but he, &c.

## W. transubstantiations. of Witchcraft. Chap. I. 69

## The First Book.

## CHAP. I.

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



Now that I may with the very absurdities, contained in  
 their own authors, and even in their principall doctors  
 and last writers, confound them that maintaine the  
 transubstantiations of witches; I will shew you certain  
 proper stuffe, which *Bodin* (their chief champion of  
 this age) hath gathered out of *M. Mal.* and others,  
 whereby he labourerth to establish this impossible,  
 incredible, and supernaturall, or rather unnaturall doctrine of tranlub-  
 stantiation.

*I. Bod. lib. 2.  
 de demon.  
 cap. 5.*

First, as touching the devill (*Bodin* saith) that he doth most properly  
 and commonly transforme himselte into a goat, confirming that opinion  
 by the 33. and 34. of *Esay*: where there is no one tittle founding to any  
 such purpose. Howbeit, he sometimes alloweth the devill the shape of a  
 blackmoore, and as he saith he used to appear to *Mawd Cruse*, *Kate Da-*  
*rey*, and *Ione Harviller*. But I marvel, whether the devill createth himselte,  
 when he appeareth in the likenes of a mansor whether God createth him,  
 when the devill wisheth it. As for witches, he saith they specially trans-  
 substantiate themselves into wolves, and them whom they bewitch into  
 asses: though else where he differ somewhat herein from himselte. But  
 though he affirme, that it may be naturally brought to passe, that a gile  
 shall become a boy; and that any femall may be turned into the male:  
 yet he saith the same hath no affinity with *Lycanthropia*; wherein he saith  
 also, that men are wholly transformed, and citeth infinite examples hereof.  
 First, that one *Garner* in the shape of a wolfe killed a girle of the age of  
 twelve yeares, and did eat up her armes and legges, and carried the rest  
 home to his wife. Item, that *Peter Burget*, and *Michael Werdon*, having  
 turned themselves with anointment into wolves, killed, & finally did eat up  
 an infinite number of people. Which by *Wierus* doth sufficiently conture.  
 But unill you see & read that, consider whether *Peter* could eat raw flesh  
 without sursetting, specially flesh of his own kinde. Item, that there was  
 an arrow shot into a wolves thigh, who afterwards being turned into his  
 former shape of a man, was found in his bed, with the arrow in his thigh,  
 which the archer that shot it knew very well. Item, that another being  
*Lycanthropus* in the forme of a wolfe, had his wolves feet cut off, and in  
 a moment he became a man without hands or feet.

*I. Bodin abuf-  
 eth scripture  
 to prove a ly-  
 Pudendis  
 tunc primum  
 erumpentibus.*

*Io Wier. lib. 6.  
 de mag. ca. 12.*

He accuseth also one of the mightiest prince in christendome, even of  
 late daies, to be one of those kind of witches, so as he could, when he  
 list, turne himselte to a wolfe, affirming that he was espied & oftentimes  
 seen to performe that villany; because he would be counted the king of all  
 witches. He saith that this transubstantiation is most common in *Greece*,  
 and

*I. Bodinus,  
 manducisrum  
 heluo.*

and through out all Asia, as marchant strangers have reported to him. For Anno Domini. 1542, when Sultan Soliman reigned, there was such force and multitude of these kind of wolves in Constantinople, that the Emperour drave together in one flock 150. of them, which departed out of the city in the presence of all the people.

A warme fear-  
son to swim in  
I marvel that  
they forsake  
not the devil,  
who punish-  
eth them so  
fore; wits they  
get not so  
much at his  
handi.

To perswade us the more throughly herein, he saith, that in Livonia yearly (about the end of December) a certaine knave or devill warneth all the witches in the countrey to come to a certain place: if they faile, the devill commeth and whippeth them with an iron rod; so as the print of his lashes remains upon their bodies for ever. The captain witch leadeth the way through a great poole of water; many millions of witches swim after. They are no sooner passed through that water, but they are all transformed into wolves, and fly upon and devoure both men, women, cattell, &c. After twelve daies they returne through the same water, and so receive humane shape again.

Item, that there was one *Bajanur* a Jew, being the sonne of *Simen*, which could, when he list, turne himselfe into a wolfe; and by that meane could escape the force and danger of a whole army of men. Which thing (saith *Bodin*) is wonderfull; but yet (saith he) it is much more marvelous, that men will not beleve it. For many Poets affirme it; yea, and if you look well into the matter (saith he) you shall find it easie to do. Item, he saith, that as naturall wolves persecute beasts; so do these magickall wolves devoure men, women and children. And yet God saith to the people, I throwe, and not to the cattel of Israel; if you observe not my commandments, I will send among you the beasts of the field, which shall devoure both you and your cattel. Item, I will send the reeche beasts upon you. Where is *Bodins* distinction now become? He replyeth, I will send witches in the likenesse of wolves, &c. to devoure you or your cattel. Nevertheless, *Bodin* saith it is a clear case; for the matter was disputed upon before Pope *Leo* the seventh, and by him all the matters were judged possible; and at that time saith he, were the transformations of *Lucretian* and *Apuleius* made canonicall.

Levit. 8.

Deut. 32.

Furthermore he saith, that through this art they are so cunning that no Scas a witch man can apprehend them, but when they are a sleep. Item, he names another witch, that, as *M. Mal.* saith, could not be caught, because he would transforme himselfe into a mouse, and runne into every little hole till at length he was killed coming out of the hole of a jamme in a window, which indeed is as possible, as a camell to go through a needles eye. Item, he saith, that divers witches at *Vernon*, turned themselves into cats, and both committed and received much hurt. But at *Argentine* there was a wonderfull matter done, by three witches of great wealth, who transforming themselves into three cats, assaulted a saggot-maker, who having hurt them all with a saggot-sticke, was like to have bin put to death. But they were miraculously delivered, and they worthily punished; as the story saith, from whence *Bodin* had it.

Scas a witch  
could not be  
apprehended,  
and why?  
I. *Bodin*.  
*Mal. males.*  
*John. Bodin.*  
*Mal. Males.*  
*Barth. Spin.*  
*Ecce.*  
*Mal. males.*  
part. 3.  
An error a-  
bout Lycan-  
thropia.

After a great many other such beastly fables, he layeth against the Physicians, as say that *Lycanthropia* is a disease, and not a transformation. Item, he maintaineth, as sacred and true, all *Homers* fables of *Circes* and

*Ulysses* his companions: inveying against *Chrysolome*, who rightly interpreteth *Homers* meaning to be, that *Ulysses* his people were by the harlot *Circes* made in their brutish manners to resemble swine.

But least some Poets fables might be thought lies (whereby the witch-mongers arguments should quail) he maintaineth for true the most part of *Ovids* *Metamorphosis*, and the greatest absurdities and impossibilities in all that book: marry he thinketh some one tale therein may be fained. Finally, he confirmeth all these toies by the story of *Nabuchadnezzar*. And because (saith he) *Nabuchadnezzar* continued seven years in the shape of a beast; therefore may witches remain so long in the forme of a beast; having in all the mean time, the shape, haire, voice, strength, agility, swiftnesse, food and excrements of beasts, and yet reserve the minds and soules of women or men. Howbeit, *S. Augustine* (whether to confute or confirme that opinion judge you) saith; *Non est credendum, humanum corpus demonum arte vel potestate in bestialia lineamenta converti posse*: We may not beleve that a mans body may be altered into the lineaments of a beast by the devils art or power. Item, *Bodin* saith, that the reason why witches are most commonly turned into wolves, is; because they usually eate children, as wolves eate cattel. Item, that the cause why other are truly turned into asses, is; for that such have been desirous to understand the secrets of witches. Why witches are turned into cats, he alledgeth no reason, and therefore (to help him forth with *Ironia*, that paraphrase) I say, that witches are curst queanes, and many times scratch one another, or their neighbours by the faces, and therefore perchance are turned into cats. But I have put twenty of these witch-mongers to silence with this one question; to wit, Whether a witch can turn a woman into a cat, &c. can also turn a cat into a woman?

August. lib. 8.  
de civit. Dei.  
cap. 18.  
Idem, lib. de  
spiritu & ani-  
ma, cap. 26.

CHAP. II.

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

These Examples and reasons might put us in doubt, that every Ass, wolfe, or cat that we see, were a man, a woman, or a child. I marvel that no man useth this distinction in the definition of a man. But to what end should one dispute against these creations and recreations; when *Bodin* washeth away all our arguments with one word, confessing that none can create any thing but God; acknowledging also the force of the canons, and embracing the opinions of such Divines, as write against him in this behalfe? Yea he doth now (contrary to himself elsewhere) affirme, that the devil cannot alter his form. And lo, this is his distinction, *Non essentialis forma (id est ratio) sed figura solum permutatur*: The essentiall form (to wit, reason) is not changed, but the shape or figure. And thereby he proveth it easie enough to create men or beasts with life, so as they remain without reason. Howbeit, I think it is an easier matter, to turn *Bodins* reason into the reason of an asse, then his body into the shape of a sheep: which he saith is an easie matter; because *Lots* wife

I. *Bod. lib. 2.*  
*de mag. dæ-*  
*mon. cap. 6.*

Gen. 19. 24. wife was turned into a stone by the Devil. Whereby he sheweth his grosse ignorance. As though God that commanded Lot upon pain of death not to look back, who also destroyed the city of *Sodome* at that instant, had not also turned her into a salt stone. And as though all this while God had been the devils drudge, to go about this bulineffe all the night before, and when a miracle should be wrought, the devil must be faine to do it himself.

Item, he affirmeth, that these kind of transfigurations are more common with them in the west parts of the world, then with us here in the east. Howbeit, this note is given withall; that that is meant of the second persons, and not of the first: to wit, of the bewitched, and not of the witches. For they can transforme themselves in every part of the world, whether it be east, west, north or south. Marry he saith, that spirits and devils vex men most in the north-countries, as *Norway, Finland, &c.* and in the westerne islands, as in the west *India*: but among the heathen specially, and wheresoever Christ is not preached. And that is true, though not in so foolish, grosse, and corporall a sense as *Bodin* uttereth it. One notable instance of a witches cunning in this behalfe touched by *Bodin* in the chapter aforesaid, I thought good in this place to repeat: he taketh it out of *M. Mal.* which tale was delivered to *Sprenger* by a knight of the *Rhodes*, being of the order of *S. Jones* at *Jerusalem* and it followeth thus.

*M. Mal. part. 2. cap. 4.*

CHAP. III.

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

IT happened in the City of *Salamin*, in the kingdome of *Cyprus* (where in is a good haven) that a ship loaden with merchandize stayed there for a short space. In the meane time many of the Souldiers and Mariners went to shoar, to provide fresh victuals. Among which number a certain English man, being a sturdy young fellow, went to a woman house, a little way out of the city, and not farre from the sea side, to see whether she had any eggs to sell. Who perceiving him to be a lustie young fellow, a stranger, and far from his countrey (so as upon the loss of him there would be the lesse misse or inquiry) she considered with her self how to destroy him; and willed him to stay there a while, while she went to fetch a few eggs for him. But she tarried long, so as the young man called unto her, desiring her to make haste: for he told her that the tide would be spent, and by that meanes his ship would be gone, and leave him behind. Howbeit after some detracting of time, she brought him a few eggs, willing him to return to her, if his ship were gone when he came. The young fellow returned towards his ship: but before he went abroad, he would needs eat an egge or twain to satisfie his hunger, and within short space he became dumb, and out of his wits, as he afterwards said. When he would have entered into the ship, the mariners brought him back with a cudgell, (saying) What a murren lacks the asse? What

What the devil should the witch mean to make choise of the English man?

ther the devill will this asse? The asse or young man, I cannot tell by which name I should tearm him, being many times repelled, and understanding their words that called him asse, considering that he could speak never a word, and yet could understand every body; he thought that he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore when by no meanes he could get into the boate, but was driven to tarry and see her departure; being also beaten from place to place, as an asse: he remembered the witches words, and the words of his own fellows that called him asse, and returned to the witches house, in whose service he remained by the space of three yeares, doing nothing with his hands all that while, but carried such burthens as she layed on his back; having onely this comfort, that although he were reputed an asse among strangers and beasts, yet that both this witch, and all other witches knew him to be a man.

After three yeares were passed over, in a morning betimes he went to tovne before his dame; who upon some occasion, of like to make water, stayed a little behind. In the meane time being neer to a church; he heard a little faccaring bellring to the elevation of a morrow masse, and not daring to go into the church, lest he should have been beaten and driven out with cudgels, in great devotion he fell down in the church-yard, upon the knees of his hinder-legs, and did lift his forefeet over his head, as the

Note the devotion of the asse.

priest doth hold the sacrament at the elevation. Which prodigious sight when certaine merchants of *Genoa* espyed, and with wonder beheld; anon commeth the witch with a cudgell in her hand, bearing forth the asse. And because, as it hath been said, such kinds of witchcrafts are very usuall in those parts, the merchants aforesaid made such means as both the asse and the witch were attached by the judge. And she being examined and set upon the rack, confessed the vvhole matter, and promised that if she might have liberty to go home, she would restore him to his old shape: and being dismissed, she did accordingly. So as notwithstanding they apprehended her againe, and burned her; and the young man returned into his countrey with a joyfull and merry heart. Upon the advantage of this story *M. Mal. Bodin*, and the residue of the witchmongers triumph; and specially because *S. Augustine* subscribeth therenunto; or at the least to the very like. Which I must confesse I find too common in his books, inso much as I judge them rather to be foisted is by some fond papist or witchmonger, than so learned a mans doings. The best is, that he himselfe is no eye-witnesse to any of those his tales; but speaketh onely by report; wherein he uttereth these words, to wit, that it were a point of great incivility, &c. to discredit. (so many are the alps in and so certaine reports. And in that respect he justifieth the cor- Arcadia. yorall transfigurations of *Ulysses* his mates, through the witch-craft of *Circes*: and that foolish fable of *Prastanius* his father, who, he saith, did eat provender and hay among other horses, being himselfe turned into an horse. Yea he veryeth the starkest ly that ever was invented, of the two alewives that used to transforme all their guests into horses, and to sell them away at markets and saires. And therefore I say with *Cardanus* that how much *Augustine* saith he hath seen with his eyes, so much I am

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*fit esse in corpus anima ratione carens animam rationalem corrumpere;* that is, An humane soule cannot receive any other than an humane body, nor yet can light into a body that wanteth reason of mind. But S. James saith: The body without the spirit is dead. And surely, when the soul is departed from the body, the life of man is dissolved: and therefore Paul wished to be dissolved, when he would have been with Christ. The body of man is subject to divers kinds of agues, sicknesses, and infirmities, whereunto an asses body is not inclined: and mans body must be fed with bread, &c. and not with hay. Bodins asse-headed man must either eat hay or nothing: as appeareth in the story. Mans body also is subject unto death, and hath his daies numbred. If this fellow had died in the mean time, as his hour might have been come, for any thing the devils, witch, or Bodin knew; I marvell then what would have become of the asse, or how the witch could have restored in an asses body and shape. Paul should have risen at the day of judgement in an asses body and shape. Paul saith, that that very body which is sowne and buried a natural body is raised a spirituall body. The life of Jesus is made manifest in our mortal flesh, and not in the flesh of an asse.

God hath endued every man and every thing with his proper nature, substance, formes, qualities, and gifts, and directeth their wayes. For the waies of an asse, he taketh no such care: howbeit, they have their properties and substance severall to themselves. For there is a flesh (saith Paul) of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and other of birds. And therefore it is absolutely against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should fly like a bird, or creep like a fish, or creep like a worme, or become an asse in shape: much as if God would give me leave, I cannot do it; for it were contrary to his own order and decree, and to the constitution of any body which he hath made. Yea the spirits themselves have their lawes and limits prescribed, beyond the which they cannot passe one haire breadth; otherwise Gods omnipotency hereby qualified, but the devils impotency manifested, who hath none other power, but that which God from the beginning hath appointed unto him, consonant to his nature and substance. He may well be restrained from his power and will, but beyond the which he cannot passe, as being Gods minister, no further but in that which hath from the beginning enabled him to do: which is, that he be subject to Gods will, and ordinance viciate and corrupt the will of man; wherein he is very diligent.

What a beastly assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his own similitude and likeness, should be by a witch turned into a beast? What an impiety is it to affirme, that an asses body is the temple of the Holy Ghost? Or an asse to be the child of God, and to be his father, as it is said of man? which Paul to the *Corinthians* divinely confuteth, who saith, that our bodies are the members of Christ. In the which we are to glorifie God, for the body is for the Lord. The Lord is for the body. Surely he meaneth not for an asses body, by this time I hope appeareth: in such wise as Bodin may go hide him

Jam. 2. 26.  
Phil. 1. 23.

1. Cor. 15. 44.

1. Cor. 15. 39.

Psal. 119.

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

name; especially when he shall understand, that even into these our bodies, which God hath framed after his own likeness, he hath also breathed that spirit, which Bodin saith is now remaining within an asses body, which God hath so subjected in such servility under the foot of man; of whom God is so mindfull, that he hath made him little lower than angels, yea than himselfe, and crowned him with glory and worship, and made him to have dominion over the works of his hands, as having put all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen, yea wolves, asses, and all other beasts of the field, the fowles of the air, the fishes of the sea, &c. Bodins Poet, Ovid, whose *Metamorphosis* makes so much for him, saith to the overthrow of this phantasticall imagination:

*Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque videre  
Jussit, & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

*The effect of which verses in this;*

The Lord did set mans face so hie,  
That he the heavens might behold,  
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**M** *Alleus Maleficarum*, Bodin, and many other of them that maintain witchcraft, triumph upon the story of Nabuchadnezzar as though Circes had transformed him with her forceries into an ox, as she did others into swine, &c. I answer, that he was neither in body nor shape transformed at all, according to their grosse imagination; as appeareth both by the plaine words of the text, and also by the opinions of the best interpreters thereof: but that he was, for his beastly government and conditions, throwne out of his kingdome and banished for a time, and driven to hide himselfe in the wilderness, therein exile to lead his life in a beastly sort, among beasts of the field, and fowles of the air (for by the way I tell you it appeareth by the text, that he was rather turned into the shape of a fowle than of a beast) until he rejecting his beastly conditions, was upon his repentance and amendment called home, and restored unto his kingdome. Howbeit, this (by their confession) was neither devils nor witches doing; but a miracle wrought by God, whom alone I acknowledge to be able to bring to passe such workes at his pleasure. Wherein I would know what our witch-mongers have gained.

Their ground-work is as sure as to hold a quicke cele by the tale-Dan. 4.

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Dan. 4.



*Cor. Agrip. de vanit scient. cap. 44.* I am not ignorant that some write, that after the death of Nabuchadnezzar, his son Evilmorodath gave his body to the ravens to be devoured, least afterwards his father should arise from death, who of a beast became a man againe. But this tale is meete to have place in the Cabalistical art, to wit, among unwritten verities than here. To conclude, I say that the transformations, which these witchmongers do so rave and rage upon, is (as all the learned sort of Physicians affirme) a disease proceeding partly from melancholy, whereby many suppose themselves to be wolves, or such ravening beasts. For Lycanthropia is of the ancient Physicians called *Lupina melancholia*, or *Lupina infania*. I. Wierus declareth very learnedly, the cause, the circumstance, and the cure of this disease. I have written the more herein; because hereby great princes and potentates, as well as poor women and innocents, have been defamed and accounted among the number of witches.

*Paul. Aeginet. lib. 3. c. 16. Actius. lib. 6. cap. 11. I. Wier. de praest. dem. lib. 4. cap. 23.*

CHAP. VII.

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

*Math. 4. 8. Luk. 3. 9.*

Answered to the former objection.

*Mat. 26. 53.*

*Job. 1. 11. Job. 2. 5.*

For the maintenance of witches transportations, they object the words of the Gospell, where the devill is said to take up Christ, and to set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and on a mountain, &c. Which if he had done in manner and forme as they suppose, it followeth not therefore that witches could do the like; nor yet that the devill would do it for them at their pleasure; for they know not their thoughts, neither can otherwise communicate with them. But I answer, that if it were so grossely to be understood, as they imagine it, yet should it make nothing to their purpose. For I hope they will not say, that Christ had made any ointments or entred into any league with the devill, & by vertue thereof was transported from out of the wilderness, unto the top of the temple of Jerusalem; or that the devill could have masteries over his body, whose soul he could never lay hold upon; especially when he might (with a beck of his finger) have called unto him, and have had the assistance of many legions of angels. Neither (as I thinke) will they presume to make Christ partaker of the devils purpose and sinne in that behalfe. If they say, This was an action wrought by the speciall providence of God, and by his appointment, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, then what gain our witchmongers by this place; First, for that they may not produce a particular example to prove so general an argument. And againe, if it were by Gods speciall providence and appointment; then why should it not be done by the hand of God, as it was in the story of Job? Or if it were Gods speciall purpose and pleasure, that there should be so extraordinary a matter brought to passe by the hand of the devill; could not God have given to the wicked angell extraordinary power, and clothed him with extraordinary shape; whereby he might be made an instrument able to accomplish that matter, as he did to his angell that carried Abacuck to Daniell, and to them that he sent to destroy Sodome? But you shall understand, that

this was done in a vision, and not in verity of action. So as they have a very cold pull of this place, which is the speciall peece of Scripture alledged of them for their transportations.

Hearc therefore that *Calvine* saith in his commentary upon that place, in these words; The question is, whether Christ were carried aloft indeed, or whether it were but in a vision? Many affirme very obstinately, that his body was truly and really as they say taken up: because they think it too great an indignity for Christ to be made subject to Satans illusions. But this objection is easily washed away. For it is no absurdity to grant all this to be wrought through Gods permission, or Christs voluntary subjection: so long as we yeeld not to think that he suffered these temptations inwardly, that is to say, in mind or soul. And that which is afterwards set down by the Evangelist, where the devill shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of the same, and that to be done (as it is said in *Luke*) in the twinkling of an eye, doth more agree with a vision than with a real action. So farre are the very words of *Calvin*. Which differ not one syllable nor five words from that which I had written herein, before I looked for his opinion in the matter. And this I hope will be sufficient to overthrow the assertions of them that lay the ground of their transportations and flying in the air hereupon.

He that will say, that these words; to wit, that Christ was taken up, &c. can hardly be applied to a vision, let him turne to the prophesie of *Ezechiel* and see the selfe same words used in a vision: saving that where Christ is said to be taken up by the devill, *Ezechiel* is taken up, and lifted up, and carried by the spirit of God, and yet in a vision. But they have lesse reason that build upon this sandy rock, the supernaturall frame of transubstantiation; as almost all our witching writers do. For *Sprenger* and *Inffitor* say, that the devill in the liknesse of a falcon caught him up; *Daneus* saith, it was in the similitude of a man; others say, of an angell painted with wings; others, invisible: Ergo the devill can take (say they) what shape he list. But though some may cavil upon the devills transforming of himselfe; yet, that either devill or witch can transforme or transubstantiate others, there is no tittle nor colour in the Scriptures to helpe them. If there were authority for it, and that it were past all peradventure, lo, what an easie matter it is to resubstantiate an asse into a man. For *Bodin* saith upon the word of *Apuleius*, that if the asse eat new roses, anise, or bay-leaves out of spring-water, it will presently re- turne him into a man. Which thing *Sprenger* saith may be done, by washing the asse in fair water: yea he sheweth an instance, where, by drinking of water an asse was turned into a man.

*Ezec. 3. 12. and 14.*

*Mal. malef.*

*I. Bod. lib. de dem. 3. cap. 5. In Mal. mal.*

CHAP. VIII.

The witch-mongers objection concerning the history of Job answered.

These witch-mongers, for lack of better arguments, do many times object *Job* against me; although there be never a word in that story which either maketh for them, or against me: inso much as there is not

the



In Legend aurea.

Jews, nor segregated from other nations. Howbeit, I for my part deny not the verity of the story; though indeed I must confesse, that I think there was no such corporall interlude between God, the devill, and Job, as they imagine: neither any such all presence and communication as the witch-mongers conceive, and maintaine; who are to proesse herein, that they do not onely beleve, but publish to palpable absurdities concerning such reall actions becoming the devill and man, as a wife man would be ashamed to read, but more to credit: as that S. Dunstan lead the devill about the houle by the nose with a pair of pinors or tongs, and made him sore to lowd, the place rung thereof, &c. with a thousand the like fables, without which neither the art of popery, nor of witchcraft could stand. But you may see more of this matter elsewhere; where in few words (which I thought good here to omit, least I should seem to use too many repetitions) I answer effectually to their cavils about this place.

CHAP. IX.

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

- 1. Præfignatores Pharaonis.
- 2. Mecaſapha.
- 3. Kafan.
- Onen. Obildoni 4. Habar.

But what sorts of witches foever M. Mal. or Bodin say there are; I speake onely of four kinds of impious cofeners or witches (whereof witch-mongers old women which dance with the fairies, &c. are none). The first were Præfignatores Pharaonis, which (as all divines, both Jews and others conclude) were but cofeners and jugglers, deceiving the Kings eyes with Illusions and sleights, and making false things to appear as true: which nevertheless our witches cannot do. The second is Mecaſapha, which is she that destroyeth with poison. These are such as the sundry kinds of divinations, and hereunto pertaine the words, Kafan, Onen, Ob, Idoni. The fourth is Habar, to wit: when magicians, or rather such, as would be reputed cunning therein, use certain secret words, wherein is thought to be great efficacy.

These are all cofeners and abusers of the people in their severall kindes. But because they are all termed of our translators by the name of witch in the Bible: therefore the Iles of M. Mal. and Bodin, and all our old tales are applied unto these names, and easily beleaved of the common people, who have never hitherto been instructed in the understanding of these words. In which respect, I will (by Gods grace) shew you concerning the signification of them, the opinion of the most learned in the age; specially of Iohannes Wierus; who though he himselfe were singularly learned in the tongues, yet for his satisfaction and full resolution in the same, he sent for the judgement of Andreas Massius, the most famous Hebrician in the world, and had it in such sorte and order, as if he would set down unto you. And yet I give you this note by the way, that witch-craft or enchantment is diversly taken in the scriptures; sometimes nothing tending to such end as it is commonly thought to do. For example, 1. Sa. 15. 23. it is all one with rebellion. Jeſabel for her idolatrous

Note. 1. Sa. 15. 23.

is called a witch. Also in the new testament, even S. Paul saith the Galatians are bewitched, because they were seduced and lead from the true understanding of the Scriptures.

Item sometimes it is taken in good part; as the magicians that came to worship and offer to Christ; and also, where Daniel is said to be an inchanter; yea a principall inchanter; which title being given him in diverse places of that story; he never seemeth to refuse or dislike; but rather intreateth for the pardon and qualification of the rigor towards other inchanters, which were meet cofeners indeed; as appeareth in the second chapter of Daniels, where you may see that the king espied their fetches.

Sometimes such are called conjurers, as being but rogues, and lewd people; would use the name of Jesus to worke miracles, whereby, though they being idle could worke nothing; yet is their practise condemned by the name of conjuration. Sometimes jugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they are called forcerers, that impugn the gospel of Christ, and seduce others with violent persuasions. Sometimes a murderer with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by the very signification of their names; as EHMES, which signifieth a forcerer. Sometimes because they study curious and vaine arts. Sometimes it is taken for wounding or grieving of the heart. Yea the very word Magus, which is Latine for a magician; is translated a witch; and yet it was heretofore alwaies taken in the good part. And at this day it is indifferently so say in the English tongue; She is a witch. She is a wise woman.

Sometimes she is called a streamer, sometimes a tooth tayer, sometimes the obeyerers of the flying off owles, of the meeting of todes, the falling of salt, &c. are called witches. Sometimes he, or she is called a witch, that takes upon them either for game or glory, to do miracles; and yet can do nothing. Sometimes they are called witches in common speech that are old, lame, curst, or melancholike, as a nick-name. But for our old women, that are said to hoke children with their eyes, or lambs with their lookes, or that pull down the moon out of heaven, or make so foolish a bargain, or do such homage to the devill, you shall not read in the bible of any such witches, or of any such actions imputed to them.

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Gen. 4. 18. Exod. 7. 13. &c. Acts 13. Exod. 22. &c. Acts 13. Acts 19. Canticles of Solomon chap. 4. verſe 9. Deur. 18. 2. Ierem. 27. Acts 8.

The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

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



Chasaph, being an Hebrew word, is latined Veneficus and is in English, poisoning, or witch-craft; if you will so have it. The Hebrew sentence written in Exodus 22. is by the 70. interpreters translated thus in Greek παγαυασι εν ονισωαυα which in Latine is Veneficos (five) veneficos non retinebitis in vita, in English You shall not suffer any poisoners, or as it is translated witches to live.

Ioseph. in Indeptrum. 48. signitas.

The which sentence Iosephus an Hebrew borne, a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreteth in this wise Let none of the children of Israel have any poyson that is ready, or compared to any hurtfull use, if any be apprehended with such stuffe, let him be put to death, and suffer that which he meant to do to them, for which he prepared it. The Rabbins exposition agreeth herewithall. Lex Corne differeth not from this sense, to wit, that he must suffer death, which other maketh, selfe, or hath any poyson to the intent to kill any man. This word is found in these places following: Exodus 22. 18 Deut. 18. 2 Sam 9. 22 Dan. 2. 2. 3 Chr. 33. 6. Esay 47. 9. 12. Malach. 3. 5. Jerem. 27. Mich. 5. 2. Nah. 3. 4. Howbeit, in all our English translations, Chasaph translated, witch-craft.

Gal. 3. 1.

And because I will avoid prolixity and contention both at once, I will admit that Venefice were such witches, as with their poisons did hurt among the children of Israel; and I will not deny that there were such until this day, bewitching men, and making them beleve, by the use of words, and certaine ceremonies, they bring to passe such mischiefes, and intoxications, as they indeed accomplish by poisons. And this abuse in cofenage of people, together with the taking of Gods name in vaine; in many places of the scripture is reproved, especially by the name of witch-craft, even where no poysons are. According to the sense which S. Paul used to the Galathians in these words, where he sheweth plainly, that the true signification of witch-craft is cofenage; ye foolish Galathians (saith he) who hath bewitched you? to wit, cofened or abused you, making you beleve a thing which is neither so true, so. Whereby he meaneth not to ask of them, who hath with charms &c. or with poysons deprived them of their health, life, cattle, or children, &c. but who hath abused or cofened them, to make them beleve lies. This phrase is also used by Job. 15. But that we may be thoroughly resolved of the true meaning of this phrase used by Paul, Gal. 3. let us examine the description of a notable witch called Simon Magus, made by S. Luke. There was (saith he) in the city of Samaria, a certain man called Simon

Job. 15. 12. Acts 8. 9.

which used witch-craft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, saying that he himselfe was some great man. I demand, in what other thing here do we see any witch-craft, than that he abused the people, making them beleve he could worke miracles, whereas in truth he could do no such thing; as manifestly may appear in the 13. and 19. verses of the same chapter: where he wondered at the miracles wrought by the apostles, and would have purchased with money the power of the Holy Ghost to work wonders. It will be said, the people had reason to beleve him, because it is written, that he of long time had bewitched them with forceries. But let the bewitched Galathians be a warning both to the bewitched Samaritans, and to all other that are cofened or bewitched through false doctrine, or legierdemaine; least while they attend to such fables and lies, they be brought into ignorance, and so in time be led with them away from God. And finally, let us all abandon such witches and cofeners, as with Simon Magus set themselves in the place of God, boasting that they can do miracles, expound dreames, foretell things to come, raise the dead, &c. which are the workes of the Holy Ghost, who onely searcheth the heart and reines, and onely worketh great wonders, which are now stayed and accomplished in Christ, in whom who so steadfastly beleeveth shall not need to be by such meanes relolved or confirmed in his doctrine and gospell. And as for the unfaithfull, they shall have none other miracle shewed unto them, but the signe of Ionas the prophet. And therefore I say, whatsoever they be that with Simon Magus take upon them to work such wonders, by sooth-saying, forcery, or witch-craft, are but liers, deceivers, and cofeners, according to Syrachs saying; Sorcerie, witch-craft, sooth-saying, and dreames, are but vanity, and the law shall be fulfilled without such lies. God commanded the people, that they should not regard them that wrought with spirits, nor sooth-sayers: for the estimation that was attributed unto them, offended God.

CHAP. II.

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

Deut. 18. 11. 10.

The greatest & most common objection is, that if there were not some, which could worke such miraculous or supernaturall feats, by themselves, or by their devils, it should not have been said; Let none be found among you, that maketh his sonne or his daughter to go through the fire, or that useth witch-craft, or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the flying of fowles, or a forcerer, or a charmer, or that counselleth with spirits, or a sooth-sayer, or that asketh counsell of the dead, or (as some translate it) that raiseth the dead. But as there is no one place in the scripture that saith they can worke miracles, so it shall be easie to prove, that these were all cofeners, every one abusing the people in his severall

Acts 8. 11.

1 Reg. 8. 39.

Math. 9. 4.

Acts 1. 24.

& 15. 8.

Rom. 8. 27.

Mark. 2.

Luk. 6. 17. &

11. & 9.

Joh. 1. & 2.

& 6. & 13.

Apoc. 2. & 3.

Luk. 11. 29.

Eccl. 34. 5.

Eccl. 34. 8.

Levi. 19. 31.

Ely, 42. 8. Pl: 24. 8. 10.

severall kind; and are accused of God. Not that they can do all such things indeed, as there is expressed; but for that they take upon them to be the mighty power of God, and to do that which is the onely work of him, seducing the people, and blaspheming the name of God, who will not give his glory to any creature, being himselfe the king of glory and omnipotency.

First I aske, what miracle was wrought by their passing through the fire? Truly it cannot be proved that any effect followed; but that the people were bewitched, to suppose their finnes to be purged thereby; as the Spaniards think of scourging and whipping themselves. So as Gods power was imputed to that action, and so forbidden as an idolatrous sorcery. What wonders worketh the regard of times? What other deed dealeth he withall, than with the spirit of superstition? Doth he not deceive himselfe and others, and therefore is worthily condemned for witch? What spirit useth he, which marketh the flying of fowles? Whereverthelesse, he is here condemned as a practiser of witch-craft; because he cofeneth the people, and taketh upon him to be a prophet; implicitly referring Gods certaine ordinances to the uttering fethers and untain wayes of a bird? The like effects produceth foreery, charming, consultation with spirites, sooth-saying, and consulting with the dead; every of the which Gods power is obscured, h's glory defaced, and his commandment infringed.

Deut. 18. 14. Sap. 3. 1. Luk. 16. 23. Joh 14. 12. Psml. 88. 10. Deut. 18. 11. Luke. 16. 29. 31. Luke 16. 22. John 5. 21. Ofc. 6. Act. 17. 25. 28. 1 Tim. 6. 13.

And to prove that these sooth-sayers and witches are but lying and cofeners; note these words pronounced by God himselfe, even in the selfe same place to the children of Israel. Although the Gentiles offered themselves to be abused, so as they give eare to these sorcerers, he would not suffer them so, but would raise them a prophet, who should speak the truth. As if he should say; The other are but lying and cofening mates, deceitfull and undermining merchants, whose abuses I will make known to my people. And that every one may be resolved hereof, let the last sentence of this precept be well weighed; to wit, Let not be found among you, that asketh counsell of, or raiseth the dead.

First you know the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God; resting with Lazarus in Abraham's bosome, do sleepe in Jesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raised, till the heavens be more: according to this of David; Wilt thou shew wonders among the dead? Nay, the Lord saith, the living shall not be taught by the dead, but by the living. As for the unrighteous, they are in hell, where is no redemption; neither is there any passage from heaven to earth, by God and his angels. As touching the resurrection and restauration of the body, read John 5. and you shall manifestly see, that it is the onely worke of the father, who hath given the power thereof to the sonne, and to none other, &c. Dominus percussit, et ipse medetur: Ego accidam, et ego vivefaciam. And in many other places it is written, that God giveth life and being to all. Although Plato, with his master Socrates, in chief pillars of these vanities, say, that one Pamphilus was called up out of hell, who when he came among the people, told many incredible tales concerning infernall actions. But herein I take up the proverb

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed major amica veritas.

So as this last precept, or last part thereof, extending to that which neither can be done by witch nor devill, may well expound the other parts and points thereof. For it is not meant hereby, that they can do such things indeed; but that they make men believe they do them, and thereby cofen the people, and take upon them the office of God, and therewithall also blaspheme his holy name, and take it in vain; as by the words of charmes and conjurations doth appear, which you shall see, if you look into these words Habar and Idoni.

In like manner I say you may see, that by the prohibition of divination by augurie, and of sooth-sayings, &c. who are witches, and can indeed do nothing but lye and cofen the people; the law of God condemneth them not, for that they can worke miracles, but because they say they can do that which pertaineth to God, and for cofenage, &c. Concerning other points of witch-craft contained therein, and because some cannot otherwise be satisfied, I will alledge under one sentence, he decretals, the mind of S. Augustine, the counsell Aurelian, and the determination of Paris, to wit: Who so observeth, or giveth heed unto sooth-sayings, divinations, witch-craft, &c. or doth give credit to any such he renounech christianity, and shall be counted a pagan, and an enemy to God; yea and he erreth both in faith and philosophy. And the reason is therewithall expressed in the canon, to wit; Because hereby is attributed to a creature, that which pertaineth to God onely and alone. So as, under this one sentence (Thou shalt not suffer a poisoner or a witch to live) is forbidden both murder and witch-craft; and the murder consisting in poison; the witch-craft in cofenage or blasphemny.

26 qua. 7. non obser. fall. 1398. ad. 17. August. de spir. rit. & anima. cap. 28.

CHAP. III.

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

AS women in all ages have been counted most apt to conceive witch-craft, and the devils speciall instruments therein, and the onely or chiefe practisers thereof: so also it appeareth, that they have been the first inventers, and the greatest practisers of poisoning, and more naturally addicted and given thereunto than men: according to the saying of Quintilian; Latrocinium facilius in vitro, veneficium in femina credam. From whom Plinie differeth nothing in opinion, when he saith, Scientiam seminarum in veneficiis prevalere. To be short, Augustine, Livie, Varro, Diodorus, and many other agree, that women were the first inventers and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the test of their cunning in what estimation it was had, may appear by these verses of Horace, where he doth not onely declare the vanity of witch-craft, but also expoundeth the other words, wherewithall we are now in hand.

Plin. lib. 25. cap. 2.

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, fagas, Nocturnos semores, portentaq; Thesalariides:

These

These dreames and terrors magicall,  
These miracles and witches,  
Night-walking sprites, or Theſſal bugs,  
Esteem them not two rushes.

Here *Horace* (you see) contemneth as ridiculous, all our witches counting: marry herein he comprehendeth not their poisoning art, which hereby he onely seemed to think hurtfull. *Pythagoras* and *Democritus* give us the names of a great many magicall herbes and stones, whereof now, both the vertue, and the things themselves also are unknown: *Marmaritis*, whereby spirits might be raised: *Archimedon*, which would make one bewray in his sleep, all the secrets in his heart. *Adincantilla*, *Calicia*, *Mevais*, *Chirocineta*, &c. which had all their severall vertues or rather poisons. But all these now are worne out of knowledge: many in their stead we have hogs-turd and chervil, as the onely thing which by our witches work miracles.

Truly this poisoning art called *Veneficium*, of all others is most abominable; as whereby murders may be committed, where no suspicion may be gathered, nor any resistance can be made; the strong cannot be preserved from the hands of the wicked; children may hereby kill their parents, the servant the master, the wife her husband, so privily and inevitably, and so incurably, that of all other it hath been thought the most odious kind of murder; according to the saying of *Ovid*.

*non hostes ab hospite tuus,  
Cuid metamo. Non nocet à genero, fratrum quoq; gratia rara est:  
lib. 1. 1. Imminet exitio vir co njugis, illa mariti,  
Lurida terribiles miscet acovita noverca,  
Filius ante diem patrios inquirat in annos.*

The travelling guest opprest  
Doth stand in danger of his host,  
The host eke of his guest:  
The father of his son-in-law,  
Yea rare is seen to rest  
Twixt brethren love and amity,  
And kindnesse void of strife;  
The husband seeks the goodwifes death,  
And his again the wife,  
Ungentle stepdames grizly poisoning temper and do give:  
The son too soon doth aske how long  
His father is to live.

The monk that poisoned king *John*, was a tight *Veneficus*; both a witch and a murderer: for he killed the king with poison,

perswade the people with lies, that he had done a good and a meritorious act; and doubtlesse, many were so bewitched, as they thought he did very well therein. *Antonius Sabellicus* writeth of a horrible poisoning murder, committed by women at *Rome*, where were executed (after due conjunction, 170. women at one time; besides 20. women of that comfort, who were poison with that poisoned which they had prepared for others.

*Æncid. 4. lib.*

CHAP. IIII.

Of divers poisoning practises, otherwise called *veneficia*, committed in Italy *Genua*, *Millen*, *Wittenberge*, also how they were discovered and executed.

Another practise, not unlike to that mentioned in the former chapter, was done in *Cassalia* at *Salassa* in *Italy*, Anno 1536: where

*Venefica* or witches being of one confederacy, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, bewitching with an ointment and a powder, the posts and doors of mens houses; so as thereby whole families were poisoned: and of that stuffe they had prepared above 401 crocks for that purpose. Herewithall they conveyed inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and onely sonne of one *Mecus* (as lightly none died in the house but the masters and their children) which was much noted; and therewithal that one *Androgina* haunted the houses, specially of them that died: and she being suspected, apprehended, and examined, confessed the fact, conspiracy, and circumstance, as hath been shewed. The like villany was afterwards practised at *Genua*, and execution was done upon the offenders. At *Millen* there was another like attempt that took none effect. This art consisteth as well in poisoning of cattell as men: and that which is done by poisons unto cattell, towards their destruction, is as commonly attributed to witches charmes as the other. And I doubt not, but some that would be thought cunning in incantations, and to do miracles, have experience in this behalfe. For it is written by divers authors, that if wolves dung be hidden in the managers racks, or else in the hedges about the pastures, where cattell go (through the antipathy of the nature of the wolfe and other cattell) all the beasts that favour the same, do not only forbear to eat, but run about as though they were mad, or (as they say) bewitched.

*Venefica Genua and Millen.*

But *Wierus* telleth a notable story of a *Veneficus*, or destroyer of cattell, which I thought meet here to repeat. There was (saith he) in the dukedome of *Wittenberge*, not farre from *Tubing*, a butcher, anno. 1564. Of a butcher that bargained with a towne for all their hides which were of sterven cattell, called in these parts *Morts*. He with poison privily killed in great numbers, their hullocks, sheep, swine, &c. and by his bargain of the hides and allow he grew infinitely rich. And at last being suspected, was examined, confessed the matter and manner thereof, and was put to death with hot tongs, wherewith his flesh was pulled from his bones. We for

N

our

our parts would have killed five poor women, before we would suspect a rich butcher.

CHAP. V.

A great objection answered concerning this kinde of witchcraft called Veneficium.

Levit. 19. 33.

IT is objected, that if Veneficium were comprehended under the title of man-slaughter, it had been a vain repetition, and a disordered course undertaken by Moses to set forth a law against Veneficium severally. But might suffice to answer any reasonable Christian, that such was the pleasure of the Holy Ghost, to institute a particular article hereof, as of a more odious, wicked and dangerous, then any other kinde of murder. But he that shall read the law of Moses, or the Testament of Christ himself, shall finde this kind of repetition and reiteration of the law most common. For as it is written, Exod. 22. 21. Thou shalt not grieve nor afflict a stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of Egypt: so are the words found repeated in Levit. 19. 33. polling and shaving of heads and beards is forbidden in Duet. 27. which was before prohibited in 22. is written in Exodus the 20. Thou shalt not steale and it is repeated in Leviticus 19. and in Duet. 5. Murder is generally forbidden in Exodus and likewise in 22. and repeated in Num. 35. But the apostle exempts that magick is forbidden in three severall places, to wit, once in Levit. 19. and twice in Levit. 20. For the which a man might as well cavill at the Holy Ghost as for the other.

CHAP. VI.

In what kind of confessions that witch-craft, which is called Veneficium, consisteth: of love-cups, and the same confuted by

As touching this kind of witch-craft, the principall part thereof consisteth in certain confessions prepared by lewd people to procure love: which indeed are meer poisons, bereaving some of the benefit of the braine, and so of the sense and understanding of the minde. And some it taketh away life, and that is more common then the other: and be called Philtra, or Pocula amatoria, or Veneriosa, pocula or Hippocratica, which bad and blinde Physicians rather practise, than witches or conjurers. &c. But of what value these bables are, towards the end why they are provided, may appear by the opinions of Poets themselves, from whence was derived the estimation of that stuffe. And first you shall heare Ovid saith, who wrote of the very art of love, and that so cunningly and feelingly, that he is reputed the speciall doctor in that science.

Ovid. lib. 2. de arte amandi.

Fallitur Amonias si quis decurrit ad artes, Dat quod a teneri fronte revellet epui. Non facient ut vivat amor Meddeides herbae,

Mistag; cum magicis mersa venena sonis. Phasias, Esonidem, Circe tenuisset Olysem. Si modo servari carmine posset amor: Nec data profuerint pallentia philtia puellis, Philtia nocent animis, vimq; furoris habent.

Who so doth run to Hæmon arts, I dub him for a dolt, And giveth that which he doth pluck from forehead of a colt: Medeas herbs will not procure that love shall lasting live, Nor steeped poison mixt with magick charms the same can give. The witch Medea had full fast held Jason for her own. So had the grand witch Circe too Ulysses, if alone With charmes maintained and kept might be the love of twain in one. No slibberlawces given to maides, to make them pale and wan, Will helpe: such slibberlawces marre the minds of maide and man, And have in them a furious force of phrensie now and than.

Englisht by Abraham Fleming.

Philtia, slibberlawces to procure love.

Viderit Amonia si quis mala pabula terra Et magicas artes posse juvare putate.

Ovid. lib. de remedio amoris.

If any think that evill herbs in Hæmon land which be, Or witch-craft able is to helpe, let him make prooffe and see.

Ab. Fleming.

These verses precedent do shew, that Ovid knew that those beggerly practices might rather kill one, or make him starke mad, than do him good towards the attainment of his pleasure of love; and therefore he giveth his counsell to them that are amorous in such hot manner, that either they must enjoy their love, or else needs dy; saying.

Sit procul omne nefas, ut ameris amabilis esto.

Be off be all unlawfull meane, thou amiable be, loving I meane, that she with love may quit the love of thee.

It is proved by more credible writers, that love-cups rather ingender death through venome, than love by art: and with what toies they destroy cattell, and procure love.

Hieronym in  
Ruff. Plin.  
lib. 25. ca. 3.  
Ioseph lib. 11.  
de Iudeorum  
antiquit. Ari-  
stot. lib. 8. de  
natura animal  
cap. 24. 16. Wi-  
er. denef. cap.  
40.  
Toies to  
mocke apes.

But because there is no hold nor trust to these Poets, who say and say, dallying with these causes; so as indeed the wise may perceive they have them in derision: let us see that other graver authors have hereof. Eusebius Casariensis writeth what the poet Lucretius was with one of those lovers poisoned cups. Hierome reporteth that one here with killed her husband, whom she too much hated; and Lucius killed hers, whom she too much loved Calisthenes killed Lucius; Lucius the Emperour with a love-pot, as Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos Plin) and Iosephus report, that Cassia killed her husband Caligula in a poculo with a lovers cup, which was indeed starke poison. Aristotle saith, that all which is believed touching the efficacy of these matters lies and old wives tales. He that will read more arguments and histories concerning these poisons, let him look in I. Wier de veneficis.

The toies, which are said to procure love, and are exhibited in poison loving cups, are these: the haire growing in the necke part of a wolves taile, a wolves yard, a little fish called Remora, the part of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizzard: the bone of a green frog, the thereof being consumed with pissmiers or ants; the left bone whereof (as they say) loveth the bone on the right side, hate. Aristotle saith, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about with whereof some will swim, and some will sinke: those that sinke, being hanged up with a white linnen cloth, ingender love, but if a man touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is taken with young swallowes, whereof one brood or nest being taken and brought in a crock under the ground, till they be starved up; they that be open mouthed, serve to engender love; they whose mouths are shut, to procure hate. Besides these, many other follies there be to this purpose proposed to the simple; as namely, the garments of the dead, and that burne before a dead corps, and needles wherewith dead bodies sowne or sockt into their sheets: and diverse other things, which the reverence of the reader, and in respect of the uncleane speech to be used in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read Dioscorid. or diverse other learned physitians,) you may see at large. In the meanwhile, he that desireth to see more experiments concerning this matter, let him read Leonardus Vairus de fascino, now this present year newly published; wherein (with an incestuous mouth) he affirmeth diversly, that Christ and his Apostles were Venefici; very fondly prosecuting argument, and with as much popish folly as may be; labouring to procure it lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, &c.

Dioscorid. de  
materia medi-  
cin.  
L. Vairus de  
fascin. lib. 2.  
ca. 11. prope  
finem.

John Bodin triumphing against John Wier is overtaken with false Greek and false interpretation thereof.

Monsieur Bodin triumpheth over doctor Wier herein, pronouncing a heavy sentence upon him; because he referreth this word to poisoning. But he reigneth or rather rideth over him, much more for speaking false Greek; affirming that he calleth Veneficos φαρμακείους, which is as true as the rest of his reports and fables of witches miracles contained in his book of devilish devises. For in truth he hath no such word, but saith they are called φαρμακείους, whereas he should have said φαρμακός the true accent being omitted, and ε being enterpoled, which should have been left out. Which is nothing to the substance of the matter, but must needs be the Printers fault.

But Bodin reasoneth in this wise; φαρμακείος is sometimes put for Magos or Præfignificatores. Ergo in the translation of the Septuaginta, it is so to be taken. Wherein he manifesteth his bad Logick, more then the others ill Greek. For it is well known to the learned in this tongue, that the usual and proper signification of this word, with all its derivations and compounds doth signifie Veneficos, Poisoners by medicine. Which when it is most usual and proper, why should the translators take it in a signification lesse usual, and nothing proper? Thus therefore he reasoneth and concludeth with his new-found Logick, and old found Greek; Sometimes it signifieth so, though improperly, or rather metaphorically; Ergo in that place it is so to be taken, when another fitter word might have been used. Which argument being vain, agreeth well with his other vain actions. The Septuaginta had been very destitute of words, found for this purpose. But, if no proper word could have been found where they have occasion to speak of witchcraft in their translations, they use Magian, Maggagian, &c. and therefore belike they see some difference betwixt them and the other, and knew some cause that moved them to use the word φαρμακείος, Veneficium.





7. Book. The discovery

Venefic

he. What were their names, said we? The child's name was Edward, said he: what more then Edward, said we? Edward Ager, said he. What was the mans name, said we? Richard said he. What more, said we? Richard Ager, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said we? At Dig at Dig, said he. This Richard Ager of Dig, was a Gentleman of fourty pounds land by the year, a very honest man, but would often he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else hadst thou killed for her, said we? Woltons wife said he. Where didst thou dwell? In Westwell said he. What else hast thou done for her said we? What she would have me, said he. What is that said we? To fetch her meat, drink, and corn, said he. Where hadst thou it said we? In the house, said he. Name the houses, said we? At Potmans, at Farmes, at Millens, at Fullers, and in every house. After this we commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from her, and never to trouble any more, nor any man else. Then he said he would go, he would go, he went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more words. Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maids, is gone, Lord have mercy upon me, for he would have killed me. Then we kneeled down and gave God thanks with the maiden; and that God would keep her from Satans power, and assist her with his grace. And noting this in a piece of paper, we departed: Satans voice did differ much from the maids voice, and all that he spake, was in his name. subscribed thus:

**Witnesses to this, that heard and saw this whole matter, as followeth:**

- |                                     |                                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Roger Newman, vicar of Westwell.    | John Taylor.                    |
| John Brainford, vicar of Kenington. | Thomas Frenchbornes wife.       |
| Thomas Taylor.                      | William Spooner.                |
| Henry Tailors wife.                 | John Frenchborne, and his wife. |

CHAP. II.

How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, by whom she was examined; and that all her diabolicall speech was but ventriloquie and plain couzenage, which is proved by her confession.

Mat. 24. 44. **I**T is written, that in the latter daies there shall be shewed strange illusions, &c. in so much as (if it were possible) the very elect shall

Ventriloquie.

of Witchcraft.

Chap. 2.

be deceived: howbeit, Saint Paul saith, they shall be lying and false wonders. Neverthelesse this sentence, and such like, have been often laid in my dish, & are urged by diverse writers, to approve the miraculous working of witches, whereof I will treat more largely in another place. Howbeit, by the way I must confesse, that I take that sentence to be spoken of Antichrist, to wit, the pope: who miraculously, contrary to nature, philosophy, and all divinity, being of birth and calling base, in learning grosse; in valure, beauty, or activity most commonly a very lubber, hath placed himselfe in the most lofty and delicate seat, putting almost all Christian princes heads not only under his girdle, but under his foot, &c.

Surely, the tragedy of this Pythonist is not inferior to a thousand stories, which will hardly be blotted out of the memorie and credit either of the common people, or else of the learned. How hardly will this story suffer discredit, having testimony of such authority? How could mother Alice scape condemnation and hanging, being arraigned upon this evidence: when a poor woman hath been cast away, upon a cofening oracle or rather a false lie, devised by Feats the juggler, through the malignigation of some of her adversaries?

But how cunningly soever this last cited certificate be penned, or what shew soever it carrieth of truth and plain dealing, there may be found quae of Westwell contained therein matter enough to detect the cofening knavery thereof; and yet diverse have been deeply deceived therewith, and can hardly be removed from the credit thereof, and without great disdain cannot endure to hear the reproofe thereof. And know you this by the way, that heretofore Robin good-fellow, and Hob-goblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided & contemned, and as plainly perceived, as the illusion and knavery of Robin good-fellow. And in truth, they that maintain walking spirits, with their transformation, &c. have no reason to deny Robin good-fellow, upon whom there have gone so many and as credible tales, as upon witches; saving that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits, by the name of Robin good-fellow, as they have termed diviners, sooth-sayers, poisoners, and colencers by the name of witches.

But to make short worke with the confutation of this bastardly queanes enterprize, and couzenage, you shall understand, that upon the suite of her divinity and miraculous trances, she was convented before M. Thomas Wolton of Boston Malherbe, a man of great worship and wisdom, and for deciding and ordering of matters in this commonwealth, of rare and singular dexterity; through whose discreet handling of the matter, with the assistance and aid of M. George Darrell equire, being also a right good and discrete Justice of the same limits, the fraud was found, the couzenage confessed, and she received condigne punishment. Neither was her confession wonne, according to the forme of the Spanishquisition; to wit, through extremity of tortures, nor yet by guile orattery, nor by presumptions; but through wise and perfect triall of every circumstance the illusion was manifestly disclosed: nor so (I say) as

The ventriloquist of Westwell was convicted by her own confession.

witches are commonly convinced and condemned; to wit, through licentious accusations, by guesses, presumptions, and extorted confessions contrary to sense and possibilitie, and for such actions as they can shew no trial nor example before the wise, either by direct or indirect means; but after due trial she shewed her feats, illusions, and trances, with the residue of all her miraculous works, in the presence of divers gentlemen and gentlewomen of great worship and credit, at *Boston Malherbe*, the house of the said M. *Watton*. Now compare this wench with the witch of *Endor*, and you shall see that both the cosenages may be done by one art.

## CHAP. III.

*Bodins stufte concerning the Pythoist of Endor, with a true story of counterfeit Dutchman.*

1. *Bodin. lib. de demon. 3. cap. 2.*

UPON the like tales doth *Bodin* build his doctrine, calling them *Abuses* that will not beleve him, adding to this kind of witch-craft, miraculous works of divers maidens, that would spue pins, clowts, as one *Agnes Brigs*, and *Rachel Pinder* of London did, till the miracles were detected, and they set to open penance. Others he citeth that sort, the which were bound by devils with garters, or some like stufte to posts, &c. with knots that could not be undone, which an *Egyptian* juggling or cosening feat. And of such foolish lies with bawdy tales, his whole book consisteth: wherein I warrant there are no fewer then two hundred fables, and as many impossibilities. And as these two wenches, with the maiden of *Westwell*, were detected of cosenage; so likewise a Dutchman at *Maidstone* long after he had accomplished such knaveries, to the astonishment of a great number of good men, was revealed to be a cosening knave; although his name were imprinted and published at London: anno 1572. with this before the book, as followeth.

**A very wonderfull and strange miracle of God shewed upon a Dutchman**  
the age of 23 years, which was possessed of ten devils, and was by Gods mighty providence discovered of them again, the 27. of January last past. 1572.

UNTO this the Major of *Maidston*, with divers of his brethren subscribed, chiefly by the perswasion of *Nicasius Vander Scurer*, the

minister of the Dutch church there, *Iohn Stikelbow*, whom (as it is there said) God made the instrument to cast out the devils, and four other credible persons of the Dutch church. The history is so strange, and so cunningly performed, that had not his knavery afterwards brought him into suspicion, he should have gone away unsuspected of this fraud. A great many other such miracles have been lately printed, whereof divers have been bewraied: all the residue doubtlesse, if triall had been made, would have been found like unto these. But some are more finely handled than other some. Some have more advantage by the simplicity of the audience, some by the majesty and countenance of the confederates: as namely, that cosening of the holy maid of Kent. Some escape utterly unsuspected, some are prevented by death; so as that way their examination is untaken. Some are weakly examined: but the most part are so revered, as they which suspect them, are rather called to their answers, than the others.

## CHAP. IIII.

*Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythoist, and how men of all sorts have been deceived, and that even the Apostles have mistaken the nature of spirits, with an unanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.*

WITH this kind of witchcraft, *Apollo* and his oracles abused and cosened the whole world: which idol was so famous, that I need not stand long in the description thereof. The princes and monarchs of the earth reposed no small confidence therein: the Priests, which lived thereupon, were so cunning, as they also overtook almost all the godly and learned men of that age, partly with their doubtfull answers; as that which was made unto *Pyrrhus*, in these words, *Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse*, and to *Cresus* his ambassadours in these words, *Si Cresus arma persis inferat, magnum imperium evertet*; and otherwise thus, *Cresus Halin penetrans, magnam subvertet opum vim*: or thus, *Cresus perdet Halin, transgressus plurima regna, &c.* partly through confederacy, whereby they knew mens errands ere they came, and partly by cunning, as promising victory upon the sacrificing of some person of such account, as victory should rather be neglected, than the murder accomplished. And if it were, yet should there be such conditions annexed thereunto, as alwayes remained unto them a starting hole, and matter enough to cavil upon; as that the party sacrificed must be a virgin, no bastard, &c. Furthermore, of two things onely proposed, and where yea or nay onely doth answer the question, it is an even lay, that an idiot shall conjecture right. So as, if things fell out contrary, the fault was alwayes in the interpreter, and not in the oracle or the prophet. But what marvel (I say): hough the multitude and common people have been abused here; since Lawyers, Philosophers, Physicians, Astronomers, divines, General counsels, and princes have with great negligence and ignorance been deceived and seduced hereby, as (swallowing up and devouring

The amphibologies of oracles.

The subtilty of our oracles.

Joh. 20. 9.

pouring an inveterate opinion, received of their elders; without due examination of the circumstance?

Howbeit, the godly and learned fathers (as it appeareth) have always had a speciall care and respect, that they attributed not unto God such devilish devices; but referred them to him, who indeed is the inventor and author, though not the personal executioner, in manner and forme as they supposed: so as the matter of faith was not thereby by them preached. But who can assure himselfe not to be deceived in matters concerning spirits, when the Apostles themselves were so farre from knowing them, as even after the resurrection of Christ, they shewed themselves not only ignorant therein, but also to have misconceived thereof. Did not the Apostle Thomas think that Christ himself had been a spirit, until Christ told him plainly, that a spirit was no such creature, as flesh and bones, the which (he said) Thomas might see to be in him. And for the further certifying and satisfying of his mind, he commended unto him his hands to be seen, and his sides to be felt. Thomas, if the answer be true that some make hereunto, to wit, that spirits take shapes and shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might have answered Christ, if remaining unsatisfied might have said; Oh sir, what do you tell me, if spirits have no flesh and bones? Why, they can take shapes and formes, and so perchance have you done. Which argument all the witch-mongers in the world shall never be able to answer.

John. 20. 29.

Some of them that maintain the creation, the transformation, transportation, and transubstantiation of witches; object that spirits are not palpable, though visible; and answer the place by me before shewed, so as the feeling and not the seeing should satisfy Thomas. But I shall well weigh the text and the circumstances thereof, shall perceive the fault of Thomas his incredulity was secondly bewraied; and considered, in that he would not trust his own eyes, nor the view taken by his fellow-Apostles, who might have been thought too credulous in this, if spirits could take shapes at their pleasure. Jesus saith to him, because thou hast seen (and not, because thou hast felt) thou believest; Blessed are they that believe and see not (and not, they that believe and seele not.) Whereby he noteth that our corporal eyes discern betwixt a spirit and a naturall body; reproving him, because he so much relied upon his externall senses, in cases where faith should have prevailed; and here, in a matter of faith revealed in the word, not credit the miracle which was exhibited unto him in most naturall and sensible sort.

Erast. fol. 62.

Howbeit, Erastus saith, and so doth Hyperius, Hemingius, Danzus, Bodin, &c. that evil spirits eat, drink, and keep company with men, and that they can take palpable formes of bodies, producing examples thereof, to wit: *Spectrum Germanicum seu Augustanum*, and the like, whose feet Lot washed; as though because God can indue his messengers with bodies at his pleasure, therefore the devil and every spirit can do the like. How the eleven Apostles were in this case deceived, appeareth in Luk. 24. and in Mark. 16, as also in Matth. 14. where the Apostles

Luk. 24. 37.

disciples were all deceived, taking Christ to be a spirit, when he walked on the sea. And why might not they be deceived herein, as well as in that they thought Christ had spoken of a temporal kingdome, when he preached of the kingdome of heaven? Which thing they also much misconceived; as likewise when he did bid them beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, they understood that he spake of material bread.

CHAP. V.

Why Apollo was called Pytho, whereof those witches were called Pythonists: Gregory his letter to the devil.

But to return to our oracle of Apollo at Delphos, who was called Pytho, for that Apollo slue a serpent so called, whereof the Pythonists take their name: I pray you consider well of this tale, which I will truly rehearse out of the Ecclesiastical history, written by Eusebius, wherein you shall see the absurdity of the opinion, the cofenages of these oracles, and the deceived mind or vaine opinion of so great a doctor bewraied and deciphered altogether as followeth.

Gregory Neocæsariensis in his journey and way to passe over the Alpes, came to the temple of Apollo: where Apollo's priest living richly upon the revenues and benefit proceeding from that idoll, did give great entertainment unto Gregory, and made him good cheer. But after Gregory was gone, Apollo waxed dumbe, so as the priest's gaines decayed: for the idol growing into contempt, the pilgrimage ceased. The spirit taking compassion upon the priest's case, and upon his grief of mind in this behalfe, appeared unto him, and told him flatly, that his late guest Gregory was the cause of all his misery. For (saith the devil) he hath banished me, so that I cannot returne without a speciall license or passport from him. It was no need to bid the priest make haste; for immediately he took post-horses, and galloped after Gregory, till at length he overtook him, and then expostulated with him for this discourteie proffered in recompence of his good cheare; and said, that if he would not be so good unto him, as to write his letter to the devil in his behalfe, he should be utterly undone. To be short, his importunity was such, that he obtained Gregory his letter to the devil, who wrote unto him in manner and forme following, word for word: *Permitto tibi redire in locum tuum, & agere quæ consuevisti*; which is in English; I am content thou returne into thy place, and do as thou wast wont. Immediately upon receipt of this letter, the idol spake as before. And here is to be noted, that as well in this, as in the execution of all their other oracles and cofenages, the answers were never given *Ex tempore*, or in this day wherein the question was demanded; because forsooth they expected a vision (as they said) to be given the night following, whereby the cofenage might the more easily be wrought.

CHAP. VI.

Note the cofenage of oracles.

Apollo, who was call: Pytho, compared to the Rood of grace: Gregory's letter to the devil confuted.

What need many words to confute this fable? For if Gregory had been an honest man, he would never have willingly permitted that the people should have been cozened with such aying spirits...

Zach. 10.

W. Lambert in titulo Boxley.

How divers great clerkes and good authors have, been abused in the matter of spirits through false reports, and by means of their credulity have published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle and Scriptures.

Plutarch, Livy, and Valerius Maximus; with many other grave authors, being abused with false reports, write that in times past...

May was done by procuracion of spirits. But I rather think with Aristotle, that it was brought to passe Hominum & sacerdotum deceptionibus, to wit, by the cozening art of crafty knaves and priests.

Of the witch of Endor, & whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel truly, or by deceipt: the opinion of some divines here upon.

The woman of Endor is comprised under this word Ob: for she is called Pythonissa. It is written in 2 Sam. chap. 28. that she raised up Samuel from death, and the other words of the text are strongly placed, to enforce his very resurrection.

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it advisedly, shall see that Samuel was not raised from the dead; but that it was an illusion or cozenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chrysostome saith; Soules Sap. 3.

*Apollo, who was call'd Pytho, compared to the Rood of grace: Gregory's letter to the devil confuted.*

What need many words to confute this fable? For if Gregory had been an honest man, he would never have willingly permitted that the people should have been further cosened with such a lying spirit; if he had been halfe so holy as Eusebius maketh him, he would not have consented or yeelded to so lewd a request of the priest, nor have written such an impious letter, nor not though good might have come thereof. And therefore as well by the impossibility and folly contained therein of the impiety (whereof I dare excuse Gregory) you may perceive it to be a lye. Me thinks they which still maintain that the devil made answer to the idol of Apollo, &c. may have sufficient persuasion to revoke their erroneous opinions: in that it appeareth in records, that such men were skilful in Augurie, did take upon them to give oracles at Delphos the place of Apollo: of which number Tifanius the sonne of Antiochus was one. But vain is the answer of idols. Our Rood of grace, which helpe of little S. Rumbal, was not inferior to the idol of Apollo: for it could not work eternall miracles, but manifest the internal thoughts of the heart, I believe with more lively shew, both of humanity and of divinity, than the other. As if you read M. Lamberts book of perambulation of Kent, it shall partly appear. But if you talke of them that have been beholders thereof, you will be satisfied herein: yet in the blind time of popery, no man might under pain of damnation, nor without danger of death, suspect the fraud. Nay, what they will yet confesse they were idols, though the wiers that made them seeme gogles, the pins that fastened them to the postes to make them seeme as if they were men, were seeh and burnt together with the images themselves: the knavery of the priests bewraied, and every circumstance thereof detected and manifested?

*How divers great clerkes and good authors have been abused in the matter of spirits through false reports, and by meanes of their credulity have published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle, and the Scriptures.*

Plutarch, Livy, and Valerius Maximus, with many other grave authors, being abused with false reports, write that in times past he spake, and that images could have spoken and wept, and did let drops of blood, yea and could walke from place to place: which

Zach. 10.

W. Lambert in titulo Boxley.

Ob:

say was done by procuracion of spirits. But I rather think with Aristotle, that it was brought to passe Hominum & sacerdotum deceptionibus, to wit, by the cosening art of crafty knaves and priests. And therefore let us follow Esaies advise, who saith; When they shall say unto you, enquire of them that have a spirit of divination, and at the soothsayers, which whisper and mumble in your eares to deceive you, &c. enquire at your own God, &c. And so let us do. And here you see they are such as runne into corners, and cosen the people with lies, &c. For if they could do as they say, they could not aptly be called liars, neither need they to go into corners to whisper &c.

*Of the witch of Endor, & whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel truly, or by deceipt: the opinion of some divines bereupon.*

The woman of Endor is comprised under this word Ob: for she is called Pythonissa. It is written in 2 Sam. chap. 28. that she raised up Samuel from death, and the other words of the text are strongly placed, to enforce his very resurrection. The mind and opinion of Jesus Sirach evidently appeareth to be, that Samuel in person was raised out from his grave, as if you read Eccl. 46. 19, 20. you shall plainly perceive. Howbeit he disputeth not there, whether the story be true or false, but only citeth certain verses of the 1 book of Samuel chap. 18. simply according to the letter, perswading manners and the imitation of our vertuous predecessors, and repeating the examples of diverse excellent men; namely of Samuel: even as the text it selfe urgeth the matter, according to the deceived minde and imagination of Saul, and his servants. And therefore in truth, Sirach spake there according to the opinion of Saul, which so supposed otherwise it is neither heresie nor treason to say he was deceived.

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it advicedly, shall see that Samuel was not raised from the dead; but that it was an illusion or cosenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chryostome saith; Soules Sap. 3. in a certain place expecting judgement, and cannot remove from thence. Pl. 92 & 97. Neither is it Gods will, that the living should be taught by the dead. Chryost. homili. Which things are confirmed and approved by the example of Lazars and a. 21. in Math. Dives: where it appeareth according to Dent. 18. that he will not have the living taught by the dead, but will have us stick to his word, wherein his will and testament is declared. Indeed Lyra and Dionysius incline greatly to the letter. And Lyra saith, that as when Balaam would have raised a devil, God interposed himselfe: so did he in this case bring up Samuel, when the witch would have raised her devil. Which is a probable interpretation. But yet they dare not stand to that opinion, least they should impeach S. Augustines credit, who, they confesse, remained in judgement and opinion, without contradiction of the church, tha

August lib. quæ. vet. et no. vii testam. quæst. 27. item. part. 2. cap. 26. item. quæ. 5. nec mirum ad Simplician. lib. 2. 93. ad Dulcinum. quæ. 6. item. lib. 2. de doct. ohri. Deut. 18. Exodus. 20.

that Samuel was not raised. For he saith directly, that Samuel himself was not called up. And indeed, if he were raised, it was either willingly, or per force: if it were willingly, his sinne had been equal with the words, to wit: This must have been done by Gods good will; or by force of art magick: it could not be done by his good will; because forbad it; nor by art, because witches have no power over the good. Where it is answered by some, that the commandement was only to prohibit the Jews to aske counsel of the dead, and so no fault in Samuel to give counsel: We may as well excuse our neighbours wife, for consenting to our filthy desires, because it is onely written in the decalogue; that shalt not desire thy neighbours wife. But indeed Samuel was directly bidden to answer Saul before he died: and therefore it was not that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to do it.

CHAP. IX.

That Samuel was not raised indeed, and how Bodin and all papists dote herein, and that soules cannot be raised by witchcraft.

Furthermore, it is not likely that God would answer Saul by death, when he would not answer him by living Samuel: and most likely of all, that God would answer him by a devil, that denied the scripture witnesseth, and proveth; as also our own reason makes us to understand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect possess in Abraham's bosome, if they were to be plucked from thence at a witches call and commandement? But so should the devil have a place in heaven, where he is unworthy to have any place himselfe, and for enemie to command others.

Many other of the fathers are flatly against the raising up of Samuel; namely, Tertullian in his book De anima. Iustine Martyr In explicat. quæ. 25. Rabanus In epistolis ad Bonos. Abat. Origen in historia de Bileam. &c. some other dote exceedingly herein, as namely Bodin, and all papists in general: also Rabbi Sedias Hajas, and also all the Hebrews, as R. David Kimhi, which is the best writer of all the Rabbins: though ever a good of them all. But Bodin, in maintenance thereof, saith many absurdities, proving by the small faults that Saul had committed, that he was an elect; for the greatest matter saith he, laid upon his charge, is the referring of the Amalekites cattell, &c. He was confirmed by his opinion with many ridiculous reasons, and with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserve damnation; for Paul would not have the incestuous man punished to fore his soul might be saved. Iustine Martyr in another place was not only received in the actual raising up of Samuels soul, but affirmed that soules of the prophets and just men are subject to the power of witchcraft.

I. Bod. Jb. de dam. 2. cap. 3. 1. Samu. 28. 1. Cor. 5. J. Martyr in colloquio cum Triphoon Ju. deo.

And yet were the Heathen much more fond herein, who (as Laëtantius Laë. lib. 7. affirmeth) boasted that they could call up the soules of the dead, and yet did think that their soules died with their bodies. Whereby is to be seen, how always the world hath been abused in the matters of witchcraft and conjuration. The Necromancers affirme, that the spirit of any man may be called up, or recalled (as they terme it) before one year be past, after their departure from the body. Which C. Agrippa in his book de occulta philosophia saith, may be done by certain naturall forces and bonds. And therefore corpses in times past were accompanied and watched with lights, sprinkled with holy water, perfumed with incense, and purged with prayer all the while they were above ground: otherwise the serpent (as the masters of the Hebrews say) would devour them, as the food appointed him by God, Gen. 3. alledging also this place; We shall not all sleepe, but we shall be changed; because many shall remaine for perpetuall meat to the serpent: whereupon tiseth the contention between him and Michael, concerning the body of Moses; wherein Scripture is alledged. I confesse that Augustine, and the residue of the doctors, that deny the raising of Samuel, conclude, that the devil was fetcht up in his likeness: from whose opinions (with reverence) I hope I may dissent.

CHAP. X.

That neither the devil nor Samuel was raised, but that it was a meer cozenage, according to the guise of our Pitbonists.

AGaine, if the devil appeared, and not Samuel; why is it said in Ecel. that he slept? for the devil neither sleepeth nor dieth. But in truth we may gather, that it was neither the devil in person, nor Samuel: but a circumstance is here described, according to the deceived opinion and imagination of Saul. Howbeit Augustine saith, that both these sides may easily be defended. But we shall not need to fetch an exposition so farre off: for indeed (me thinks) it is Longe petita; nor to descend so low as hell, to fetch up a devil to expound this place. For it is ridiculous (as Pompanacius saith) to leave manifest things, and such as by natural reason may be proved, to seek unknown things, which no likelihood can be conceived, nor tried by any rule of reason. But in so much as we have liberty by S. Augustines rule, in such places of Scripture as seem to contain either contrariety or absurditie: to vary from the letter; and to make a godly construction agreeable to the word; let us confesse that Samuel was not raised, for that were repugnant to the word, and see whether this illusion may not be contrived by the art and cunning of the woman, without any of these supernaturall devises: for I could cite a hundred papistical and cozening practises, as difficult as this and as cleanly handled. And it is to be surely thought, if it had been a devil, the text would have noted it in some place of the story: as it doth not. But Bodin helpeth me exceedingly in this point, wherein he saith

Pompanacius lib. de insant. cap. 2.

7. Book. The discovery Saul and the witch.

faketh, he saith, Augustine, Tertullian, and D. Kimhi himselfe, who say  
was the devill that was raised up, which, saith Bodin, could not be; for  
that in the same communication between Saul and Samuel, the name of  
Jehovah is five times repeated, of which name the devill cannot abide  
the hearing.

CHAP. XI.

The objection of the witchmongers concerning this place fully answered,  
ed, and what circumstances are to be considered for the understanding  
of this story, which is plainly opened from the beginning of  
28. chap. of the 1. Samuel, to the 12. verse.

P. Martyr in  
comment. in  
1. Sam. 28. ver.  
9.

I. Sai 42.  
1. Sam. 28.

1. Sam. 28. 7.

S. Cicillies fa-  
miliar.

Where such a supernatural miracle is wrought, no doubt it is a token  
mony of truth, as Peter Martyr affirmeth. And in this case  
should have been a witness of lies: for, saith he, a makter of such weight  
cannot be attributed unto the devil, but it is the mighty power of God  
that doth accomplish it. And if it lay in a witches power to call up a  
vil, yet it lieth not in a witches power to worke such miracles: for God  
will not give his power and glory to any creature. To understand the  
place, we must diligently examine the circumstance thereof. It was well  
knowne, that Saul, before he resorted to the witch, was in despaire of the  
mercies and goodnesse of God; partly for that Samuel told him long  
fore, that he should be overthrowne, and David should have his crown  
and partly because God before had refused to answer him, either by Sa-  
el when he lived, or by any other prophet, or by Urim or Thummim.  
And if you desire to see this matter disoussed, turne to the first of Samuel  
the 28. chapter, and conferre my words therewith.

Saul seeing the host of the Philistines come upon him, which he  
could not be unknown to all the people, fainted, because he saw  
strength, and his own weaknesse, and specially that he was forsaken  
as being now strait of minde, desperate, and a very foole; he goeth  
certaine of his servants, that saw in what taking he was, and asked them  
for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by  
there dwelt one at Endor. By the way you shall understand, that  
Saul and his servants meant such a one as could by her spirit raise up  
mucl, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you see they  
deceived, though it were true, that she took upon her so to do. To  
use then served her familiar spirit, which you conceive she had, be-  
Sauls servants said so? Surely, as they were deceived and abused in  
so doubtlesse were they in the rest, for to what purpose, I say, should  
familiar serve, if not for such intents as they reported, and the under-  
I think you will grant that Sauls men never saw her familiar: for I  
heard any yet of credit say, that he was so much in the witches favour  
to see her devil; although indeed we read among the popish trumpets  
that S. Cicillie had an angell to her familiar, and that she could shew  
to whom she would, and that she might see and have what she or

friend listras appeareth in the lesson read in the popish church on Saint  
Cicillies day. Well, I perceive the woman of Endors spirit was a coun-  
terfeit, and kept belike in her closet at Endor, or in the bottle, with mo-  
ther Alices devil at Westwel, and are now bewraied and tied together to  
Limbs patrum, &c. And though Saul were bewitched and blinded in the  
matter; yet doubtlesse a wise man would have perchance espied her kna-  
very. Me thinks Saul was brought to this witch, much after the manner  
that doctor Barcot was brought to Feats, who sold master Doctor a fami-  
lar, whereby he thought to have wrought miracles, or rather to have  
gained good store of money. This fellow by the name of Feats was a  
juggler, by the name of Hilles a witch of conjurer, every way a cofener:  
his qualities and feats were to me and many other well knowne and de-  
tected. And yet the opinion conceived of him was most strange and  
wonderfull; even with such and in such cases, as it grieveth me to think  
of; specially because his knavery and cofenage reached to the shedding of  
innocent blood. But now forsooth Saul covereth himselfe with a net:  
and because he would not be knowne, he put on other garments. But to  
bring that matter to passe, he must have been cut shorter by the head and  
shoulders; for by so much he was higher than any of the people. And  
therefore whatsoever face the crafty queane did set upon it, she knew him  
well enough. And for further prooffe thereof, you may understand, that  
the princes of the Jews were much conversant with the people. And it  
appeareth manifestly, that Saul dwelt very neer to Endor, so as he should  
rather know him; for in the evening he went from his lodging unto  
her house: neither should it seeme that she was gone to bed when he  
came. But because that may be uncertaine, you may see in the pro-  
cesse of the text, that in a peece of the night he went from his house to  
hers, and with much ado intreated her to consent to his request. She  
finished her conjuration, so as both Sauls part, the witches part, and al-  
so Samuels part was played: and after the solemnization thereof, a calfe  
was killed, a batch of bread baked, and a supper made ready and eaten  
up; and after all this, he went home the same night: and had need so  
to do, for he had some businesse the next day. By these and many o-  
ther circumstances it may be gathered, that she dissembled, in saying, she  
knew him not, and consequently counterfeited, and made a foole of him  
in all the rest.

It appeareth there, that he, with a couple of his men, went to her by  
night, and said; conjecture unto me by thy familiar spirit, and bring me  
up whom I shall name unto thee. The godly learned know, that this  
was not in the power of the witch of Endor, but in the God of heavea  
only to accomplish. Howbeit, Saul was bewitched so to suppose: and  
yet is he more simple that will be overtaken with the devises of our old  
witches, which are produced to resemble her. And why should we  
think, that God would rather permit the witch to raise Samuel, than that  
Dives could obtaine Lazarus to come out of Abrahams bosome, upon  
more likely and more reasonable conditions? Well now doth this strum-  
pet (according to the guise of our cofening witches and conjurers) make  
the matter strange unto Saul, saying, that he came to her in a snare, &c.

D. Bureot.  
Feats.

1. Sam. 28. 8.

1. Sam. 10. 13.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.



1 Sam. 28.9. But witches seldome make this objection, saving when they mistrust that he which commeth to them will espie their juggling: for otherwise, where the witchmonger is simple and easie to be abused, the witch will be easie to be intreated, and nothing dangerous of her cunning; as you see this witch was soon perwaded, notwithstanding that objection, because she perceived and saw that Saul was afraid and out of his wits. And therefore she said unto him; Whom shall I raise up? As though she could have brought unto him *Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob*; who cannot hear us, therefore cannot rise at our call. For it is written; Look thou down from heaven and behold us, &c. as for *Abraham* he is ignorant of us, and knoweth us not.

1 Sam. 28.12.  
1sa. 93.15, 16.

CHAP. XII.

The 12, 13, and 14. verses of 1 Samuel 28. expounded: wherein is shewed that Saul was cozened and abused by the witch; and that Samuel was not raised, is proved by the witches own talke.

The manner of the witch of Endors cozening of Saul.

The manner and circumstance of their communication, or of her conjuration, is not verbatim set down and expressed in the text; but the effect thereof breefly touched: yet will I shew you the common order of their conjuration, and specially of hers at this time used. When Saul had told her, that he would have Samuel brought up to him, she departed from his presence into her closet, where doubtlesse she had her familiar; to wit, some lewd crafty priest, and made Saul stand at the door like a fool (as it were with his finger in a hole) to hear the cozening answers; but not to see the cozening handling thereof, and the counterfeiting of the matter. And so goeth she to worke, using ordinary words of conjuration, of which there are sundry varieties and forms (whereof I shall have occasion to repeat some in another place) as you see the jugglers (which be inferior conjurors) speak certain strange words of course, to lead the eye from espying the manner of their conveyance, whilest they induce the mind to conceive and suppose that he dealeth with spirits; saying, *Hay, fortune furie, nung, credo, passe, passe, when come you sicca.* Belike after many such words spoken, she saith to her selfe; Lo now the matter is brought to passe, for I see wonderful things. So as Saul hearing these words, longed to know all, and asked her what she saw. Whereby you may know that Saul saw nothing, but stood without like a mome, whilest she played her part in her closet: as may most evidently appear by the 21. verse of this chapter, where it is said; Then the woman came unto Saul. Howbeit, a little before she cunningly counterfeited that she saw Samuel, and thereby knew it was Saul that was come unto her. Whereby all the world may perceive the cozening, and her dissimulation. For by that which hath been before said, it must needs be that she knew him. And (I pray you) why should she not have suspected as well him to be Saul before, when in expresse words he required her to bring unto him Samuel, as now, when Samuel appeared unto her?

1 Sam. 28.13.

1 Sam. 28.21.

Well, to the question before proposed by Saul, she answereth and sayeth that she saw angels or Gods ascending up out of the earth. Then she exceedeth she with her enchanting phrases and words, of course: so as thereby Saul gathereth and supposeth that she hath raised a man. For otherwise his question dependeth not upon any thing before spoken. For when she hath said; I saw angels ascending; &c. the next word he saith; What fashion is he of? Which (I say) dangereth not upon her last expressed words. And to this she answered not directly, that it was Samuel; but that it was an old man lapped in a mantle; as though she knew not him that was the most notorious man in Israel, that had been her neighbour by the space of many years, and upon whom (while he lived) every eye was fixed; and whom also she knew within lesse than a quarter of an hour before: as by whose means also she came acquainted with Saul. Read the text and see.

1 Sam. 28.14.

1 Sam. 28.12.

But she describeth his personage, and the apparel which he did usually wear when he lived: which if they were both buried together, were corrupted and rotten, or devoured with wormes before that time. Belike she had a new mantle made him in heaven: and yet they say Tailors are many there; for that their consciences are so large here. In this country, men give away their garments when they dy: if Samuel had so done, he could not have borrowed it again: for of likelihood it would have been come out in that space, except the donce had been a better husband than for the testator was dead (as it is supposed) two years before.

CHAP. XIII.

The residue of 1 Sam. 28. expounded: wherein is declared how cunningly this witch brought Saul resolutely to beleve that she raised Samuel; what words are used to color the cozenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.

Now cometh in Samuel to play his part: but I am perswaded it was performed in the person of the witch her selfe, or of her confederate. She saith to Saul; Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up? As though without guile or packing it had been Samuel himselfe. Saul answered that he was in great distresse: for the Philistines made warre upon him. Whereby the witch, or her confederate priest might easily conjecture that his heart failed, & direct the oracle or prophesie accordingly: especially understanding by his present talke, and also by former prophesies and doings what were past, that God had forsaken him, and that his people were declining from him. For when *Jonathan* (a little before) overthrow the Philistines, being thirty thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen; Saul could not assemble above six hundred souldiers.

1 Sam. 28.15.

Ibidem.

1 Sam. 13.15.

1 Sam. 13.15.

Then said Samuel (which some suppose was Satan, and as I think was the witch, with a confederate; for what need so farre fetches, as to fetch the devil supernaturally out of hell, when the illusion may be here by natural

all means deciphered? And if you note the words well, you shall receive the phrase not to come out of a spiritual mouth of a devil; but of a lying corporall tongue of a cofener, that careth neither for God nor devil: from whence issueth such advice and communication, as groweth from Satans nature and purpose. For thus (I say) the same *1 Sam 28:16* speaketh: Wherefore dost thou aske me; seeing the Lord is gone thee, and is thine enemy? Even the Lord hath done unto him as he hath done unto thy neighbour David; because thou obeyedst the voice of the Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a devil, but of a cofener, who knew before what Samuel had prophesied concerning Sauls destiny. For it is the devils condition; to allure the people unto wickedness, not in this sort to admonish; warne, and rebuke them for evil. And Popish writers confesse, that the devil would have been gone at the naming of God. If he said, that it was at Gods special commandment and will, that Samuel or the devil should be raised, to propound admonition, to the profit of all posterity: I answer, that then he would rather have done it by some of his living prophets, and that Satan had been so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the *1 Sam 28:18* (I would say Samuel) into the vein of prophesying, and speaketh: Saul on this wife: The Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and give it to thy neighbour David; because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon the Amalekites; therefore hath the Lord done this unto thee this day. Moreover, the Lord deliver thee into the hands of the Philistines, and to morrow shall they thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall give the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines. What could Samuel have said more?

Me thinks the devil would have used another order, encouraging rather than rebuking him for his evil. The devil is craftier than such an adoration to all posterities, as should be prejudicial to his kingdome, and also be void of all impiety. But so diving a temptation maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to the vancement of her gaines. Howbeit, concerning the verity of this phesie, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the devils were sought the next day? secondly, whether all his sonnes were with him? item, whether they went to heaven or hell together, as with Samuel, they must be in heaven, and being with him they must be in hell. But although every part of this prophesie were false, as that all his sonnes were not slain (*Ishbosheth* he reigned in Israel two years after Sauls death) and that the battle was not on the morrow, and that wicked Saul, after that he had killed himselfe, was not with good Samuel; yet this witch did give a shrewd answer to the sequel. Which whether it were true or false, pertaineth not to my purpose; and therefore I will omit it. But as touching the coming of the devil, that say it was the devil, because that such things came to pass, would I might know of them where they learn that devils foreknow the come? If they say, he guesseth onely upon probabilities, the witch may do the like. But here I may not forget the deceits, which conclude Samuel appeared not unto Saul; but that the historiographer set

Canon 26. *quæst. cap. 5. nec mirum.*

mind and Samuels estate, and certain things which were said and seen, Right Venerable, considering whether they were true, or false: and further, that it were a trifling offence for a man to beleve the bare words of the story. And if an exposition like you not, I can easily frame my selfe to the opinion of one of great learning expounding this place, and that with great probability, in this sort; to wit. that this Pythonist being *Ventiloquus* that speaking as it were from the bottom of her belly, did cast her selfe into a trance, and so abused Saul, answering to Saul in Samuels name, in her counterfeited hollow voice: as the wench of Westwel spake, whose history I have rehearsed before at large, in page 94. and this is right *Ventiloquie*.

CHAP. XIV.

Opinions of some learned men, that Samuel was indeed raised, not by the witches art or power, but by the special miracle of God: that there are no such visions in these our dayes; and that our witches cannot do the like.

*Jas and Sadays* write, that when the woman saw the miracle indeed, and more than she looked for; of what was wont to do; she began to cry out, that this was a vision indeed, and a true one, not done by art, but by the power of God. Which exposition is farre more probable than our late writers judgements hereupon, and agreeth with the exposition of diverse good divines. *Gelasus* saith, it was the very spirit of Samuel: and where he suffered himselfe to be worshipped, it was but civil salutation and courtesie, and that God did interpose *Samuel*, at he sent to the messenger of *Ochofias*, when he sent to *Bolzebub* the god of *Achaz*. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are set up in this point: for the papists say, that it cannot be a devil, because *Jehovah* is thrice or five times named in the story. Upon this peece of scripture there arguments are daily devised, to prove and maintain the miraculous actions of witchcraft, and the raising of the dead by conjurations. And if it were true, that *Samuel* himselfe were raised, or the devil in his behalf; and that the witch of *Endor* by her art and cunning did it, &c. it maketh rather to the disproofe than to the proofe, of our witches, which neither do that kind of miracles, or any other, in any such place or company, where their juggling and cofenage may be seen and laid open, and I challenge them all (even upon the adventure of my life) to shew the peece of a miracle, such as *Christ* did truly, or such as they suppose this witch did diabolically, be it not with art nor confederacy, whereby the colour thereof may be made; neither are there any such visions in these dayes shewed.

A bold, direct, and faithful challenge.

Heretofore God did send his visible angels to men: but now we hear not of such apparitions, neither are they necessary. Indeed it pleased God heretofore, by the hand of *Moses* and his prophets, and specially by his son *Christ* and his Apostles, to worke great miracles, for the establishing

At Canterburie by Rich. Lee Esquire, & others, anno-1573. At Rie by master Gaymor & other, anno. 1577.

ing of the faith : but now whatsoever is necessary for our salvation, is contained in the word of God : our faith is already confirmed, and our duty established by miracles ; so as now to seek for them is a point of infidelity. Which the papists (if you note it) are greatly touched withall in their lying legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are knowne most commonly, and specially of priests, whercof I could cite a great number. If you read the story of Bell and the Dragon, you shall finde a sending miracle of some antiquity. If you will see newer devises, read the writings of Cardanus, Bales, and specially Lavaterus, &c. There have been some walking spirits in these parts so conjured not long since, as that they little delighted to make any more apparitions.

CHAP. XV.

Of vaine apparitions, how people have been brought to fear them, which is partly reformed by preaching of the gospel: the true of Christs miracles.

But certainly, some one knave in a white sheet hath cosened and misled many thousands that way ; specially when Robin good-knave kept such a coile in the Countrey. But you shall understand, that these bugs specially are feared of sick folke, children, and cowards, which through weaknesse of minde, and bodies are filled with vaine dremes and continual fear. The Scythians, being a stout and warlike nation (as divers writers report) never see any vaine spirits. It is a common saying ; A Lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood, our mothers maids have so terrified us with an ugly having hornes on his head, fire in his mouth, and a taile in his buttocks like a bason, fanges like a dogs, claws like a bears, a skin like a Nigers, and a voice roaring like a Lion, whereby we start and are affraid when we hear one cry Bough : and they have so fraied us with bulbes, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, fauns, kits with the canticke, tritons, centaures, dwarfs, giants, imps, cars, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, Incubus, Robin good-fellow, spoorn, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell-waine, the fire-drake, puckle, Tom thombe, hob-goblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and other bugs, that we are afraid of our own shadowes : in somuch that we never fear the devil, but in a dark night ; and then a polled sheep, a perillous beast, and many times is taken for our fathers soul, specially in a churchyard, where a right hardy man heretofore scant durst passe at night, but his haire would stand upright. For right grave writers report, that spirits most often and specially take the shape of women appearing in the likenesse of snakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, that wretched and cowardly infidelity, since the preaching of the gospel, is partly forgotten : and doubtlesse, the rest of those illusions will in short

I. Wi. r. lib. 3. cap. 8. Theodor. Bizantius. Lavat de spect. & lemurib. Cardan. de var. rerum.

Pencer. &c. Lavat. de spect.

(by Gods grace) be detected and vanish away. Divers writers report, that in Germany, since Luthers time, spirits and devils have not personally appeared, as in times past they were wont to do. This argument is taken in hand of the ancient fathers, to prove the determination and ceasing of oracles. For in times past (saith Athanasius) devils in vain shapes did intricate men with their illusions, hiding themselves in waters, stones, woods, &c. But now that the word of GOD hath appeared, those sights, spirits, and mockeries of images are ceased. Truly, if all such oracles, as that of Apollo, &c. (before the coming of Christ) had been true, and done according to the report, which hath been brought through divers ages, and from farre countries unto us, without precisely fraud or guile, so as the spirits of prophesie, and working of miracles, had been inferted into an idoll, as hath been supposed : yet we christians may conceive, that Christs coming was not so frutelesse and prejudicial in this point unto us, as to take away his spirit of prophesie, and divination from out of the mouth of his elect people, and good prophets, giving no answers of any thing to come by them, nor by Urim nor Thummim, as he was wont, &c. And yet to leave the devil in the mouth of a witch, or an idol to prophesie or worke miracles, &c. to the hinderance of his glorious gospel, to the discourtenance of his church, and to the furtherance of infidelity and false religion, whereas the working of miracles was the onely, or at least the most speciall meanes that moved men to beleve in Christ, as appeareth in sundry places of the gospel, and specially in John, where it is written, that a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did, &c. Nay, is it not written, that Jesus was approved by God among the Jewes, with miracles, wonders and signes, &c? And yet, if we confesse the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that are imputed to witches, which shall appear more common, and nothing inferior unto his.

CHAP. XVI.

Witches miracles compared to Christs, that God is the creator of all things, of Apollo, and of his names and portraiture.

If this witch of Endor had performed that, which many conceive of the matter, it might have been compared with the raising up of Lazarus. I pray you, is not the converting of water into milke, as hard a matter as the turning of water into wine? And yet, as you may read in the gospel, that Christ did the one, as his first miracle ; so may you read in Mal. that Christ did the other : yea, and that which is a great deale more, of water they can make butter. But to avoid all doubts, and lest there should appear more matter in Christs miracle, than the others, you shall find in Mal. that they can change water into wine : and what is it to attribute to a creature, the power and worke of the creator, or, if this be not? Christ saith, Opera qua ego facio nemo potest facere. Creation of substance was never granted to man nor angel ; Ergo neither to witch

witch

Apollo Pytho  
uncefed.

witch nor devil: for God is the onely giver of life and being, and by all things are made, visible and invisible. Finally, this woman of *Endor* is in the scripture called *Pythonissa*: where by it may appear that she was but a very ceulener. For *Pytho* himself whereof *Pythonissa* is derived, was a counterfeit. And the original name of *Apollo*, who was called *Pytho*, because he killed a serpent of that name, is but a poetical fable. For the Poets say, he was the god of Musick, of sick, Poetry, and shouting. In heaven he is called *Sol*, in earth *Pater*, in hell *Apollo*. He flourisheth alwayes with perpetual youth, therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an oracle-giver: and the priests that attended thereon at *Delphos* were counted and called *Pythonists* of *Pytho*, as *Papists* of *Papa*; and afterwards all men that used that trade, were named *Pythonissa*, as was this woman of *Endor*. But because it concerneth this matter, I will breesly note the opinions of divers learned men, and certaine other proofes, which I find in the scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, propheties and oracles.

## The eight booke.

## CHAP. I.

## That miracles are ceased.



Although in times past, it pleased God, extraordinarily to shew miracles amongst his people, for the strengthening of their faith in the Messias; and againe at his coming to confirme their faith by his wonderful doings, and his speciall graces and gifts bestowed by him upon the Apostles, &c. yet we ordinarily reade in the scriptures, that it is the Lord that worketh great wonders. Yea *David* saith, that among the dead (as in this case of *Samuel*) God himselfe sheweth no wonders. I find also that God will not give his glory and power to a creature. *Nicodemus* being a Pharisee could say, that no man could do such miracles as Christ did except God were with him, according to the saying of the prophet to those gods and idols, which took on them the power of God; Do either good or ill if you can, &c. So as the prophet knew and taught thereby, that none but God could worke miracles. Infinite places for this purpose might be brought out of the scripture, which for brevity I omit and overseip.

*S. Augustine*, among other reasons, whereby he proveth the ceasing of miracles, saith; Now blinde flesh doth not open the eyes of the blinde by the miracle of God, but the eyes of our heart are opened by the word of God. Now is not our dead carcase raised any more up by miracle, but our dead bodies be still in the grave, and our soules are raised to life by Christ. Now the eares of the deafe are not opened by miracle, but they which had their eares shut before, have them now opened to their salvation. The miraculous healing of the sick, by anointing, spoken of by *S. James*, is objected by many, specially by the papists, for the maintenance of their sacrament of extreme unction: which is apishly and vainly used in the Romish church, as though that miraculous gift had continuance till this day: herein you shall see what *Calvine* speaketh in his institutions. The grace of healing (saith he) spoken of by *Saint James*, is finished away, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would have renewed onely for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the Gospel marvelous for ever. Why (saith he) do not these (meaning miracle-mongers) appoint some *Siloah* to swim in, whereinto at certaine ordinary recomfes of times sicke folke may plunge themselves? Why do they nor lie along upon the dead, because *Paul* raised up a dead child that meanes? Verily (saith he) *James* in the miracle to anoint, spake for that time, while the church still enjoyed such blessings of God. Item, saith, that the Lord is present with his in all ages; and so often as need he helpeth their sicknesses, no lesse than in old time. But he doth not so utter his manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles, as by the hands of the Apostles, because the gift was but for a time. *Calvine* even thereincludeth thus; They say such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saies nay. And see how they agree among themselves. *Danaus* saith, that neither witch nor devil can worke miracles. *Giles Alley* saith directly,

Prov. 5. 1.

H. Card. de miracul.

Mai. 4. 1.

I Sam. 28.  
Rom. 12.  
I Cor. 12.  
I Pet. 1.

Iohn. 4.

P. Martyr:  
loc. com. 9.  
señ 17.

that witches worke miracles. *Calvine* saith, they are all ceased. All witchmongers say, they continue. But some affirme, that popish miracles are finished and gone away: howbeit witches miracles remaine in full force. So as *S. Ley* is out of credit for a horseleach, *Master T.* and mother *Bungy* remaine in estimation for prophets: nay *Hobgoblin* and *Robin* fellow are contemned among young children, and mother *Alice* and mother *Bungy* are feared among old fooles. The estimation of these continue, because the matter hath not been called in question: the credit of the other decayeth, because the matter hath been looked into. When I say no more, but that *S. Antonies* blisse will helpe your pig, when ever mother *Bungy* doth hurt it with her curse. And therefore we are warned by the word of God, in any wise not to feare their curses. Let all the witchmongers, and specially the miracle-mongers in the world, answer me to this supposition; Put case that a woman of credit, or a woman-witch should say unto them, that she is a true prophet of the Lord, and that he revealeth those secret mysteries unto her, whereby he detecteth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and that he can helpe him she worketh miracles, and prophesieth, &c. I think they must either yeeld, or confesse that miracles are ceased. But such things (*saith Cardane*) as seeme miraculous, are chiefly done by deceipt, legierdemane, or confederacy; or else they may be done, and yet seeme impossible, if else things are said to be done, and never were nor can be done.

CHAP. II.  
The gift of prophesie is ceased.

That witches, nor the woman of *Endor*, nor yet her familiar spirit, can tell what is to come, may plainly appear by the words of a prophet, who saith; Shew what things are to come, and we will say are gods indeed. According to that which *Solomon* saith; who can a man what shall happen him under the sun? Marry that can I (saith the witch of *Endor* to *Saul*.) But I will rather beleve *Paul* and *Peter*, who say, that prophesie is the gift of God, and no worldly thing. The confounding queane, that taketh upon her to do all things and can do nothing but beguile men: up steppeth also mother *Bungy*, and she can say where your horse or your asse is bestowed, or any thing that you have lost is become, as *Samuel* could; and what you have done in all your age past, as *Christ* did to the woman of *Sichar* at *Jacobs* well; yet what your errand is, before you speak, as *Elizeus* did.

*Peter Martyr* saith, that onely God and man knoweth the heart of man, and therefore, that the devil must be secluded, allodging these places. *Solus Deus est scrutator eordium*, Onely God is the searcher of hearts. *Nemo scit qua sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo*. None knoweth the thigs of man, but the spirit of man which is within him. *Solus Deus scit cogitationes hominum*, Thou onely knowest the thoughts of men. And *Jeremy* saith in the person of God, *Ego scrutans corda dy renes*, I am God searching hearts and reins. Also *John* thew saith of *Christ*, *Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*. And *John* thew saith of *Christ*, *Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*. And *John* thew saith of *Christ*, *Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*. And *John* thew saith of *Christ*, *Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*.

of the thoughts in the heart: as appeareth in *Acts*, 1. & 15. *Rom.* 8. *Matth.* 9. 12. & 22. *Marke* 2. *Luke* 6. & 7. & 11. *John* 1. 2. 6. & 13. *Apoc.* 2. & 3. and in other places infinite.

The same *Peter Martyr* also saith, that the devil may suspect, but not know our thoughts: for if he should know our thoughts, he should understand our faith; which if he did, he would never assault us with one temptation. Indeed we reade that *Samuel* could tell where things lost were straid, &c. but we see that gift also ceased by the coming of *Christ*, according to the saying of *Paul*; at sundry times, and in diverse manners God spake in the old times by our fathers the prophets, in these last dayes he hath spoken unto us by his sonne, &c. And therefore I say, that the gift of prophesie, wherewith God in times past endued his people, is also ceased, and counterfeits and confeners are come in their places, according to this saying of *Peter*: There were false prophets among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, &c. And think not that so notable a gift should be taken from the beloved and the elect people of God, and committed to mother *Bungy*, and such like of her profession.

The words of the prophet *Zacharie* are plaine touching the ceasing both of the good and bad prophets, to wit: I will cause the prophets uncleane spirits to depart out of the land, & when any shall yet prophesie, his parents shall say to him; Thou shalt not live, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord; and his parents shall thrust him through when he prophesieth, &c. No, no: the foretelling of things to come, is the onely worke of God, who disposeth all things sweetly, of whose counsel there hath never yet been any man. And to know our labours, the times and moments God hath placed in his owne power. Also *Phavorinus* saith, that if these cold prophets or oracles tell thee of prosperity, and deceiv thee, thou art made a miser through vain expectation: if they tell thee of adversity, &c. and ly, thou art made a miser through vaine fear. And therefore I say, we may as well look to heare prophesies at the tabernacle, in the bush, of the cherubin, among the clouds, from the angels, within the arke, or out of the flame, &c. as to expect an oracle of a prophet in these dayes.

But put the case, that one in our Common-wealth should step up and say he were a prophet (as many frantick persons do) who would beleve him, or not think rather that he were a lewd person? See the statutes of *Elizabeth*, whether there be not laws made against them, condemning their arrogance and coulengage: so also the canon lawes to the same effect.

CHAP. III.

That Oracles are ceased.

Touching oracles, which for the most part were Idols of silver, gold, wood, stones, &c. within whose bodies some say uncleane spirits hid themselves, and gave answers as some others say, that exhalations rising out of the grounds, inspire their minds, whereby their priests gave out oracles; so as spirits and winds rose up out of that soile, and indued those men with wisdom.

Zach. 13. 2.  
Mich. 5. 12.  
Gen. 3.  
Euseb lib. 5.  
cap. 1.  
Idem. Ibid.  
Porphyr. in  
lib. contra  
christ. relig.  
Cic. de divin.  
lib. 2.  
I. Chrysof.  
de laud.  
Paul. hom. 4.

with the gift of prophesie of things to come, though in truth they were all deviles to couzen the people, and for the profit of priests, who received the idols answers over night, and delivered them back to the idolaters the next morning: you shall understand, what although it had been so as it is supposed, yet by the reasons and proofes before rehearsed, they should now cease: and whatsoever hath affinity with such miraculous actions, as witchcraft, conjuration, &c. is knocked on the head, and nailed on the crosse with Christ, who hath broken the power of devils, and satisfied Gods justice, who also hath troden them under his feet, and subdued them, &c. At whose coming the prophet Zacharie saith, that the Lord will cut the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be no more remembred; and he will then cause the prophets and unclean spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written; I will cut off thine enchanters out of thine hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers. And indeed, the gospel of Christ hath so laid open their knavery, &c. that since the preaching thereof, their combs are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if ever these propheties came to take effect, it must be upon the coming of Christ, whereat you see the devils were troubled and fainted, when they met him, saying, or rather exclaiming upon him on this wise; *Fili Dei cur venisti nos cruciare ante tempus?* O thou son of God, why comest thou to molest us (or confound us) before our time appointed? Which he indeed prevented, and now remaineth he our defender and keeper from his claws. So as now you see here is no room left for such guests.

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that have beene much deceived as your selves in this matter: and yet are driven to confesse, that GOD hath constituted his sonne to beat down the power of devils, and to satisfie Gods justice, and to heale our wound received by the fall of Adam, according to Gods promise in Genesis 3. The seed of the woman shall tread downe the serpent, or the devil. Eusebius in his first booke *De predicacione Evangelij*, the title whereof is this, that the power of devils is taken away by the coming of Christ saith; All answers made by devils, all soothsayings and divinations of men are gone and vanished away. Item he citeth Porphyrie in his booke against christian religion, wherein these words are rehearsed; It is no marvel, though the plague be so hot in this city: for ever since Jesus hath beene worshipped, we can obtaine nothing that good is at the hands of our Gods. And of this defecton and ceasing of oracles writeth Cicero long before, and that to have happened also before his time. Howbeit, Chrysofome living long since Cicero, saith, that Apollo was forced to grant, that so long as any relike of a martyr was held to his nose, he could not make any answer or oracle. So as one may perceive, that the heathen were wiser in this behalfe than many christians, who in times past were called *Oppugnatores incantamentorum*, as the English Princes are called *Defensores fidei*. Plutarch calleth Exeotia (as we call bablers) by the name of many words, because of the multitude of oracles there, which now (saith he) are like to a spring or fountaine which is dried up. If any one remained I would ride five hundred miles to see it: but in the whole world

there is not one to be seene at this hour; popish coufenages excepted. But Plutarch saith, that the cause of this defecton of oracles, was the devils death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortal, saying writeth verses they died for very ages and that the divining priests were blown up with a whirl-winde, and ranke with an earthquake. Others imputed it to be the sight or the place of the planets, which when they passed over them, carried away that art with them, and by revolution may returne, &c. Eusebius Apollo cited also citeth out of him the story of Pan, which because it is to this purpose, I will insert the same; and since it mentioneth the devils death, you may belevee it if you list: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserved alive to punish the wicked, and such as impute unto those idols the power of Almighty God.

## CHAP. IIII.

*A tale written by many grave authors, and beleewed by many wise men of the devils death. Another story written by papists, and beleewed of all catholikes, approving the devils honesty, conscience and courtesie.*

Plutarch saith, that his countrey-man Epitherfes told him, that as he passed by sea into Italy, many passengers being in his boate, in an evening, when they were about the islands Echinada, the wind quite ceased, and the ship driving with the tide, was brought at last to Paxe. And whilst some slept and others quate, and other some were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddainly a voice was heard calling Thamus; in such sort as every man marvelled. This Thamus was a pilot borne in Egypt, unknowne to many that were in the ship. Wherefore being twice called, he answered nothing; but the third time he answered: and the other with a louder voice commanded him, that when he came to Palodes, he should tell them that the great God Pan was departed. Whereat every one was astonied (as Epitherfes affirmed,) whom he And being in consultation what were best to do, Thamus concluded, that if the winde were high, they must passe by with silence; but if the weather were calme, he must utter that which he had heard. But when they came to Palodes, and the weather calme, Thamus looking out toward the land, cried aloud, that the great god Pan was deceased: and immediately there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of people, as it were with great wonder and admiration. And because there were many in the ship, they said, the same thereof was speedily brought to Rome, and Thamus sent for by Tiberius the Emperour, who gave such credit thereto, that he diligently inquired and asked, who that Pan was. The learned men about him supposed, that Pan was he who was the son of Mercurie and Penelope, &c. Eusebius saith, that this chanced in the time of Tiberius the Emperour, when Christ expelled all devils, &c. Paulus Marfus, in his notes upon Ovids Fasti, saith, that this voice was heard

A detection of Thamus his knavery. heard out of Paſe, that very night that Chriſt ſuffered, in the year of Thamus the nineteenth. Surely, this was a merry jeſt deviſed by Thamus who with ſome confederates thought to make ſport with the paſſengers, who were ſome aſleep, and ſome drunk, and ſome other at play, &c. when he ſpoke the firſt voice was uſed. And at the ſecond voice, to wit, when he ſhould deliver his meſſage, he being an old Pilot, knew where ſome noiſe was uſually, by meanes of ſome echo in the ſea, and thought he would (to the aſtoniſhment of them) accompliſh his deviſe, if the wether proved calme. Whereby may appear, that he would in other caſes of tempeſt, &c. rather attend to more ſerious buſineſſe, then to that ridiculous matter. For why elſe ſhould he not do his errand in rough wether, as well as in calme? Or what need he tell the devill thereof, when the devill told it him before, and with much more expedition could have done the errand himſelf?

Legend. aur. in vita ſancti Andreæ. fol. 39. But you ſhall reade in the Legend a fable, an oracle I would ſay, more authenticke. For many will ſay that this was a prophane ſtory, and not ſo canonical as thoſe which are verified by the Popes authority: and thus it is written. A woman in her travel ſent her Siſter to Dionysius which was the devill in an idol (as all thoſe oracles are ſaid to be) and willed her to make her prayers, or rather a requeſt, to know of her ſafe deliverie; which thing ſhe did. But the devill answered; Why prayeſt thou to me? I cannot help thee, but go pray to Andrew the Apoſtle, and he may help thy ſiſter, &c. Lo, this was not only a gentle, but a godly devill, pitying the womans caſe, who revealing his own diſſimulation, enabled S. Andrew more. I know ſome Proteſtants will ſay, that the devill, to maintain idolatry, &c. referred the maid to S. Andrew. But what answer will the Papiſts make, who think it great piety to pray unto Saints, and ſo by conſequence honeſt courteſie in the devill, to ſend her to S. Andrew, who would not faile to ſerve her turn, &c.

A gentle & godly devill.

#### CHAP. V.

The judgements of the ancient fathers touching oracles, and their abolishment, and that they be now transferred from Delphos to Rome.

The opinions of the Fathers, that oracles are ceaſed by the coming of Chriſt, you ſhall find in theſe places following, to wit: In *diatribis adverſus Iudaos*, Athanaſius *De humanitate verbi*, Auguſtine *De civitate Dei*, Eufebius *Lib. 7. cap. 6.* Item *lib. 5. cap. 1. 8. Rupertus* *lib. 30. naturalium*. Ioan. *lib. 10. 12.* Plutarch *De abſtitione oraculorum*, Plinie *lib. 30. naturalium*. Finally, Athanaſius concludes, that in times paſt there were oracles in Delphos, Bœotia, Lycia, and other places: but now ſince Chriſt is preached unto all men, this madneſſe is ceaſed. So as you ſee, it is whatſoever eſtimation in times paſt, the ancient Fathers conceived (whatſoever heareſay) of thoſe miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c. they themſelves reſuſe now, not only to bear witneſſe of; but alſo affirm, that ſince Chriſts coming their mouths have been ſtopped.

For the ceaſing of the knaveries and couſening deviſes of prieſts, I ſee no authoritie of Scripture or ancient Father, but rather the contrary; to wit, that there ſhall be ſtrange illuſions ſhewed by them even till the end. And truly, whoſoever knoweth and noteth the order and deviſes of and in popiſh pilgrimages, ſhall ſee both the oracles and their conſolutions remaining, and as it were transferred from Delphos to Rome, where that adulterous generation continually ſeeketh a ſigne, though they have Moſes and the prophets, yea even Chriſt and his Apoſtles alſo &c.

#### CHAP. VI.

Where and wherein couſeners, witches, and prieſts were wont to give oracles, and to worke their feats.

Theſe couſening oracles, or rather oracles uſed (I ſay) to exerciſe their feats and to do their miracles moſt commonly in maids, in beaſts, in images, in dens, in cloiſters, in dark holes, in trees, in churches or churchyards, &c. where prieſts, monks, and friers had laid their plots, and made their confederacies aforehand, to beguile the world, to gaine money, and to add credit to their profeſſion. This praſtice began in the oakes of Dodona, in the which was a wood, the trees thereof (they ſay) could ſpeake. And this was done by a knave in a hollow tree, that ſeemed found unto the ſimple people. This wood was in Moloffus a part of Greece, called Epyrus, and it was named Dodonas oracles. There were many oracles in Egypt; namely, of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva, of Diana, of Mars, of Iupiter, and of the ox Apys, who was the ſonne of Iupiter, but his image was worſhipped in the likeneſſe of an ox. Latona, who was the mother of Apollo, was an oracle in the city of Bute. The prieſts of Apollo, who alwayes counterfeited fury and madneſſe, gave oracles in the temple called Clarius, within the city of Colophon in Greece. At Thebes in Bœotia, and alſo in Lebadia, Trophonius was the chiefe oracle. At Memphis a cow, at Corinth an ox called Mincus, in Arſinoe a crocodile, in Athens a prophet called Amphiarus, who indeed died at Thebes, where they ſay the earth opened, and ſwallowed him up quick. At Delphos was the great temple of Apollo, where devils gave oracles by maids (as ſome ſay) though indeed it was done by prieſts. It was built upon Parnaffus hill in Greece. And the defenders of oracles ſay, that even as rivers ſometimes are diverted to another courſe; ſo likewiſe the ſpirit, which inſpired the chiefe prophets, may for a time be ſilent, and revive againe by revolution.

Demetrius ſaith, that the ſpirits, which attended on oracles, waxed weary of the peoples curioſity and importunity, and for ſhame forſooke the temple. But as one that of late hath written againſt propheties ſaith, it is no marvel, that when the familiars that ſpeak in trunks were repelled from their harbour for feare of diſcovery, the blockes almighty loſt defensive a their ſenſes. For theſe are all gone now, and their knavery is ſpied, as they can no longer abuſe the world with ſuch bables. But whereas theſe

these great doctors suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was the coming of Christ; if they meane that the devil died, so soone as he was born, or that then he gave over his occupation: they are deceived. For the popish church hath made a continuall practise hereof, partly for their own private profit, lucre, and gaine; and partly to be had in estimation of the world, and in admiration among the simple. But indeed, men that have learned Christ, and been conversant in his word, have discovered and shaken off the vanity and abomination hereof. But if these doctors had lived till this day, they would have said and written, that our King Henry the eight, and of Queene Elizabeth his daughter; who have done so much in that behalfe, as at this houre they are not onely all gone as they did in Boeotia, or in any other place in the world. But the credit they had, depended not upon their desert, but upon the credulity of others. Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this matter, with the opinion and saying of the prophet; Vaine is the answer of idols. For they have eyes and see not, eares and heare not, mouths and speak not, &c. and let them shew what is to come, and I will say they are gods indeed.

In whose  
daies oracles  
ceased in  
England.

Zach. 10.  
Isay. 44.

## The ninth Booke.

## CHAP. I.

The Hebrew word Kasam expounded, and how farre a Christian may conjecture of things to come.



Kasam (as Iohn Wierus upon his owne knowledge affirmeth, and upon the word of Andreas Masius reporteth) differeth little in signification from the former word *Obis*; betokening *Varicinaris*, which is, To prophesie, and is most commonly taken in evil part; as in Deut. 18. Jer. 27. &c. howbeit, sometime in good part; as in Esay 3. verse 2. To foretel things to come upon probable conjectures, so as therein we reach no further than becometh humane capacity, is not (in mine opinion) unlawful, but rather a commendable manifestation of wisdom and judgement, the good gifts and notable blessings of GOD, for the which we ought to be thankful; as also to yield due honour and praise unto him, for the noble order which he hath appointed in nature: praying him to lighten our hearts with the beames of his wisdom, that we may more and more profit in the true knowledge of the workmanship of his hands. But some are so nice, that they condemne generally all sorts of divinations, denying those things that in nature have manifest causes, and are so framed, as they foreshew things to come, and in that shew amonish us of things after to issue, exhibiting signes of unknowne and future matters to be judged upon, by the order, law, and course of nature proposed unto us by God.

And some on the other side are so bewitched with folly, as they attribute to creatures that estimation, which rightly and truly appertaineth to God the creator of all things; affirming that the publike and private destinies of all humane matters, and whatsoever a man would know of things come or gone, is manifested to us in the heavens: so as by the starres and planets all things might be knowne. These would also, that nothing should be taken in hand or gone about, without the favourable aspect of the planets. By which, and other the like devices they deprave and prophane the ancient and commendable observations of our forefathers: as did Colebrafus, who taught, that all mans life was governed by the seven planets; and yet a christian, and condemned for heresie. But Colebrafus let us so farre forth embrace and allow this philosophie and prophesying, as the word of God giveth us leave, and commendeth the same unto us.

All divinations  
are not  
condemnable.





Apollos passions.

bewitched the people, as they thought such vertue to have been contained in the bodies of those idols, as God hath not promised to any of his angels, or elect people. For it is said, that if Apollo were in a chafe, he would sweat: if he had remorse to the afflicted, and could not help them, he would shed tears, which I believe might have been wiped away with that handkerchiefe, that wiped and dyed the Rood of graces face, being in the like perplexities. Even as another sort of witching priests called Aruspices prophesied victory to Alexander, because an eagle lighted one his head: which eagle might (I beleieve) be cooped or caged with Mahomets dove, that picked peason out of his ear.

CHAP. IV.

The predictions of soothsayers and lewd priests, the prognostications of Astronomers and Physitians allowable, Divine Prophecie holy and good.

What prophesies allowable.

The confusing tricks of oracling priests and monks, are and have been specially most abominable. The superstitious observations of lesse augurers and soothsayers (contrary to Philolophy, and without authority of scripture) are very ugodly and ridiculous. Howbeit, I reject not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the conjectures or forewarnings of Physitians, nor yet the interpretations of Philosopher; although in respect of the divine prophesies contained in holy Scriptures they are not to be weighed or regarded. For the end of these and the other is not only far differing; but whereas these contain onely the words and will of God, with the other are mingled most horrible lies and counterfeits. For though there be many of them learned and godly, yet lurke there in corners, of the same profession, a great number of counterfeit and confeners. I. Bodin putteth this difference between divine prophesies and inchantois; to wit, the one faith alwaies true, the others words (proceeding from the devil) are alwaies false; or for one truth they tell a hundred lies. And then why may not every witch be thought as cunning as Apollo? And why not every counterfeit confener as good a witch as mother Bungie? For it is ods, but they will hit the truth once in a hundred divinations as well as the best.

I.B. lib. de da. lib. 1. cap. 4.

CHAP. V.

The diversity of true Propbets, of Urin, and of the propheticall use of the twelve precious stones contained therein, of the divine voice called Eccho.

Divers degrees of prophesie. It should appear, that even of holy prophets there were divers sorts. For David and Solomon, although in their psalmes and parabes are contained most excellent mysteries, and notable allegories: yet they were not indued with that degree of prophesie, that Ely and Elisha were, &c.

For as often as it is said, that God spake to David or Solomon, it is 2 Reg. 2. meant to be done by the prophets. For NATHAN or GAD were the Messengers and Prophets to reveale Gods will to David. And Ahiam the Silonite was sent from God to Solomon. Item, the spirit of prophesie which Elias had, was doubled upon Elisha. Also some prophets prophesied all their lives, some had but one vision, and some had more according to Gods pleasure; yea some prophesied unto the people of such things as came not to passe, and that was where Gods wrath was pacified by repentance. But these prophets were alwaies reputed among the people to be wise and godly; whereas the Heathen prophets were evermore known and said to be mad and foolish: as it is written both of the prophets of Sibylla, and also of Apollo; and at this day also in the Indies, &c.

I Bodin.

But that any of these extraordinary gifts remain at this day, Bodin nor any witchmonger in the world shall never be able to prove: though he in his book of devilish madnesse would make men believe it. For these were miraculously maintained by God among the Jewes, who were instructed by them of all such things as should come to passe; or else informed by Urin: so as the priests by the brightnesse of the twelve precious stones contained therein, could prognosticate or expound any thing. Which brightnesse and vertue ceased (as Josephus reporteth) two hundred years before he was born. So as since that time, no answers were yielded thereby of Gods will and pleasure. Neverthelesse, the Hebrewes write, that there hath been ever since that time, a divine voice heard among them, which in Latine is called *Filia vocis*, in Greek *ἡ θυγάτηρ τῆς φωνῆς*, in English the Daughter of spech.

Joseph. de antiquit.

Iosue filius Leui lib. Pirkeaboth.

CHAP. VI.

Of Propbesies conditionall: whereof the Propbesies in the old testament do intreat, and by whom they were published; witchmongers answers to the objections against witches supernaturall actions.

Christ and his Apostles prophesied of the calamities and afflictions, which shall greeve and disturb the church of God in this life: also of the last day, and of the signes and tokens that shall be shewed before that day: and finally of all things, which are requisite for us to foreknow. Howbeit, such is the mercy of God, that all prophesies, threatnings, plagues, and punishments are annexed to conditions of repentance: as on the other side, corporall blessings are tied under the condition of the crosse and castigation. So as by them the mysteries of our salvation being discovered unto us, we are not to seek new signes and miracles; but attend to the doctrine of the Apostles, who preached Christ exhibited and crucified for our sinnes, his resurrection, ascension, and thereby the redemption of as many as believe, &c.

Propbesies conditionall.

The prophesies in the old testament treat of the continuance, the government, and the difference of estates: of the distinction of the four Monarchies, of their order, decay and instauration; of the changes and ruines



The tenth Book.

CHAP. I.

The interpretation of this Hebrew word Onen, of the vanity of dreams, and divinations thereupon.



Onen differeth not much from Kafam, but that it is extended to the interpretation of dreames. And as for dreames, whatsoever credit is attributed unto them, proceedeth of folly: and they are fooles that trust in them, for why? they have deceived many. In which respect the prophet giveth us good warning, not to follow nor listen to the expositors of dreames, for they come through the multitude of businesse. And therefore those witches, that make men believe they can prophesie upon dreames, as knowing the interpretation of them, and either for money or glory abuse men and women thereby, are meere counsellers, and worthy of great punishment: as are such witchmongers, as believing them, attribute unto them such divine power as onely belongeth to God: as appeareth in Jeremy the prophet.

CHAP. II.

Of divine, natural, and casual dreames, with their differing causes and effects.

Macrobius recounteth five differences of images, or rather imaginations exhibited unto them that sleepe, which for the most part do signifie somewhat in admonition. There be also many subdivisions made hereof, which I thinke needlesse to rehearse. In Jasper Peucer they are to be seene, with the causes and occasions of dreames. There were wont to be delivered from God himselfe or his angels, certaine dreames and visions unto the prophets and holy fathers: according to the saying of Joseph I will poure my spirit upon all flesh, your young men shall dream dreames, and your old men shall see visions. These kind of dreames (I say) were the admonishments and forewarnings of God to his people: as that of Joseph, to abide with Mary his wife, after she was conceived by the Holy Ghost, as also to convey our Saviour Christ into Egypt, &c. the interpretation whereof are the peculiar gifts of God, which Joseph the patriarch, and Daniel the prophet had most specially.

As for physical conjectures upon dreames, the scriptures improve them not: for by them the phylitians many times do understand the state of their patients bodies. For some of them come by meanes of choler, flegme, melancholy, or blood; and some by love, surfet, hunger, thirst, &c. Galen and Boetius were said to deale with devils, because they

Ecclus. 24. Jerem. 27. Eccle. 5.

Jerem. 23. 25. 26. 27. Read the words.

Peucer in divin. ex somnijs.

Ioel 2. Matth. 1. 20. Matth. 2. 13.

Gen. 39. & 40. & 41. Dan. 2.

told so justly their patients dreames, or rather by their dreames their special diseases. Howbeit, physical dreames are natural, and the cause of them dwelleth in the nature of man. For they are the inward actions of the mind in the spirits of the braine, whilest the body is occupied with sleepe: for as touching the minde it selfe, it never sleepe. These dreames vary, according to the difference of humors & vapors. There are also casual dreames, which (as Solomon saith) come through the multitude of businesse. For as a looking glasse sheweth the image or figure thereunto opposite: so in dreames, the phantasie and imagination informes the understanding of such things as haunt the outward sense. Whereupon the poet saith.

Somnia ne cures, nam mens humana quod optat, Dum vigilat sperans, per somnum cernit id ipsum.

Englified by Abraham Fleming.

Regard no dreames, for why? the mind Of that in sleepe a view doth take, Which it doth wish and hope to find, At such time as it is awake.

CHAP. III.

The opinion of divers old writers touching dreames, and how they vary in noting the causes thereof.

Syneus, Themistius, Democritus, and others grounding themselves upon examples that chance hath sometimes verified, perswade men, A dissonance that nothing is dreamed in vaine: affirming that the heavenly influences in opinions do bring forth divers formes in corporal matters; and of the same influence about dreames. Eyes, visions and dreames are printed in the fantastical power, which is instrumental, with a celestial disposition meete to bring forth some effect, especially in sleepe, when the mind (being free from bodily cares) may more liberally receive the heavenly influences, whereby many things are knowne to them sleeping in dreames, which they that wake cannot see. Plato attributeth them to the formes and ingendred knowledges of the soule; Avicenna to the last intelligence that moveth the moone, through the light that lighteneth the phantasie in sleepe; Aristotle to the phantasical sense; Averroës to the imaginative; Albert to the influence of superior bodies.

## CHAP. IV.

Against interpreters of dreames, of the ordinary cause of dreames, Hemingius his opinion of diabolical dreames, the interpretation of dreames ceased.

There are bookes carried about concerning this matter, under the name of Abraham, who (as Philo *In lib. gigantum* saith) was the first inventor of the exposition of dreames: and so likewise of Solomon and Daniel. But Cicer o *In lib. de divinatione* confutech the vanity and folly of them that give credit to dreames. And as for the interpreters of dreames, as they know not before the dreame, nor yet after any certainty, yet when any thing afterwards happeneth, then they apply the dreame to that which hath chanced.

Certainly men never lightly faile to dreame by night, of that which they meditate by day: and by day they see, divers and sundry things, and conceive them severally in their minds. Then those mixed conceits being laid up in the closet of the memory, strive together; which, because the phantasie cannot discern nor discusse, some certaine thing gathered of many conceits is bred and contrived in one together. And therefore in my opinion, it is time vainly employed, to study about the interpretation of dreames. He that list to see the folly and vanity thereof, may read a vaine treatise, set out by Thomas Hill Londoner, 1568.

The pleasant art of the interpretation of dreames. N. Hemingius admonitionibus superstitio-nis magicis vitandis.

The end & use of prophesie, interpretation of dreames, operation of miracles, &c.

Lastly, there are diabolical dreames, which Nicholaus Hemingius divideth into three sorts. The first is, when the devil immediately offereth any matter of dreame. Secondly, when the devil sheweth revelations to them that have made request unto him therefore. Thirdly, when magicians by art bring to passe, that other men dreame what they will. Assuredly these, and so all the rest (as they may be used) are very magicall and devilish dreames. For although we may receive comfort of minde by those, which are called divine dreames, and health of body through physical dreames: yet if we take upon us to use the office of God in the revelation or rather the interpretation of them; or if we attribute unto them miraculous effects (now when we see the gifts of prophesie, and of interpretation of dreames, and also the operation of miracles are ceased, which were special and peculiar gifts of God, to confirme the truth of the word, and to establish his people in the faith of the Messias, who is now exhibited unto us both in the testament, and also in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ) we are bewitched, and both abuse and offend the majesty of God, and also seduce, delude and couzen all such as by our persuasion, and their own light beleefe, give us credit.

Thi

## CHAP. V.

That neither witches, nor any other, can either by words or hearb, thrust into the mind of a sleeping man, what cogitations or dreames they list; and whence magicall dreames come.

I Grant there may be hearbs and stones found and known to the physicians, which may procure dreames; and other hearbs and stones, &c. to make one bewraie all the secrets of his mind, when his body sleepech, or at least-wise to procure speech in sleep. But that witches or magicians have power by words, hearbs, or imprecations to thrust into the mind or conscience of man, what it shall please them, by vertue of their charmes, hearbs, stones or familiars, &c. according to the opinion of Hemingius, I deny: though the few which I confesse, that the devil both by day and also by night, travelleth to seduce man, and to lead him from God; yea & that no way more then this, where he placeth himself as God in the minds of them that are so credulous, to attribute unto him, or unto witches that which is only in the office, nature and power of God to accomplish.

Doth not Daniel the prophet say, even in this case; It is the Lord only that knoweth such secrets, as in the exposition of dreames is required? And doth not Joseph repeat those very words to Pharaohs officers, who consulted with him therein? Examples of divine dreames you may find a great number in the scripture, such (I mean) as it pleased God to reveale his pleasure by. Of physicall dreames we may both read in Authors, and see in our own experience daily, or rather nightly. Such dreames also as are casual, they are likewise usual. Those which in these daies are called magical or diabolical dreames, may rather be called melancholical. For out of that black vapor in sleepe through dreames appeareth (as Aristotle saith) some horrible thing; and as it were the image of an ugly devil: sometimes also other terrible visions, imaginations, counsels, and practises. As where we read of a certain man, that dreamed there appeared one unto him that required him to throw himself into a deep pit, and that he should reape great benefit thereby at Gods hands. So as the miserable wretch giving credit thereunto, performed the matter and killed himself. Now I confesse, that the interpretation or execution of that dreame was indeed diabolical: but the dreame was casual, derived from the heavy and black humor of melancholy.

Seek for such stuffe in my book of Har-tumim.

Dan. 2.

Gen. 11.8.

Gen. 37. & 11.

Isa. 11.

Dan. 2.

Aristot. de somnia.

How

## CHAP. VI.

*How men have been bewitched, couened or abused by dreames to dig and search for money.*

Such would be inbarked in the ship of fools. **H**ow many have been bewitched with dreames, and thereby made to consume themselves with digging and searching for money, &c. whereof they, or some other have dreamt? I my self could manifest, as having known how wise men have been that way abused by very simple persons, even where no dreame hath been met withall, but waking dreams. And this hath been used heretofore, as one of the finest couening feares; in so much as there is a very formal art thereof devised, with many excellent superstitious and ceremonies thereunto belonging, which I will set down as briefly as may be. Albeit that here in England; this proverbe hath been current; to wit, dreames prove contrary: according to the answer of the priests boy to his master, who told his said boy that he dreamt he killed his taile: yea master (saith he) but dreames prove contrary, you must kisse mine.

An English proverb.

## CHAP. VII.

*The art and order to be used in digging for money, revealed by dream: how to procure pleasant dreames: of morning and midnight dream.*

Note this superstitious dotage. **T**here must be made upon a hazel wand three crosses, and certain words both blasphemous and impious must be said over it, and hereunto must be added certain characters, and barbarous names. And whilst the Treasure is a digging, there must be read the psalmes, *De profundis, Missa, Misereatur nostri, Requiem, Pater noster, Ave Maria, Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo, Amen. A porta inferni credi videre bona, &c. Expectate Dominum, Requiem eternam.* And then a certain prayer. And if the time of digging be neglected, the devil will carry all the treasure away. See other more absolute conjurations for this purpose, in the word Lidoni following.

*I. Bap. Neap. in natural mag. lib. 2. cap. 26. fol. 83. & 84.* You shall find in Johannes Baptista Neapolitanus, divers receipts by hearts and potions, to procure pleasant or fearfull dreames; and perfumes also to that effect: who affirmeth, that dreames in the dead of the night are commonly preposterous and monstrous; and in the morning when the grosse humors be spent, there happen more pleasant and certain dreames, the blood being more pure then at other times: the reason whereof is there expressed.

Sundry

## CHAP. VIII.

*Sundry receipts and ointments, made and used for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects: an instance thereof reported and credited by some that are learned.*

**I**T shall not be amisse here in this place to repeate an oinment greatly to this purpose, rehearsed by the aforesaid John Bapt. Neap. wherein although he may be overtaken and couened by an old witch, and made not onely to belevee, but also to report a false tale; yet because it greatly overthroweth the opinion of M. Mal. Bodin, and such other, as write so absolutely in maintenance of witch es transportations, I will set downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

The fat of young children, and seeth it with water in a brazen vessel, reserving the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they lay up and keep, until occasion serveth to use it. They put hereunto *Eleoselinum, Aconitum, Frondes populeas, Mountain Peisly, Wolfesbane, leaves of the poplar and Soote.*

Confections or receipts for the miraculous transportation of witches.

Another receipt to the same purpose. *Sium, acarium vulgare, pentaphylon, yellow water-creffes, common Acorus, Cinquefoile, the blood of a sifter-moule, solanum somniferum, & oleum.* Sleeping nightshade and oyle. They stampe all these together, and then they rub all parts of their bodies exceedingly, till they looke red, and be very hot, so as the pores may be opened, and their flesh soe lible and loose. They joyne herewithal either fat, or oyle in stead thereof, that the force of the ointment may the rather pierce inwardly, and to be more effectual. By this meanes (saith he) in a moone-light night they seeme to be carried in the aire, to feasting, singing, dancing, kissing, and other acts of venery, with such youthes as they love and desire most: for the force (saith he) of their imagination is so vehement, that almost all that part of the braine, wherein the memory consisteth, is full of such conceits. And whereas they are naturally prone to belevee any thing; so do they receive such impressions and steadfast imaginations upon any thing else, either by day or by night. And this helpeth them forward in their imaginations, that their usuall food is none other commonly but beets, rootes, nuts, beanes, pease, &c.

Now (saith he) when I considered thoroughly hereof, remaining doubtful of the matter, there fell into my hands a witch, who of her owne accord did promise me to fetch me an errand out of hand from far countries, and willed all them, whom I had brought to witnesse the matter, to depart out of the chamber. And when she had undressed her selfe, and frosted her body with certaine ointments (which action we beheld through a chinke or little hole of the doore) she fell downe through the force thote soporiferous or sleepey ointments into a most sound and heavy sleep: so as we did break open the doore, and did beate her exceedingly; but

*Vetula, quae a strigis similitudine, striges vocant, quae noctu puerulorum sanguinem in cunis cubantium exorbent.*

the force of her sleepe was such, as it took away from her the sense of feeling: and we departed for a time. Now when her strength and powers were weary and decayed, she awoke of her owne accord, and began to speak many vaine and dotting words, affirming that she had passed over both seas and mountaines; delivering to us many untrue and false reports: we earnestly denied them, she impudently affirmed them. This (saith he) will not so come to passe with every one, but onely with old women that are melancholick, whose nature is extreame cold, and their evaporation small; and they both perceive and remember what they see in that case and taking of theirs.

## CHAP. IX.

*A confutation of the former follies, as well concerning ointments, dreames, &c. as also of the assembly of witches, and of their consultations and bankets at sundry places, and all in dreames.*

**B**Ut if it be true that S. Augustine saith, and many other writers the witches night walkings are but phantasies and dreames: then all the reports of their bargain, transporting, and meetings with Diana, Minerva, &c. are but fables; and then do they ly that maintaine those actions to be done in deed and verity, which in truth are done no way. It were marvel on the one side (if those things happened in dreames, which nevertheless the witches affirme to be otherwise) that when those witches awake, they neither consider nor remember that they were in a dreame. It were marvel that their ointments, by the physicians opinions having no force at all to that effect, as they confesse which are inquisitors, should have such operation. It were marvel that their ointments cannot be found any where, saving onely in the inquisitors bookes. It were marvel, that when a stranger is anointed therewith, they have sometimes, and yet not alwayes, the like operation as with witches; which all the inquisitors confesse.

But to this last, frier Bartholomæus saith, that the witches themselves, before they anoint themselves, do heare in the night time a great noise of minstrels, which fly over them, with the lady of the fairies, and then they adresse themselves to their journey. But then I marvel againe, that no body else heareth nor seeth this troope of minstrels, especially riding in a moon-light night. It is marvel, that they that think this to be but in a dreame, can be perswaded that all the rest is any other than dreames. It is marvel that in dreames, witches of old acquaintance meet so just together, and conclude upon murders, and receive ointments, roores, powders, &c. (as witchmongers report they do, and as they make the witches confesse) and yet ly at home fast asleepe. It is marvel that such preparation is made for them (as Sprenger, Bartholomew, and Bodin report) as well in noble mens houses, as in alehouses; and that they come in dreames, and eat up their meate: and the same wife specially is not wearied with them for non-payment of their score

Barthol. Spin. q. de strigib. c. 31.

Bar. Spin. q. de strigib. c. 30.

New matter & worthy to be marvelled at.

or false payment; to wit, with imaginary money, which they say is not substantial, and that they talke not afterwards about the reckoning, and so discover the matter. And it is most marvel of all, that the hostesse, &c. doth not sit among them, and take part of their good cheer. For so it is that if any part of these their meetings and league be true, it is as true and as certainly proved and confessed, that at some ale-houfe, or some time at some Gentlemans house, there is continuall preparation made monthly for this assembly: as appeareth in S. Germans story.

Legend. aur. in vita S. Germani.

## CHAP. X.

*That most part of prophesies in the old Testament were revealed in dreames, that we are not now to look for such revelations, of some who have dreamt of that which hath come to passe, that dreames prove contrary Nabuchadnezzers rule to know a true Expofitor of Dreames.*

**I**T is held and maintained by divers, and gathered out of the 12. of Numbers, that all which was written or spoken by the prophets, among the children of Israel (Moses excepted) was propounded to them by dreames. And indeed it is manifest, that many things, which are thought by the unlearned to have been really finished, have been only performed by dreames and visions. As where Solomon required of God the gift of wisdom: that was (I say) in a dream; and also where he received promise of the continuance of the kingdome of Israel in his line. So was Elay's vision in the 6. of his prophesie: as also that of Ezechiel the cliff of a roek at the River Euphrates in Babylon; and that after certain daies, it did there putrefy. It must needs be in a dream; for Jeremy never (or at leastwise not then) at Babylon. We that are christians must not now slumber and dream, but watch and pray, and meditate upon our salvation in Christ both day and night. And if we expect revelations in our dreams, now, when Christ is come, we shall deceive our selves: for in him are fulfilled all dreames & prophesies. Howbeit, Bodin holdeth that dreames and visions continue till this day, in a miraculous manner as ever they did.

If you reade *Artemidorus*, you shall reade many stories of such as dreamt of things that afterwards came to passe. But he might have cited a thousand for one that set out contrary: for as for such dreamers among the Jews themselves, as had not extraordinary visions miraculously exhibited unto them by God, they were counted coufeners, as may appear by these words of the prophet Zacharie; Surely the idols have spoken vanity, and the soothsayers have seen a ly, and the dreamers have told a vainthing. According to Solomons saying; In the multitude of dreames and vanities are many words. It appeareth in Jeremie 23. that the false prophets, whilest they illuded the people with lies, counterfeiting the true prophets, used to cry out, Dreames, dreames; We have dreamed a dreame, &c. Finally, Nabuchadnezzet teacheth all men to know a true expofitor of dreames; to wit, such a one as hath his revelation from God. For he can (as Daniel did) repeate your dream before you discover it: which thing if any expounder of dreames can do at this day, I will believe him-

Zachary 10. 2. Eccles. 5. 6. Jeremie 23.

Daniel 21.

T

The

## The eleventh Book.

## CHAP. I.

The Hebrew word *Nabas* expounded, of the art of augury, who invented it, how slovenly a science it is: the multitude of sacrifices and sacrificers of the heathen, and the causes thereof.



The slovenly art of augury.

**N**AHAS, is to observe the flying of birds, and comprehendeth all such other observations, where men do ghesse upon uncertain toies. It is found in Deut. 18. and in 2. Chron. 33. and elsewhere. Of this art of augury Tyresias the King of the Thebans is said to be the first inventor: but Tages first published the discipline thereof, being but a little boy; as Cicero reporteth out of the bookes of the Hetruscans themselves. Some points of this art are more high and profound than some others, & yet are they more homely and slovenly then the rest; as namely, the divination upon the entrails of beasts, which the Gentiles in their sacrifices specially observed. In somuch as Marcus Varro, seeing the absurdity thereof, said that these gods were not only idle, but very slovenly, that used so to hide their secrets and counsels in the guts and bowels of beasts.

How vainly, absurdly, and superstitiously the heathen used this kind of divination in their sacrifices, is manifested by their actions and ceremonies in that behalfe practised, as well in times past, as at this hour. The Egyptians had 666. several sorts and kinds of sacrifices; the Romans had almost as many; the Grecians had not so few as they; the Persians and the Medes were not behind them; the Indians and other nations have at this instant their sacrifices full of variety, and more full of barbarous impiety. For in sundry places, these offer sacrifices to the devil, hoping thereby to move him to lenity: yea these commonly sacrifice such of their enemies, as they have taken in war: as we reade that the Gentiles in ancient time did offer sacrifice, to appease the wrath and indignation of their feigned gods.

## CHAP. II.

Of the Jews sacrifice to Moloch, a discourse thereupon, and of Purgatory.

**T**he Jewes used one kind of diabolical sacrifice, never taught them by Moses, namely, to offer their children to Moloch, making their sonnes and their daughters to runne through the fire; supposing such grace and efficacy to have been in that action, as other witchcrafts to be in charmes and words. And therefore among other points of witchcraft, this is specially and namely forbidden by Moses. We reade of no more miracles wrought hereby, than by any other kind of witchcraft in the old or new Testament expressed. It was no ceremony appointed by God,

2 Reg. 23. 10.  
2 Chr. 33.  
Jerem. 7.  
Deut. 18. 10.  
Lev. 18. 21.  
Id. cap. 20. 2.

no figure of Christ: perhaps it might be a sacrament or rather a figure of An invincible purgatory, the which place was not remembred by Moses. Neither argument was these any sacrifice appointed by the law for the releefe of the Israe- gainst purgatory. lites soules that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt should nor have beene omitted, if any such place of purgatory had been then, as the Pope hath lately devised for his private and speciall lucre. This sacrificing to Moloch (as some affirme) was usual among the Gentiles, from whence the Jewes brought it into Israel: and there (of likelyhood) the Eutichists learned the obomination in that behalfe.

## CHAP. III.

The Canibals cruelty, of popish sacrifices exceeding in tyranny the Jewes or Gentiles.

**T**he incivility and cruel sacrifices of popish priests do yet exceed both the Jew and the Gentile: for these take upon them to sacrifice Christ himselfe. And to make their tyranny the more apparent, they are not contented to have killed him once, but dayly and hourelly torment him with new deaths; yea they are not ashamed to sweare, that with their carnal hands they reare his humane substance, breaking it into small gobbets; and with their external teeth chew his flesh and bones; contrary to divine or humane nature; and contrary to the prophesie, which saith; There shall not a bone of him be broken. Finally, in the end of their sacrifices (as they say) they ate him up rawe, and swallow downe into their guts every member and parcel of him: and last of all, that they convey him into the place where they bestowe the residue of all that which they have devoured that day. And this same barbarous impiety exceedeth the cruelty of all others: for all the Gentiles consumed their sacrifices with fire, which they thought to be holy.

Against the papists abominable and blasphemous sacrifice of the masse. psal. 34. 20.

## CHAP. IV.

The superstition of the heathen about the element of fire, and how it grew in such reverence among them, of their corruptions, and that they had some inkling of the godly fathers doings in that behalfe.

**A**s touching the element of fire, and the superstition thereof about those buisnesses, you shall understand, that many superstitious people of all nations have received, and revered, as the most holy thing among their sacrifices: in somuch (I say) as they have worshipped it among their gods, calling it Orimalda (to wit) holy fire, and divine light. The Greekes called it *estia*, the Romans *Vesta*, which is, The fire of the Lord. Surely they had heard of the fire that came downe from heaven, and consumed the oblations of the fathers; and they understood it to be God himselfe. For there came to the heathen, the bare names of things, from the doctrine of the godly fathers and patriarches, and those so obscured



feared with fables, and corrupted with lies, so overwhelmed with superstitions, & disguised with ceremonies, that it is hard to judge from whence they came. Some cause thereof (I suppose) was partly the translations of governments, whereby one nation learned folly of another; and partly blind devotion, without knowledge of Gods word: but specially the want of Grace, which they sought not for, according to Gods commandment and will. And that the Gentiles had some inkling of the godly fathers doings, may diversly appeare. Do not the Mulcovits, and Indian prophets at this day, like apes, imitate Esay? Because he went naked certaine years, they forsooth counterfeit madnes, and drinke potions for that purpose; thinking that whatsoever they say in their madnesse, will certainly come to passe. But hereof is more largely discoursed before in the word *Kajam*.

The Gymnosophists of India their apostish imitation of Esay.

## CHAP. V.

Of the Romane sacrifices: of the estimation they had of augury, of the law of the twelve tables.

THE Romans, even after they were growne to great civility, and enjoyed a most flourishing state and common-wealth, would sometimes sacrifice themselves, sometimes their children, sometimes their friends, &c. consuming the same with fire, which they thought holy. Such estimation (I say) was attributed to that of divination upon the entrails of beasts, &c. At Rome, the chiefe princes themselves exercised the same; namely, Romulus, Fabius Maximus, &c. in so much as there was a decree made there, by the whole senate, that six of the chiefe magistrates sonnes should from time to time be put forth, to learne the mystery of these arts of augury and divination, at Hetruria, where the cunning and knowledge thereof most abounded. When they came home well informed and instructed in this art, their estimation and dignity was such, as they were accounted, reputed, and taken to be the interpreters of the gods, or rather betweene the gods and them. No high priests, nor any other great officer was elected, but these did either absolutely nominate them, or else did exhibit the names of two, whereof the senate must choose the one.

The law of the twelve tables.

In their ancient lawes were written these words: *Prodigia & portentosa ad Hetruscos aruspices (si senatus iusserit) deferunt, Hetruriaq; principis disciplinam discunt. Quibus divis decreverunt, procurant, isdem fulgura & ostenta pianto, auspicia servant, auguri parento*: the effect of which words is this; Let all prodigious and portentous matters be carried to the soothsayers of Hetruria, at the will and commandment of the senate; and let the young princes be sent to Hetruria, there to learne that discipline, or to be instructed in that art or knowledge. Let there be always some solicitor, to learne with what gods they have decreed or determined their matters; and let sacrifices be made unto them in times of lightning, or at any strange or supernatural shew. Let all such conjecturing tokens be observed; whatsoever the soothsayer commandeth, let it be religiously obeyed.

## CHAP. VI.

Colleges of Augurers, their office, their number, the signification of augury, that the practicers of that art were censurers, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparrell, their superstition.

ROMULUS erected three Colleges or Centuries of those kinds of soothsayers, which only (and none other) should have authority to expound the minds and admonishment of the gods. Afterwards that number was augmented to five, and after that to nine: for they must needs be odd. In the end they increased so fast, that they were faine to make a decree for stay from the further proceeding in those creations: like to our Statute of *Mortmaine*. Howbeit, Sylla (contrary to all orders and constitutions before made) increased that number to four and twenty.

And though *Augurium* be most properly that divination, which is gathered by birds; yet because this word *Nabas* comprehendeth all other kinds of divination, as *Extispicium*, *aruspicium*, &c. which is as well the guessing upon the entrails of beasts, as divers other waies: omitting physognomy and palmistry, and such like, for the tediousnesse and folly thereof; I will speake a litle of such arts, as were above measure regarded of our elders: neither mind I to discover the whole circumstance, but to refute the vanity thereof, and specially of the Professors of them, which are and alwaies have been censuring arts, and in them contained both special and severall kinds of witchcrafts. For the masters of these faculties have ever taken upon them to occupy the place and name of God; blasphemously ascribing unto themselves his omnipotent power, to foretell, &c. whereas, in truth, they could or can do nothing, but make a shew of that which is not.

One matter, to bewray their censuring, is; that they could never worke nor foretew any thing to the poor or inferior sort of people: matters as touched the baser sort, were inferior causes; which the superstition of the people themselves would not neglect to learn. Howbeit, the professors of this art descended not so lowe, as to communicate with them: for they were priests (which in all ages and nations have been jolly fellows) whose office was, to tell what should come to passe, either touching good luck or bad fortune; to expound the minds, admonitions, warnings and threatnings of the Gods, to foretew calamities, &c. which might be (by their sacrifices and common contrition) removed and qualified. And before their entrance into that action, they had many observations, which they executed very superstitiously; pretending that every bird and beast, &c. should be sent from the gods as foretewers of weather to do their businesse in: for the which their place was certainly assigned, as well in Rome as in Hetruria, wherein they observed every quarter of the element, which way to look, and which way to stand, &c. Their

Magna charta H. 3. 36. 7. Ed. 1. 15. R. 2. 5.

A manifest discovery of augurers censuring.

Their apparel was very priestlike, of fashion altered from all others, specially at the time of their prayers, wherein they might not omit a word nor a syllable: in respect whereof one read the service, and all the residue repeated it after him, in the manner of a procession.

CHAP. VII.

The times and seasons to exercise augury, the manner and order thereof, of the ceremonies thereunto belonging.

Note the superstitious ceremonies of augurors.

NO lesse regard was there had of the times of their practise in that ministry: for they must begin at midnight, and end at noon, not travelling therein in the decay of the day, but in the increase of the same, neither in the sixth or seventh hour of the day, nor yet after the month of August; because then young birds flie about, and are diseased and imperfect, mounting their fethers, and flying out of the country: so as no certain guesse is to be made of the gods purposes by them at those seasons. But in their due times they standing with a bowed wand in their hand, their face toward the east, &c. in the top of an high tower, the weather being clear, watch for birds, noting from whence they came, and whether they fly, and in what sort they wag their wings, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Upon what signes and tokens augurors did prognosticate, observations touching the inward and outward parts of beasts, with notes of beasts behaviour in the slaughter-house.

Observations in the art augurificall.

THESE kind of witches, whom we have now in hand, did also prognosticate good or bad luck, according to the soundnes or imperfectio of the entrails of beasts; or according to the superfluities or infirmities of nature; or according to the abundance of humours unnecessary, appearing in the inward parts & bowels of the beasts sacrificed. For as touching the outward parts, it was alwaies provided and foreseen, that they should be without blemish. And yet there were many tokens and notes to be taken of the external actions of those beasts, at the time of sacrifice, as if they would not quietly be brought to the place of execution, but must be forceably halled; or if they brake loose; or if by hap, cunning or strength they withstood the first blow, or if after the butchers blow they leaped up, rored, stood fast; or being fallen, kicked, or would not quietly die, or bled not well; or if any ill news had bin heard, or any ill sight seen at the time of slaughter or sacrifice, which were all significations of ill luck and unhappy successe. On the other side, if the slaughterman performed his office well, so as the beast had been well chosen, not infected, but whole and sound, and in the end fair killed, had been safe; for then the gods smiled.

CHAP. IX.

A confutation of augury, Plato his reverend opinion thereof, of contrary events, and false predictions.

BUT what credit is to be attributed to such toies and chances, which grow not of nature, but are gathered by the superstition of the interpreters? As for birds, who is so ignorant that conceiveth not, that one flyeth one way, another another way, about their private necessities? And yet are the other divinations more vain and foolish. Howbeit, Plato to thinketh a commonwealth cannot stand without this art, and numbereth it among the liberal sciences. These fellows promised Pompeie, that none of them should die before they were old, Cassius, and Cæsar, that none of them should die before they were old, and that in their own houses, and in great honour; and yet they all died clean contrarily. Howbeit doubtlesse, the heathen in this point were not so much to be blamed, as the sacrificing papists: for they were directed hereunto without the knowledge of God's promises; neither knew they the end why such ceremonies and sacrifices were instituted; but only understood by an uncertain and slender report, that God was wont to send good or ill successe to the children of Israel, and to the old patriarchs and fathers, upon his acceptance or disallowance of their sacrifices and oblations. But men in all ages have been so desirous to know the effect of their purposes, the sequel of things to come, and to see the end of their fear and hope; that a seely witch, which hath learned any thing in the art of coufenage, may make a great many jolly fools.

CHAP. X.

The coufening art of sortilege or lotary, practised especially by Egyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots, of Pythagoras his lot, &c.

THE counterfeite Egyptians, which were indeed coufening vagabonds, practising the art called Sortilegium, had no small credit among the multitude: howbeit, their divinations were as was their fast and loose, and as the witches cures and hurts, and as the soothsayers answers, and as the conjurors raising up of spirits, and as Apollos or the Rood of graces oracles, and as the jugglers knacks of legierdemaine, and as the papists exorcismes, and as the witches charmes, and as the counterfeite visions, and as the coufeners knaveries. Hereupon it was said; Non invenitur inter vos menabar, that is, Sortilegium, which were like to these Egyptian coufeners. As for other lots, they were used, and that lawfully, as appeareth by Jonas and others that were holy men, & as may be seen among all common-wealths, for the deciding of divers controversies, &c. where- in thy neighbour is not misused, nor God any way offended. But in truth I think, because of the coufenage that so easily may be used herein, God

Levit. 16.  
Num. 33.  
& 35.  
Jofu. 14.  
I Chron. 24.  
& 26.  
Prover. 18.  
Jonas 1.  
A&S 1.  
Of Pythagoras lot.

God forbid it in the common-wealth of the Jews, though in the good use thereof it was allowed in matters of great weight; as appeareth both in the old and new testament; and that as well in doubtful cases and distributions, as in elections and inheritances, and pacification of variances. I omit to speake any thing of the lots comprised in verses, concerning the luck ensuing, either of Virgil, Homer, or any other, where a childish and ridiculous toie, and like unto childrens play at *Primus secundus*, or the game called the philosophers table: but herein I will referre you to the bable it selfe, or else to Bodin, or to some such sober writer thereupon; of whom there is no want.

There is a lot also called Pythagoras lot, which (some say) Aristotle beleeveth: and that is, where the characters of letters have certaine proper numbers; whereby they divine (through the proper names of men) so as the numbers of each letters being gathered in a summe, and put together, give victory to them whose summe is the greater; whether the question be of warre, life, matrimony, victory, &c. even as the unequal number of vowels in proper names portendeth lack of sight, halting &c. which the godfathers and godmothers might easily prevent, if the case stood so.

CHAP. XI.

*Of the Cabalistical art, consisting of traditions and unwritten varieties learned without Book, and of the division thereof.*

The art Cabalistical divided.

Here is also place for the Cabalistical art, consisting of unwritten varieties, which the Jewes do beleve and brag that God himselfe gave to Moses in the mount Sinai; and afterwards was taught onely with lively voice, by degrees of succession, without writing, untill the time of Eldradas: even as the scholars of Archippus did use wit and memory instead of bookes. They divide this in twaine; the one expoundeth with philosophical reason the secrets of the law and the bible, wherein (they say) that Solomon was very cunning; because it is written in the Hebrew stories, that he disputed from the Cedar of Libanus, even to the Hyfop, and also of birds, beasts, &c. The other is as it were a symbolical divinity of the highest contemplation, of the divine and angelike vertues, of holy names and signes; wherein the letters, numbers, figures, things and armes, the pricks over the letters, the lines, the points, and the accents do all signifie very profound things and great secrets. By these arts the Atheists suppose Moses wrote all his miracles, and that hereby they have power over angels and devils, as also to do miracles: yea and that hereby by all the miracles that either any of the prophets, or Christ himselfe wrought, were accomplished.

C. Agrippa lib de vanitate.

But C. Agrippa having searched to the bottome of this art, saith, it is nothing but superstition and folly. Otherwise you may be sure Christ would not have hidden it from his Church. For this cause the Jewes were

were so skilful in the names of God. But there is none other name in heaven or earth, in which we might be saved, but Jesus: neither is that meant by his bare name, but by his vertue and goodnesse towards us. These Cabalists do further brag, that they are able hereby, not onely to finde out and know the unspeakeable mysteries of God; but also the secrets which are above scriptures; whereby also they take upon them to prophesie, and to worke miracles: yea hereby they can make what they list to be scripture; as Valeria Proba did pick certaine verses out of Virgile, alluding them to Christ. And therefore these their revolutions are nothing but allegorical games, which idle men busied in letters, points, and numbers, (which the Hebrew tongue easily suffereth) devise, to delude and coulen the simple and ignorant. And this they call Alphabeticke or Arhythmantical divinity, which Christ shewed to his Apostles onely, and which Paul saith he speaketh but among perfect men; and being high mysteries are not to be committed unto writing, and so made popular. There is no man that readeth any thing of this Cabalistical art, but must needs think upon the Popes cunning practises in this behalfe, who hath in *serinio pectoris*, not onely the exposition of all lawes, both divine & humane, but also authority to add thereunto, or to draw back there from at his pleasure: and this may he lawfully do even with the scriptures, either by addition or subtraction, after his own pontifical liking. As for example: he hath added the Apocrypha (whereunto he might as well have joined S. Augustines works, or the course of the civil law, &c.) Again, he hath diminished from the decalogue or ten commandements, not one or two words, but a whole precept, namely the second, which it hath pleased him to dash out with his pen: and truly he might as well by the same authority have raised out of the testament S. Markes gospel.

CHAP. XII.

*When, how, and in What sort sacrifices were first ordained, and how they were prophaned, and how the Pop. corrupted the sacraments of Christ.*

At the first God manifested to our father Adam, by the prohibition of the Apple, that he would have man live unde a law, in obedience and submission; and not to wander like a beast without order or discipline. And after man had transgressed, and deserved thereby Gods heavy displeasure, yet his mercy prevailed; and taking compassion upon man, he promised the Messias, who should be borne of a woman, and breake the serpents head: declaring by evident testimonies, that his pleasure was that man should be restored to favour and grace, through Christ: and binding the mindes of men to this promise, and to be fixed upon their Messias, established figures and ceremonies wherewith to nourish their faith, and confirmed the same with miracles, prohibiting and excluding all mans devises in that behalfe. And upon his promise renewed, he enjoyed (I say) and erected a new forme of worship, whereby

The blasphemy of the Cabalists.

In concil. Trident.

Gen. 2. 17.

Gen. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 15.

Levit. 12. 3.

## The discovery

Nah. 1.

he would have his promises constantly beheld, faithfully beleaved, and reverently regarded. He ordained six sorts of divine sacrifices; three propitiatory, not as meriting remission of sinnes, but as figures of Christs propitiation: the other three were of thanksgiving. These sacrifices were full of ceremonies, they were powdered with consecrated salt, and kindled with fire, which was preserved in the tabernacle of the Lord: which fire (some think) was sent downe from heaven. GOD himselfe commanded these rites and ceremonies to our forefathers, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c. promising therein both the amplification of their families, and also their Messias. But in tract of time (I say) wantonnesse, negligence, and contempt, through the instigation of the devil, abolished this institution of GOD: so as in the end, God himselfe was forgotten among them, and they became pagans and heathens, devising their own wayes, until every countrey had devised and erected both new sacrifices, and also new gods particular unto themselves. Whose example the Pope followeth, in prophaning of Christs sacraments, disguising them with his devises and superstitious ceremonies; contriving and comprehending therein the folly of all nations: the which because little children do now perceive and scorne, I will passe over; and returne to the Gentiles, whose I cannot excuse of consenage, superstition, nor yet of vanity in this behalfe: For if God suffered false prophets among the children of Israel, being Gods peculiar people, and hypocrits in the church of Christ; no marvel if there were such people amongst the heathen, which neither professed nor knew him.

## CHAP. XIII.

Of the objects wherupon the augurors used to prognosticate, with certaine cautions and notes.

The Gentiles, which treat of this matter, repeat an innumerable multitude of objects, wherupon they prognosticate good or bad luck. And a great matter is made of neezing, wherein the number of neezings and the time thereof is greatly noted; the tingling in the finger, the elbowe, the roe, the kneec, &c. are singular notes also to be observed in this art; though specially herein are marked the flying of fowles, and meetings of beasts; with this general caution, that the object or matter whereon men divine, must be sudden and unlooked for: which regard, children and some old fooles have to the gathering primroses, strawberries, and foure-leaved grasses; Item the person unto whom such an object offereth it selfe unawares; Item the intention of the divinator, where the object which is met, is referred to augurie; Item the hour in which the object is without foreknowledge upon the sudden met withal: and so forth.

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 10. cap. 6.

Plinie reporteth that gryphes flie alwayes to the place of slaughter, two or three dayes before the battel is fought; which was seene and tried at the battel of Troy: and in respect thereof, the griphe was allowed to be

## superstitious augurios. of Witchcraft. Chap. XIV.

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be the chiefe bird of augurie. But among the innumerable number of the portentous beasts, fowles, serpents, and other creatures, the roade is the most excellent object, whose ugly deformity signifieth sweet and amiable fortune: in respect whereof some superstitious witches preserve roades for their familiars. And some one of good credit (whom I could name) having convented the witches themselves, hath starved diverse of their devils, which they kept in boxes in the likenesse of roades. Plutarch Chironæus saith, that the place and site of the signes that we receive by augury, are specially to be noted: for if we receive them on the left side, good lucke; if on the right side, ill lucke insueth: because terrene and mortal things are opposite and contrary to divine and heavenly things; for that which the gods deliver with the right hand, falleth to our left sides; and so contrarywise.

## CHAP. XIV.

The division of augury, persons admittable into the colledges of augury, of their superstition.

The latter diviners in these mysteries, have divided their soothsayings into twelve superstitions: as Augustinus Niphus termeth them. The first is prosperity; the second, ill lucke, as when one goeth out of his house, and seeth an unlucky beast lying on the right side of his way; the third is destinie; the fourth is fortune; the fifth is ill hap, as when an infortunate beast feedeth on the right side of your way; the sixth is utility; the seventh is hurt; the eighth is called a cautel, as when a beast followeth one, and staith at any side, nor passing beyond him, which is a signe of good lucke; the ninth is infelicity, and that is contrary to the eighth, as when the beast passeth before one; the tenth is perfection, the eleventh is imperfection; the twelfth is conclusion. Thus farre he.

Among the Romans none could be received into the college of augurors that had a bile, or had bene bitten with a dog, &c. and at the times of their exercise, even at noone dayes, they lighted candles. From whence the papists convey unto their church, those points of infidelity. Finally, their observations were so infinite and ridiculous, that there flew not a sparkle out of the fire, but it betokened somewhat.

## CHAP. XV.

Of the common peoples fond and superstitious collections and observations.

Amongst us there be many women, and effeminate men (marry papists alwayes, as by their superstition may appear) that make great divinations upon the shedding of salt, wine, &c. and for the observation of dayes and houres use as great witchcraft as in any thing. For if one try chance

chance to take a fall from a horse, either in a slippery or stumbling way, he will note the day and houre, and count that time unlucky for a journey. Otherwise, he that receiveth a mischance, will consider whether he met not a cat, or a hare, when he went first out of his doores in the morning; or stumbled not at the threshold at his going out; or put not on his shooe the wrong side outwards; or his left shooe on his right foot, which Augustus Cæsar reputed for the worst luck that might befall. But above all other nations (as Martinus de Ailes witnesseth) the Spaniards are most superstitious herein, and of Spaine, the people of the province of Lusitania is the most fond. For one will say; I had a dreame to night, or a crow croaked upon my house, or an owle flew by me and seised upon a cocke crew contrary to (which augury Lucius Sylla took of his death) or a cocke crew contrary to his houre. Another saith; The moone is at the prime; and shined in the sun rose in a cloud and looked pale, or a star shone and shined in the aire, or a strange cat came into the house, or a hen fell from the top of the house.

Martinus de Ailes in tract. de superstit. contra maleficia. Appian de bello civili.

Augurifical toies.

Many will go to bed againe, if they neeze before their shoes be on their feet; some will hold fast their left thumb in their right hand when they hickor; or else will hold their chinne with their right hand, while a gospel is sung. It is thought very ill lucke of some, that a child, or any other living creature, should passe betwene two friends as they walke together; for they say it portendeth a division of friendship. Among the papists themselves, if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a frier or a priest; they thought it so ill lucke, as they would couple up their hounds, and go home, being in despaire of any further sport that day. Marry if they had used venery with a begger, they should win all the money they played for that day at dice. The like folly is to be imputed unto them, that observe (as true or probable) old verses, wherein can be no reasonable cause of such effects; which are brought to passe onely by Gods power, and at his pleasure. Of this sort be these that follow.

*Vincenti festo si sol radiet memor esto.*

Remember on S. Vincents day,  
If that the sun his beames display.

*Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni.*

If Paul th'apostles day be clear,  
It doth foreshew a lucky year.

*Si sol splendescat Mariâ purificante,  
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante.*

Englified by Abraham Fleming.

By Abraham Fleming.

By Abraham Fleming.

Augury & Augurors.

If Mariæ purifying day,  
Be cleare and bright with sunny raie,  
Then froit and cold shall be much more,  
After the feast than was before.

*Señor rubens cælum cras indicat esse serenum,  
Si manè rubescit. ventus vel pluvia crescit.*

The skie being red at evening,  
Forethrews a faire and clear morning;  
But if the morning riseth red,  
Of wind or raine we shall be sped.

By Abraham Fleming.

Some stick a needle or a buckle into a certain tree, neere to the cathedral church of S. Christopher, or of some other saint; hoping thereby to be delivered that yeare from the headach. Item maids forsooth hang some of their haire before the image of S. Urbane, because they would have the rest of their haire grow long and be yellow. Item, women with child runne to church, and tie their girdles or shoe-lachets about a bell, and strike upon the same thrice, thinking that the sound thereof will hasten their good delivery. But sithence these things begin to touch the vanities and superstitions of incantations, I will referre you thither, hereof in the where you shall see of that stuffe abundance; beginning at the word Habar.

#### CHAP. XVI.

How old writers vary about the matter, the manner, and the means, whereby things augurifical are moved.

Theophrastus and Themistius affirme, that whatsoever happeneth unto man suddenly and by chance, cometh from the providence of God. So as Themistius gathereth, that men in that respect prophesie, when they speake what cometh in their braine, upon the sudden; though not knowing or understanding what they say. And that seeing God hath a care for us, it agreeth with reason (as Theophrastus saith) that he shew us by some meane whatsoever shall happen. For with Pythagoras he concludeth, that all foreshewes and auguries are the voices and words of God, by the which he foretellet man the good or evil that shall betide. Trimegistus affirmeth, that all augurifical things are moved by devils; Porphyrie saith by gods, or rather good angels: according to the opinion of Plotinus and Iamblichus. Some other affirmeth they are moved by the moone wandering through the twelve signes of the Zodiacke: because the moone hath dominion in all sudden matters. The Ægyptian astronomers hold, that the moone ordereth not those portentous matters, but *Stella errans*, a wandering starre, &c.

How

Averroes. 12. metaphysic.

## CHAP. XVI

*How ridiculous an art augury is, how Cato mocked it, Aristotles reason against it, fond collections of augurers, who allowed, and who disallowed it.*

**T**he fond art of augury convinced. Acts 17.

**V**erily all these observations being neither grounded on Gods word, nor physical or philosophical reason, are vanities, superstitions, lies, and meer witchcraft; as whereby the world hath long time been, and is still abused and coulened. It is written; *Non est vestrum scire tempora & mensura, &c.* It is not for you to know the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his owne power. The most godly men and the wisest philosophes have given no credit hereunto. S. Augustine saith; *Qui in divinationibus credit, sciat se fidem christianam & baptismum praevaricare, & paganism Dei; inimicum esse.* He that gives credit to these divinations, let him know that he hath abused the Christian faith and his baptism, and is a Pagan, and enemy to God. One told Cato, that a rat had carried away and eaten his hose, which the party said was a wonderful signe. Nay (said Cato) I think not so; but if the hose had eaten the rat, that had been a wonderful token indeed. When Nonius told Cicero that they should have good successe in battel, because seven eagles were taken in Pompeies campe, he answered thus; No doubt it will be even so, if that we chance to fight with pies. In the like case also he answered Labienus, who prophesied like successe by such divinations, saying, that through the hope of such toies, Pompeie lost all his pavillions not long before. What wiseman would think, that God would commit his counsel to daw, an owle, a swine, or a toade, or that he would hide his secret purposes in the dung and bowels of beasts? Aristotle thus reasoneth; Augury or divinations are neither the causes nor effects of things to come; Ergo, they do not thereby foretell things truly, but by chance. As if I dreame that my friend will come to my house, and he cometh indeed; yet neither dreame nor imagination is more the cause of my friends coming, than the chattering of a pie.

When Hannibal overthrew Marcus Marcellus, the beast sacrificed wanted a peece of his heart; therefore forsooth Marius, when he sacrificed at Utica, and the beast lacked his liver, he must needs have the like successe. These are their collections, and as vaine as if they said, that the building of Tenderden steeple was the cause of Goodwine sands, or the decay of Sandwich haven. S. Augustine saith, that these observations are meer superstitions. But we reade in the fourth psalme, a sentence which might dissuade any christian from this folly and impiety; O ye sonnes of men, how long will you turne my glory into shame, loving vanity, and seeing lies? The like is read in many other places of scripture.

Of such as allow this folly, I can commend Plinie best, who saith, that the operation of these auguries is as we take them. For if we take them in good part, they are signes of good luck; if we take them in ill part, ill luck followeth.

**A**ngury. followeth; if we neglect them, and way them not, they do neither good nor harme. Thomas of Aquine reasoneth in this wise; The starres, whose course is certaine, have greater affinity and community with mans actions, than auguries; and yet our doings are neither directed nor proceed from the starres. Which thing also Ptolomey witnesseth, saying; *Sapientia dominabitur astris*, A wiseman overruleth the starres.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Fond distinctions of the heathen writers, concerning augury.*

**T**he heathen made a distinction betweene divine, naturall, and casual C. Epidius. auguries. Divine auguries were such, as men were made beleieve were done miraculously, as when dogs spake; as at the expulsion of Tarquinius out of his kingdome; or when trees spake, as before the death of Caesar; or when horses spake, as did a horse whose name was Zanthus. Many learned christians confesse, that such things as may indeed have divine cause, may be called divine auguries; or rather forewarnings of God, and tokens either of his blessings or discontentation; as the starre was a token of a safe passage to the magicians that sought Christ; so was the cockcrowing an augury to Peter for his conversion. And many such other divinations or auguries (if it be lawful so to terme them) are the in scriptures to be found.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of natural and casual augury, the one allowed, and the other disallowed.*

**N**atural augury is a physical or philosophical observation; because humane and natural reason may be yielded for such events: as if one heare the cock crow many times together, a man may guesse that raine will follow shortly; as by the crying of rookes, and by their extraordinary using of their wings in their flight, because through a natural instinct, provoked by the impression of the heavenly bodies, they are moved to know the times, according to the disposition of the weather, as it is necessary for their natures. And therefore Jeremy saith; *Milvus in caelo cognovit tempus sumunt.* The physician may argue a strength towards in his patient, when he heareth him neeze twice, which is a natural cause to judge by, and conjecture upon. But sure it is meer casual, and also very foolish and incredible, that by two neezings, a man should be sure of good luck or successe in his businesse; or by meeting of a toade, a man should escape a danger, or achieve an enterprize, &c.

CHAP. XX.

A confutation of casual augury which is meere witchcraft, and what uncertainty those divinations are grounded.

What imagination worketh in man or woman, many leaves would not comprehend; for as the qualities thereof are strange, and almost incredible, so would the discourse thereof be long and tedious, whereof I had occasion to speak elsewhere. But the power of our imagination extendeth not to beasts, nor reacheth to birds, and therefore pertaineth not hereunto. Neither can the chance for the right or left side be good or bad luck in it selfe. Why should any occurrent or augury be good? Because it cometh out of that part of the heavens, where the good or beneficial stars are placed. By that reason, all things should be good and happy that live on that side; but we see the contrary experience, and as commonly as that.

The like absurdity and error is in them that credit those divinations because the stars over the ninth house have dominion at the time of casual augury. If it should betoken good luck, joy or gladnesse, to heare a noise in the house, when the moone is in Aries: and contrarywise, if it be a signe of ill luck, sorrow, or griefe for a beast to come into the house, the moone being in the same signe: here might be found a foule error and contrariety. And for so much as both may happen at once, the rule must needs be false and ridiculous. And if there were any certaine rules or notes to be gathered in these divinations; the abuse therein is such, as the word of God must needs be verified therein; to wit, I will destroy the tokens of soothsayers, and make them that conjecture, fooles.

Isai. 44-25.

CHAP. XXI.

The figure-casters are witches, the uncertainty of their art, and their contradictions, Cornelius Agrippa's sentence against judicial astrologie.

These casters of figures may be numbered among the consulting witches, whose practise is above their reach, their purpose to gaine their knowledge stolne from poets, their art uncertaine and full of vanity, more plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other folly. And thereupon many other trifling vanities are rooted and grounded, as physionomy, palmestry, interpreting of dreames, monsters, auguries, &c. the professors whereof confesse this to be the necessary key to open the knowledge of all their secrets. For these fellows erect a figure of the heavens, by the exposition whereof (together with the conjectures of the millitudes and signes) they seeke to find out the meaning of the significantors, attributing to them the ends of all things, contrary to truth, reason and divinity: their rules being so inconstant, that few writers agree in

The vain and trifling tricks of figure-casters.

the very principles thereof. For the Rabbins, the old and new writers, and the very best philosophers dissent in the cheefe grounds thereof, differing in the propriety of the houses, whereout they wring the foretelling of things to come, contending even about the number of spheres, being not yet resolved how to erect the beginnings and endes of the houses: for Ptolomy make them after one sort, Campanus after another, &c.

And as Alpetragus thinketh, that there be in the heavens divers movings as yet to men unknown, so do others affirme (not without probability) that there may be starres and bodies, to whom these movings may accord, which cannot be seen, either through their exceeding hignesse, or that hitherto are not tried with any observation of the art. The true motion of Mars is not yet perceived, neither is it possible to find out the true entering of the Sunne into the equinoctiall points. It is not denied, that the astronomers themselves have received their lights, and their very art from poets, without whose fables the twelve signes, and the northerly southerly figures had never ascended into heaven. And yet (as C. Agrippa saith) astrologers do live, cosen men, and gaine by these fables; whiles the poets, which are the inventors of them, do live in beggery.

Joban. Mont-regius in epist. ad Blanchim. G. Guilielmus de Sancto Clodoald. Rabb. Levi. C. Agrippa in lib. de vanit. scient. Archelaus. Cassand. Eudoxus, &c.

The very skillfullest mathematicians confesse, that it is impossible to find out any certain thing concerning the knowledge of judgements, as well for the innumerable causes which worke together with the heavens, being altogether, and one with the other to be considered: as also because the same influencies do not constraime but incline. For many ordinary and extraordinary occasions do interrupt them; as education, custome, place, honesty, birth, blood, sicknesse, health, strength, weaknesse, meate, drink, liberty of mind, learning, &c. And they that have written the rules of judgement, and agree neereest therein, being of equal authority and learning, publish so contrary opinions upon one thing, that it is impossible for an astrologian to pronounce a certainty upon so variable opinions; and otherwise, upon so uncertain reports no man is able to judge herein. So as (according to Ptolomy) the foreknowledge of things to come by the starres, dependeth as well upon the affections of the mind, as upon the observation of the planets, proceeding rather from chance than art, as whereby they deceive others, and are deceived themselves also.

CHAP. XXII.

The subtilty of astrologers to maintain the credit of their art, why they remain in credit, certain impieties contained in astrologers assertions.

If you marke the cunning ones, you shall see them speak darkly of things to come, devising by artificial subtilty, doubtful prognostications, easily to be applied to every thing, time, prince, and nation: and if any prognostication come to passe according to their divinations, they fortifie their old ones are like prognostications with new reasons. Nevertheless, in the multitude of the answers of and oracles.

and varietie of starres, yea even in the very middest of them, they find out some places in a good aspect, and some in an ill; and take occasion hereupon to say what they list, promising unto some men honour, long life, wealth, victory, children, marriage, friends, offices; and finally everlasting felicity. But if with any they be discontent, they say the starres be not favourable to them, and threaten them with hanging, drowning, beggary, sicknesse, misfortune, &c. And if one of these prognostications fall out right, then they triumph above measure. If the prognostications be found to forge and ly alwaies (without such fortune as the blind man had in killing the crowe) they will excuse the matter, saying, that *Sapiens dominatur astris*, whereas (according to Agrippas words) neither the wiseman ruleth the starres, nor the starres the wiseman, but God ruleth them both. Corn. Tacitus saith, that they are a people disloyall to princes, deceiving them that beleeeve them. And Varro saith, that the variety of all superstitions floweth out of the bosome of astrologie. And if our all and fortune depend not on the starres, then it is to be granted, that astrologers seek where nothing is to be found. But we are so fond, so trustful and credulous, that we fear more the things that are not, than the things that are. And the more impossible a thing is, the more we stand in feare thereof; and the lesse likely to be true, the more we beleeeve it. And if we were not such, I think with Cornelius Agrippa, that the divinors, astrologers, conjurors, and cosenors would die for hunger.

And our foolish light beleefe, forgetting things past, neglecting things present, and very hasty to know things to come, doth so comfort us, that we maintain these cosenors; that whereas in other men, for making one false the faith of him that speaketh is so much mistrusted, that all the rest being true is not regarded. Contrariwise, in these cosenages among divinors, one truth spoken by hap giveth such credit to all their lies, that ever after we beleeeve whatsoever they say; how incredible, impossible, or false soever it be. Sir Thomas Moore saith, they know not who are in their own chambers, neither who maketh themselves cuckoldes, that take upon them all this cunning, knowledge, and great foresight. But to enlarge their credit, or rather to manifest their impudency, they say the gift of prophesie, the force of religion, the secrets of conscience, the power of the evils, the vertue of miracles, the efficacy of prayers, the state of the life to come, &c. doth onely depend upon the starres, and is given and known by them alone. For they say, that when the signe of Gemini is ascended, and Saturne and Mercury be joined in Aquary, in the ninth house of the heavens, there is a prophet borne: and therefore that Christ had those vertues, because he had in that place Saturne and Gemini. Yea, these astrologers do not stick to say, that the starres distribute all sorts of religions: wherein Jupiter is the especiall patron, who being joynd with Saturne, maketh the religion of the Jewes with Mercury, of the Christians, with the Moon, of Antichristianity. Yea they affirme that the election of every man may be known to them as well as to God. And that Christ himself did use the election of houres in his miracles; so as the Jewes could not hurt him whilest he went to Jerusalem; and therefore that he said to his disciples that forbad him to go; are there, not twelve houres in the day?

Who have power to drive away devils with their onely presence, who shall receive of God whatsoeuer they aske in prayer, who shall obtain everlasting life by meanes of constellations, as nativity-casters affirm.

They say also, that he which hath Mars happily placed in the ninth house of the heavens, shall have power to drive awaie devils with his onely presence from them that be possessed. And he that shall pray to God when he findeth the Moon and Jupiter joynd with the Dragons head in the midst of the heavens, shall obtaine whatsoever he asketh: and that Jupiter and Saturne do give blessednesse of the life to come. But if any in his nativity shall have Saturne happily placed in Leone, his soul shall have everlasting life. And hereunto subscribe Peter de Appona, Roger Bacon, Guido Bonatus, Arnold de villa nova, and the Cardinal of Alia-Furti. And the miracles of Christ theremore, the providence of God is denied, and the influences are diminished, when these powers of the heavens and their influences are in such sort advanced. Moses, Esay, Job and Jeremy seem to dislike and reject it: and at Rome in times past it was banished, and by Justinian condemned under pain of death. Finally, Seneca derideth these soothsaying witches in this sort; Amongst the Cleones (saith he) there was a custome, that the *χαρακόβλακας* (which were gazers in the air, watching when a storm of hail should fall) when they saw by any cloud that the shower was imminent and at hand; the use was (I say) because of the hurt which it might do to their vines &c. diligently to warn the people thereof; who used not to provide clokes or any such defense aginst it, but provided sacrifices; the rich, cocks and white lammes; the poor would spoile themselves by cutting their thombes; as though (saith he) that little blood could ascend up to the cloudes, and do any good for their relief in this matter.

Senec. lib. de qua. natura. 4.

Hilarius Pirkenair in arte apodemica.

Joannes Garropius in Venet. Cy Hyperb. Zac. 1. 1. v. 2.

And here by the waie, I will impart unto you a Venetian superstition, of great antiquity, and at this day (for ought I can reade to the contrary) in use. It is written, that every year ordinarily upon Ascension day, the Duke of Venice, accompanied with the States, goeth with great solemnity unto the sea, and after certaine ceremonies ended, casteth thereinto a gold ring of great value and estimation for a pacificatory oblation: wherewithal their predecessors supposed that the wrath of the Sea was asswaged. By this action, as a late writer saith, they do *D. sponsare sibi mare*, that is, espouse the sea unto themselves, &c.

Let us therefore, according to the prophets advise, aske raine of the Lord in the hours of the latter times, and he shall send white cloudes, and give us raine &c: for surely, the idols (as the same prophet saith) have spoken vanity, the soothsaiers have seen a ly, and the dreamers have told a vaine thing. They comfort in vaine, and therefore they went away like sheep, &c. If any sheeppbiter or witchmonger will follow them, they shall go alone for me.

S Thomas Moors frump at judiciall astrologers.

Astrologers call blasphemics.

John 11. 8.



## The Twelfth Book.

## CHAP. I.

The Hebrew word *Habar* expounded, where also the supposed secret force of charmes and incantments is shewed, and the efficacy of words is diverse waies declared.



His Hebrew word *Habar*, being in Greeke *Epathin*, and in Latine *Incantare*, is in English, To incant, or (if you had rather have it so) to bewitch. In these incantments, certain words, verses, or charmes, &c. are secretly uttered, wherein there is thought to be miraculous efficacy. There is great variety hereof; but whether it be by charmes, voices, images, characters, stones, plants, metals, herbes, &c. there must herewithall a speciall form of words be alwaies used, either divine, diabolicall, insensible, or papistical, whereupon all the vertue of the work is supposed to depend. This word is specially used in the 58. Psalm, which place though it be taken up for mine adversaries strongest argument against me; yet me thinks it makethio with me, as they can never be able to answer it. For there it plainly appeareth, that the adder heareth not the voice of the charmer, charmes never so cunningly: contrary to the poets fabling,

Psalm 58.

Psalm 58. 4, 5.

Virgil in *Damone*.

By Ab. Fleming.

*Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis,*

The coldish snake in meadows green,  
With charmes is burst in pieces clean.

But hereof more shall be said hereafter in due place.

I grant that words sometimes have singular vertue and efficacy, either in persuasion or dissuasion, as also diverse other waies; so as thereby some are converted from the waie of perdition, to the estate of salvation: and so contrariwise, according to the saying of Solomon; Death and life are in the instrument of the tongue: but even therein God worketh all in all, as well in framing the heart of the one, as in directing the tongue of the other: as appeareth in many places of the holy scriptures.

## CHAP. II.

What is forbidden in Scriptures concerning witchcraft, of the operation of words, the superstition of the Cabalists and Papists, who create substances, to imitate God in some cases is presumption, words of sanctification.

That which is forbidden in the Scriptures touching incantment or witch craft, is not the wonderfull working with words. For where words

Proverbs 18.  
Chron. 30.  
Psalm 10.  
Psalm 51.  
Psalm 139.  
Jeremy 32.  
Isaiah 6.  
Isaiah 50.  
Exod. 7. 89.  
Proverbs 16.

words have had miraculous operation, there hath been alwaies the special providence, power and grace of God uttered to the strengthening of the faith of Gods people, and to the furtherance of the gospel: as when the apostle with a word slue *Ananias* and *Sapphira*. But the prophanation of Gods name, the seducing, abusing, and colensing of the people and mans presumption is hereby prohibited, as whereby many take upon them after the recital of such names, as God in the scripture seemeth to appropriate to himselfe, to foreshew things to come, to worke miracles, to detect felonies, &c. as the Cabalists in times past tooke upon them, by the ten names of God, and his angels, expressed in the scriptures, to worke wonders: and as the papists at this day by the like names, by crosses, by gospels hanged about their necks, by masses, by exorcismes, by holy water, and a thousand consecrated or rather execrated things, promise unto themselves and others, both health of body and soul.

But as herein we are not to imitate the papists, so in such things, as are the peculiar actions of God, we ought not to take upon us to counterfeit or resemble him, which with his word created all things. For we, neither all the conjurors, Cabalists, papists, soothsayers, incanters, witches, nor charmers in the world, neither any other humane or yet diabolicall cunning can adde any such strength to Gods workmanship, as to make any thing anew, or else to exchange one thing into another. New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herein, doubtlesse neither the illusions of devils, nor the cunning of witches, can bring any such thing truly to passe. For by the found of the words nothing cometh, nothing goeth, otherwise than God in nature hath ordained to be done by ordinary speech, or else by his speciall ordinance. Indeed words of sanctification are necessary and commendable, according to *S. Pauls* rule; Let your meat be sanctified with the word of God, and by prayer. But sanctification doth not here signifie either change of substance of the meate, or the adding of any new strength thereunto: but it is sanctified, in that it is received with thanksgiving and prayer; that our bodies may be refreshed, and our souls thereby made the apter to glorifie God.

## CHAP. III.

What effect and offence witches charmes bring, how unapt witches are, and how unlikely to work those things which they are thought to do, what would follow if the those things were true which are laid to their charge.

The words and other the illusions of witches, charmers, and conjurors, though they be not such in operation and effect, as they are commonly taken to be: yet they are offensive to the majestic and name of God, obscuring the truth of divinity, and also of philophie. For if God onely give life and being to all creatures, who can put any such ver-

Acts 5.

Jonas 1.

Words of sanctification, &amp;c.

confist.

ver-

An ample description of women commonly called witches.

true or lively feeling into a body of gold, silver, bread, or wax, as is imagined? If either priests, devils, or witches could so do, the divine power should be checked and outfaced by magical cunning, and Gods creatures made servile to a witches pleasure. What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches? and yet they are women that never went to schoole in their lives, nor had any teachers: and therefore without art or learning; poore, and therefore not able to make any provision of metals or stones, &c. where by to bring to passe strange matters, by natural magicke; old and stiff, and therefore not nimble-handed to deceive your eye with legier demaines; heavy, and commonly lame, and therefore unapt to flie in the aire; or to dance with the fairies; sad, melancholike, fullen, and miserable, and therefore it should be unto them (*Invita Minerva*) to banquet or dance with *Minerva*; or yet with *Herodias*, as the common opinion of all writers herein is. On the other side, we see they are so malicious and spitefull, that if they by themselves, or by their devils, could trouble the elements, we should never have fair weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattel, they would spare none; but would destroy and kill whole countries and households. If they could transfere corne (as is affirmed) from their neighbours field into their owne, none of them would be poore, none other should be rich. If they could transforme themselves and others (as it is most constantly affirmed) oh what a number of eyes and ears should there be of us! If *Incubus* could beget *Merlins* among us, we should have a jolly many of cold prophets.

## CHAP. IV.

*Why God forbid the practise of witchcraft, the absurdity of the law of the twelve tables, whereupon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their wondrous works.*

A Common and universal error.

Though it be apparent, that the Holy Ghost forbiddeth this art, because of the abuse of the name of God, and the cofenage comprehended therein: yet I confesse, the customes and laws almost of all nations do declare, that all these miraculous works before by me cited, and many other things more wonderfull, were attributed to the power of witches. The which laws, with the executions and judicials thereupon, and the witches confessions, have beguiled almost the whole world: What absurdities concerning witchcraft, are writtē in the law of the twelve tables, which was the highest and most ancient law of the *Romans*? Whereupon the strongest argument of witches omnipotent power is framed; as that the wisdom of such lawgivers could not be abused. Whereof (me thinks) might be made a more strong argument on our side; to wit, If the chief and principall laws of the world be in this case ridiculous, vaine, false, incredible, yea and contrary to Gods law; the residue of the laws and arguments to that effect, are to be suspected. If that argument should hold, it might prove all the popish laws against protestants, and the heathenish

thenish princes laws against christians, to be good and in force: for it is like they would not have made them, except they had been good. Were it not (think you) a strange proclamation, that no man (upon paine of death) should pull the moon out of heaven? And yet very many of the most learned witchmongers make their arguments upon weaker grounds; as namely in this forme and manner; We find in poets, that witches wrought such and such miracles; Ergo they can accomplish and do this or that wonder. The words of the law are these; *Qui fruges incantando, Ne agrum defuganto*: the sense whereof in English is this; Let him be executed that bewitcheth corne, Transfere nor other mens corne into thy ground by enchantment, Take heede thou inchant not at all neighbours make thy neighbours field barren: he that doth these things shall dye, &c.

## CHAP.V.

*An instance of one arraigned upon the law of the twelve Tables, where the said law is proved ridiculous, of two witches that could do wonders.*

Although among us, we think them bewitched that wax suddenly poor, and not them that growe hastily rich; yet at Rome you shall understand, that (as *Plinie* reporteth) upon these articles one *C. Furius Cressus* was converted before *Spurius Albinus*; for that he being but a little while free, and delivered from bondage, occupying onely tillage; A notable grew rich on the sudden, as having good crops: so as it was suspected purgation of that he transferred his neighbours corne into his fields. None intercession, *C.F.C.* conno delay, none excuse, no denial would serve; neither in jest nor derision, vented for a nor yet through sober or honest means; but he was assigned a peremptory witch. And therefore fearing the sentence of condemnation, which was to be given there, by the voice and verdict of three men (as we here are tried by twelve) made his appearance at the day assigned, and brought with him his ploughs and harrowes, spades and shovels, and other instruments of husbandry, his oxen, horses and working bullocks, his servants, and also his daughter, which was a sturdy wench and a good housewife, and also (as *Piso* reporteth) well trimmed up in apparell, and said to the whole bench in this wise; Lo here my Lords here I make my appearance, according to my promise and your pleasures, presenting unto you my charmes and witchcrafts, which have so enriched me. As for the labour, sweat, watching, care, and diligence, which I have used in this behalfe, I cannot shew you them at this time. And by this meanes he was dismissed by the consent of the Court, who otherwise (as it was thought) should hardly have escaped the sentence of condemnation, and punishment of death.

It is constantly affirmed in *M. Mal.* that *Stafus* used alwaies to hide *Mal. Malef.* himself in a monthoall, and had a disciple called *Hoppo*, who made *Stad. par. 2. qu. 21* in a master witch, and could all when they list, invisibly transfer the third *cap. 5.* part of their neighbours dung, hay, corne, &c. into their own ground, make *hail.*

*J. Bodinus.  
Danaus.  
Hyperius.  
Hemingius.  
Bar. Spineus.  
Mal. Malef.*

haile, tempests and fouds, with thunder and lightening; and kill children, cattell, &c. reveale things hidden, and many other tricks, where and where they list. But these two shitted not so well with the inquisitors, as the other with the Romane and heathen judges. Howbeit, Statius was too hard for them all: for none of all the Lawyers nor inquisitors could bring him to appear before them, if it be true that witchmongers write in these matters.

## CHAP. VI.

*Laws provided for the punishment of such witches as work miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certain popish laws published against them.*

Punishment of impossibilities.

There are other laws of other nations made to this incredible effect. *Lex Salicarum* provideth punishment for them that sit in the air from place to place, and meet at their nightly assemblies, and brave banquets, carrying with them plate, and such stuff, &c. even as we should make a law to hang him that should take a church in his hand at Dover, & throw it into Callice. And because in this case all popish laws shall be seen to be too foolish and lewd as any other whatsoever, & specially as tyrannous as that which is most cruel: you shall here what trim new laws the church of Rome hath lately devised. These are therefore the words of pope Innocent the eighth to the inquisitors of Almanie, and of pope Julius the second sent to the inquisitors of Bergomen. It is come to our eares, that many lewd persons, of both kinds, as well male as female, using the company of the devils Incubus and Succubus, with incantations, charmes, conjurations, &c. do destroy, &c. the births of women with child, the young of all cattel, the corne of the field, the grapes of the vines, the fruit of the trees: Item, men, women, and all kind of cattel and beasts of the field: and with their said enchantments, &c. utterly extinguish, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, orchards, meadows, pastures, grasses, greene corne, and ripe corne, and all other produce: yea men and women themselves are by their imprecations so afflicted with externall and inward paines and diseases, that men cannot beget, nor women bring forth any children, nor yet accomplish the duty of wedlock, denying the faith which they in baptisme professed, to the destruction of their own soules, &c. Our pleasure therefore is, that all impediments that may hinder the inquisitors office be utterly removed from among the people, lest this blot of heresie proceed to poison, and defile them that be yet Innocent, And therefore we do ordaine, by vertue of the apostolical authority, that our inquisitors of high Almanie, may execute the office of inquisition by all tortures and afflictions, in all places, and upon all persons, what and wheresoever, as well in every place and diocese, as upon any person; and that as freely, as though they were named, expressed, or cited in this our commission.

Poetical

## CHAP. VII.

*Poeticall authoritie commonly alleadged by witchmongers, for the proof of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernaturall power.*

Here have I a place and opportunity, to discover the whole art of witchcraft; even all their charmes, periapts, characters, amulets, prayers, blessings, cursings, hurtings, helpings, knaveries, colenages, &c. But first I will shew what authorities are produced to defend and maintain the same, and that in serious sort, by Bodin, Spinæus, Hemingius, Varius, Danæus, Hyperius, M. Mal. and the rest.

*Carmina vel cæspesunt de ducere lunam,  
Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssis,  
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

Virg. eclog. 8.

Inchantments pluck out of the skie,  
The moon, though she be plac't one high:  
Dame Circes with her charmes so fine,  
Ulysses mates did turne to swine:  
The snake with charmes is burst in twaine,  
In meadows, where she doth remain.

Againe out of the same poet they cite further matter.

*Hæc herbas, atq; hæc Ponto mihi læta venena,  
Ipsa dedit Meris: nascuntur plurima Ponto.  
Hic ego sæpè lupam fieri, & se condere sylvis,  
Merim sæpè animas imis exire sepulchris,  
Atque satas aliò vidi traducere messes.*

Virg. eclog. 8.

These herbs did Meris give to me,  
And poisons pluckt at Pontus,  
For there they grow and multiply,  
And do not so amongst us.  
With these she made herself become,  
A wolfe, and hid her in the wood,  
She fetcht up soules out of their tombe,  
Removing corne from where it stood.

Furthermore out of Ovid they alleadge these following.

Ovid. fast. 6.

*Nocte volant, pueròsq; petunt nutricis egentes,  
Et vitiant cunis corpora capta suis:  
Carpere dicuntur lætèntia viscera rostris,*

T

Et

*Et plenum potu sanguine guttur habent :*

To children they do fly by night,  
And catch them while their nurseries sleep,  
And spoile their little bodies quite,  
And home they bear them in their beake.

Again out of Virgil in form following.

Virg. Æne. 4.

*Hinc mihi Massyla gentis monstrata sacerdos,  
Hesperidam templi custos, epulâque draconi  
Quæ dabat, & sacros servabat in arbore ramos,  
Spargens humida mella, soporiferumque papaver.  
Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,  
Quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,  
Sistere aquam fluvii, &vertere sidera retrò,  
Nocturnòsque ciet manes, mugire videbis  
Sub pedibus terram, & descendere montibus ornos :*

Tho. Phaiers  
translation of  
the former  
words of Virg.

From thence a virgine Priest is come,  
From out Massyla land,  
Sometimes the Temple there she kept,  
And from her heavenly hand  
The dragon meat did take : she kept  
Also the fruit divine,  
With herbs and liquors sweet that still  
To sleep did men incline.  
The minds of men (she saith) from love  
With charms she can unbind,  
In whom she list : but others can  
She cast to cares unkind.  
The running streames do stand, and from  
Their course the starres do wreath,  
And souls she conjure can : thou shalt  
See sister underneath  
The ground with roling gape, and trees  
And mountaines turne upright, &c.

Moreover out of Ovid they alledge as followeth.

Ovid. metam.  
7.

*Cum volui ripis ipsis mirantibus amnes  
In fontes rediere suos, concussâque sisto,  
Stantia concutio, cantu freta nubila posito,  
Nubilâque induco, ventos abigòque vocòque,  
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces,*

*Vivâque saxa, sua convulsâque robora terrâ,  
Et sylvas moveo, jubeòque tremescere montes,  
Et mugire solum, manè(que exire sepulchris,  
Teque luna trabo, &c.*

The rivers I can make retire,  
Into the Fountains whence they flowe,  
(Whereat the bank, themselves admire)  
I can make standing waters go,  
With charms I dive both sea and cloud,  
I make it calme and blowe aloud.  
The vipers jaws; the rocky stone,  
With words and charms I breake in twaine  
The force of earth congeal'd in one,  
I move and shake both woods and plaine;  
I make the souls of men arise,  
I pull the moon out of the skies.

Also out of the same poet.

*Verbâque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,  
Quæ mare turbatum, quæ flumina concita sistant :*

And thrice she spake the words that caus'd  
Sweet sleep and quiet rest,  
She staid the raging of the sea,  
And mighty fouds suppress.

Ovid. de Me-  
dea.

*Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus,*

She sticketh also needles fine  
In livers, whereby men do pine.

Ovid. de Me-  
dea, epistola. 4.

Also out of other poets.

*Carminè læsa Ceres, sterilem vanescit in herbam,  
Deficiunt læsi carmine fontis aque,  
Illicibus glandes, cantantâque vitibus uva  
Decidit, & nullo poma movente fluunt :*

3. Amo. eclo. 6.

With charms the corne is spoiled so,  
As that it vades to barren grasse,  
With charms the Springs are dried lowe,  
That none can see where waret was,  
The grapes from vines, the mast from okes,  
And beats down fruit with charming strokes.

Horac. epod. 4.

*Quæ sidera excantata voce Thessalâ  
Lunâmq; cælo diripit.*

She plucks downe moon and starres from skie,  
With chaunting voice of Thessaly.

Tibul. de fasci-  
narice, lib. 1.  
eleg 2.

*Hanc ego de cælo ducentem sidera vidi,  
Fluminis ac rapidi carmine vertititer,  
Hæc cantu finditque solum, manesque sepulchris.  
Elicit, & tepido devorat ossa rogo:  
Cum lubet hæc tristi depellit lumina cælo,  
Cum lubet æstivo convocat orbe nives.*

She plucks each starre out of his throne,  
And turneth back the raging waves,  
With charmes she makes the earth to cone,  
And raiseth souls out of their graves:  
She burns mens bones as with a fire,  
And pulleth downe the lights from heaven,  
And makes it snowe at her desire  
Even in the midst of summer-season.

Lucan. lib. de  
bello. civili. 6.

*Mens hausti nullâ sanie polluta veneni,  
Incantata perit.*

A man enchanted runneth mad,  
That never any poison had.

Idem. Ibid.

*Cessavere vices rerum, dilatâque longâ  
Hæsit nocte dies, legi non paruit æber,  
Torpuit & præceptis auditâ carmine mundus.*

The course of nature ceased quite,  
The aire obeyed not his lawe,  
The day delay'd by length of night,  
Which made both day and night to yawe:  
And all was through that charming geare,  
Which caus'd the world to quake for feare.

Idem. ibid.

*Carminè Thessalidum dura in præcordia fluxit,  
Non fatis adductus amor, flammisque severi  
Illicitis arsere ignes.*

With Thessall charmes, and not by fate  
Hot love is forced for to flowe,  
Even where before hath been debate,  
They cause affection for to grow.

Idem. ibid.

*Gens invisa diis maculandi callida coeli,*

*Quos genuit terra, mali qui sidera mundi  
Iurâque fixarum possunt pervertere rerum:  
Nam nunc stare polos, & flumina mittere norunt,  
Æthera sub terras adigunt, montesque revellunt.*

These witches hatefull unto God,  
And cunning to defile the aire,  
Which can disorder with a nod.  
The course of nature every where,  
Do cause the wandering starres to stay,  
And drive the winds below the ground.  
They send the streames another way,  
And throw downe hills where they abound.

*linguis dixere volucrum,  
Consultare fibras, & rumpere vocibus angues,  
Solicitare umbras, ipsâque Acheronta movere,  
In noctemque dies, in lucem vertere noctes,  
Omnia conando docilis solertia vincit.*

C. Manilius  
astronom.  
lib. 1.

They talked with the tongues of birds,  
Consulting with the salt sea coasts,  
They burst the snakes with witching words,  
Soliciting the spirituall ghosts,  
They turne the night into the day,  
And also drive the light away:  
And what its that cannot be made  
By them that do apply this trade!

## CHAP. VIII.

Poetry and popery compared is incantments, popish witchmongers  
have more advantage herein than protestants.

YOn see in these verses, the poets (whether in earnest or in jest I know not) ascribe unto witches and to their charmes, more than is to be found in humane or diabolical power. I doubt not but the most part of the readers hereof will admit them to be fabulous; although the most learned of mine adversaries (for lack of scripture) are faine to produce these poetries for proofes, and for lack of judgement I am sure do think, that Actæons transformation was true. And why not? As well as the metamorphosis or transubstantiation of Ulysses his companions into swine: which S. Augustine, and so many great clerkes credit and report. Nevertheless, popish writers (I confesse) have advantage herein of our protestants: for (besides these poetical proofes) they have (for advantage) the word and authority of the pope himselfe, and others of that holy.

Ovid. Meta-  
morph. lib. 3.  
fa b. 2. Ovid.  
Metamorph. 14.  
fab. 5, 6.

The authors  
transition to  
his purpose  
scope.

holy crew, whose charmes, conjurations, blessings, curfings. &c. I mean in part (for a taste) to set down; giving you to understand, that poets are not altogether so impudent as papists herein, neither seeme they so ignorant, profane, or impious. And therefore I will shew you how lowd also they lie, and what they on the other side ascribe to their charmes and conjurations; and together will set down with them all manner of witches charmes, as conveniently as I may.

## CHAP. IX.

*Popish periapts, amulets and charmes, agnus Dei, a wastecote of proof, a charme for the falling evill, a writing brought to S. Leo from beaven by an angell, the vertues of S. Saviours epistle, a charme against theeves, a writing found in Christs wounds, of the crosse, &c.*

These vertues under these verses (written by pope Urbane the fifth the emperour of the Grecians) are contained in a periapt or tablet, be continually worne about one, called Agnus Dei, which is a little cake, having the picture of a lambe carrying of a flag on the one side; and Christs head on the other side, and is hollow: so as the gospel of S. Iohn, written in fine paper, is placed in the concavities thereof: and it is thus compounded or made, even as they themselves report.

*Balsamus & munda cera, cum chrismais unda  
Conficiunt agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum,  
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum:  
Fulgura de sursum depellit & omne malignum,  
Peccatum frangit, ut Christi sanguis, & angit,  
Pregnans servatur, simul & partus liberatur,  
Dona refert dignis, virtutem destruit ignis,  
Portatus munde de fluctibus eripit undæ:*

Englised by  
Abraham  
Fleming.  
Look in the  
Beehive of  
the Romish  
church.  
Lib. 4. cap. 1.  
fol. 243.

Balme, vigne wax, and holy water,  
An Agnus Dei make:  
A gift than which none can be greater,  
I send thee for to take.  
From fountain clear the same hath issue,  
In secret sanctified:  
Gainst lightning it hath soveraigne vertue,  
And thunder crackes beside.  
Each hainous sinne it weares and wasteth,  
Even as Christs precious blood,  
And women, whilst their travel lasteth,  
It saves, it is so good.  
It doth bestowe great gifts and graces,

On

On such as well deserve:  
And borne about in noisome places,  
From peril doth preserve.  
The force of fire, whose heat destroyeth,  
It breaks and bringeth down:  
And he or she that this enjoyeth,  
No water shall them drowne.

## A Charme against shot, or a wastecote of proof.

Before the coming up of these Agnus Dei's, a holy garment called a wastecote for necessity was much used of our forefathers, as a holy relique, &c. as given by the pope, or some such arch-conjuror, who promised thereby all manner of immunity [to the wearer thereof; in] so much as he could not be hurt with any shot or other violence. And otherwise, that woman that would wear it, should have quick deliverance the composition thereof was in this order following.

On Christmas day at night, a threed must be spunne of flax, by a little virgine girl, in the name of the devil: and it must be by her woven, and also wrought with the needle. In the brest or fore-part thereof must be made with needle-worke two heads; on the head at the right side must be a hat, and a long beard; the left head must have on a crowne, and it must be so horrible, that it may resemble Beelzebub, and on each side of the wastecote must be made a crosse.

## Against the falling evill.

Moreover, this insuing is another count erfeit charme of theirs, where- by the falling evill is presently remedied.

*Gasper fert myrrham, ibus Melchior, Balthasar aurum,  
Hæc tria qui secum portabit nomina regum,  
Solvitur à morbo Christi pietate caduco.*

Gasper with his mirth beganne  
These presents to unfold,  
Then Melchior brought in frankincense,  
And Balthasar brought in gold.  
Now he that of these holy kings  
The names about shall bear,  
The falling ill by grace of Christ  
Shall never need to fear.

This is as true a copy of the holy writing, that was brought downe from heaven by an angell to S. Leo pope of Rome; and he, did bid  
him

The effects are too good to be true in such a patched peece of poetry.

him take it to king Charles, when he went to the battel at Ronceval. And the ancell said, that what man or woman beareth this writing about them with good devotion, and faith every day three Pater nofters, three Aves, and one Creede, shall not that day be overcome of his enemies, either bodily or ghostly; neither shall be robbed or flaine of theeves, pestilence, thunder, or lightning, neither shall be hurt with fire or water, nor combred with spirits, neither shall have displeasure of lords or ladies: he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken with fairies, or any manner of axes, nor yet with the falling evil. Also, if a woman be in travel, lay this writing upon her belly, she shall have easie deliverance, and the child right shape and christendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all through vertue of these holy names of Jesus Christ, following.

\* Iesus \* Christus \* Messias \* Soter \* Emmanuel \* Sabbaoth \* Adonai \* Unigenitus \* Majestas \* Paracletus \* Salvator noster \* Agios iskiros \* Agios \* Adonatos \* Gasper \* Melchior \* Balthasar \* Mattheus \* Marcus \* Lucas \* Johannes.

The epistle of S. Saviour, which pope Leo sent to King Charles, saying, that whosoever carrieth the same about him, or in what day soever he shall reade it, or shall see it, he shall not be killed with any iron tooles, nor be burned with fire, nor be drowned with water, neither any evil man or other creature may hurt him. The crosse of Christ is a wonderfull defence \* the crosse of Christ be alwaies with me \* the crosse is it which I do alwaies worship \* the crosse of Christ is true health \* the crosse of Christ doth lose the bands of death \* the crosse of Christ is the truth and the way \* I take my journey upon the crosse of the Lord \* the crosse of Christ beateh down every evill \* the crosse of Christ giveth all good things \* the crosse of Christ taketh away paines everlasting \* the crosse of Christ save me \* O crosse of Christ be upon me, before me, and behind me \* because the ancient enemy cannot abide the sight of thee \* the crosse of Christ save me, keep me, governe me, and direct me \* Thomas bearing this note of thy divine majesty \* Alpha \* Omega \* first \* and last \* middest \* and end \* beginning \* and first begotten \* wisdom \* vertue \*.

A papist periapt or charme, which must never be said, but carried about one, against theeves.

This were a good preservative for a travelling papist. I Do go, and I do come unto you with the love of God, with the humililty of Christ, with the holinesse of our blessed lady, with the faith of Abraham, with the justice of Isaac, with the vertue of David, with the might of Peter, with the constancy of Paul, with the word of God, with the authority of Gregory, with the prayer of Clement, with the flood of Iordan, p p p e e e g g g q q q s s s t t t k k k b b g l l k k 2 a a x x g t b a m g 2 4 2 1 q s p x e g k q 4 9 9 p o q q r. Oh onely Father \* oh onely lord \* And Iesus \* passing through the middest of them \* went in \* the name of the

the father \* and of the Sonne \* and of the Holy Ghost \*.

Another amulet.

Joseph of Arimatea did find this writing upon the wounds of the side of Iesus Christ, written with Gods finger, when the body was taken away from the crosse. Whosoever shall carry this writing about him, shall not dye any evill death, if he beleve in Christ, and in all perplexities he shall soone be delivered, neither let him fear any danger at all. Fons alpha & omega \* Iga \* figalis \* Sabbaoth \* Emmanuel \* Adonai \* Neray \* Elay \* the \* Rentone \* Neger \* Sahe \* Pange-ton \* Commen \* a \* g \* l \* a \* Martheus \* Marcus \* Lucas \* Johannes \* \* titulus triumphalis \* Iesus Nasareus rex Iudaeorum \* ecce dominica crucis signum \* fugite partes adverte, vicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix, David, aleuijah, Kyrie eleeson, Christe eleeson, pater noster, ave Maria, & ne nos, & veniat super nos salutare tuum. Oremus, &c.

I find in a Primer intituled The houres of our Lady, after the use of the church of Yorke, printed anno 1516. a charme with this titling in red letters; To all them that afore this image of pity devoutly shall say five Pater nofters, five Aves, and one Credo, piously beholding these armes of Christs passion, are granted thirty two thousand seven hundred fifty five years of pardon. It is to be thought that this pardon was granted in the time of pope Boniface the ninth; for Platina saith that the pardons were sold so cheape, that the apostolicall authority grew into contempt.

If the party faile in the number, he may go whistle for a pardon.

A papistical charme.

Signum sanctae crucis defendat me a malis presentibus, praeveniat, & futuris, interioribus & exterioribus: That is, The signe of the crosse defend me from evils present, past, and to come, inward and outward.

A charme found in the canon of the masse.

Allo this charge is found in the canon of the masse, Haec sacrosancta commixtio corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi fiat mihi, omnibusque summentibus salus mentis & corporis, & ad vitam promovendam, & capessendam, preparatio salutaris: that is, Let this holy mixture of the body and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, be unto me, and unto all receivers thereof, health of mind and body, and to the deserving and receiving of life an healthful preparative.

Other papisticall charmes.

Aqua benedicta, sit mihi salus & vita.

Let holy water be, both health and life to me.

By Ab. Fle.

Adque nomen Martini omnia haereticus fugiat palladium,

When Martins name is sung or said, Let hereticks flie as men dismaid.

But the papists have a harder charme than that; to wit, Fire and fagos Fire and fagot.

## A charme of the holy crosse.

*Nulla salus est in domo,  
Nisi cruce munit homo  
Superliminaria.  
Necque sentit gladium,  
Nec amittit filium,  
Quisquis egit talia:*

No health within the house doth dwell,  
Except a man do crosse him well,  
At every doore or frame,  
He never feeleth the swords point,  
Nor of his sonne shall lose a joint,  
That doth performe the same.

Furthermore as followeth.

*Ista suos fortiores  
Semper facit, & victores,  
Morbos sanat & languores,  
Reprimit demonia.  
Dat captivis libertatem,  
Vite confert novitatem,  
Ad antiquam dignitatem,  
Cruce reduxit omnia.  
O Crux lignum triumphale,  
Mundi vera salus vale,  
Inter ligna nullum tale,  
Frando, flore, germine.  
Medicina Christiana,  
Salva sanos, egros sana,  
Quod non valet vis humana,  
Fit in tuo nomine, &c.*

It maketh her souldiers excellent,  
And crowneh them with victory,  
Restores the lame and impotents  
and healeth every malady.  
The devils of hell it conquereth,  
releaseth from imprisonment,  
Newnesse of life it offereth,  
It hath all at commandement.  
O crosse of wood incomparable,  
To all the world most wholesome,  
No wood is half so honourable.

Englified by  
Abraham  
Fleming.  
Look in the  
Pochive of  
the Romish  
church lib 4.  
cap. 3 fol. 251.  
252.

*Sanna cruce  
equipat amur  
salutifero  
Christo O blas-  
phemiam ine-  
narrabilem!*

Habar.

In branch, In bud or blossome,  
O medicine which Christ did ordaine,  
The sound save every howet,  
The sick and sore make whole again,  
By vertue of thy power,  
And that which mans unablennesse,  
Hath never comprehended,  
Grant by thy name of holynesse,  
It may be fully ended, &c.

A charme taken out of the Primer.

This charm following is taken out of the Primer afore-  
said. *Omnipotens \* Dominus \* Christus \* Messias \** with  
34. names more, and as many crosses, and then proceeds  
in this wise; *Ista nomina me protegent ab omni adversitate, plaga,  
& infirmitate corporis & anime, plenè liberent, & assistent in auxilium  
ista nomina regum, Gasper, &c. & 12. Apostoli (videlicet) Petrus,  
&c. & 4. Evangeliste (videlicet) Mattheus, &c. mibi assistent in  
omnibus necessitatibus meis, ac me defendant & liberent ab om-  
nibus periculis & corporis & anime, & omnibus malis præteritis,  
presensibus, & futuris, &c.*

## CHAP. X.

How to make holy water, and the vertues thereof, St. Rufins charme,  
of the wearing and bearing of the name of Jesus, that the sacra-  
ment of confession and the encharist is of as much efficacy as other  
charms and magnified by L. Vairus.

If I did well, I should shew you the confectiõ of all their stuffe, and  
how they prepare it; but it would be too long. And therefore you  
shall only have in this place a few notes for the composition of certaine  
receipts, which instead of an Apothecary if you deliver to any morrow-  
masse priest, he will make them as well as the pope himselfe. Mary now  
they wax every Parliament deerer and deerer, although therewithall,  
they utter many stale drugs of their own.

If you look in the popish pontifical, you shall see how they make their  
holy water; so wis, in this sort: I conjure thee thou creature of water  
in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy-ghost, that  
thou drive the devill out of every corner and hole of this church, and al-  
tar; so-as he remaine not within our precincts that are just and righte-  
ous. And water thus used (as Durandus saith) hath power of his own nature  
to drive away devils. If you will learn to make any more of this popish  
stuffe, you may go to the very masse-book, and find many good receipts:  
warry if you search Durandus, &c. you shall find abundance.

I know that all these charmes, and all these paltry confectiõs (though  
they



they were far more impious and foolish) will be maintained and defended by massemongers, even as the residue will be by witchmongers: and therefore I will in this place insert a charme, the authority whereof is equal with the rest, desiring to have their opinions herein I find in a book called *Pom serm 32. Pomarium sermonum quadragesimalium*, that S. Francis seeing Rufinus provoked of the devil to think himself damned, charged Rufinus to say this charme, when he next met with the devill; *Aperi os, & ibi impnam stercus*, which is as much to say in English as, Open thy mouth, and I will put in a plum: a very ruffinly charme.

Leonard Vairus writeth, *De veris, piis, ac sanctis amuleis fascinum & que omnia veneficia destruentibus*; wherein he specially commendeth the name of Iesus to be worne. But the sacrament of confession he extolled above all things, saying, that whereas Christ with his power did but throw devils out of mens bodies, the priest driveth the devil out of mans soul by confession. For (saith he) these words of the priest, when he saith, *Ipse te absolvo*, are as effectually to drive away the princes of darknesse, through the mighty power of that saying, as was the voice of God to drive away the darknesse of the world, when at the beginning he said *Fiat lux*. He commendeth also as wholesome things to drive away devils, the sacrament of the eucharist, and solitarinesse, and silence. Finally he saith, that if there be added hereunto an *Agnus Dei*, & the same be worne about ones neck by one void of sin, nothing is wanting that is good and wholesome for this purpose. But he concludeth, that you must wear and make due use in your forehead, with crossing your selfe when you put on your shoes, and at every other action, &c. and that is also a present remedie to drive away devils, for they cannot abide it.

## CHAP. XI.

*Of the Noble balme used by Moses, apishly counterfeited in the church of Rome.*

The noble balme that Moses made, having indeed many excellent vertues, besides the pleasant and comfortable savour thereof; which withall Moses in his politike lawes enjoined Kings, Queens, and Princes to be anointed in their true and lawful elections and coronations, and the everlasting King had put on man upon him, is apishly counterfeited in the Romish Church, with divers terrible conjurations, three breadings, crosswise, (able to make a quezie stomach spue) nine mumbles, and three curtisies, saying thereunto, *Ave sanctum oleum, ter ave sanctum balsamum*. And so the devil is thrust out, and the Holy Ghost led to his place. But as for Moses his balme, it is not now to be found either in Rome or elsewhere that I can learn. And according to this papistical order, witches and other superstitious people follow on, with charmes and conjurations made in form; which many bad Physicians also practise when their learning faileth, as may appear by example in the sequels.

The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periapts, appensions, amulets, &c. Of Homericall medicines, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof.

A Rgerius Ferrarius, a physician in these dayes of great account, doth say, that forso much as by no diet nor physick any disease can be so taken away or extinguished, but that certain dregs and reliques will remaine: therefore physicians use physical alligations, appensions, periapts, amulets, charmes, characters. &c. which he supposeth may do good; but harm he is sure they can do none: urging that it is necessary and expedient for a physician to leave nothing undone that may be devised for his patients recovery; and that by such means many great cures are done. He citeth a great number of experiments out of Alexander Trallianus, Zecius, Othavianus, Marcellus, Philodotus, Archigines, Philostratus, Plinius, &c. and would make men beleieve that Galen (who in truth despised and derided all those vanities) recanted in his latter dayes his former opinion, and all his invectives tending against these magicall cures: writing also a book intituled *De Homericis medicamentis*, which no man could ever see, but one Alexander Trallianus, who saith he saw it: and further affirmeth, that it is an honest mans part to cure the sicke, by hook or by crooke, or by any means whatsoever. Yea he saith that Galen (who indeed wrote and taught that *Incantamenta sunt muliercularum figmenta*, and be the onely clokes of bad physicians) affirmeth, that there is vertue and great force in incantations. As for example (saith Trallianus) Galen, being now reconciled to this opinion, holdeth and writeth, that the bones which stick in ones throate, are avoided and cast out with the violence of charmes and enchanting words; yea and that thereby the stone, the chollick, the falling sicknesse, and all feavers, gowts, fluxes, fistula's, issues of blood, and finally whatsoever cure (even beyond the skill of himselfe or any other foolish physician) is cured and perfectly healed by words of enchantment. Marry M. Ferrarius (although he allowed and practised this kind of physick) yet he protesteth that he thinketh it none otherwise effectually, than by the way of constant opinion: so as he affirmeth that neither the character, nor the charme, nor the witch, nor the devill accomplish the cures; as (saith he) the experiment of the toothach will manifestly declare, wherein the cure is wrought by the confidence or diffidence as well of the patient, as of the agent; according to the poets saying.

*Nos habitat non tartara, sed nec sider cæli,  
Spiritus in nobis qui viget illa facit.*

Not hellish furies dwell in us,  
Nor starres with influence heavenly;  
The spirit that lives and rules in us,  
Doth every thing ingeniously,

Englisht by  
Abraham  
Fleming.

This

This (saith he) commeth to the unlearned, through the opinion which they conceive of the characters and holy words: but the learned that know the force of the mind and imagination, worke miracles by miracles by means thereof; so as the unlearned must have external helps, to do that which the learned can do with a word onely. He saith that this is called *Homeric medicatio*, because Homer discovered the blood of the word suppressed, and the infections healed by or in mysteries.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Argerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charmes, &c. foure sorts of Homericall medicines, and the choice thereof; of imagination.*

As touching mine opinion of these amulets, characters, and such other bables, I have sufficiently uttered it else-where: and I will bewray the vanity of these superstitious trifles more largely hereafter. And therefore at this time I onely say, that those amulets, which are to be hanged or carried about one, if they consist of herbs, rootes, stones, or some other metall, they may have diverse medicinable operations; and by the vertue given to them by God in their creation, may worke strange effects and cures: and to impute this vertue to any other matter is witchcraft. And whereas A. Ferrarius commendeth certaine amulets, that have no shew of physicall operation; as a naile taken from a crosse, holy water, and the very signe of the crosse, with such like popish stuffe: I think he laboureth thereby rather to draw men to popery, than to teach or perswade them in the truth of physick or philosophie. And I think thus the rather, for that he himselfe seeth the fraud hereof; confessing that where these magical physicians apply three seeds of three-leaved grass to a tertian ague, and foure to a quartaine, that the number is not material.

Four sorts of Homericall medicines, &c. which is the principal.

But to these Homericall medicines he saith there are foure sorts, whereof amulets, characters, and charmes, are three: howbeit he commendeth and preferreth the fourth above the rest; and that he saith consisteth in illusions, which he more properly calleth stratagems. Of which sort of illusions he alleadgeth for example, how Philodotus did put a cap of lead upon ones head, who imagined he was headlesse, whereby the party was delivered from his disease or conceit. Item another cured a woman that imagined, that a serpent or snake did continually gnaw and teare her entrailles; and that was done onely by giving her a vomit, and by soisting into the matter vomited a little serpent or snake, like unto that which she imagined was in her belly.

The force of fixed fanstie-opinion, or strong conceit.

Item, another imagined that he alwaies burned in the fire, under whose bed a fire was privily conveyed, which being taken out before his face, his fanstie was satisfied, and his heat allayed. Mercurio pertinet, that the hickot is cured with sudden feare or strange newes: yet by that meanes agues and many other strange and extreme diseases have been healed. And some that have lien so sick and sore of the gowt, that they could not remove a joint, through sudden feare of fire, or ruin

of houses, have forgotten their infirmities and griefs, and have run away. But in my tract upon melancholy, and the effects of imagination, and in the discourse of natural magick, you shall see these matters largely touched.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Choice of Charmes against the falling evil, the biting of a mad dog, the sting of a Scorpion, the tooth-ach, for a woman in travel, for the kings evil, to get a thorne out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charmes to be said fasting, or at the gathering of beards, for sore eyes, to open locks, against spirits, for the bores in a horse, and specially for the Duke of Alba's horse, for sower Wines, &c.*

There be innumerable charmes of conjurers, bad physicians, lewd Chirugians, melancholike witches, and counsellers, for all diseases and griefs; specially for such as bad Physicians and Chirugians know not how to cure, and in truth are good stuffe to shadow their ignorance, whereof I will repeat some.

*For the falling evil.*

Take the sick man by the hand, and whisper these words softly in his ear, I conjure thee by the sun and moon, and by the gospel of this day delivered by God to Hubert, Giles, Cornelius and John, that thou rise and fall no more. Otherwise: Drink in the night at a spring water out of a skull of one that hath been slaine. Otherwise: Eat a pig killed with a knife that slew a man. Otherwise as followeth.

*Ananizapta ferit mortem, dum ledere querit,  
Est mala mors capta, dum dicitur Ananizapta,  
Ananizapta Dei nunc miserere mei.*

Ananizapta smiteth death,  
Whiles harm intendeth he,  
This word Ananizapta say,  
And death shall captive be,  
Ananizapta O of God,  
Have mercy now on me.

Englised by  
Abraham Fleming.

*Against the biting of a mad dog.*

Put a silver ring on the finger, within the which these words are graven: *Habay habar hebar* and say to the person bitten with a mad dog, I am thy saviour, lose not thy life: and then prick him in the nose thrice, that at each time he bleed. Otherwise: take pilles made of the skull of one that is hanged. Otherwise: write upon a peece of birch, *Irioni, khiriara, esser, khuder, seras*; and let it be eaten by the party.

*J. Bodinus libi  
de demon cap. 5.*

party bitten. Otherwise: *O Rex gloria Jesu Christe, veni cum pace in nomine patris max, in nomine filii max, in nomine spiritus sancti prax: Gaspert, Melchior, Balthasar \*prax \*max \* Deus I max \**

But in troth this is very dangerous; insomuch as if it be not speedily and cunningly prevented, either death or frensie insuech, through infection of the humour left in the wound bitten by a mad dog: which because bad Chirurgians cannot cure, they have therefore used foolish confensing charms. But Dodonæus in his hearball saith, that the hearb Alysson cureth it: which experiment, I doubt not, will prove more true then all the charms in the world. But where he saith, that the same hangd at a mans gate or entry, preserveth him and his catrel from inchantment, or bewitching, he is overtaken with folly.

*Against the biting of a Scorpion.*

Say to an asse secretly, and as it were whispering in his eare; I am bitten with a Scorpion.

*Against the toothach.*

\*That is, you shal not break or diminish a bone of him. Sscarifie the gums in the grieffe, with the tooth of one that hath been slaine. Otherwise: *Galbes galbat, galdes galdat.* Otherwise, *A d hur hus, &c.* Otherwise: At saccaring of masse hold your teeth together and say \* *Os non comminuetis ex eo.* Otherwise: *Strigiles falceque dentata, dentium dolorem persanate;* O horse-combs and sickles that have to many teeth, come heal of my toothach.

*A charme to release a woman in travel.*

Throwe over the top of the house, where a woman in travel lieth, a stone, or any other thing that hath killed three living creatures, namely, a man, a wild bore, and a she-bear.

*To heale the Kings or Queens evil, or any other soreness in the throte.*

Remedies to cure the Kings or Queens evil, is first to touch the place with the hand of one that died an untimely death. Otherwise: Let a virgine fasting lay her hand on the sore, and say; Apollo denieth that the heate of the plague can increase, where a naked virgine quengeth it: and spet three times upon it.

*A charme read in the Romish church, upon Saint Blazes day, that will fetch a thorne out of any place of ones body, a bone out of the throte, &c. Let. 3.*

For the fetching of a thorne out of any place of ones body, or a bone out of the throte, you shall reade a charme in the Romish church upon St. Blazes day; to wit, call upon God, and remember St. Blaze. This St. Blaze could also heale all wild beastes, that were sick or lame, with laying on of his hands: as appeareth in the lesson read on his day, where you shall see the matter at large.

*A Charme for the head-ach.*

Take a halter about your head, wherewith one hath been hangd.

*A charme to be said each morning by a witch fasting, or at least before she go abroad.*

The fire bites, the fire bites; the fire bites; Hogs turd over it, hogs turd over it, hogs turd over it; The father with thee, the sonne with me, the holy ghost between us both to be: ter. Then spit over one shoulder, and then over the other, and then three times right forward.

*Another charme that witches use at the gathering of their medicinal herbs.*

Haile be thou holy herbe  
Growing on the ground,  
All in the mount \* Calvarie  
First wert thou found,  
Thou art good for many a sore,  
And healest many a wound,  
In the name of sweet Iesus  
I take thee from the ground.

\*Though neither the herb nor the witch never came there

*An old womans charme, wherewith she did much good in the countrey, and grew famous thereby.*

An old woman that healed all diseases of catrel (for the which she never took any reward but a peny & a loafe) being seriously examined by what words she brought these things to pass, confessed that after she had touched the sick creature, she alwayes departed immediately; saying:

My loafe in my lap,  
My penny in my purse;  
Thou art never the better,  
And I am never the worse.

*Another like charme.*

A Gentlewoman having sore eyes, made her mone to one, that promised her helpe, if she would follow his advise: which was onely to weare about her neck a scroll sealed up, wherinto she might nor looke, and she conceaving hope of cure thereby, received it under the condition, and left her weeping and teares, wherewith she was wont to bewaile the miserable darknesse, which she doubted to indure: whereby in short time her eyes were well amended: But alas! she lost soon after that precious jewell, and thereby returned to her wonted weeping, and by constant opinion-sequence to her sore eyes. Howbeit, her jewell or scroll being found on, or fixed againe, was looked into by her deer friends, and this onely polic was fancy contained therein.

\*Spell the word backward, and you shall soon see this slovenly charme or appension. Thievish charmes.

This is called and counted the Paracelsian charme. Psal. 150. Luke 16. Psal. 64.

Memorandum that hearing of masse be in no case omitted, quoth Nota.

## 12. Booke. The discovery.

The devill pull out both thine eyes, And \*etish in the holes likewise.

Whereby partly you may see what constant opinion can do, according to the saying of Plato, *si mans sanse* or mind give him assurance that a hurtfull thing shall do him good, it may do so, &c.

### A charme to open locks.

As the herbs called *Ethiopes* will open all locks (if all be true the charmes also and peritaps, which without any herbs can do as much) for example. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and do but pierce certain flowers therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt when you would undo the lock, blow thrice therein, saying; *Araha be partiko hoo maratarykin*. I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake, as thou brakest hell-gates, *In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen*.

### A charme to drive away spirits that haunt any house.

Hang in every of the four corners of your house this sentence written upon virgin parchment, *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum; Mosa habent & prophetas; Exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici ejus*.

### A pretty charme or conclusion for one possessed.

The possessed body must go upon his or her knees to the church, how farre so ever it be off from their lodging; and so must creep out going out of the way, being the common high way, in that spirit, soule and dirty soever the same be; or whatsoever lie in the way, shunning any thing whatsoever. untill he come to the church, where he must heare masse devoutly, and then followeth recovery.

### Another for the same purpose.

There must be commended to some poore begger the saying of the *Pater noster*, and five *Aves*; the first to be said in the name of the party possessed, or bewitched; for that Christ wasled into the garden; secondly, for that Christ did sweat both water and blood; thirdly, for that Christ was condemned; fourthly, for that he was crucified; fifthly, and sixthly, for that he suffered to take away our sins. Then the sick body there must stay eight daies together, standing in the place where the gospel is said, and must mingle holy water with his meate, his drink, and holy salt also must be a portion of the mixture.

### Another to the same effect.

The sick man must fast three daies, and then he with his parents must come to church, upon an embering Friday, and must heare the mass for that day appointed, and so likewise the Saturday and Sunday following. And the priest must read upon the sick mans head that gospel, which is told in September, and in gras-hearvest, after the feast of holy-crosse. *In diebus quatuor temporum*, in ember-daies: then let him write and carry it about his necke, and he shall be cured.

### Another charme or witch-craft for the same.

This office or conjuration following was first authorized and printed at Rome, and afterwards at Avenion, Anno 1515. And lest that the devill should lie hid in some secret part of the body, every part thereof is named; *Obsecro te Iesu Christe, &c.* that is: I beseech thee O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou pull out of every member of this man all infirmities, from his head, from his haire, from his braine, from his forehead, from his eyes, from his nose, from his eares, from his mouth, from his tongue, from his teeth, from his jawes, from his throate, from his neck, from his backe, from his brest, from his paps, from his heart, from his stomach, from his sides, from his flesh, from his blood, from his bones, from his legs, from his feet, from his fingers, from the soles of his feet, from his marrow, from his sinewes, from his skin, and from every joint of his members, &c.

Doublelesse Jesus Christ could have no starting hole, but was hereby every way prevented and pursued; so as he was forced to do the cure: for it appeareth hereby, that it had been insufficient for him to have said; Depart out of this man thou unclean spirit, and that when he so said he did not performe it: I do not think that there will be found among all the heathens superstitious fables, or among the witches, conjurers, poets, knaves, cozeners, fooles, &c. that ever wrot, so impudent and impious a lie or charm as is read in *Barnardine de bustis*; where, to cure a sick man, *Barnard de Christi body, to wit; a water-cake, was outwardly applied to his sides, and entered into his heart, in the sight of all the standers by.* Now, if *sat. serm. 15.* grave authors report such lies, what credit in these cases shall we attribute unto the old wives tales, that Sprenger, Institor, Bodin, and others write? Even as much as to Ovids *Metamorphosis*, *Absops* fables, Moores *Utopia*, and divers other fancies; which have as much truth in them, as a blind man hath sight in his eye.

### A charme for the bots in a horse.

You must both say and do thus upon the diseased horse three daies together, before the sunne rising: *In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti, Exorcizo te vetrem per Deum patrem, & filium & spiritum sanctum*; that is. In the name of God the father, the sonne, and the Holy Ghost, I conjure thee O worm by God the Father, the son, and the Holy Ghost; that thou neither eate nor drink the flesh, blood or bones of this horse; and that thou hereby maist be made as patient as Iob, and as good as St. John Baptist, when he baptized Christ in Iordan, *In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti*. And then say three *Pater noster*, and three *Aves*, in the right eare of the horse; to the glory of the holy trinity. *Dominus filius spiritus Mariæ.*

There are also divers booke imprinted, as it should appeare with the authority of the church of Rome, wherein are contained many medicinal prayers, not onely against all diseases of horses, but also for every impediment and fault in a horse: insomuch as if a shoe fall off in the middle of his journey, there is a prayer to warrant your horses hoof,

The Smithes hoof, so as it shall not breake, how farre so ever he be from the Smithes will can them forge. Item, The Duke of Alba his horse was consecrated, or canonized for this praier. the Low Countries, at the solemne masse; wherein the Popes bully, and also his charm was published (which I will hereafter recite) he in the mean time sitting as Vice-roy with his consecrated standers in his hand, till mass was done.

*A charm against vineger.*

O notable blaphemy!

That wine wax not eager, write on the vessel, *Gustate & videte, quam am suavis est Dominus.*

CHAP. XV.

*The incanting of serpents and snakes, objections answered concerning the same; fond reasons why charmes take effect the vein, Mithraets pigeon, miracles wrought by an asse at Memphis in Egypt, popish charmes against serpents, of miracleworkers, the taming of snakes, Bodins lie of snakes.*

Concerning the charming of Serpents and snakes, mine adversaries (as I have said) think they have great advantage by the words of David in the fifty eight psalme; and by Jeremy, chap. eight, expounding the one prophet by Virgil, the other by Ovid. For the words of David are these: Their poison is like the poison of a Serpent, and like a deafe Adder, that stoppeth his care, and heareth not the voice of the charmer, whom he never so cunningly. The words of Virgil are these; *Frigidus in primis cantando rumpitur anguis.* As he might say, David thou liest; for the cold-natured snake is by the charms of the inchanters broken all to pieces in the field where he lieth. Then cometh Ovid, and he taketh his countrey mans part, saying in the name and person of a witch; *Viperas rumpit verbis & carmine fauces;* that is, I with my words and charmes can breake in sunder the vipers jawes. Marry Jeremy on the other side encountereth this poetical witch, and he not onely defendeth, but expoundeth his fellowe prophets words, and that not in his own name but in the name of Almighty God; saying; I will send serpents and cockatrices among you, which cannot be charmed.

Now let any indifferent man (Christian or heathen) judge, whether the words and minds of the prophets do not directly oppugne these poetical words (I will not say minds) for that I am sure they did therein but jest and trifles, according to the common fabling of lying poets. And certainly I encounter them two with other two poets, namely Propertius and Horace; the one merrily deriding, the other seriously impugning their fantastical poetries, concerning the power and omnipotency of witches. For when Virgil, Ovid, &c. write that witches with their charmes fetch down the Moon and starres from heaven, &c. Propertius mocketh them in the words following;

*At vos deducte quibus est fallacia Lunae,  
Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,  
En agedum dominae mentem convertite nostrae,  
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis,  
Tunc ego crediderim vobis & sidera & amnes  
Posse Circeia ducere carminibus.*

But you that have the subtil flight,  
Of fetching down the moon from skies;  
And with inchanting fire bright,  
Attempt to purge your sacrifice;  
Lo now, go too, turn (if you can)  
Our madams mind and sturdy heart,  
And make her face more pale and wan,  
Than mine: which if by magick art  
You do, then will I soon believe,  
That by your witching charmes you can  
From skies aloft the starres remeeve,  
And rivers turne from whence they ran.

Englised by  
Abraham  
Fleming.

And that you may see more certainly, that these poets did but jest and deride the credulous and timorous sort of people, I thought good to shew you what Ovid saith against himself, and such as have written so incredibly and ridiculously of witches omnipotency:

*Nec mediae magicum finduntur cantibus angues;  
Nec redit in fontes unda supina suos.*

Snakes in the middle are not riven  
With charmes of witches cunning,  
Nor waters to their Fountains driven  
By force of backward running.

Englised by  
Ab. Fleming.

As for Horace his verses I omit them, because I have cited them in another place. And concerning this matter Cardanus saith, that at every eclipse they were wont to thinke, that witches pulled down the sun and moon from heaven. And doubtlesse, hence came the opinion of that matter, which spread so farre, and continued so long in the common peoples mouthes, that in the end learned men grew to believe it, and to affirm it in writing.

But here it will be objected, that because it is said (in the places by me alleadged) that snakes or vipers cannot be charmed; Ergo other things answered. To answer this argument, I would aske the witchmonger this question, to wit, Whether it be expedient, that to satisfy his folly, the Holy Ghost must of necessity make mention of every particular thing that he imagineth may be bewitched? I would also aske of him, what priviledge a snake hath more then other creatures, that he only may not, and all other creatures may be bewitched; I hope they will not say, that either their

Dan. in dai-  
log cap. 3.

their faith or infidelity is the cause thereof; neither do I admit the answer of such divines as say, that he cannot be bewitched: for that he seduced Eve; by means whereof God himselfe cursed him; and therefore he is so privileged, as that no witches charme can take hold of him. But more shall be said hereof in the sequel.

Danzus saith, that witches charmes take soonest hold upon snakes and adders; because of their conference and familiarity with the devil, whereby the rather mankind through them was seduced. Let us seek then an answer for this cavil; although in truth it needeth not: for the phrase of speech is absolute, and imports not a special quality proper to the nature of a viper any more, than when I say: A cony cannot flie: you should gather and conclude thereupon, that I meant that all other beasts could flie. But you that I understand, that the cause why these vipers can rather withstand the voice and practise of incantations and sorceries, than other creatures, is, for that they being in body and nature venomous cannot so soone or properly receive their destruction by venomes, whereby the witches in other creatures bring their mischievous practises more easily to passe, according to Virgile saying;

*Corrupti que lacius, infecit pabula tabo.*

She did infect with poison strong  
Both ponds and pastures all along.

And thereupon the prophet alludeth unto their corrupt and infectious nature, with that comparison; and not (as Tremellius is fain to shift it) with stopping one eare with his tale, and laying the other close to the ground; because he would not heare the charmers voice. For the snake hath neither such reason; nor the words such effect: otherwise the snake must know our thoughts. It is also to be considered, how untame by nature these vipers (for the most part) are, inasmuch as they be not by mans industry, or cunning to be made familiar; or train'd to do any thing, whereby admiration may be procured: as Bomelio Feats his dog could do; or Mahomet's pigeon, which would resort unto him, being in the midst of his campe, and picke a pease out of his eares; in such sort that many of the people thought that the holy ghost came and told him a tale in his eare: the same pigeon also brought him a scroll, wherein was written, *Res est*, and laid the same in his neck. And because I have spoken of the docility of a dog and a pigeon, though I could cite an infinite number of like tales, I will be bold to trouble you but with one more.

Feates his  
dog, and Ma-  
homets pige-  
on.

A story de-  
claring the  
great docility  
of an asse.

At Memphis in Ægypt, among other juggling knacks, which were there usually shewed, there was one that took such paines with an asse, that he had taught him all these qualities following. And for gaine he caused a stage to be made, and an assembly of people to meet; which being done, in the manner of a play, he came in with his asse, and said: The Sultane hath great need of asses to help to carry stones and other stuffe, towards his great building which he hath in hand. The asse immediately

medately fell downe to the ground, and by all signes shewed himselfe to be sick, and at length to give up the ghost: so as the juggler begged of the assembly money towards his losse. And having gotten all that he could, he said: Now my masters, you shall see mine asse is yet alive, and doth but counterfeit; because he would have some money to buy hereupon provender, knowing that I was poor, and in some need of relief. Hereupon he would needs lay a wager, that his asse was alive, who to every mans seeming was starke dead. And when one had laid money with him thereabout, he commanded the asse to rise, but that would not serve the turne, until he addressed his speech to the asse, saying (as before) in open audience: The Sultran hath commanded, that all the people shall ride out to morrow, and see the triumph, and that the faire lape dies will then ride upon the fairest asses, and will give notable provender unto them, and every asse shall drink of the sweet water of Nilus: and then so the asse did presently start up, and advance himself exceedingly. Lo (quoth his master) now I have wonne: but in troth the Major hath borrowed mine asse, for the use of the old ill-favoured witch his wife: and thereupon immediately he hung down his eares, and halted down right, as though he had been stark lame. Then said his master: I perceive you love young pretty wenches: at which words he looked up, as it were with joyful chaeere. And then his master did bid him go choose one that should ride upon him; and he ran to a very handsome woman, and touched her with his head, &c. A snake will never be brought to such familiarity, &c. Bodin saith, that this was a man in the likeness of an asse: but I may rather think that he is an asse in the likeness of a man. Well, to returne to our serpents, I will tell you a story concerning the charming of them, and the event of the same.

In the city of Salisborough there was an inchanter, that before all the people tooke upon him to conjure all the serpents and snakes within one mile compasse into a great pit or dike, and there to kill them. When one of the serpents were gathered together, as he stood upon the brinke of the pit, there came at the last a great and horrible serpent, which would not be gotten downe with all the force of his incantations: so as (all the rest being dead) he flew upon the inchanter, and clasped him in the midst, and drew him down into the said dike, and there killed him. You must think that this was a devil in a serpents likeness, which for the love he bare to the poore snakes, killed the sorcerer; to teach all other witches to beware of the like wicked practise. And surely, if this be not true, there be a great number of lies contained in M. Mal and J. Bodin. And if this be well weighed, and conceived, it beareth downe to the ground all those witchmongers arguments, that contend to wring witching miracles out of this place. For they disagree notably, some denying and some affirming that serpents may be bewitched. Nevertheless, because in every point you shall see how popery agreeth with paganism, I will recite certaine charmes against vipers, allowed for the most part in and by the church of Rome: as followeth.

I conjure thee O serpent in this house, by the five holy wounds of our Lord,

I. Bod. lib de  
dam. 2. cap. 6.

Mal. Malef.  
part. 2. qu. 2.  
cap. 9. Iohans  
Bodinus.

Exorcismes or conjurations against serpents.

Lord, that thou remove not out of this place, but here stay, as certainly as God was borne of a pure virgine. Otherwise I conjure thee serpent. In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti: I command thee serpent by our lady S. Mary, that thou obey me, as wax obeyeth the fire, and as fire obeyeth water; that thou neither hurt me, nor any other christian, as certainly as God was borne of an immaculate virgine, in which respect I take thee up, In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti: Ely last enter, ely last enter, ely last enter. Otherwise: O vermine, thou must come as God came unto the Lewes. Otherwise L. Vairus saith, that Serpens quernis frontibus contata, that a serpent touched with oake-leaves dieth, and stayed even in the beginning of his going, if a feather of the bird Ibis be cast or thrown upon him: and that a viper smitten or hot with a reed is stoned, and touched with a beechen branch is presently numme and stiffe.

L. Vair. lib de fascino. cap. 4.

Ursurpers of kindred with blessed Paul and S. Katharine.

Here is to be remembered, that many use to boast that they are of S. Pauls race and kindred, shewing upon their bodies the prints of serpents which (as the papists affirme) was incident to all them of S. Pauls stock. Marry they say herewithall, that all his kinsfolks can handle serpents, or any poison without danger. Others likewise have (as they brag) a Katharine-wheele upon their bodies, and they say they are kinne to S. Katharine, and that they can carry burning coales in their bare hands, and dip their said hands in hot skalding liquor, and also go into hot ovens. Whereof though the last be but a bare jest, and to be done by any that will prove (as a bad fellow in London had used to do, making no varriance at all therein) yet there is a shew made of the other, as though it were certaine and undoubted; by anointing the hands with the juice of mallowes, mercury, urine, &c. which for a little time are defensatives against these scalding liquors, and scorching fires.

I. Bondin. lib. de dam. 1. cap. 3.

But they that take upon them to worke these mysteries and miracles, do indeed (after rehearsal of these and such like words and charmes) take up even in their bare hands, those snakes and vipers, and sometimes put them about their necks, without receiving any hurt thereby, to the terror and astonishment of the beholders, which naturally both feare and abhorre all serpents. But these charmers (upon my word) dare not trust to their charmes, but use such an inchantment, as every man may lawfully use, and in the lawfull use thereof may bring to passe that they shall be in security, and take no harme, how much soever they handle them: marry with a woollen rag they pull out their teeth before hand, as some men say; but as truth is, they weare them, and that is of certainty. And surely this is a kind of witchcraft, which I terme private confederacy. Bodin saith, that all the snakes in one countrey were by charmes and verses driven into another region: perhaps he meaneth Ireland, where S. Patrik is said to have done it with his holyneffe, &c.

James Sprenger and Henry Institor affirme, that serpents and snakes, and their skins exceed all other creatures for witchcraft: in somuch as witches do use to bury them under mens thresholds, either of the house or stables, whereby barrenesse is procured both to woman and beast: yea and that the very earth and ashes of them continue to have force of fascination. In respect whereof they wish all men now and then to dig away

away the earth under their thresholds, and to sprinkle holy water in the place, and also to hang boughes (hallowed on midsummer day) at the shall doore where the cattel stand: and produce examples thereupon, of witches lies, or else their owne, which I omit, because I see my book groweth to be greater than I meant it should be.

CHAP. XVI.

Charmes to carry water in a sieve, to know what is spoken of us behind our backs, for bleere eyes, to make seeds to grow well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang her up, notable authorities against waxen images, a story bewraying the knavery of waxen images.

Leonardus Vairus saith, that there was a prayer extant, whereby might be carried in a sieve, water, or other liquor: I think it was clam clay; which a crow taught a maid, that was promised a cake of so great quantity, as might be kneaded of so much flour, as she could wet with the water that she brought in a sieve, and by that meanes she clamd it with clay, and brought in so much water, as whereby she had a great cake, and so beguiled her sisters, &c. And this tale I heard among my grandams maides, whereby I can decipher this witchcraft. Item, by the tingling of the eares, men heretofore could tell what was spoken of them. If any see a scorpion, and say this word (Bud) he shall not be stung or bitten therewith. These two Greek letters Π and Α written in a paper, and hung about ones neck, preserve the party from bleereyednesse. Cummin or hempseed sown with cursing and opprobrious words grow the faster and the better. Berofus touching his fathers naked member uttered a charme, whereby his father became emaculated or deprived of the powers generative.

L. Vairus lib. fascino. 1. cap. 5. Oratio Tusca vestalis.

Of the word (Bud) and the Greek letters Π & Α

A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list with images of wax, &c.

MAke an image in his name, whom you would hurt or kill, of new virgine wax; under the right arme-poke whereof place a swallows heart, and the liver under the left; then hang about the neck thereof a new thred in a new needle pricked into the member which you would have hurt, with the rehearsal of certain words: which for the avoiding of foolish superstition and credulity in this behalf is to be omitted. And if they were inserted, I dare undertake they would do no harme, were it not to make fooles, and catch gudgins. Otherwise; Sometimes these images are made of brass, and then the hand is placed where the foot should be, and the foot where the hand, and the face downward. Otherwise; For a greater mischief, the like image is made in the forme of a man or woman, upon whose head is written the certain name of the party; and on his or her ribs these words, Ailif, cassi, zaxæ, bit, mel

The practiser *mel meltat*; then the same must be buried. Otherwise In the dominion of these charms of Mars, two images must be prepared, one of wax, the other of the must have skill earth of a dead man; each image must have in his hand a sword where in the planeta- with a man hath been slain, and that he must be slain may have his head ry motions, or thrust through with a foine. In both must be written certain peculiar char- else he may go eters, and then must they be hid in a certain place. Otherwise; To thro the goole. obtain a womans love, an image must be made in the hour of Venus, of virgine wax, in the name of the beloved, whereupon a character is written, and is warmed at a fire, and in doing thereof the name of some Angell must be mentioned. To be utterly rid of the earth of a dead man her up by the haire, you must prepare an image of the earth of a dead man to be baptized in another mans name, whereon the name, with a character, must be written: then must it be perfumed with a rotten bone, and then these psalmes read backward; *Domine Dominus noster, Dominus illuminatio mea, Domine exaudi orationem meam, Deus laudem meam* & *tacueris*; and then bury it, first in one place, and afterwards in another. Howbeit, it is written in the 21. article of the determination of Paris, that to affirme that images of brasse, lead, gold, of white or red wax, or of any other stuffe, conjured, baptized, consecrated, or rather executed through these magical arts at certaine daies, have wonderful vertues, or such as are avowed in their bookes or assertions, is error in faith, natural philosophy, and true astronomy; yea it is concluded in the 22. article of that councell, that it is as great an error to believe those things, as to do them.

But concerning these images, it is certain that they are much feared among the people, and much used among coufening witches, as partly appeareth in this discourse of mine else-where, and as partly you may see by the contents of this story following. Nor long sithence, a young maiden (dwelling at New Romny here in Kent) being the daughter of one Mr. L. Stuppeny (late Jurat of the same town but dead before the execution hereof) and afterwards the wife of Thom. Eps (who is at this instant Major of Romny) was visited with sicknesse, whose mother and father in law being abused with credulity concerning witches supernatural power, repaired to a famous witch called mother Baker, dwelling not farre from thence at a place called Stonstreet, who, according to witches coufening custome, asked whether they mistrusted not some bad neighbour, whom they answered that indeed they doubted a woman neer unto them (and yet the same was of the honestest and wiser sort of her neighbours) reputed a good creature. Nevertheless the witch told them that there was great cause of their suspicion; for the same, said she, is the very party that wrought the maidens destruction, by making a heart of wax, & which she affirmed to be the same with pins and needles; affirming also that the same neighbour of hers had bestowed the same in some secret corner of the house. This being beleaved, the house was searched by credible persons, but nothing could be found. The witch or wise woman being certified hereof, continued her assertion, and would needs go to the house where she dwelt (as she affirmed) would certainly find it. When she came thither, she used her cunning, as it chanced, to her own confusion, or at least

A proved story concerning the premises.

wise to her detection: for herein she did, as some of the wiser sort mistrusted that she would do, laying down privily such an image, as she had before described, in a corner, which by others had been most diligently searched and looked into, and by that meanes her coufening was notably bewrayed. And I would wish that all witchmongers might pay for their lewd repaire to inchanters, and consultation with witches, and such as have familiar spirits, as some of these did, and that by the order of the high Commissioners, which partly for respect of neighbourhood, and partly for other considerations, I leave unspoken of.

## CHAP. XVII.

Sundry sorts of charms tending to diverse purposes, and first, certain charms to make taciturnity in tortures.

*Imparibus meritis tria  
Pendent corpora aramis,  
Dismas & Gestas,  
In medio est divina potestas,  
Dismas damnatur,  
Gestas ad astra levatur:*

Three bodies on a bough do hang,  
For merits of inequality,  
Dismas and Gestas, in the midst  
The power of the divinity.  
Dismas is damn'd, but Gestas lifted  
up above the starres on high.

This charme seemeth to allude to Christ crucified between the two theeves.

Englised by Ab. Fleming.

Also this: *Ern Eravit cor meum verbum bonum: veritatem nunquam dicam* Psalme 44. *regi.* Otherwise: As the milk of our lady was luscious to our Lord Jesus Luke 4. Christ; so let this torture or rope be pleasant to mine armes and members. John 19. Otherwise: *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.* Otherwise; You shall not breake a bone of him.

Counter-charms against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saying also whereof witches are vexed, &c.

*Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, dicam cuncta opera mea regi.* Psalme 44. *regi.* Otherwise: *Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annuntiabit veritatem.* Otherwise: *Contere brachia iniqui rei, & lingua maligna subvertet eum.* Scripture properly applied.

A charme for the chaine cough.

Take three sips of a chalice, when the priest hath said masse, and swallow it down with good devotion, &c.



For corporall or spiritual rest.

In nomine patris, up and downe,  
Et filii & spiritus sancti upon my crowne,  
Cruce Christi upon my brest,  
Sweet lady send me eternal rest.

Charms to find out a theefe.

O most wonderful vertue hidden in the letters of S. Helens holy name!

**T**he means how to find out a theefe, is this: Turne your face to the east, and make a crosse upon cristall with oile alive, and under the crosse write these two words (Saint Helens.) Then a child that is innocent, and a chaste virgine borne in true wedlock, and not base begotten, of the age of ten yeares, must take the cristall in his hand, and behind his back, kneeling on thy knees, thou must devoutly and reverently say over this prayer thrice: I beseech thee my lady S. Helen, mother of king Constantine, which diddest find the crosse whereupon Christ died: by that thy holy devotion, and invention of the crosse, and by the same crosse, and by the joy which thou conceivedst at the finding thereof, and by the love which thou bearest to thy sonne Constantine, and by the great goodnesse which thou doest alwaies use, that thou shew me in this cristall, whatsoever I aske or desire to know; Amen. And when the child seeth the angel in the cristall, demand what you will, and the angel will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, that this be done just at the sunne-rising, when the weather is faire and cleer.

Card. lib. 16.  
de var. rer.  
cap. 93.

\* For if the crosse be forgotten all is not worth a padding.

Cardanus derideth these and such like fables; and setteth downe his judgement therein accordingly, in the sixteenth booke *De rerum var.* These conjurors and coleners forsooth will shew you in a glasse the theefe that hath stolne any thing from you, and this is their order. They take a glasse-viall full of holy water, and set it upon a linnen cloth, which hath been purified, not onely by washing, but by sacrifice, &c. On the mouth of the viall or utinall, two olive-leaves must be laid across, with a little conjuration said over it, by a child; to wit thus: *Angele bone, angele candide, per tuam sanctitatem, meamq; virginitatem, ostende mihi furem:* with three *Pater nosters*, three *Aves*, and betwixt either of them a \*crosse made with the nail of the thombe upon the mouth of the viall; and then shall be seen angels ascending and descending as it were motes in the sunne-beames. The theefe all this while shall suffer great torments, and his face shall be seen plainly, even as plainly I beleieve as the man in the moone. For in truth, there are coies artificially conveyed into glasse, which will make the water bubble; and devises to make images appeare in the bubbles, as also there be artificial glasses, which will shew unto you that shall looke thereinto, many images of divers formes, and some so small and curious, as they shall in favour resemble whomsoever you think upon. Looke in John Bapt. Neap. for the confection of such glasses. The subtilties hereof are so detected, and the mysteries of the glasses so common now, and their

colenage

colenage so well knowne, &c. that I need not stand upon the particular confutation hereof. Cardanus in the place before cited reporteth, how he tried with children these and divers circumstances the whole illusion, and found it to be plaine knavery and colenage.

Another way to find out a theefe that abbt stolne any thing from you:

**G**o to the sea-side, and gather as many pebles as you suspect persons for that matter; carry them home, & throw them into the fire, & bury them under the threshold, where the parties are like to come over. There let them lie three dayes, and then before sun rising take them away. Then set a porrenger full of water in a circle, wherein must be made crosses every way, as many as can stand in it; upon the which must be written; Christ overcome, *Christreigneth*, Christ commandeth. The porrenger also must be signed with a crosse, and a form of conjuration must be pronounced. And when you put in the stone of him that is guilty, the stone will make the water boile, as though glowing iron were put thereinto. Which is a meere knack of legierdemaine, and to be accomplished divers waies:

To put out the theeves eye.

**R**eade the seven psalmes with the Letany, and then must be said a horrible prayer to Christ, and God the father, with a curse against the theefe. Then in the midst of the step of your foote, on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eye, and write thereabout certain barbarous names, and drive with a coopers hammer, or addes into the midst thereof a brazen nail consecrated, saying: *Iustus es Domine, et justa judicia tua.* Then the thiefe shall be bewraied by his crying out.

Another way to find out a thiefe.

**S**tick a paire of sheeres in the rind of a five, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the sheeres, holding it with the five up from the ground steddily, and aske Peter and Paul whether A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guilty person, the five will torne round. This is a great practise in all countries, and indeed a very bable. For with the beating of the pulse some cause of that motion ariseth, some other cause by slight of the fingers, some other by the wind gathered in the five to be staid, &c. at the pleasure of the holders. Some cause may be the imagination, which upon conceit at the naming of the party altereth the common course of the pulse. As may well be conceived by a ring held steddily by a thred betwixt the finger and the thombe, over or rather in a goblet or glasse; which within short space will strike against the side thereof so many strokes as the holder thinketh it a clocke, and then will stay: the which who lo proveth shall find true.

A Charme to find out or spoile a theefe.

**O**f this matter, concerning the apprehension of theeves by weeds, I will cite one charme, called S. Adelberts curse; being both for length

These be meere toies to mocke apes, and have in them no commendable devise.

length of words sufficient to wery the reader, and for substantial stuffe comprehending all that appertaineth unto blasphemous speech or cursing, allowed in the church of Rome, as an excommunication and enchantment.

*Saint Adelberts curse or charme against theeves.*

This is not to do good to our enemies, nor to pray for them that hurt and hate us; as Christ exhortheth.

**B**y the authority of the omnipotent Father, the Sonne, and the holy ghost, and by the holy virgine Mary mother of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy angels and archangels, and S. Michael, and S. John Baptist, and in the behalfe of S. Peter the apostle, and the residue of the apostles, and of S. Stephen, and of all the martyrs, of S. Sylvester, and of S. Adelbert, and all the confessors, and S. Alegand, and all the holy virgins, and of all the saints in heaven and earth, unto whom there is given power to bind and loose: we do excommunicate, damne, curse, and bind with the knots and bands of excommunication, and we do segregate from the bounds and lifts of our holy mother the church, all those theeves, sacrilegious persons, ravenous catchers, doers, counsellors, coadjutors, male or female, that have committed this theft or mischief, or have usurped any part thereof to their owne use. Let their share be with Dathan and Abiran, whom the earth swallowed up for their pride and pride, and let them have part with Iudas that betrayed Christ, Amos and with Pontius Pilat, and with them that said to the Lord, Depart from us, we will not understand thy wayes; let their children be made orphans. Cursed be they in the field, in the grove, in the woods, in their houses, barnes, chambers, and beds, and cursed be they in the court, in the way, in the towne, in the castle, in the water, in the church, in the churchyard, in the tribunall place, in battell, in their abode, in the market place, in their talke, in silence, in eating, in watching, in sleeping, in drinking, in feeling, in sitting, in kneeling, in standing, in lying, in idleness, in all their worke, in their body and soule, in their five wits, and in every place. Cursed be the fruit of their wombs, and cursed be the fruit of their lands, and cursed be all that they have. Cursed be their heads, their mouths, their nostrils, their noses, their lips, their jawes, their teeth, their eyes and eye-lids, their braines, the roofof their mouthes, their tongues, their throats, their breast, their hearts, their bellies, their livers, all their bowels, and their stomach. Cursed be their navel, their spleenes, their bladder. Cursed be their thighes, their legs, their feet, their toes, their necks, their shoulders. Cursed be their backs, cursed be their armes, cursed be their elbowes, cursed be their hands, and their fingers, cursed be both the nails of their hands and feet; cursed be their ribbs and their genitaly and their knees, cursed be their flesh, cursed be their bones; cursed be their bloud, cursed be the skin of their bodies, cursed be the marrowe in their bones, cursed be they from the crown of the head, to the sole of the foot: and whatsoever is betwixt the same, be it accursed, that is to say, their five senses; to wit, their seeing, their hearing, their smelling, their tasting and their feeling. Cursed be they in the holy crosse, in the passion of Christ, with his five wounds, with the efflu-

on of his bloud, and by the milk of the Virgine Mary. I conjure thee Lucifer, with all thy Souldiers, by the \* Father, the Son and the Holy \* Thus they Ghost, with the humanity and nativity of Christ, with the vertue of all make the Holy trinity to Saints, that thou rest not day nor night, till thou bringest them to de- ly trinity to stuction, either by drowning or hanging, or that they be devoured by bear a part in wild beasts, or burnt, or slain by their enemies, or hated of all men their exorcism living. And as our Lord hath given authority to Peter the Apostle, and or else it is no his successors, whose place we occupy, and to us (though unworthy) bargain. that whatsoever we bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoeuer we loose on earth, shall be loose in heaven: so we accordingly, if they will not amend, do shut from them the gates of heaven, and deny unto them Christian burial, so as they shall be buried in ashes. Furthermore, cursed be the ground wherein they are buried, let them be confounded in the last day of Judgement, let them have no conversation among Christians, nor be houeled at the hour of death, let them be made as dust before the face of the wind: and as Lucifer was expelled out of heaven, and Adam and Eve our of paradise; so let them be expelled from the daylight. Also let them be joynd with those, to Matthew 15. whom the Lord saith at the Judgement, Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devill and his angels, where the worme shall not die, nor the fire be quenched. And as the candle, which is throwne out of my hand here, is put out: so let their works and their soul be quenched in the stench of hell fire, except they restore that which they have stolne, by such a day: and let every one say, Amen. After \* That is, In the midst of death, &c.

This terrible curse with bell, book, and candle added thereunto, life we are in must needs work wonders: howbeit among theeves it is not much weighed, among wise and true men it is not well liked, to them that are robbed it bringeth small releef: the priests stomach may well be eased, but the goods stolne will never the sooner be restored. Merely by bewrayed both the malice and folly of popish doctrine, whose uncharitable impiety is so impudently published, and in such order uttered, as every sentence (if opportunity served) might be proved both heretical and diabolical. But I will answer this cruel, curse with another curse far more mild and civil, performed by as honest a man (I dare say) as he that made the other, whereof mention was lately made. So it was, that a certain Sir John, with some of his company, once went abroad a jetting, and in a moon-light evening robbed a millers weire and stole all his celes. The poor miller made his mone to Sir John himself, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so curse the thief, and all his confederates, with bell, book and candle, that they should have small joy of their fish. And therefore the next Sunday, Sir John got him to the pulpit, with his surplisse on his back, and his stole about his neck, and pronounced these words following in the audience of the A curse for these people.

All you that have stolne the millers celes;

*Laudate Dominum de coelis,*

And all they that have consented thereto,

*Bene-*

*Benedicamus Domino.*

Lo (saith he) there is favoe for your eeles my masters-

*Another enchantment.*

Certaine priests use the hundred and eight psalm as an enchantment or charm, or at the leastwise saying, that against whomsoever they pronounce it, they cannot live one whole year at the uttermost.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*A charme or experiment to find out a witch.*

**I**N die dominico solitaria juvenum axungia seu pinguedine porci, ut *maius* *est, pro restauracione fieri perungunt*; and when she is once come into the church, the witch can never get out, until the searchers for her give her expresse leave to depart.

But now it is necessary to shew you how to prevent and cure all mischiefs wrought by these charmes and witchcrafts, according to the opinion of M. Mal. and others. One principal way is to naile a horse-shoe at the inside of the outmost threshold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall have power to enter thereinto. And if you make it, you shall find that rule observed in many countrey-houses. Otherwise Item the triumphant title to be written crosswise, in every corner of the house, thus: *Iesus \* Nazarenus \* rex \* Iudeorum \** Memorandum you may join herewithal, the name of the virgine Mary, or of the four Evangelists, or *Verbum caro factum est*. Otherwise: Item in some countries they naile a wolves head on the door. Otherwise: Item they hang Scilla, (which is either a root, or rather in this place garlike) in the rood of the house, for to keep away witches and spirits: and so they do Allcium also. Otherwise: Item perfume made of the gall of a black dog, and his blond besmeared on the posts and walles of the house, driveth out of the doors both devils and witches. Otherwise: The house where *Herba betonica* is sown, is free from all mischiefs: Otherwise: It is not unknown that the Romish church allowed and used the smoak of Sulphur, to drive spirits out of their houses; as they did frankincense and water hallowed. Otherwise: Apuleius saith, that Mercury gave to Ulysses, when he came near to the inchantresse Circe, an herb called *Verbascum*, which in English is called Mullein, or *Tapus barbarus*, or Longwoort; and that preserved him from the inchantments. Otherwise: Item Pliny and Homer bo do say, that the herb call'd Moly is an excellent herb against inchantments, and say all, that thereby Ulysses escaped Circes her forceries, and inchantments. Otherwise also diverse waies they went to worke in this case, and some used this defensive, some that preservative against incantations.

And herein you shall see, not only how the religion of papists, and infidels agree; but also how their ceremonies and their opinions are all one concerning witches and spirits.

For thus writeth Ovid touching that matter.

*Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat:*

She purifies with fire thrice  
Old hory-headed Ælon,

Ovid. de Med.  
Englified by  
Abraham  
Fleming.

Wich

With water thrice, and sulphur thrice,  
As she thought meete in reason.

Againe, the same Ovid cometh in as before:

*Adveniat, qua lustrat anus, lectumque locumque,  
Deferat & tremula sulphur & ova manu.*

Let some old woman hither come,  
And purge both bed and place,  
And bring in trembling hand new eggs  
And sulphur in like case.

And Virgill also harpeth upon the like string:

*baccare frontem*

*Cingite ne vati noceat mala ligna futuro:*

Of berry-bearing baccar bowze

A wreath or garland knit,

And round about his head and browze

See decently it fit;

That of an ill talking tongue

Our future poet be not stung.

Furthermore, was it not in times of tempests the papists use, or superstition, to ring their bells against devils; trusting rather to the tonging of their bells, than to their owne cry unto God with fasting and prayer, assigned by him in all adversities and dangers: according to the order of the Thracian priests, which would rore and cry, with all the noise they could make, in those tempests. *Olaus Gothus*, saith that his countrymen would shoote in the aire, to assist their gods, whom they thought to be then together by the eares with others, and had consecrated arrowes, called *Sagittæ Ioviales*, even as our papists had. Also in stead of bells, they had great hammers, called *Mallei Ioviales*, to make a noise in time of thunder. In some countries they runne out of the doores in time of tempest, blessing themselves with a cheefe, whereupon there was a crosse made with a ropes end upon ascension day. Also three hailestones to be throwne into the fire in a tempest, and thereupon to be said three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aves*, S. Iohns gospel, and *In fine fugiat tempestas*, is a present remedy. Item, to hang an eg laid on ascension day in the rood of the house, preserveth the same from all hurts. \*Item, to conjure you haile and wind by the five wounds of Christ, by the three conjuration hailes which pierced his hands and his feet, and by the foure evangelists, to make haile Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, that thou come down dissolved into ceafe and be water. Item, it hath beene an usuall matter, to carry out in tempests the dissolved sacraments and reliques, &c. Item, against stormes, and many damme creature, the popish church useth excommunication as a principal charme. And now to be delivered from witches themselves, they hang in their countries an herbe called pentaphyllon, cinquefoile, also an olive-branch, also frankincense, myrrh, valerian, verven, palme, antirchmon, &c. also hay-thorne, otherwise white-thorne gathered on May-day: also the smoake of lappoints feathers driveth spirits away. There be innumerable popish exorcismes, and conjurations for hearbs and other things, to be thereby made whollome both for the bodies and souls of men & beasts, and also or contagion

By Ab Flem.

*Virg. in Bucol.  
Englified by  
Abraham  
Fleming.*

*Olaus Goth.  
lib. de genib.  
septentriona-  
lib. 3. cap. 8.*

\* \*

L. Vair. lib. de facin. 2. cap. 11. Mal. Malef. par. 2. qua. 1. cap. 15. Note that you read never of any spirit that walked by day, quoth Nota

Aug. de civit. Dei lib 7. cap. 12.

contagion of weather. Memorandum, that at the gathering of these magickal herbes, the Credo is necessary to be said, as Vairus affirmeth; and also the Pater noster, for that is not superstitious. Also Sprenger saith, that to throw up a black chicken in the aire, will make all tempests to cease: so it be done with the hand of a witch. If a soule wander in the likeness of a man or woman by night, molesting men, with bewailing their torments in purgatory, by reason of tiches forgotten, &c. and neither masses nor conjurations can helpe; the exorcist in his ceremoniall apparel must go to the tombe of that body, and spurne thereat, with his foot, saying: Vade ad gehennam. Get thee packing to hell: and by and by the soule goeth thither, and there remaineth for ever. Otherwise: If there be no masses of pur use for this matter, to unbewitch the bewitched. Otherwise: You must spet into the piss-pot, where you have made watter. Otherwise: Spet into the shoe of your right foot, before you put it on: and that Vairus saith is good and wholesome to do, before you go into any dangerous place. Otherwise: that neither hunters nor their dogs may be bewitched, they cleave an oaken branch, and both they and their dogs passe over it. Otherwise: S. Augustine saith, that to pacifie the God Liber, whereby women might have fruite of the seeds they sowe, and that their gardens and fields should not be bewitched; some chiefe gentle matrone used to put a crowne upon his genital member, and that must be publicly done.

To spoile a thiefe, a witch, or any other enemy, and to be delivered from the evil.

Vpon the sabbath day before sun-rising, cut a hazel-wand, saying: I cut thee O bough of this summers growth, in the name of him whom I meane to beate or maime. Then cover the table, and say: In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti & ter. And striking thereon say as followeth (english it he that can) Drochs myroch, esenaroth & tu & baroch & aff & maroth & : and then say; Holy trinity punish him that hath wrought this mischief, and take it away by thy great justice, Eson & elion & emaris, ales, ages, and strike the carpet with your wand. A notable charme or medicine to pull out an arrow-head, or any such thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot otherwise be had out.

The Hebrew knight was canonized a saint, to wit, S. Longinus.

Say three severall times kneeling; Oremus, praeceptis salutaribus monitis, Pater noster, ave Maria. Then make a crosse saying: The Hebrew knight strake our Lord Jesu Christ, and I beseech thee, O Lord Jesu Christ, by the same iron, seare, blood and water, to pull out this iron in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti &

Charmes against a quiddan ague.

Cut an apple in three peeces, and write upon the one; The father is uncreated: upon the other; The father is incomprehensible: upon the third; The father is eternall: Otherwise: Write upon a masse-cake cut in three peeces; O ague to be worshipped: on the second; O sicknesse to be ascribed to health and joyes; on the third; Pax & max & fax & and let it be eaten fasting. Otherwise; Paint upon three like peeces of a masse-cake, Pater pax & Adonai & ihus vita & sabbaoth & spiritus sanctus & Teragrammaton & and eate it, as is aforesaid.

For all manner of agues intermitent.

Joyn two little Iticks together in the midst, being of one length, and hang it about your neck in the forme of a crosse. Otherwise: For this pension with disease the Turkes put within their doublet a ball of wood, with another other appeepeece of wood, and strike the same, speaking certain frivolous words. fions. Otherwise: Certain monkes hanged scrolles about the necks of such as were sick, willing them to say certain prayers at each fit, & at the 3d. fit to hope well: and made them believe that they should thereby receive cure. Perisaps, characters, &c. for agues, and to cure all diseases, and to deliver from all evil.

The first Chapter of St. Johns Gospell in small letters consecrated at For body and soul. A masse, and hanged about ones neck, is an incomparable amulet or talisman, which delivereth from all witchcrafts and devilish practises. But methinks, if one should hang a whole testament, or rather a bible, he might beguile the devil terribly. For indeed so would S. Barnard have don, whom the devil told, that he could shew him seven verses in the psalter, which being dayly repeated, would of themselves bring any man to heaven, and preserve him from hell. But when St. Barnard desired the devil to tell him which they were, he refused, saying, he might then think him a fool so to prejudice himself. Well (quoth St. Barnard) I will do well enough for that, for I will dayly say over the whole psalter. The devil hearing him say so, told him which were the verses, left in reading over the whole psalter daily, he should merit too much for others. But if the hanging of St. Johns Gospel about the neck be so beneficial; how if one should cate up the same?

More charmes for agues.

Take the party by the hand and say; Eque facilis sit tibi hac febris, atque Maria virgini Christi partus. Otherwise: Wash with the party, and privily say this Psalme, Exaltabo te Deus meus, rex, &c. Otherwise: Wear about your neck a piece of a nail taken from a crosse, and wrapped in wool. Otherwise drink wine, wherein a sword hath been drowned that hath cut off ones head. Otherwise: take three consecrated masse cakes, and write upon the first, Qualis est pater talis est vita; on the second; Qualis est filius, talis est sanctus; on the third; Qualis est spiritus, tale est remedium. Then give them to the sick man, enjoining him to eate none other thing that day wherein he eateth any of them, nor yet drink; and let him say fifteen Pater noster, and as many Aves, in the honour and praise of the Trinity. Otherwise: Lead the sick man on a Friday before sun-rising towards the east, and let him hold up his hands towards the sun, and say: This is the day, wherein the Lord God came to the crosse. But as the crosse shall never more come to him; so let never the hot or cold fit of this ague come any more unto this man, in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti &. Then say seven and twenty Pater noster, and as many Aves, and use this three daies together.

Precious records.

Otherwise: Fecana, cageti, daphnes, gelare, gedaco, G'ali stant, sed non stant pbebas, hecas, & bedas.

Every one of these words must be written upon a peeces of bread, and be quoth Nota.

be given in order one day after another to the sick body, and so must be cured. This faith Nicholas Hemingius he chanced to read in the school in jett; so as one noting the words, practised the medicine in earach; and was not onely cured himself, but also cured many others thereby. And therefore he concludeth, that this is a kind of miraculous cure wrought by the illusion of the devill: whereas in truth, it will fall out most commonly, that a tertian ague will not hold any man longer then so, though no medicine be given; or any words spoken. Otherwise: This word, *Abra cadabra* written on a paper, with a certain figure joined therewith, and hanged about ones neck helpeth the ague. Otherwise: let the urine of the sick body made early in the morning be softly heated nine daies together continually, untill all be consumed into vapour. Otherwise: A crosse made of two little twigs joined together, wherewith when the party is touched, he will be whole; specially if he wear it about his neck. Otherwise: Take a like quantity of water out of three ponds of equal bignesse, and taste thereof in a new earthen vessel, and drink of it when the fit commeth.

Notable follies of the Spaniards and Italians.

In the year of our Lord 1568. the Spaniards and Italians received from the pope, this incantation following; whereby they were promised both remission of sins, and good successe in their warres in the Lowe Countries. Which whether it be not as prophane and impious, as any witches charm, I report me to the indifferent Reader. *Crucem pro nobis subit; et stans in illa sicut; Jesus sacratis manibus; clavus ferreis; pedibus perfossis; Jesus, Jesus, Jesus; Domine libera nos ab hoc malo; Et ab peste;* then three Pater nosters, and three Ave Maries. Also the same year their ensigs were by the authority aforesaid conjured with certain ceremonies, and consecrated against their Enemies. And if you read the histories of these warres, you may see what victory they gained hereby. Item, they baptised their chief standard, and gave it to name St. Margaret, who overthrew the devill. And because you shall understand the mystery hereof, I have the rather set it down elsewhere, being no deed worth the reading.

For a bloody flux, or rather an issue of blood.

Take a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto three drops of the same blood, and between each drop say a Pater noster, and an Ave, then drink to the patient, and say; who shall help you? The patient must answer St. Mary. Then say you, St. Mary stop the issue of blood. Otherwise: Write upon the patients forehead with the same blood; *Crucem summam est.* Otherwise: say to the patient; *Sanguis mane in tua, sicut fecit Christus in se; Sanguis mane in tua vena, sicut Christus in sua pectus; Sanguis mane fixus, sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus; &c.* Otherwise: as followeth.

He must answer by none other, for the perhaps hath the curing thereof by patent.

In the blood of Adam death was taken  
In the blood of Christ it was all to shaken  
And by the same blood I do thee charge,  
That thou do run no longer at large.

Christ was borne at Bethelam, and suffered at Jerusalem, where his blood was troubled. I command thee by the vertue of God, and through

the help of all Saints, to stay even as Jordan did, when John baptised Christ Jesus; *In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti.* Otherwise: Put thy namelesse finger in the wound, and make therewith three crosses upon the wound, and say five Pater nosters, five Aves, and one Credo, in the honour of the five wounds. Otherwise: Touch that part and say, *De latere ejus exiit sanguis & aqua.* Otherwise; *In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti &c.* *Chimra; charas; arive; confirm; consono; l-mabalite.* Otherwise; *Sepa; Sepaga; Sepagoga; sta sanguis in nomine patris & padendi & filii & podera & spiritus sancti & pandorica & paz tecum, Amen.*

See 1. Wier cap. 11. conf.

Cures commenced and finished by witchcraft.

There was a jolly fellow that took upon him to be a notable Chirurgian, in the durtchy of Mentz, 1567. to whom there reformed a Gentleman that had been vexed with sicknesse, named Elibert, having a kerchiefe on his head, according to the guise of sick folke. But the Chirurgian made him pull off his kerchiefe, and willed him to drink with him freely. The sick man said he durst not; for he was forbidden by physick so to do. Tush (said this cunning man) they know not your disease; be ruled by me, and take in your drink lustily. For he thought that when he was well tripped, he might the more easily beguile him in his bargain, and make his reward the greater. which he was to receive in part beforehand. When they had well drunk, he called the sick man aside, and told him the greatnes and danger of his disease, and how that it grew by meanes of witchcraft, and that it would be univerally spread in his house, and among all his cattel, if it were not prevented: and impudently perswaded the sick man to receive cure of him. And after bargain made, he demanded of the sick man, whether he had not any at home, whom he might assuredly trust. The sick man answered, that he had a daughter and a servant. The counsener asked how old his daughter was? The patient said twenty. Well (said the counsener) that is fit for our turn. Then he made the mother and father to kneel on their knees to their daughter, and to desire her in all things to obey the physician, and that she would do in every thing as he commanded her; otherwise her father could not be restored to his health. In which respect her parents humbly besought her on their knees so to do. Then he assigned her to bring him into his lodging her fathers haire, and her mothers, and of all those which he kept in his house, as well of men and woman, as also of his cattel. When she came therewith unto him, according to the match made, and her parents commandment, he lead her down into a low parlour, where having made a long speech, he opened a book that lay on the boord, and layeth thereon two knives across, with much circumstance of words. Then conjureth he, and maketh strange characters, and at length he maketh a circle on the ground, wherein he causeth her to stick a pretended one of those conjured knives; and after many more strange words, he maketh her stick the other knife beside it. Then fell down the maid in a swoon for fear; so as he was fain to frote her and put a sop into her mouth, after the receipt whereof she was sore troubled and amazed. Then he made her breasts to be uncovered, so as when they were bare, he dalled

The Chirurgian here most impudently setteth his knavery abroad.

A pretended

lied with them, diversly and long together. Then he made her lie right upward, all uncovered and bare below her pappes. Wherein the maid being loath to obey him, resisted, and in shame forbade that villainy. Then he said the knave; Your fathers destruction is at hand: for except you will be ruled, he and all his family shall sustaine greater griefe and inconvenience, then is yet happened unto him. And no remedy, except you will seeke his utter overthrow, I must have carnall copulation with you, & therewithall sell into her, bolome, and overthrew her and her virginity. So did he the second day, and attempted the like on the third day. But he failed then of his purpose, as the wench confessed afterwards. In the meane time he ministred so cruel medicines to the sick man, that through the torments thereof he feared present death, and was faine to keep his bed, whereas he walked about before very well and lustily. The patient in his torments calleth unto him for remedy, who being slack and negligent in that behalfe, made roome for the daughter to accompany her father, who asked her what she thought of the cure, and what hope she had of his recovery? Who with teares remained silent, as being oppressed with grief; till at the last in abundance of sorrow she uttered the whole matter to her father. This doth Iohannes Wierus report, saying, that it came unto him by the lamentable relation of the father himselfe. And this is here at this time for none other purpose rehearsed, but that men may hereby learne to take heed of such cosening merchants, and know what they be that take upon them to be so cunning in witchcraft; lest they be bewitched; as master Elibert and his daughter were.

*Another witchcraft or knavery, practised by the same Chirurgian.*

Three morsels, the first charmed with christs birth, the second with his passion, the third with his resurrection.

A cosening physician, and a foolish patient,

This Chirurgian ministred to a noble man, that lay sick of an ague, offering unto him three pieces of a roote to be eaten at three morsels; saying to the first; I would Christ had not been borne unto the second; I would he had not suffered; unto the third; I would he had not risen againe. And then putting them about the sick mans neck, said; Be of good cheere. And if he lost them, whosoever rooke them up, should therewithall take away his ague. Otherwise; Jesus Christ which was borne, deliver thee from this infirmity. Jesus Christ which died, deliver thee from this infirmity. Jesus Christ which rose againe, deliver thee from this infirmity. Then dayly must be said five Pater nosters and five Aves.

*Another experiment for one bewitched.*

Another such cosening physician perswaded one which had a tummy that it was one old viper, and two young maintained in his belly by witchcraft. But being warched, so as he could not convey vipers into his ordure or excrements, after his purgations; at length he told the party, that he should suffer the paines of childbirth, if it were not prevented; and therefore he must put his hand into his breech, and rake out those wormes there. But the mother of the sick party having warning hereof said, she could do that her selfe. So the cosener was prevented, and the party died onely of a tummy, and the knave ran away out of the country.

*Otherwise.*

John. Bodin.

Monsieur Bodin telleth of a witch, who undertaking to cure a woman bewitched, caused a masse to be sung at midnight in our ladies chapel.

Ad vada tot vadit urna, quod ipsa cadit.

pel. And when she had overlaien the sick party, and breathed certaine words upon her, she was healed. Wherein Bodin saith, she followed the example of Elisha the prophet, who raised the Shunamits son. And this story must needs be true; for goodman Hardivin Blefensis his host at the signe of the lion told him the story.

*A knack to know whether you be bewitched, or no, &c.*

It is also expedient to learne how to know whether a sick man be bewitched or no; this is the practise hereof. You must hold molten lead over the sick body, and poure it into a porringer full of water; and then if there appeare upon the lead, any image, you may then know the party is bewitched.

Mal. malef. pa 1 qua. 17. Barb. Spin. in novo Mal Malef.

#### CHAP. XIX.

*That one witchcraft may lawfully meete with another.*

Scorus, Hostiensis, Gofridus, and all the old canonists agree, that it is lawful to take away witchcraft by witchcraft, *Et vana vanis contunde.* Scotus in 4. 17. And Scotus saith, It were folly to forbear to encounter witchcraft by witchcraft, for (saith he) there can be none inconvenience therein, because the overthrower of witchcraft assenteth not to the works of the devil. And therefore he saith further, that it is meritorious so to extinguish and overthrow the devils works. As though he should say; It maketh no matter, though S. Paul say; *Non facies malum, ut inde veniat bonum,* Thou shalt not do evil, that good may come thereof. Lombertus saith, that witchcraft may be taken away by that means whereby it was brought. But Gofridus inveiyeth fore against the oppugners thereof. Pope Nicholas the fifth gave indulgence and leave to bishop Miracies (who was so bewitched in his privities, that he could not use the gift of vengery) to seeke remedy at witches hands. And this was the clause of his dispensation, *Ut ex duobus malis fugiatur majus,* that of two evils, the greater should be avoided. And so a witch, by taking his doublet cured him, and killed the other witch; as the story saith, which is to be seene in M. Mal. and divers o. her writers.

#### CHAP. XX.

*Who are priviledged from witches, what bodies are aptest to be bewitched, or to be witches, why women are rather witches than men, and what they are.*

Now if you will know who and what persons are priviledged from witches, you must understand, that they be even such as cannot be bewitched. In the number of whom first be the inquisitors, and such as exercise publique justice upon them. Howbeit, a Justice in Essex, whom for divers respects I have left unnamed, not long since thought he was look more in bewitched, in the very instant whiles he examined the witch, so as his a little book leg was broken thereby, &c. which either was false, or else this rule un-set forth in true, or both rather injurious unto Gods providence. Secondly, such print as observe duly the rites & ceremonies of the holy church, & worship them with reverence, through the sprinkling of holy water, and receiving consecrated salt, by the lawfull use of candles hallowed on Candlemas day, and greene leaves consecrated on palme sunday (which things they say the church

church useth for the qualifying of the devils power) are preserved from witchcraft. Thirdly, some are preserved by their good angels, which attend and waite upon them.

But I may not omit here the reasons, which they bring, to prove what bodies are the more apt & effectual to execute the art of fascination. And that is, first they say the force of celestiall bodies, which indifferently communicated their vertues unto men, beasts, trees, stones, &c. But this gift and naturall influence of fascination may be increased in man, according to his affections and perturbations; as through anger, feare, love, hate &c. For by hate (saith Vairus) entereth a fury inflammation into the eye of man, which being violently sent out by beames and streames, &c. infect and bewitch those bodies against whom they are opposed. And therefore he saith (in the favour of women) that is the cause that women are oftner found to be witches than men. For (saith he) they have such an unbridled force of fury and concupiscence naturally, that by no meanes it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as upon every trifling occasion, they (like brute beasts) fix their furious eyes upon the party whom they bewitch. Hereby it cometh to passe, that whereas women having a marvellous fickle nature, whose griefe soever happeneth unto them, immediately all peaceableness of minde departeth; and they are so troubled with evil humours, that they go their venomous exhalations, ingendred thorough their ill-favoured diets; and increased by means of their pernicious excrements, which they expel. Women are also (saith he) monthly filled full of superfluous humours, and with them the melancholike blood bolleth; wherof spring vapours, and are carried up, and conveyed through the nostrils and mouth, &c. to the bewitching of whatsoever it meeteth. For they belch up a certaine breath, wherewith they bewitch whomsoever they list.

Much like the  
eyebiting  
witches, of  
whom we  
have elsewhere  
spoken.

Who are  
most likely to  
bewitch, and  
to be bewitched.

And of all other women, leane, hollow-eyed, old, beetlebrowed women (saith he) are the most infectious. Marry he saith, that hot, soft, and thinne bodies are most subject to be bewitched, if they be moist, and all they generally, whose veines, pipes, and passages of their bodies are open. And finally he saith, that all beautiful things whatsoever, are soon subject to be bewitched; as namely goodly young men, faire women, such as are naturally borne to be rich, goodly beasts, faire horses, ranke corn, beautiful trees, &c. Yea a friend of his told him, that he saw one with his eye break a precious stone in peeces. And all this he telleth as soberly, as though it were true. And if it were true, honest women may be witches, in despite of all inquisitors: neither can any avoid being a witch, except she lock her selfe up in a chamber.

CHAP. XXI.

What miracles witchmongers report to have been done by witchel words, &c. contradictions of witchmongers among themselves; how beasts are cured hereby, of bewitched butter, a charme against witches, and a counter-charme, the effect of charmes and words proved by L. Vairus to be wonderfull.

If I should go about to recite all charmes, I should take an infinite work in hand. For the witching writers hold opinion, that any thing ab-

most may be thereby brought to passe; and that whether the words of the charme be understandable or no; it skilleth not: so the charmer gave a stedy intention to bring Lis desire about. And then what is it that cannot be done by words? For L. Vairus saith, that old women have infected and killed children with words; and have made women with child miscarry; they have made men pine away to death, they have killed horses, deprived sheep of their milk, \* transformed men into beasts, \* According to Ovids saying in the aire, tamed and stayed wild beasts, driven all noisom creatures and vermine from corne, vines and herbs, stayed serpents, &c. and all with words. Infomuch as he saith, that with certain words spoken in a bulls eare by a witch, the bull hath fallen down to the ground as dead, which he im- Yea some by vertue of words have gone upon a sharpe sword, and walked deed alleadg. upon hot glowing coles, without hurt; with words (saith he) very heavy weights and burthens have been lifted up; and with words wild horses and wild bulls have been tamed, and also mad dogs; with words they have killed wormes and other vermine, and staied all manner of bleedings and fluxes: with words all the diseases in mans body are healed, and wounds cured; arrows are with wonderful strangeness and cunning plucked out of mens bones. Yea (saith he) there be many that can heal all bitings of dogs, or stings of Serpents, or any other poison: and all with nothing but words spoken. And that which is most strange, he saith, that they can remedy any stranger, and him that is absent, with that very sword wherewith they are wounded. Yea and that which is beyond all admiration, if they stroke the sword upwards with their fingers, the party shall feel no pain: whereas if they draw their finger downwards thereupon, the party wounded shall feel intolerable pain. With a number of other cures, done altogether by the vertue and force of words uttered and spoken.

Where, by the way, I may not omit this special note given by M. Mal. to wit, that holy water may not be sprinkled upon bewitched beasts, but must be powred into their mouthes. And yet he, and also Nider say, that it is lawful to blesse and sanctifie beasts, as well as men; both by charmes written, and also by holy words spoken. For (saith Nider) if your cow be bewitched, three crosses, three Pater nosters, and three Aves will certainly cure her; and likewise all other ceremonies ecclesiasticall. And this is a sure Maxime, that they which are delivered from witchcraft by shrift, are ever after in the night much molested (I believe by their ghostly fathers.) Also they lose their money out of their purses and caskets; as M. Mal. saith he knoweth by experience. Also one general rule is given by M. Mal. to all butter-wives, and dairy-maides, that they neither give nor lend any butter, milk, or cheefe, to any witches, which alwaies use to beg thereof, when they mean to work mischief to their home or white-meats. Whereas indeed there are in milk three substances commixed; to wit, butter, cheefe and waite; if the same be kept too long or in an evil place, or be sturthly used, so as it be stale and fower, which happeth sometimes in the winter, but oftner in the summer, when it is set over the fire, the cheefe and butter runneth together, and congealeth, so as it will rope like birdlime, that you may wind it about a stick, and

L. Vair. lib. de  
fascin. 1. cap. 5.

\* According  
to Ovids say-  
ing of Proteus  
and Medea,  
which he im-  
it therefore,  
Nunc aqua,  
nunc ales, mo-  
do bos, modo  
cervus abibat.

M. Mal. par. 2.  
qua. 2. cap. 7.  
Nider in pra-  
ceptorio, praec.  
1. c. 11. Nider  
in fornicario.  
Mal. malef.  
par. 2. cap. 8.

A good devise  
to stave up  
poor women.  
Mal. Malef.  
par. 2. qua. 2.  
cap. 7.

in short space it will be so dry, as you may beate it to powder. Which alteration being strange, is wondered at and imputed to witches. And hereence sometimes proceedeth the cause, why butter commeth not, which when the country people see that it commeth not, they get they out of the suspected witches house, a little butter, whereof must be made three balls, in the name of the holy Trinity; and so if they be put into the chern, the butter will presently come, and the witchcraft will cease; *Sic ars deluditur arte.* But if you put a little sugar or sope into the cherne, among the cream, the butter will never come; which is plaine witchcraft, if it be closely, cleanly, and privily handled. There be twenty several waies to make your butter come, which for brevity I omit, as to bind your chern with a rope, to thrust therein a red hot spit, but your best remedie and surest way is, to look well to your dairy-maid or wife, that she neither eat up the cream, nor fell away your butter.

*A charme to find her that bewitched your kine.*

A ridiculous charme.

Put a paire of breeches upon the coves head, and beat her out of the pasture with a good cudgel upon a fryday, and she will run right to the witches door, and strike thereat with her hornes.

*Another, for all that have bewitched any kind of cattel.*

When any of your cattel are killed with witchcraft, haist you to the place where the carcase lieth, and traile the bowels of the beast unto your house, and draw them not in at the door, but under the threshold of the house into the kitchen; and there make a fire, and set over the same a grediron, and thereupon lay the inward or bowels; and as they wax hot, so shall the witches entrails be molested with extreme heat and pain. But then must you make fast your doors, lest the witch come and fetch away a cole of your fire: for then ceaseth her torments. And we have known saith M. Mal. when the witch could not come in, that the whole house hath been so darkned, and the aire round about the same troubled, with such horrible noise and earthquakes; that except the door had been opened, we had thought the house would have fallen on our heads. Thomas Aquinas, a principall treater herein, alloweth conjurations against the changelings, and in diverse other cases: whereof I will say more in the word Ildoni.

*A speciall charme to preserve all cattel from witchcraft.*

In any case observe the festival time, or else you marre all.

At Easter you must take certain drops, that ly uppermost of the holy paschal candles, and make a little wax-candle thereof: and upon some Sunday morning rath; light it, and hold it, so as it may drop upon and between the hornes and ears of the beast, saying: *In nomine patris & filii & duplex ss.* burn the beast a little between the hornes on the ear with the same wax, and that which is left thereof, stick it in crosswise about the stable or stall, or upon the threshold, or over the door, where the cattel use to go in and out, and for all that year your cattel shall never be bewitched.

witched: Otherwise: Jacobus de Chusa Carthusianus sheweth how bread, water and salt is conjued, and faith, that if either man or beast receive holy bread and holy water nine daies together, with three Pasternosters, & three Aves, in the honour of the Trinity, and of S. Hubert, it preserveth that man or beast from all diseases, and defendeth them against all assaults of witchcraft, of Satan, or of a mad dog, &c.

Lo this is their stuffe, maintained to be at the least effectually, if not wholesome, by all papists and witchmongers, and specially of the last and proudest writers. But to prove these things to be effectual, God knoweth. For they write so, as they take the matter in question as granted, and by that meanes go away therewith. For Vairus saith in the beginning of his booke, that there is no doubt of this matter, because a number of writers agree herein, and a number of stories confirme it, and many poets handle the same arguments. In the twelve tables there is a law against it, and because the consent and in the common people is fully with it, and because immoderate praise is to be approved a kind of witchcraft, and because old women have such charmes and superstitious meanes as preserve themselves from it, and because they are mocked that take away the credit of such miracles, and because Solomon saith; *Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bona*, and because the apostle saith; *O insensati Galatae, quis vos factnavit?* And because it is written; *Qui sument te, videbunt me.* And finally he saith, lest you should seeme to distrust and detract any thing from the credit of so many grave men, from histories, and common opinion of all men: he meaneth Gal. 3. in no wise to prove that there is miraculous working by witchcraft Psal 119. and fascination; and proceedeth so, according to his promise.

*L Vair. lib. de fascino. 1. cap 1.*

*Sapi. 4.*

CHAP. XXII.

*Lawfull charmes, or rather medicinable cures for diseased cattel. The charme of charmes, and the power thereof.*

But if you desire to learne true and lawfull charmes, to cure diseased cattel, even such as seeme to have extraordinary sicknesse, or to be bewitched, or (as they say) strangely taken; looke in B Googe his third book, treating of cattel, and happily you shall find some good medicine or cure for them: or if you list to see more ancient stuffe, read Vegetius his four bookes thereupon: or, if you be unlearned, seek some cunning bullocke-leech. If all this will not serve, then set Jobs patience before your eyes. And never think that a poore old woman can alter supernaturally the notable course, which God hath appointed among his creatures. If it had been Gods pleasure to have permitted such a course, he would no doubt have both given notice in his word, that he had given such power unto them, and also would have taught remedies to have prevented them. Furthermore, if you will know assured meanes, and infallible charmes, yielding indeed undoubted remedies, and preventing all manner of witchcrafts, and also the assaults of wicked spirits; then despise first all confening.



...fening knavery of priests, witches, and coseners; and with true faith reade the sixt chapter of S. Paul to the Ephefians, and follow his counsell, which is ministred unto you in the words following, deserving worship to be called, by the name insuing:

The charme of charmes:

A charme of charmes taken out of the sixt chapter of S. Paul to the Ephefians.

Finally my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may stand against the assaults of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, and against worldly governments, the princes of the darknesse of this world, against spiritual wickednesse, which are in the high places. For this cause take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evill day; and having finished all things, stand fast. Stand therefore, and your loines girded about with verity, and having on the brestplate of righteoulnesse, &c. followeth in that chapter, verses 15, 16, 17, 18. 1 These 5. 1 Pet. verse 8. Ephes. 1. and elsew-here in the holy scripture.

Otherwise.

If you be unlearned, and want the comfort of friends, repaire to one learned, godly, and discreet preacher. If otherwise need require, go to a learned physiciau, who by learning and experience knoweth how to discern the difference, signes, and causes of such diseases; as the lesse men and unskilful physicians impure to witchcraft.



A confutation of the force and vertue falsely ascribed to charmes and amulets, by the authoritics of ancient writers, both Divines and Physitians.

MY meaning is not, that these words, in the bare letter, can doe any thing towards your ease or comfort in this behalf; or that it were wholesome for your body or soul to wear them about your neck: for then would I wish you to wear the whole Bible, which must needs be more effectually than any one parcell thereof. But I find not that the Apostles or any of them in the primitive Church, either carried S. Johns Gospell, or any Agnus Dei about them, to the end they might be preserved from bugs; neither that they looked into the four corners of the house, or else in the roof, or under the threshold, to find matter of witchcraft, and so to burn it, to be freed from the same; according to the popish rules. Neither did they by such and such verses or prayers made unto Saints, at such or such houres, seek to obtain grace: neither spake they of any old women that used such trades. Neither did Christ at any time use or command holy water, or crosses, &c. to be used as he was on earth. And therefore a very vain thing it is to think that hee feareth these trifles, or any external matter. Let us then cast away the prophane and old wives fables. For (as Origen saith) Incantationes sunt demonum irrisiones idolatrie fax, animalium infatuatio, &c. Incantationes are the Divels sport, the dregs of Idolatry, the bestowing of souls, &c. in Job. Chrysostome saith; there be some that carry about their necks a peece of a Gospell. But \* is it not dayly read (saith he) and heard of all men? But if they be never the better for it, being put into their ears, how shall they be saved, by carrying it about their necks? And further hee saith; Where is the vertue of the Gospell? In the figure of the letter, or in the understanding of the sense? If in the figure, thou dost well to wear it about thy neck; but if in the understanding, then thou shouldst lay it up in thine heart. Augustine saith; Let the faithfull Ministers admonish and tell their people, that these Magicall Arts and incantations doe bring no remedy to the infirmities either of men or cattell, &c. The heathen Philosophers shall at the last day confound the infidelity and barbarous foolishnesse of our christian or rather antichristian or prophane Witchmongers. For as Aristotle saith, that Incantamenta sunt mulierularum figmenta: Incantments are womens figments. So doth Socrates (who was said to be cunning herein) affirm, that Incantationes sunt verba animas decipientia humanas. Incantations are words deceiving humane soules. Others say, Inficitia pallium sunt carmina, maleficium, & incantatio. The cloak of Ignorance are charmes, witchery, and incantation. Galen also saith, that such as impure the falling vill, morbo.

Hippocrat. lib. de morbo sacro.

vill, and suchlike diseases to divine matter, and not rather to naturall causes, are Witches, Conjurers, &c. Hippocrates calleth them arrogant; and in another place affirming that in his time there were many deceivers and counsers, that would undertake to cure the falling evil, &c. by the power and help of Devils, by burying some lead or enchantments in the ground, or casting them into the Sea, conclude thus in their credit, that they are all knaves and counsers; for God is our only defender and deliverer. O notable sentence of a heathen Philosopher!

The thirteenth Book.

CHAP. I.

The signification of the Hebrew word Hartumim, where it is found written in the Scriptures, and how it is diversly translated: whereby the objection of Pharaohs Magicians is afterward answered in this Book, also of naturall magick not evil in it self.

Hieronymus in Gen. 41. 8. & 24. in Exod. 7. 13. in Dan. 1. 20.



Hartumim is no naturall Hebrew word, but borrowed of some other nation: howbeit, it is used of the Hebrews in their places; to wit, Gen. 41. 8. 24. Exod. 7. 13. 24. & 8. 7. 18. & 9. 11. Dan. 1. 20. & 2. 2. Hieronymus sometimes translateth it Coniellers, sometimes Malefici, sometimes Arioli: which we for the most part translate by this word witches. But the right signification hereof may be conceived, in that the enchanters of Pharaoh, being Magicians of Egypt, were called Hartumim. And yet in Exodus they are named in some latine translations Venefici, Rabbi Levi saith, it betokeneth such as doe strange and wonderfull things, naturally, artificially, and deceitfully. Rabbi Isaac Natar affirmeth, that such were so termed, as amongst the Gentiles professed singular wisdom: and Ezra expoundeth it, to signifie such as know the secrets of nature, and the quality of stones and herbes, &c. which is attained unto by Art, and specially

specially by naturall magick. But we either for want of speech, or knowledge, call them all by the name and term of witches.

Certainly, God induceth bodies with wonderfull graces, the perfect knowledge whereof man hath not reached unto: and on the one side, there is amongst them such mutuall love, society, and consent; and on the other side, such naturall discord, and secret enmity, that therein many things are wrought to the astonishment of mans capacity. But when deceit and diabolicall words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and conjuration, as whereunto those naturall effects are falsely impured. So as here I shall have some occasion to say somewhat of naturall Magick; because under it lyeth hidden the venome of this word Hartumim. This art is said by some to be the profoundesse, and the touching the very absolute perfection of naturall Philosophy, and shewing forth the matter hereof; and through the aid of naturall vertues, by the contrivance applying of them, works are published, exceeding all capacity coursed upon. This art of it self is not evil; for it consisteth in searching forth the nature, causes and effects of things. As far as I can conceive; it hath bene more corrupted and prophaned by us Christians, than either by Jewes or Gentiles.

CHAP. II.

How the Philosophers in times past travelled for the knowledge of naturall Magicks, of Salomons knowledge therein, who is to be called a naturall Magician, a distinction thereof, and why it is condemned for Witchcraft.

Many Philosophers; as namely Plato, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, &c. travelled over all the world to find out and learn the knowledge of this art: and at their return they preached and taught, professed and published it. Yea, it should appear by the Magicians that came to adore Christ, that the knowledge and reputation thereof was greater than we conceive or make account of. But of all other, Salomon was the greatest traveller in this Art, as may appear throughout the Book of Ecclesiastes; and specially in the Book of Wisdom, where he saith \* God hath given me the true science of things, so as I know how the world was made, and the power of the Elements, the beginning and the end, and the midd of times, how the times alter, and the change of seasons, the course of the year, and the situation of the Stars, the nature of living things and the furiousness of beasts, the power of the wind, and the imaginations of men, the diversities of plants, & the vertues of roots, and all things both secret and known, &c. Finally, he was so cunning in this Art, that he is said to have been a Conjurer or Witch, and is so reputed in the Romish Church at this day. Whereby you may see, how fools and papists are inclined to credit false accusations in matters of witch-

Sap. 7. 7, 18, 19, 20,

21. Sac Fidiomii.



## CHAP. V.

The incredible operation of Waters, both standing and running; of wells, lakes, rivers, and of their wonderfull effects.

THE operation of waters, and their sundry vertues are also incredible, I mean not of waters compounded and distilled: for it were enablee to treat of their forces, specially concerning medicines. But we have here even in England naturall springs, wells, and waters, both standing and running, of excellent vertues, even such as except we had seen, and had experiment of, we would not beleeve to be *in rerum natura*. And to let the physcall nature of them passe, (for the which we cannot be so thankful to God, as they are wholesome for our bodies) is it not miraculousthat wood is by the quality of divers waters here in England transubstantiated into a stone? The which vertue is also found to be in a lake besides the City *Masaca* in *Cappadocia*, there is a river called *Scarmandrus*, that maketh yellow sheep. Yea, there be many waters, as in *Pontus* and *Thessalia*, and in the land of *Assyrides*, in a river of *Thracia* (as *Aristotle* saith) that if a white sheep being with lamb drink thereof, the lamb will be black. *Strabo* writeth of the river called *Cranes*, in the borders of *Italy*, running towards *Tarentum*, where mens hair is made white and yellow being washed therein. *Pliny* doth write that of what colour the veins are under the rams tongue, of the same colour or colours will the lambs be. There is a lake in a field called *Cornetus*, in the bottome whereof manifestly appeareth to the eye, the carcasses of Snakes, Ewts, and other Serpents; whereas if you put in your hand, to pull them out, you shall find nothing there. There droppeth water out of a Rock in *Arcadia*, the which neither a silver nor a brazen boll can contain, but it leapeth out, and sprinkleth away; and yet will it remain without motion in the hoof of a mule. Such conclusions (I warrant you) were not unknowna to *Jambres* and *Jambres*.

## CHAP. VI.

The vertues and qualities of sundry precious stones, of consening Lepidaries, &c.

THE excellent vertues and qualities in stones, found, conceived and tried by this art, is wonderfull. Howbeit many things most false and fabulous are added unto their true effects, wherewith I thought good in part to try the Readers patience and cunning withall. An *Aggar* (they say) hath vertue against the biting of Scorpions or Serpents. It is written (but I will not stand to it) that it maketh a man eloquent, and procureth the favour of Princes; yea that the fume thereof doth turn away tempests. *Alectoxius* is a stone about the bignesse of a bean, as clear as

Of late experience near Coventry, &c.

*Aristot. in lib. de hist. animalium.*

*Plin. de laniis coloris.*

## Harmine. of Witchcraft. Chap. 3. 6. 207

the crystal, taken out of a Cocks belly which hath been gelt or made a *Ludevicus* Capon four years. If it be held in ones mouth, it asswageth thirst, it maketh the husband to love the wife, and the beater invincible; for here-by *Milo* was said to overcome his enemies. A *Crawpock* delivereth from prison. *Chelidonius* is a stone taken out of a Swallow, which cureth melancholy: howbeit, some Authours say, it is the heart whereby the Swallows recover the sight of their young, even if their eyes be picked out with an instrument. *Geranites* is taken out of a Crane, and *Draconites* out of a Dragon. But it is to be noted, that such stones must be taken out of the bellies of the serpents, beasts, or birds (wherco they are) whiles they live: otherwise, they vanish away with the life, and so they retain the vertues of those stars under which they are. *Amethylius* maketh a drunken man sober, and refresheth the wit. The corall preserveth such as bear it from fascination or bewitching, and in this respect they are hangd about childrens necks. But from whence that superstition is derived, and who invented the lie, I know not: but I see how ready the people are to give credit thereunto, by the multitude of coralls that were employed. I find in good Authours, that while it remaineth in the sea, it is an heart; and when it is brought thence, into the air, it hardeneth, and becommeth a stone.

*Heliotropius* stancheth blood, driveh away poisons, preserveth health; yea, and some write, that it provoketh rain, and darkneth the Sun, suffering not him that beareth it to be abused. *Hyacinthus* doth all that the other doth, and also preserveth from lightning. *Oinothera* hangd about the neck, collar, or yoke of any creature, tamesh it presently. A *Topase* healerh the lunatique person of his passion of lunacie. *Aitites*, if it be shaken, soundeth as if there were a little stone in the belly thereof: it is good for the falling Sicknesse, and to prevent untimely birth. *Amethylius* aforesaid resisteth drunkennesse, so as the bearers shall be able to drink freely, and recover themselves soon being drunk as Apes: the same maketh a man wise. *Chalcedonius* maketh the bearer lucky in Law, quickeneth the power of the body, and is of force also against the illusions of the divell, and phantastical cogitations arising of melancholy. *Cornelius* mitigareth the heat of the minde, and qualifieth maice, it stancheth bloody fluxes, specially of women that are troubled with their flowers. *Heliotropius* aforesaid darkeneth the Sun, raiseth showers, stancheth blood, procureth good fame, keepeth the bearer in health, and suffereth him not to be deceived. If this were true, one of them would be dearer then a thousand Diamonds.

*Hyacinthus* delivereth one from the danger of lightening, driveth away poison and pestilent infection, and hath many other vertues. *Iris* helpeth a woman to speedy deliverance, and maketh rainbows to appear. A *Saphire* preserveth the members, and maketh them lively, and helpeth *Agues* and *Gowts*, and suffereth not the bearer to be afraid: it hath vertue against venom, and stayeth bleeding at the nose being often put thereto. A *Smarag* is good for the eye-sight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, it maketh one rich and eloquent. A *Topase* increaseth riches, healerh the lunatique passion, and stancheth blood. *Mephis* (as *Aaron* and *Hermes Isidor. lib. 14.*)

1209 cap. 3.

\* *Avicenna* cano. 2. 1. aff. 2. cap. 124. *Scrapius* agg. cap. 100. *Diagor. lib. 5.* cap. 9.

*Plin. lib. 37.* cap. 10. *Albert. lib. 2.* cap. 7.

*Solin. cap. 32.*

\* *Rabbi Moses* ses aphorism. 22.

report out of *Albertus Magnus*) being broken into powder, and drunk with water, maketh insensibility of torture. Hereby you may understand, that as God hath bestowed upon these stones, and such other like bodies, most excellent and wonderfull vertues: so according to the abundance of humane superstitions and follies, many ascribe unto them either more vertues, or other than they have; other boast that they are able to adde new qualities unto them. And herein consisteth a part of witchcraft and common coufenage used sometimes of the Lapidaries for gains; sometimes of others for coufening purposes. Some part of the vanity hereof I will here describe, because the place serveth well therefore. And it is not to be forgotten or omitted, that *Pharaohs* Magicians were like enough to be cunning therein.

Nevertheless, I will first give you the opinion of one, who professed himself a very skilfull and well experimented Lapidary, as appeareth by a booke of his own penning, published under this title of *Dactyloibecca*, and (as I thinke) to be had among the Bookellers. And thus followeth his assertion:

*Marbodeus Gallus in sua dactyloibecca, pag. 56.*

*Evax rex Arabum fertur scripsisse Neroni,  
(Qui post Augustum regnavit in orbe secundus)  
Quot species lapidis, quae nomina, quive colores,  
Quae sit his regio, vel quanta potentia cuique,  
Quotus etenim lapidum cognoscere vires,  
Quorum causa latens effectus dat manifestos,  
Egregium quiddam volumus rarumque videre.  
Scilicet hinc solers medicorum cura juvatur,  
Auxilio lapidum morbos expellere docti.  
Nec minus inde dari cunctarum commoda rerum  
Autores perhibent, quibus haec per spolia feruntur.  
Nec dubium cuiquam debet falsumque videri,  
Quia sua sit gemmis divinitus insita virtus.*

Englished by  
Abraham Fleming.

*Evax* an old Arabian king  
is named to have writ  
A treatise, and on *Nero's* Grace  
to have bestowed it,  
(Who in the World did second reign  
after *Augustus* time)  
Of precious stones the sundry sorts,  
their names, and in what clime  
And country they were to be found,  
their colours and their hue,  
Their privy power and secret force,  
the which with knowledge true  
To understand their hidden cause  
most plain effects declare:  
And this will we a noble thing  
have counted be and rare.

The

The skillfull care of Leeches learn'd  
is aided in this case,  
And hereby holpen, and are taught  
with aid of stones to chase  
Away from men such sicknesses  
as have in them a place.  
No lesse precise commodities  
of all things else thereby  
Are ministr'd and given to men,  
if authors do not lie,  
To whom these things are said to be  
most manifestly known.  
It shall no false or doubtfull case  
appear to any one,  
But that by heavenly influence  
each precious pearl and stone,  
Hath in his substance fixed force  
and vertue largely fowne.

*Vis gemmarum & lapillorum preciosorum negatur, quia occulta est, avissimique sub sensum cadit.*

Whereby it is to be concluded; that stones have in them certain proper vertues, which are given them of a special influence of the planetes, and a due proportion of the elements, their substance being a very fine and pure compound, consisting of well tempered matter wherein is no grosse mixture: as appeareth by plain proof of *India* and *Aethiopia*, where the sun being orient and meridional, doth more effectually shew his operation, procuring more precious stones there to be ingendred, than in the countries that are occident and septentrional. Unto this opinion doe divers Many more ancientes accord; namely, *Alexander Peripateticus*, *Hermes*, *Euax*, *Bocchos*, *Zoroaster*, *Isaac Juaneus*, *Zacharias*, *Babylonicus*, and many named of no lesse antiquity and learning.

CHAP. VII.

Whence the precious stones receive their operations, how curious Magicians use them, and of their seales.

Curious Magicians affirme, that these stones receive their vertues altogether of the planetes and heavenly bodies, and have not only the very operation of the planetes, but sometimes the very images & impressions of the starres naturally ingrafted in them, and otherwise ought alwaies to have graven upon them, the similitudes of such monsters, beasts, and other devices, as they imagine to be both internally in operation, and externally in view, expressed in the planetes; As for example, upon the *Plin lib. 37. cap. 10.* *Achate* are graven serpents or venomous beasts; and sometimes a man riding on a serpent; which they know to be *Aesculapius*, which is the *Albert. minér.* celestiall serpent, whereby are cured (they say) poisons and stings of *li. 2. cap. 1.* serpents and scorpions. These grow in the river of *Achates*, where the *Solin. cap. 11.* greatest

Cc

Diarius in  
serm. cap de  
complexionibus  
& complexatib.

greatest scorpions are ingendred, and their noisomnesse is thereby quickned and lifted, and by the force of the scorpions, the stones vertue is quickned and increased. Also, if they would induce love for the accomplishment of venery, they inscribe and expresse in the stones, amiable embracings and lovely countenances and gestures, words and kissings in apt figures. For the desires of the mind are consonant with the nature of the stones, which must also be set in rings, and upon foiles of such metals as have affinity with those stones, through the operation of the planets whereunto they are addicted, whereby they may gather the greater force of their working.

Geor. Pictorius.  
Villang. doct.  
medici in scho-  
liis super Mar-  
bod. dactil.

As for example, They make the images of Saturne in lead, of Sol in gold, of Luna in silver. Marry there is no small regard to be had for the certain and due times to be observed in the graving of them: for so are they made with more life, and the influences and configurations of the planets are made thereby the more to abound in them. As if you will procure love, you must work in apr, proper, and friendly aspects, as in the hour of Venus, &c. to make debate, the direct contrary order is to be taken. If you determine to make the image of Venus, you must expect to be under Aquarius or Capricornus: for Saturne, Taurus, and Libra must be taken heed of. Many other observations there be, as to avoid the unfortunate seat and place of the Planets, when you would bring a happy thing to passe, and specially that it be not done in the end, delineation or heel (as they term it) of the course thereof: for then the planet mourneth and is dull.

Such signes as ascend in the day, must be taken in the day; if in the night they increase, then must you go to work by night, &c. For in Aries, Leo, and Sagittarie is a certain triplicity, wherein the Sun hath dominion by day, Jupiter by night, and in the twilight the cold star of Saturne. But because there shall be no excuse wanting for the faults espied herein, they say that the vertues of all stones decay through tract of time so as such things are not now to be looked for in all respects as are written. Howbeit Jannes and Jambres were living in that time, and in no inconvenient place; and therefore not unlike to have that help towards the abetting of Pharaoh. Cardano saith, that although men attribute no small force unto such scales as to the seal of the Sun, authorities, honours, and favours of princes; of Jupiter, riches and friends; of Venus, pleasures of Mars, boldnesse; of Mercurie, diligence; of Saturne, patience and induring of labour; of Luna, favour of people: I am not ignorant (saith he) that stones do good, and yet I know the scales or figures do none at all. And when Cardano had shewed fully that art, and the folly thereof, and the manner of those terrible, prodigious, and deceitfull figures of the planets with their characters, &c. he saith that those were deceitfull inventions devised by confeners, and had no vertue indeed nor truth in them. But because we spake somewhat even now of signets and seals, I will shew you what I read reported by Vincentius in suo speculo, where making mention of the Jasper stone, whose nature and property Marbodens Gallus describeth in the verses following;

Jaspide

H. Card. lib. de  
subtil. 10.

H. Card. lib. de  
var. rer. 16. cap.  
90.

Marbodens in  
sua dactylothe-  
ca, pag. 41. 52.

Jaspides esse decem species septemque feruntur,  
His & multarum cognoscitur esse colorum,  
Et multis nasci perhibetur paribus orbis,  
Optimus in viridi translucentique colore,  
Et qui plus soleat virtutis habere probatur,  
Caste gestans sibi rem fugat, ercet hydropem,  
Adpessusque jurat mulierem parturientem,  
Et in amenum portans creditur esse.  
Nam consecratus gratum facit aque potentem,  
Et, sicut perhibent, phantasmata noxia pellit,  
Cuius in argento vis fortior esse putatur.

Seven kinds and ten of Jasper stones reported are to be,  
Of many colours this is known which noted is by me,  
And said in many places of the world for to be seen,  
Where it is bred; but yet the best is through shining green,  
And that which proved is to have in it more vertue plaste;  
For being borne about of such as are of living chaste,  
It drives away their ague fits, the dropick thirsting dry,  
And put upon a woman weak in travell which doth lie,  
It helps, assists, and comforts her in pangs when she doth cry.  
Again, it is belev'd to be a safegard frank and free,  
To such as wear and bear the same; and if it hallowed bee,  
It makes the parties gracious, and mighty too that have it,  
And nollome fantasies (as they write that meant not to deprave it).  
It doth displace out of the mind: The force thereof is stronger,  
In silver if the same be set, and will endure the longer.

But (as I said) Vincentius making mention of the Jasper stone, tou. cap. 77. Ditching which (by the way of a parenthesis) I have inferred Marbodens his scor. lib. 5. cap. verles, he saith that some Jasper stones are found having in them the live- too. image of a naturall man, with a shield at his neck and a spear in his Aristor in La-hand pidario.

G c 2

Englified by  
Abraham  
Kerling.

Memorandum  
the authors  
meaning is,  
that this stone  
be set in silver,  
and worne on  
the finger for  
a ring: as you  
shall see after  
wards.

Vincen. lib. 9.



Pampan.lib.  
de incant.cap.4.

Plutar.in vita  
Catonis.

J.Bap.Neap.in  
lib.de natur.  
magia.I.

that there were two such children borne in *Germany*, as if that one of them had been carried by any house, all the doores right against one of his sides would flie open: and that vertue which the one had in the left side, the other brother had in the right sides. He saith further, that many law it, and that it could be referred to nothing, but to the propriety of their bodies. Pampanatus writeth that the kings of *France* do cure the disease called now the Kings evill, or Queens evill; which hath been many wayes thought, and to this day is supposed to be a miraculose and a peculiar gift, and a speciall grace given to the kings and queenes of *England*. Which some referre to the propriety of their persons, some to the peculiar gift of God, and some to the efficacy of words. But if the French king use it no worse then our Princesse doth, God will not be offended therefor her Majesty only useth godly and divine prayer, with some almes, and referreth the cure to God and to the Physician. Plutarich writeth that there be certain men called *Pfills*, which with their mouthes heal the bitings of serpents. And J. Bap. Neap. saith, that an olive being plained by the hand of a virgine, prospereth; which if a harlot do, it withereth away. Also if a serpent or viper lie in a hole it may easily be pulled out with the left hand, whereas with the right hand it cannot be removed. Although this experiment, and such like are like enough to be false: yet are they not altogether so impious as the miracles said to be done by characters, charms, &c. For many strange properties remain in sundry parts of a living creature, which is not universally dispersed, and indifferently spread through the whole body: as the eye smelleth not, the nose seeth not, the ear tasteth not, &c.

#### CHAP. X.

The bewitching venome contained in the body of an Harlot, how her eye, her tongue, her beauty and behaviour bewitcheth some men: of bones and hornes yielding great vertue.

The venome  
or poyson of  
an Harlot.

THE vertue contained within the body of an harlot, or rather the venome proceeding out of the same, may be beheld with great admiration. For her eye infecteth, enticeth, and (if I may so say) bewitcheth them many times, which think themselves well armed against such manner of people. Her tongue, her gesture, her behaviour, her beauty, and other allurementes poison and intoxicate the minde: yet, her company induceth impudency, corrupteth virginity, confoundeth and consumeth the bodies, goods, and the very souls of men. And finally her body destroyeth and rotteth the very flesh and bones of mans body. And this is common that we wonder not at all thereat, may we have not the course of the sunne, the moon, or the starres in so great admiration, as the globe, counterfeiting their order: which is in respect but a bable made by an artificer. So as (I think) if Christ himselfe had continued long in the execution of miracles, and had left that power permanent and common in the Church; they would have grown into contempt, and not have been esteemed, according

Harmlesse.

to his owne saying: A prophet is not regarded in his own country. I might March. 13. recite infinite properties, wherewith God hath indued the body of man, woi- Mark 6. thy of admiration, and fit for this place. As touching other living creatures; God hath likewise (for his glorie, and our behoofe) bestowed most John 4. excellent and miraculose gifts and vertues upon their bodies and members, and that in severall and wonderfull wise. We see that a bone taken out of a carps head, stancheth bloud, and so doth none other part besides naturall effects of that fish. The bone also in a hares foot mitigateth the cramp, as none in bones of other bone nor part else of the hare doth. How precious is the bone growing out of the forehead of a Unicorne; if the horne, which we see &c. grow there, which is doubted: and of how small account are the residue of all his bones? At the excellencie whereof, as also at the noble and innumerable vertues of herbs we muse not at all; because it hath pleased God to make them common unto us. Which perchance might in some part assist James and Jambre, towards the hardning of Pharaohs heart. But of such secret and strange operations read Albert. De mineral. cap. 1. 11 17. Also Marsilius Ficinus, cap. 1. lib. 4. Cardan. de rerum varietate. J. Bap. Neap. de magia naturali. Peucer, Wier, Pampanatus, Fernelius, and others.

#### CHAP. XI.

Two notorious wonders and yet not marvelled at.

I Thought good here to insert two most miraculose matters; of the one I am Testis oculatus, an eye-witnesse; of the other I am so credibly and certainly informed, that I dare and do belevee it to be very true. When Master T. Randolph returned out of *Russia*, after his ambassage dispatched, a gentleman of his train brought home a monument of great accompt, in nature and in property very wonderfull. And because I am loath to be long in the description of circumstances, I will first describe the thing it selfe: which was a piece of earth of a good quantity, and most excellently proportioned in nature, having these qualities and vertues following. If one had taken a piece of perfect steel, forked and sharpened at the end, and heated it red hot, offering therewith to have touched it; it would have fled with great celerity: and on the other side, it would have pursued gold, either in coin or bulloin, with as great violence and speed as it thunned the ether. No bird in the air durst approach near it; no beast of the field but feared it, and naturally fled from the sight thereof. It would be heard to day, and to morrow twenty miles off, and the next day after in the very place it was the first day, and that without the help of any other creature.

Johannes Fernelius writeth of a strange stone lately brought out of *India*, which hath in it such a marvellous brightnesse, puritie and shining, perties in a that therewith the air round about is so lightened and cleared, that one may see to read thereby in the darknesse of night. It will not be contained in qualities in a close room, but requireth an open and free place. It would not willingly



lie rest or stay here below on the earth, but alwaies laboureth to ascend up into the air. If one presse it down with his hand, it resisteth, and striketh very sharply. It is beautifull to behold, without either spot or blemish, and yet very unpleasant to taste or feel. If any part thereof be taken away it is never a whit diminished, the form thereof being inconstant, and at every moment mutable. These two things last rehearsed are strange, and so long wondrous at, as the mysterie and moralitie thereof remaineth undiscovered: but when I have disclosed the matter, and told you that by the lump of earth a man is meant, and some of his qualities described; and that that which was contained in the farre fetcht stone, was fire, of the other flame: the doubt is resolved, and the miracle ended. And yet, (I confesse) there is in these two creatures contained more miraculous matter, then in all the loadstones and diamonds in the world. And hereby is to be noted, that even a part of this Art, which is called naturall or witching magick, consisteth as well in the deceit of words, as in the sleight of hand: wherein plain lying is avoided with a figurative speech, in the which, either the words themselves, or their interpretation have a double or doubtful meaning, according to that which hath been said before in the title \* Ob or Pyho: and shall be more at large hereafter in this treatise manifested.

\* being in the 7. book of this discovery: Where discourse is made of oracles, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of illusions, confederacies, and legier demaine, and how they may be well or ill used.

Many writers have been abused, as wel by untrue reports, as by illusion, and practices of confederacy and legier demaine, &c. sometimes imputing unto words that which resteth in the nature of the thing; and some times to the nature of the thing, that which proceedeth of fraud and deception of sight. But when these experiments grow to superstition or impiety, they are either to be forsaken as vain, or denied as false. Howbeit, if these things be done for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of Gods name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether unlawfull, though herein or hereby a naturall thing be made to seem supernaturall. Such are the miracles wrought by jugglers, consisting in fine and nimble conveyance, called legier demaine: as when they seem to cast away, or to deliver to another that, which they retain still in their owne hands; or convey other wiser: or seem to cut a knife, or some such other thing, when indeed they bestow the same secretly into their bosomes or laps. Another point of juggling is, when they thrust a knife through the brains and head of a chicken or puller, and seem to cure the same with words: which would live and do well, though never a word were spoken. Some of these toies also consist in arithmeticall devices, partly in experiments of naturall magick, and partly in private, as also in publick confederacie.

Look hereafter in this book for divers conceits of juggling set forth at large.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of private confederacy, and of Brandons Pigeon.

PRIVATE confederacie I mean, when one (by a speciall plot laid by himself, without any compact made with others) perwadeth the beholders, that he will suddenly and in their presence doe some miraculous feat, which he hath already accomplished privily. As for example, he will shew you a card, or any other like thing: and will say further unto you; Behold and see what a mark it hath, and then burneth it; and nevertheless seeth another like card so marked out of some bodys pocket, or out of some corner where he himself before had placed it; to the wonder and astonishment of simple beholders, which conceive not that kind of illusion, but expect miracles and strange works.

What wondering and admiration was there at Brandon the juggler, who painted on the wall the picture of a dove, and seeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the King; Lo now your grace shall see what a juggler can do, if he be his crafts master; and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectual words, as the pigeon fell down from the top of the house stark dead. I need not write any further circumstance to shew how the matter was taken, what wondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to use that feat any further, lest he should employ it in any other kind of murder, as though he, whose picture soever he had pricked, must needs have died, and so the life of all men in the hands of a juggler, as is now supposed to be in the hands & wils of witches. This story is, untilt the day of the writing hereof, in fresh remembrance, and of the most part beleevd as canonicall, as are all the fables of witches: but when you are taught the feat or sleight (the secrecy and sorcery of the matter being bewraicd, and discovered) you will think it a mockery, and simple illusion. To interpret unto you the revelation of this mysterie; whom he had thrust a dramme of *Nux vomica*, or some other such poison, federate, who which to the nature of the bird was so extream a venome, as after the receipt thereof it could not live above the space of half an hour, and being some window let loose after the medicine ministrd, she alwaies resorted to the top of the next house: which she will the rather do, if there be any pigeons already sitting there, and (as it is already said) after a short space fallerth downe, either stark dead, or greatly astonied. But in the mean time the juggler used words of art, partly to protract the time, and partly to gain credit by the leg in admiration of the beholders. If this or the like feat should be done by an old woman, every body would cry out for fire and faggot to burn the witch.

Example of a ridiculous wonder.

This I have proved upon crows and pies.

his fellow, pulleth down the pigeon, and so the wonder is wrought.

DE

CHAP.

## Of publick confederacie, and whereof it consisteth.

Publick confederacy is, when there is beforehand a compact made betwixt diverse persons; the one to be principally, the rest to be assistants in working of miracles, or rather in coufening and abusing the beholders. As when I tell you in the presence of a multitude what you have thought or done, or shall do or think, when you and I were thereupon agreed before. And if this be cunningly and closely handled, it will induce great admiration to the beholders; specially when they are before amazed and abused by some experiments of naturall magick, arithmetical conclusions, or legierdemain. Such were, for the most part, the conclusions and devices of *Leats*: wherein doubt you not, but *Jannes* and *Jambres* were expert, active, and ready.

## CHAP. XV.

## How men have been abused with words of equivocation, with sundry examples thereof.

Some have taught, and others have written certain experiments; in the expressing whereof they have used such words of equivocation, as whereby many have been overtaken and abused through rash credulity: for sometimes (I say) they have reported, taught, and written that which their capacity took hold upon, contrary to the truth and sincere meaning of the author. It is a common jest among the water men of the Thames, to shew the parish Church of *Stone*; affirming, and that not untruly, that the name of the lanterne of *Kem*; affirming, and that not untruly, that the said church is as light (meaning in weight and not in brightnesse) at midnight, as at noonday. Whereupon some credulous person is made to leeve, and will not stick to affirm and swear, that in the same church is such continuall light, that any man may see to read there at all times of the night without a candle.

An excellent philosopher, whom (for reverence unto his fame and learning) I will forbear to name, was overtaken by his hostesse at *Dovers* who merrily told him, that if he could retaine and keep in his mouth certain pibbles (lying at the shore side) he should not perbreake ittill he came to *Calice*, how rough and tempestuous so ever the seas were. Which when he had tried, and being not forced by sicknesse to vomit, nor to lose his stones, as by vomiting he must needs do, he thought his hostesse had discovered unto him an excellent secret, nothing doubting of her amphibolous speech: and therefore thought it a worthy note to be recorded among miraculouse and medicinable stones; and inserted it accordingly into his book, among other experiments collected with great industry, learning, travell, and judgement. All these toies help a subtle coufening

A jest among watermen touching *Stone* church in *Kem* as light at midnight as at mid-day.

to gain credit with the multitude. Yea, to further estimation, many will whisper prophecies of their own invention into the ears of such as are not of quickest capacity; as to tell what weather, &c. shall follow. Which if it fall out true, then boast they and triumph, as though they had gotten some notable conquest; if not, they deny the matter, forget it, excuse it, or shift it off; as that they told another the contrary in earnest, and spake that but in jest. All these helps might *Pharaohs* jugglers have to maintain their coufengages and illusions, towards the hardening of *Pharaohs* hearts.

Hercunto belong all manner of charmes, periaps, amulets, characters, and such other superstitions, both popish and prophane: whereby (if that were true, which either papists, conjurors, or witches undertake to do) we might daily see the very miracles wrought indeed, which *Pharaohs* magicians seemed to performe. Howbeit, because by all those devices or coufengages, there cannot be made so much as a nit, so as *Jannes* and *Jambres* could have no help that way, I will speak thereof in place more convenient.

## CHAP. XVI.

How some are abused with naturall magick, and sundry examples thereof when illusion is added thereunto, of *Jacobs* pied sheep, and of a black *Moore*.

But as these notable and wonderfull experiments and conclusions that are found out in nature it self (through wisdom, learning and industry) do greatly oppose and astonish the capacity of man: so (I say) when deceit and illusion is annexed thereunto, then is the wit, the faith, and constancy of man searched and tried. For if we shall yeeld that to be divine, supernaturall, and miraculouse, which we cannot comprehend; a witch, a papist, a conjuror, a coufener, and a juggler may make us believe they are gods: or else with more impiety we shall ascribe such power and omnipotency unto them, or unto the devill, as only and properly appertaineth to God. As for example. By confederacy or coufengage (as be-

fore I have said) I may seem to manifest the secret thoughts of the heart, which (as we learn in Gods book) none knoweth or searcheth, but God ver himself alone. And therefore, whosoever beleeveeth that I can do as I capacity, is diminished opinion, that whatsoever I may seem to do maketh a god of me, and is an idolater. In which respect, vine, supernatall, &c. more than lieth in humane power to performe, we may know and boldly say it is a knack of knavery; and no miracle at all. And further we may know, that when we underitand it, it will not be worth the knowing. And at the discovery of these miraculouse toies, we shall leave to wonder at them, and begin to wonder at our selves, that could be so abused with bables. Howbeit, such things as God hath laid up secretly in nature are to be weighed with great admiration, and to be searched out with such industry, as may become a Christian man: I mean, so as neither God, nor

I. Bap. Neapol. in natural. mag.

our neighbour be offended thereby, which respect doubtlesse James and Jambres never had. We finde in the Scriptures divers naturall and secret experiments practised; as namely that of Jacob, for pied sheep; which are confirmed by prophane authours, and not only verified in lambs and sheep, but in hories, peacocks, conies, &c. We read also of a woman that brought forth a young black Moore, by means of an old black Moor who was in her house at the time of her conception, whom she beheld in phantasmie, as is supposed: howbeit a jealous husband will not bee satisfied with such phantasticall imaginations. For in truth a black Moor never faileth to beget back children, of what colour soever the other be; Et sic contra.

CHAP. XVII.

The opinion of Witchmongers, that Devils can create bodies, and of Pharaohs Magicians.

M. malef. p. 1.7.10.

John 1.3. Colof. 1.16.

IT is affirmed by James Sprenger and Henry Institor, in M. Mal. who cite Albert. In lib. de animalib. for their purpose, that devils and Witches also can truly make living creatures as well as God; though not at an instant, yet very sodainly. Howbeit, all such who are rightly informed in Gods word, shall manifestly perceive and confesse the contrary, as hath been by Scriptures already proved, and may be confirmed by places infinite. And therefore James and Jambres, though Satan and also Belzebub had assited them, could never have made the serpent or the frogs of nothing, nor yet have changed the waters with words. Nevertheless, all the learned expositors of that place affirm, that they made a shew of creation, &c. exhibiting by cunning a resemblance of some of those miracles, which God wrought by the hands of Moses. Yea S. Augustine and many other hold, that they made by art (and that truly) the serpents, &c. But that they may by art approach somewhat neerer to those actions, than hath been yet declared, shall and may appear by these and many other conclusions; f they be true.

CHAP. XVIII.

How to produce or make monsters by Art Magicke, and why Pharaohs Magicians could not make lice.

Naturall conclusions.

Strato, Democritus, Empedocles, and of late, Jo. Bap. Neap. teach by what means monsters may be produced, both from beast and also from fowle. Aristotle himself teacheth to make a chicken have four legs, and as many wings, only by a double yolcked Egg; whereby also a Serpent may be made to have many legs. Or any thing that produceth Eggs, may like wife be made double, or membred dismembred; & the viler creature the sooner brought to monstrous deformity, which in more noble creatures is more hardly brought

brought to passe. There are also pretty experiments of an Egge, to produce any fowle, without the naturall help of the Hen, the which is brought ny fowl out of to passe, if the Eg be laid in the powder of the Hens dung, dried and mingled with some of the hens feathers, and stirred every fourth houre. You out the naturall may also produce (as they say) the most venomous, noifome, and dangerous Serpent, called a Cockatrice, by melting a little arsenick, and the poyson of Serpents, or some other strong venome, and drowning an Egg therein, which there must remain certain dayes; and if the Egge be set upright, the operation will be the better. This may also be done, if the Egge be laid in dung, which of all other things giveth the most singular and naturall heat; and as I. Bap. Neap. saith is Mirabilium rerum pauca; \* The mother who also writeth, that Crines fumine menstruose the hairs of a menstruous of mauels woman, are turned into Serpents within short space; and he further saith, that basill being beaten, and set out in a moist place, betwixt a couple of Tiles, doth engender Scorpions. The ashes of a Duck being put between two dishes, and set in a moist place, doth engender a huge Toad, Quod etiam efficit sanguis menstruosus, which also doth menstruous blood. Many Two kind of writers conclude, that there be two manner of Toads, the one bred by naturall rallcourse and order of generation, the other growing of themselves, which are called temporary, being only engendered of showers and dust; and (as J. Bap. Neap. saith) they are easie to be made. Plutarch and Heracles doe say, that they have seen these to descend in rain, so as they have lain and crawled on the tops of houses, &c. Also Aelianus doth say that hee saw frogges and toades, whereof the heads and shoulders were alive, and became flesh; the hinder parts being but earth, and so crawled on two feet, the other being not yet fashioned or fully framed. And Macrobius reporteth, that in Egypt, mee grow of earth and flowers; as also frogges, toads, and serpents in other places. They say that Damians Hispanus could make them when and as many as he listed. He is no good angler, that Maggots knoweth not how soon the entrails of a beast, when they are buried, will engender Maggots (which in a civiler term are called Gentles) a good bait inwards of a for small fishes. Whosoever knoweth the order of preserving of silke-worms, may perceive a like conclusion; because in the winter, that is a for angling, dead seed, which in the summer is a lively creature. Such and greater experiments might be known to James and Jambres, and serve well to their purpose, especially with such excuses, delays, and cunning, as they could join therewithall. But to proceed, and come a litle neerer to their seats, and to shew you a knack beyond their cunning; I can assure you that of the fat of a man or a woman, lice are in very short space engendered; and yet I say, Pharaohs Magicians could not make them, with all the cunning they had. Whereby you may perceive, that God indeed performed the other actions, to indurate Pharaoh, though he thought his Magicians did with no lesse dexterity than Moses work miracles and wonders. But some of the interpreters of that place excuse their ignorance in that matter, thus; the devill (say they) can make no creature under the quantity of a barley corn, and lice being so litle cannot therefore be created by them. As though he that can make the greater, could not make the lesse. A very grosse absurdity. And as though that he which hath power over great, had not the like over small.

Giles All. y. See the prior mans library.

## CHAP. XIX.

*That great matters may be wrought by this art, when Princes esteeme and maintain it: of divers wonderfull experiments, and of strange conclusions in glasses of the art perspective, &c.*

Howbeit, these are but trifles in respect of other experiments to this effect, specially when great Princes maintain and give countenance to students in those magicall arts, which in these countries and in this age is rather prohibited than allowed, by reason of the abuse commonly coupled therewith; which in truth is it that moveth admiration and estimation of miraculous workings. As for example. If I affirm, hat with certain charms and popish prayers I can set an horse or an asses head upon a mans shoulders, I shall not be beleevd; or if I doe it, I shall be thought a witch. And yet if *I. Sap. Neap.* experiments be true, it is no difficult matter to make it seem so; and the charm of a witch or a papist joined with the experiment, will also make the wonder seem to proceed thereof. The words used in such case are uncreatin, & to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or conjurer. But the conclusion of this, cut off the head of a horse or a ass (before they be dead, otherwise the vertue or strength thereof will be the less effectually) and make an earthen vessel of fit capacity to contain the same, and let it be filled with the oil and fat thereof, cover it close, and dawd it over with lome; let it boil over a soft fire three dayes continually, that the flesh boiled may run into oil, so as the bare bones may be seen; beat the ha'r into powder, and mingle the same with the oil; and annoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seem to have horses or asses heads. If beasts heads be annointed with the like oil made of a mans head, they shall seem to have mens faces, as divers authours most monstrous. It is also written, hat if that which is called *Sperma* in any beast be burned, and any bodies face therewithall annointed, he shall seem to have the like face as the beast had. But if you beat arsenick very fine, and boil it with a little sulphur in a covered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seem to be headlesse. *Aqua compasta* and salt being fired in the night, and all other lights extinguished, make the standers by seem as dead. All these things might be very well perceived and known, and also practised by *Jannes* and *Jambres*. But the wondrous devices, and miraculous sights, and conceits made and contained in glasse, doe far exceed all other; where to the art perspective is very necessary. For it sheweth the illusions of them, whose experiments be seen in divers sorts of glasses; as in the hollow, the plain, the embossed, the columnary, the pyramidate or piked, the turbinall, the bounched, the round, the cornered, the inverted, the reversed, the massive, the regular, the irregular, the coloured and cleere glasses; for you may have glasses so made, as what image or favour soever you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as therein one may see what others doe

Wonderfull experiments.

To set an horses or an asses head on a mans neck and shoulders.

Strange things to be done by perspective glasses.

in places far distant; others, whereby you shall see men hanging in the air; others, whereby you may perceive men flying in the air; others, wherein you may see one coming, and another going; others, where one image shall seem to be one hundred, &c. There be glasses also where in one man may see another mans image, and not his own; others, to make many similitudes; others, to make none at all. Others, contrary to the use of all glasses, make the right side turn to the right, and the left side to the left; others, that burn before and behinde; others, that represent not the Images received within them, but cast them far off in the air, appearing like airy images, and by the collection of sun beams, with great force setteth fire (very far off) in every thing that may be burned. There be cleere glasses, that make great things seem little, things far off to be at hand; and that which is near to be far off; such things as are ever us to seem under us; and those that are under us, to be above us. There are some glasses also, that represent things in divers colours, and them most gorgeous, specially any white thing. Finally, the thing most worthy of admiration concerning these glasses, is, that the lesser glasse doth lessen the shape; but how big so ever it be, it maketh the shape no bigger than it is. And therefore *Augustine* thinketh some hidden mystery to be therein. *Puellius*, and *I. Sap. Neap.* write largely hereof. These I have for the most part scene, and have the receipt how to make them; which if desire of brevity had not forbidden me, I would here have set down. But I think not but *Pharaohs* Magicians had better experience than I for those and such like devices. And as (*Pompanacius* saith) it is most true, that some for these feats have been accounted Saints, some other witches. And therefore I say, that the Pope maketh rich witches, saints, and burneth the poor witches.

Concerning these glasses remember that the eyesight is received; for *Non est in speculo res qua speculatur in illo.*

Rash opinion can never judge soundly.

## CHAP. XX.

*A comparison betwixt Pharaohs Magicians and our Witches, and how their cunning consisted in juggling knacks.*

Thus you see that it hath pleased God to shew unto men what seek for knowledge, such cunning in finding out, compounding, and framing of strange and secret things, as thereby he seemeth to have bestowed upon man, some part of his Divinity. Howbeit, God (of nothing, with his word) hath created all things, and doth at his will, beyond the power and also the reach of man, accomplish whatsoever he list. And such miracles in times past he wrought by the hands of his Prophets, as here he did by *Moses* in the presence of *Pharaoh*, which *Jannes* and *Jambres* apishly followed. But to affirm that they by themselves, or by all the devils in hell, could doe indeed as *Moses* did by the power of the Holy Ghost, is worse than infidelity. If any object and say, that our witches can doe such feats with words and charms, as *Pharaohs* Magicians did by their art, I deny it; and all the world will never be able to shew it. That which they did was openly done; as our witches and conjurers never doe any thing;

An apish imitation in *Jannes* and *Jambres* of workings and wonders.

Jo. Calvine, lib. institut. 1. cap. 8. Cle. recog. 3.

Erast. in disputat. de Lamiis.

Actions impossible to divels Ergo to witches, conjurers, &c.

Jamb. de mysticis.

thing; so as these cannot doe as they did. And yet (as Calvine saith of them) they were but jugglers. Neither could they doe, as many suppose. For as Clemens saith; These Magicians did rather seem to doe these wonders, than work them indeed. And if they made but prestigious shews of things, I say it was more than our witches can doe. For witchcrafts (as Erastus himselfe confesseth in drift of argument) are but old wives fables. If the Magicians Serpent had been a very Serpent, it must needs have been transformed out of the rod. And therein had bene a double work of God; to wit, the qualifying and extinguishment of one substance, and the creation of another. Which are actions beyond the divels power, for he can neither make a body to be no body, nor yet no body to be a body; as to make something nothing, and nothing something; and contrary things, one; nay, they cannot make one hair either white or black. If Pharaohs Magicians had made very frogs upon a sodain, why could they not drive them away again? If they could not hurt the frogs, why should we think that they could make them? Or that our witches, which cannot doe so much as counterfeit them, can kill cattell and other creatures with words or wilhes? And therefore I say with Jamblichus, Que fascino immo ginamur, nec iter imaginamur, nulla habent actionis & essentie veritatem. Such things as we being bewitched doe imagine, have no truth at all either of action or essence, beside the bare imagination.

CHAP. XXI.

That the Serpents and Frogs were truly presented, and the water poisoned indeed by Jannes and Jambres; of false prophets and of their miracles, of Balaams asse.

Pharaohs Magicians were not makers of their own actions.

Exod. 10.

God useth the wicked as instruments to execute his counsels and judgements.

Truly I think there were no inconvenience granted, though I should admit that the serpent and frogs were truly presented, and the water truly poisoned by Jannes and Jambres; not that they could execute such miracles of themselves, or by their familiars or divels: but that God, by the hands of those counterfeit counsellers, contrary to their owne expectations, overtook them, and compelled them in their ridiculous wickedness to bee instruments of his will and vengeance, upon their master Pharaoh; so as by their hands God shewed some miracles, which he himself wrought; as appeareth in Exodus. For God did put the spirit of truth into Balaams mouth, who was hired to curse his people. And although he were a corrupt and false prophet, and went about a mischievous enterprise; yet God made him an instrument (against his will) to the confusion of the wicked. Which if it pleased God to doe here, as a special work, whereby to shew his omnipotency, to the confirmation of his peoples faith, in the doctrine of their Messias delivered unto them by the Prophet Moses; then was it miraculous and extraordinary, and not to be looked for now. And (as some suppose) there were then a consort or crew of false prophets, which could also foretell things to come, and work miracles. I answer, it was extraordinary and miraculous, and that it pleased God so

to try his people; but he worketh not so in these dayes; for the working of miracles is ceased. Likewise in this case it might well stand with Gods glory, to use the hands of Pharaohs Magicians, towards the hardening of their Masters hearts; and to make their illusions and ridiculous conceits to become effectuell. For God had promised and determined to harden the heart of Pharaoh. As for the miracles which Moses did, they mollified it so, as he alwayes relented upon the sight of the same. For unto the greatnesse of his miracles were added such modesty and patience, as might have moved even a heart of steel or flint. But Pharaohs forwardnesse alwayes grew upon the Magicians actions: the like example, or the resemblance whereof, we find not again in the Scriptures. And though there were such people in those dayes suffered and used by God, for the accomplishment of his will and secret purpose: yet it followeth not, that now, when Gods will is wholly revealed unto us in his word, and his Son exhibited (for whom, or rather for the manifestation of whose coming all those things were suffered or wrought) such things and such people should yet continue. So as I conclude, the cause being taken away, the thing proceeding thence remaineth not. And to assign our witches and conjurers their room, is to mock and contemn Gods wonderfull workes; and to oppose against them counsellers, juggling, knacks and things of nought. And therefore, as they must confesse, that none in these dayes can doe as Moses did; so it may be answered, that none in these dayes can doe as Jannes and Jambres did: who, if they had been false Prophets, as they were jugglers, had yet been more privileged to exceed our old women or conjurers, in the accomplishing of miracles, or in prophecying, &c. For who may be compared with Balaam? Nay, I dare say, that Balaams asse wrought a greater miracle, and more supernaturall, than either the Pope or all the conjurers and witches in the world can doe at this day.

To conclude, it is to be avouched (and there bee proofes manifest enough) that our Jugglers approach much neerer to resemble Pharaohs Magicians, than either witches or conjurers, and make a more lively shew of working miracles than any inchantors can doe: for these practise to shew least no lesse than in action, which witches doe in words and terms. But that you may think I have reason for the maintenance of mine opinion in this behalfe, I will surcease by multitude of words to amplify this place, referring you to the tract following of the art of juggling, where you shal read strange practices and cunning conveyances; which because they cannot so conveniently be described by phraze of speech, as that they should presently sinke into the capacity of you that would be practitioners of the same; I have caused them to be set forth in form and figure, that your understanding might be somewhat helped by instrumentall demonstrations. And when you have perused that whole discovery of Juggling, compare the wonders thereof with the wonders imputed to conjurers and witches, (not omitting Pharaohs Sorcerers at any hand in this comparison) and I beleve you will be resolved, that the miracles done in Pharaohs sight by them, and the miracles ascribed unto witches, conjurers, &c. may be well taken for false miracles, meer delusions, &c. and for such actions as are commonly practised by cunning jugglers; be it either by legierdemain, confederacy, or otherwise.

The contrary effects that the miracles of Moses and the Egyptian magicians wrought in the heart of Pharaoh.

That the art of juggling is more, or at least no lesse strange in working miracles than conjuring, witchcraft, &c.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The art of juggling discovered, and in what points it doth principally consist.*

**N**OW because such occasion is ministered, and the matter so pertinent to my purpose, and also the life of witchcraft and couzenage so manifestly delivered in the art of juggling; I thought good to discover it, together with the rest of the other deceitfull arts; being sorry that it fallth out to my lot, to lay open the secrets of this mystery, to the hinderance of such poor men as live thereby: whose doings herein are not only to be tolerated, but greatly commendable, so they abuse not the name of God, nor make the people attribute unto them his power; but alwayes acknowledge wherein the art consisteth, so as thereby the other unlawfull and impious arts may be by them the rather detected and bewrayed.

In what respects juggling is tolerable and also commendable.

The three principall points wherein legierdmain or nimblenesse of hand doth consist.

The true art therefore of juggling consisteth in legierdmain; to wit, the nimble conveyance of the hand, which is especially performed three wayes. The first and principall consisteth in hiding and conveying of balls, the second in the alteration of mony, the third in the shuffling of cards. He that is expert in these may shew much pleasure, and many feats, and hath more cunning than all other witches or magicians. All other parts of this art are taught when they are discovered; but this part can not be taught by any description or instruction, without great exercise and expence of time. And forasmuch as I professe rather to discover than teach these mysteries, it shall suffice to signifie unto you, that the endeavour and drift of jugglers is only to abuse mens eyes and judgements. Now therefore my meaning is, in words as plain as I can, to rip up certain proper tricks of that art; whereof some are pleasant and delectable, other some dreadfull and desperate, and all but meer delusions, or counterfeit actions as you shall soon see by due observacion of every knack by me hereafter deciphered.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the ball, and the manner of legierdmain therewith, also notable feats with one or divers balls.*

**G**reat varietie of play with the balls, &c. **C**ONCERNING the Ball, the plays and devices thereof are infinite, in so much as if you can by use handle them well, you may shew there with a hundred feats. But whether you seem to throw the ball into your left hand, or into your mouth, or into a pot, or up into the air, &c. it is to be kept in your right hand. If you practise first with a leaden bullet, you shall doo sooner and better doe it with balls of pork. The first place at your learning, where you are to bestow a great ball, is in the palm of your hand, with your ringinger; but a small ball is to be placed with your thumb,

thumb, betwixt your ring-finger and middle-finger, then are you to practise to doe it betwixt the other fingers, then betwixt the fore-finger and the thumb, with the fore-finger and middle-finger jointly, and therein is the greatest and strangest cunning shewed. Lastly, the same ball is to be practised in the palm of the hand, and by use you shall not only seem to put nimbly, cleanly any one ball from you, and yet retain it in your hand; but you shall keep and swiftly to four or five as cleanly and certainly as one. This being attained unto, you be conveyed, so shall work wonderful feats; as for example.

Take three or four balls before you, and as many small candlesticks, bols, the beholders saltcellers or saltceller covers; which is the best. Then first seeme to put may not diffe one bal into your left hand, & therewithall seem to hold the same fast: then com or per- take one of the candlesticks, or any other thing (having a hollow foot, and ceive the drift. not being too great) and seem to put the ball which is thought to be in your left hand, underneath the same, and so under the other candlesticks seem to bestow the other balls: and all this while the beholders will suppose each ball to be under each candlestick: this done, some charm or form of words is commonly used. Then take up one candlestick with one hand, and blow, saying; Lo, you see that is gone: and so likewise look under each candlestick with like grace and words, and the beholders will wonder where Memorandum they are become. But if you, in lifting up the candlesticks with your right that the juggler hand, leave all those three or four balls under one of them (as by use you must set a good them fast with your little and ring-fingers) and take the candlestick with matter: for they will not roll so soon away) the standers by will be much astonished, quifac. But it will seem wonderful strange, if also in shewing how there remaineth nothing under another of those candlesticks, taken up with your left hand, you leave behind you a great ball or any other thing, the miracle will be the greater. For first they think you have pulled away all the balls by miracle; then, that you have brought them all together again by like means, and they neither thinke nor looke that any other thing remaineth behind under any of them. And therefore, after many other feats done, return to your candlesticks, remembering where you left the great ball, and in no wise touch the same; but having another like ball about you, seem to bestow the same in manner and form aforesaid, under a candlestick which standeth furthest off from that where the ball lieth. And when you shall with words or charms seeme to convey the same ball from under the same candlestick and afterward bring it under the candlestick which you touched not, it will (I say) seem wonderful strange.

*To make a little ball swell in your hand till it be very great.*

**T**AKE a very great ball in your left hand, or three indifferent big balls; & shewing one or three little balls, seem to put them into your said left hand, concealing (as you may well doe) the other balls which were there in before: then use words, and make them seem to swell, and open your hand, &c. This play is to be varied a hundred wayes: for as you finde them all under one candlestick, so may you goe to a stander by, and take

13. Book. **The discovery** *Juggling with money.*  
off his hat or cap, and shew the bals to be there, and conveying them there-  
into, as you turn the bottom upward.

*To consume (or rather to convey) one or many bals into nothing.*

**I**f you take one ball, or more, and seem to put it into your other hand, and whilest you use charming words, you convey them out of your right hand into your lap; it will seem strange. For when you open your left hand immediately, the sharpest lookers on will say it is in your other hand, which also then you may open; and when they see nothing there, they are greatly overtaken.

*How to wrap a wag upon the knuckles.*

**B**ut I will leave to speak any more of the ball, for herein I might hold you all day, and yet shall I not be able to teach you to use it, nor scarcely to understand what I mean or write concerning it; but certainly many are persuaded that it is a spir it or a flie, &c. *Memorandum*, that always the right hand be kept open and straight, only keep the palm from view, and therefore you may end with this miracle. Lay one ball upon your shoulder, another on your arm, and the third on the table: which because it is round, and will not easily lie upon the point of your knife, you must bid a stander by lay it thereon, that you mean to throw all those three balls into your mouth at once; and holding a knife as a pen in your hand, when he is laying it upon the point of your knife, you may easily with half a rap him on the fingers, for the other matter will be hard to do.

This feat rendereth chiefly to the moving of laughter and mirth.

### CHAP. XXIII.

#### *Of conveyance of money.*

The money must not be of too small nor of too large a circumference for hindering of the conveyance.

**T**he conveying of money is not much inferior to the ball, but much easier to do. The principall place to keep a piece of money is the palm of your hand, the best piece to keep is a testor; but with exercise all will be alike, except the money be very small, and then it is to be kept betwixt the fingers, almost at the fingers end, whereas the ball is to be kept below neere to the palms.

*To convey money out of one of your hands into the other by legierdemain.*

**F**irst you must hold open your right hand, and lay therein a testor, or some big piece of money: then lay thereupon the top of your long left finger, and use words, and upon the sudden slip your right hand from your finger wherewith you held down the testor, and bending your hand a very little, you shall remain the testor still therein: and suddenly (I say) drawing your right hand through your left, you shall seem to have left the testor there, (specially when you shut in due time your left hand, which

that it may more plainly appear to be truly done, you may take a knife, This is pretty and seem to knock against it, so as it shall make a great sound: but in stead if it be cunningly hand- of knocking the piece in the left hand (where none is) you shall hold the dled; for both point of the knife fast with the left hand, and knock against the testor the ear and the held in the other hand, and it will be thought to hit against the mo- the ear and the ney in the left hand. Then use words, and open your hand, and cic is deceived when nothing is seen, it will be wondred at how the testor was remo- by this device. ved.

*To convert or transubstantiate money into counters, or counters into money.*

**A**nother way to deceive the lookers on, is to do as before, with a testor; and keeping a counter in the palm of the left hand secretly to seem to put the testor thereinto; which being retained still in the right hand, when the left hand is opened, the testor will seem to be transubstantiated into a counter.

*To put one testor into one hand, and another into the other hand, and with words to bring them together.*

**H**e that hath once attained to the facility of retaining one piece of money in his right hand, may shew a hundredth pleasant conceits by that tricks may be means, and may reserve two or three as well as one. And lo them may shewed in jug- you seem to put one piece into your left hand, and retaining it still in gling with mo- your right hand, you may together therewith take up another like piece, ncy. and so with words seem to bring both pieces together.

*To put one testor into a strangers hand, and another into your own, and to convey both into the strangers hand with words.*

**A**lso you may take two testors evenly set together, and put the same instead of one testor, into a strangers hand, & then making as though you did put one testor into your left hand, with words you shall make it seem that you convey the testor in your hand, into the strangers hand: for when you open your said left hand, there shall be nothing seen; and he opening his hand shall find two, where he thought was but one. By this device (I say) a hundredth conceits may be shewed.

*How to do the same or the like feat otherwise.*

**T**O keep a testor, &c. betwixt your finger, serveth specially for this and such like purposes. Hold out your hand, and cause one to lay a testor upon the palm thereof, then shake the same up almost to your fingers ends, and putting your thumb upon it; you shall easily, with a little practice, convey the edge betwixt the middle and forefinger, whilest you proffer to put it into your other hand (provided alwayes that the edge appear not through the fingers on the backside) which being done, take up the

another testor (which you may cause a stander by to, lay down) and put them both together, either closely in stead of one into a strangers hand, or keep them still in your owne : and (after words spoken) open your hands, and there being nothing in one, and both pieces in the other, the beholder will wonder how they came together.

*To throw a piece of money away, and to find it again where you list.*

Use and exercise maketh men ready and practive.

**Y**OU may, with the middle or ring finger of the right hand, convey a testor into the palme of the same hand, and seeming to cast it away, keep it still : which with confederacy will seem strange ; to wit, when you find it again, where another hath bestowed the very like piece. But these things without exercise cannot be done, and therefore I will proceed to shew things to be brought to passe by money, with lesse difficulty; and yet as strange as the rest : which being unknown are marvellously commended, but being knowne are derided, and nothing at all regarded.

*With words to make a groat or a testor to leap out of a pot, or to run along upon a table.*

This feat is the stranger if it be done by night ; a candle placed between the lookers on and the juggler: for by that means their eye-sight is hindered from discerning the conceit.

**Y**OU shall see a juggler take a groat or a testor, and throw it into a pot, or lay it in the middle of a table, and with inchanting words cause the said groat to leap out of the pot, or run towards him, or from him ward along the table. Which will seem miraculous, untill you know it is done with a long black hair of a womans head, fastned to the brim of a groat, by means of a little hole driven through the same with a Spanish needle. In like sort you may use a knife, or any other small thing : but if you would have it go from you, you must have a confederate, by which means all juggling is graced and amended.

*To make a groat or a testor to sink through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher very strangely.*

**A** juggler also sometimes will borrow a groat or a testor, &c. and make it before you, and seem to put the same into the middle of a handkercher, and wind it so, as you may the better see and feel it. Then will he take you the handkercher, and bid you feel whether the groat be there or nay ; and he will also require you to put the same under a candlestick, or some such thing. Then will he send for a bason, and holding the same under the board right against the candlestick, will use certaine words of inchantments ; and in short space you shall hear the groat fall into the bason. This done one takes off the candlestick, and the juggler taketh the handkercher by a tassell, and thaketh it ; but the money is gone : which seemeth as strange as any feat whatsoever, but being known, the miracle is turned to a bable. For it is nothing else, but to sow a groat into the corner of a handkercher, finely covered with a piece of linnen, little bigger then your groat: which corner you must convey in stead of the groat delivered to you, into the middle of your handkercher, leaving the other either in your hand

A discovery of this juggling knack.

or lap, which afterwards you must seem to pull through the board, letting it fall into a bason, &c.

*A notable trick to transforme a counter to a groat.*

**T**AKE a groat, or some lesse piece of money, and grind it very thin at the one side ; and take two counters, and grind them, the one at the one side, the other on the other side : glew the smooth side of the groat to the smooth side of one of the counters, joyning them so close together as may be, specially at the edges, which may be so filed, as they shall seem to be but one piece ; to wit, one side a counter, and the other side a groat, then take a very little green waxe (for that is softest and therefore best) and lay it so upon the smooth side of the other counter, as it do not much discolour the groat : and so will that counter with the groat cleave together, as though they were glewed ; and being filed even with the groat and the other counter, it will seem so like a perfect entire counter, that though a stranger none of his finger, and the thumb of your right hand with soft waxe, take therewith : besides this counterfeit counter and lay it down openly upon the palm of your that, it behoveth in such sort as an auditor layeth down his counters, wringing verth him to be the same hard, so as you may leave the glewed counter with the groat apparently in the palm of your left hand ; and the smooth side of the waxed he must handle it, he shall not bewray it ; then having a little touched your fore-finger, counter will stick fast upon your thumb, by reason of the waxe wherewith it is smeared, and so may you hide it at your pleasure. Provided alwaies, that you lay the waxed side downward, and the glewed side upward : then close your hand, and in or after the closing thereof turne the piece, and so in stead of a counter (which they supposed to be in your hand) you shall seem to have a groat, to the astonishment of the beholders, if it be well handled.

#### CHAP. XXV.

*An excellent feat, to make a twopenie peece lie plaine in the palme of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you list.*

**P**UT a little red way (not too thin) upon the nail of your longest finger, then let a stranger put a two penny piece into the palm of your hand, and shut your fist suddenly, and convey the two penny piece upon the wax, which with use you may so accomplish, as no man shall perceive it. Then and in the mean time use \* words of course, and suddenly open your hand, holding the tips of your fingers rather lower than higher than the palm of your hand, and the beholders will wonder where it is become. Then shut your hand suddenly again, and lay a wager whether it be there or no ; and you may either leave it there, or take it away with you at your pleasure. This (if it be well handled) hath more admiration than any other feat of the hand. *Memorandum* this may be best handled, by putting the waxe upon the two penny piece, but then must you lay it in your hand your self.

To



To convey a testor out of ones hand that holdeth it fast.

**S**Tick a litle waxe upon your thumb, and take a stander by by the finger, shewing him the testor, and telling him you wil put the same into his hand: then wring it down hard with your waxed thumb, and using many words look him in the face, and as soon as you perceive him to look in your face, or from your hand, suddenly take away your thumb, and close his hand, and so will it seem to him that the testor remaineth, even as if you wring a testor upon ones forehead, it will seem to Rick, when it is taken away, especially if it be wet. Then cause him to hold his hand still, and with speed put it into another mans hand (or into your owne) two testors in stead of one, and use words of course, whereby you shall make not onely the beholders, but the holders believe, when they open their hands, that by inchantment you have brought both together.

To throw a piece of money into a deep pond, and to fetch it again from whence you list.

In these knacks **T**Here be a marvellous number of feats to be done with money, but if of confederacy you will work by private confederacy, as to mark a shilling, or any other thing, and throw the same into a river or deep pond, and having hid a shilling before with like marks in some other secret place; bid some go presently and fetch it, making them believe that it is the very same which you threw into the river: the beholders will marvell much at it. And of such feats there may be done a marvellous number; but many more by publick confederacy, whereby one may tell another how much money he hath in his purse, and a hundred like toies, and all with money.

To convey one shilling being in one hand into another, holding your hands abroad like a rood.

A knack more **E**vermore it is necessary to mingle some merry toies among your grave merry than **M**iracles, as in this case of money, to take a shilling in each hand, and marvellous. holding your armes abroad, to lay a wager that you will put them both into one hand, without bringing them any whit nearer together. The wager being made, hold your arms abroad like a rood, and turning about with your body, lay the shilling out of one of your hands upon the table, and turning to the other side take it up with the other hand: and so you shall win your wager.

How to rap a wag on the knuckles.

Another to the **D**eliver one piece of money with the left hand to one, and to a second same purpose person another, and offer him that you would rap on the fingers the read in pag. third; for he (though he be ungracious and suble) seeing the other receive 228. money, will not lightly refuse it, and when he offereth to take it, you may rap him on the fingers with a knife, or somewhat else held in the right hand.

and, saying that you knew by your familiar, that he meant to have kept it from you.

### CHAP. XXVI.

To transforme any one small thing into any other forme by folding of paper.

**T**Ake a sheet of paper, or a handkercher, and fold or double the same, so as one side be a litle longer then another: then put a counter between the two sides or leaves of the paper or handkercher, up to the middle of the top of the fold, holding the same so as it be not perceived, and lay a groat on the outside thereof, right against the counter, and fold it down to the end of the longer side: and when you unfold it again, the groat will be where the counter was, and the counter where the groat was; so as some will suppose that you have transubstantiated the money into a counter, and with this many feats may be done.

The like or rather stranger than it may be done, with two papers three inches square a piece, divided by two folds into three equall parts at either side, so as each folded paper remain one inch square: then glew the back-sides of the two papers together as they are folded, & nor as they are open, and so shall both papers seem to be but one; and which side soever you open, it shall appear to be the same, if you hide handsomely the bottome, as you may well do with your middle finger, so as if you have a groat in the one and a counter in the other, you (having shewed but one) may by turning the paper seem to transubstantiate it. This may be best performed, by putting it under a candlestick, or a hat, &c. and with \* words seem to do the feat.

### CHAP. XXVII.

Of cards, with good cautions how to avoid couzenage therein: speciall rules to convey and handle the cards, and the manner and order how to accomplish all difficult and strange things wrought with cards.

**H**AVING now bestowed some waste money among you, I will set you to mark these cards; by which kind of witchcraft a great number of people have juggled away not only their money, but also their lands, their health, their time, and their honesty. I dare not (as I could) shew the lewd juggling that cheaters practice, lest it minister some offence to the well disposed, the simple hurt and losses, and to the wicked occasion of evil doing. I would wish all gamesters to beware, not only with what cards and dice the play, but especially with whom and where they exercise gaming. And to let dice passe (as whereby a man may be inevitably couzened) one that is skilful to make and use Bumcards, may undoe a hundredth wealthy men that are given to gaming: but if he have a confederate present, either of them.

Ff

\* Such as you shall find in pag. 227, and 330, in the marginal notes, or some strange terms of your owne devising, & the like unthrifty games,

two old verses: *Ludum taxillis bene respice quid sit in illis. Mors tua, tuas spes tua* to let dice passe (as whereby a man may be inevitably couzened) one that pender in illis: and remember

the players or standers by, the mischief cannot be avoided. If you play among strangers, beware of him that seems simple or drunken; for under their habit the most special confederates are presented, and while you think by their simplicity and imperfections to beguile them (and thereof perchance are persuaded by their confederates, your very friends as you think) you your self will be most of all overtaken. Beware also of the bettors by, and lookers on, and namely of them that bet on your side; for whilest they look on your game without suspicion, they discover it by signes to your adversaries, with whom they bet, and yet are their confederates.

Note.

But in shewing feats, and juggling with cards the principal point consisteth in shuffling them nimbly, and alwaies keeping one certain card either in the bottome, or in some known place of the stock, four or five cards from it. Hereby you shall seem to work wonders; for it will be easier for you to see or spie one card, which though you be perceived to do, it will not be suspected, if you shuffle them well afterwards. And this note must give you, that in reserving the bottome card, you must alwaies (whilest you shuffle) keep him a little before or a little behind all the cards lying underneath him, bestowing him (I say) either a little beyond his fellows before, right over the forefinger, or else behind the rest, so as the little finger of the left hand may meet with it: which is the easier, the readier, & the better way. In the beginning of your shuffling, shuffle as thick as you can; and in the end throw upon the stock the neather card (which is so many more at the least as you would have preserved for any purpose) a little before or behind the rest. Provided alwaies, that your fore finger of the pack be laid before, or the little finger, if the pack lie behind, creep up to meet with the bottome card, and not lie betwixt the cards: and when you feel it, you may there hold it, untill you have shuffled over the cards again, still leaving your kept card below. Being perfect herein, you may do almost what you list with the cards. By this means, what pack soever you make, though it consist of eight, twelve, or twenty cards, you may keep them still together unscattered next to the neather card, and yet shuffle them often to satisfie the curious beholders. As for examples, and for brevity sake, to shew your divers feats under one.

*How to deliver out four aces, and to convert them into four knaves.*

You must be well advised in the shuffling of the bunch, lest you overshoot your self.

MAke a pack of these eight cards; to wit, four knaves and four aces: and although all the eight cards must lie immediately together, yet must each knave and ace be evenly severed, and the same eight cards must lie also in the lowest place of the bunch. Then shuffle them so, as alwaies at the second shuffling, or at least wise at the end of your shuffling the said pack, and of the pack one ace may lie neathermost, or so as you may know where he goeth and lyeth: and alwaies (I say) let your fore said pack with three or four cards more lie unseparably together immediately upon and with that ace. Then using some speech or other device, and putting your hands with the cards to the edge of the table to hide the action, let one privily a piece of the second card which is one of the knaves, holding forth

the stock in both your hands, and shewing to the standers by the neather card (which is the ace or kept card) covering also the head or piece of the knave (which is the next card) with your four fingers, draw out the same knave, laying it down on the table: then shuffle again, keeping your pack whole, and so have you two aces lying together in the bottome. And therefore, to reforme that disordered card, as also for a grace and countenance to that action, take off the uppermost card of the bunch, and thrust it into the midst of the cards; and then take away the neathermost card, which is one of your said aces, & bestow him likewise. Then may you begin as before, shewing another ace, and instead thereof lay down another knave: and so forth, untill instead of four aces you have laid downe four knaves. The beholders all this while thinking that there lie four aces on the table, are greatly abused, and will marvel at the transformation.

*How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stock.*

WHen you have seen a card privily, or as though you marked it not, lay the same undermost, and shuffle the cards as before you are taught, till your card lie again below in the bottome. Then shew the same to the beholders, willing them to remember it: then shuffle the cards, or let any other shuffle them; for you know the card already, and therefore may at any time tell them what card they saw: which \* neverthelesse would be done with great circumstance and shew of difficultie.

\*For that will draw the action into the greater admiration.

*Another way to do the same, having your self indeed never seene the card.*

IF you can see no card, or be suspected to have seen that which you mean to shew, then let a stander by first shuffle, and afterwards take you the cards into your hands, and (having shewed and not seen the bottome card) shuffle again and keep the same card as before you are taught; and either make shift then to see it when their suspicion is past, which may be done by letting some cards fall, or else lay down all the cards in heaps, remembering where you laid your bottome card. Then spie how many cards lye in some one heap, and lay the heap where your bottome card is upon that heap, and all the other heaps upon the same: and so, if there were five cards in the heap whercon you laid your card, then the same must be the sixth card, which now you may throw out, or look upon without suspicion; and tell them the card they saw.

*To tell one without confederacy what card he thinketh.*

LAY three cards on a table, a little way distant, and bid a stander by be true and not waver, but think one them of three; and by his eie you wraich the shall assuredly perceive which he both seeth and thinketh. And you shall thought, do the like, if you cast down a whole pair of cards with the faces upward, whereof

whereof there will be few or none plainly perceived, and they also can cards. But as you cast them down sodainly, so must you take them up presently, marking both his eie and the card whereon he looketh.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*How to tell what card any man thinketh, how to convey the same into a kernell of a nut or cheristone, &c. and the same again into ones pocket, how to make one draw the same or any card you list, and all under one devise.*

Tricks with cards, &c. which must be done with confederacy.

**T**AK a nut, or a cheristone, and burn a hole through the side of the top of the shell, and also through the kernell (if you will) with a hot bodkin, or boar it with an awl; and with the eie of a needle pull out some of the kernell, so as the same may be as wide as the hole of the shell. Then write the number or name of the card in a peccoe of fine paper one inch or half an inch in length, and half so much in breadth, and roll it up hard; then put it into a nut, or cheristone, and close the hole with a little red wax, and rub the same with a little dust, and it will not be perceived, if the nut or cheristone bee brown or old. Then let your confederate think that card which you have in your nut, &c. and either convey the same nut or cheristone into some bodie pocket, or lay it in some strange place: then make one draw the same out of the stock held in your hand, which by use you may well doe. But say not; I will make you perforce draw such a card: but require some stander by to draw a card, saying that it skils not what card he draw. And if your hand serve you to use the cards well, you shall preferre unto him, and he shall receive (even though he snatch at another) the very card which you kept, and your confederate thought, and is written in the nut, and hidden in the pocket, &c. You must (while you hold the stock in your hands, tossing the cards to and fro) remember all ways to keep your card in your eies and not to loose the sight thereof. Which feat, till you be perfect in, you may have the same privily marked; and when you perceive his hand ready to draw, put it a little out towards his hand, nimble turning over the cards, as though you numbred them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw any other; which if he should doe, you must let three or four fall, that you may begin again. \* This will seem most strange, if your said paper be inclosed in a button, and by confederacie sowed upon the doublet or coat of any body. This trick they commonly end with a nut full of ink, in which case some wag or unhappy boy is to bee required to think a card; and having so done, let the nut be delivered him to crack, which he will not refuse to doe, if he have seen the other feat played before.

A merry conceit the like whereof you shall find in pag. 228. & 237.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Of fast or loose, how to knit a hard knot upon a handkercher, and to undoe the same with words.*

**T**HE Egyptians juggling witchcraft or fortilegie standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I have written somewhat generally already, yet having such opportunity I will here shew some of their particular feats; not treating of their common tricks which is so tedious, nor of their fortune-telling which is so impious; and yet both of them meer cousenage. \* Make Fast and loose one plain loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and with a handkercher (near to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrary end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close up handsomely the knot, which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand, as the left hand end may be near to the knot: then will it seem a true and a firm knot. And to make it appear more assuredly to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilest you hold fast the other in your right hand: and then holding the knot with your fore-finger and thumb, and the neither part of your handkercher with your other fingers, as you hold a bridle when you would with one hand slip up the knot and lengthen your reins. This done, turn your handkercher over the knot with the left hand, in doing whereof you must sodainly slip out the end or corner, putting up the knot of your handkercher with your fore-finger and thumb, as you would put up the foresaid knot of your bridle. Then deliver the same (covered and wrapt in the midst of your handkercher) to one, to hold fast, and so after some words used, and wagers layed, take the handkercher and shake it, and it will be loose.

*A notable feat of fast or loose; namely, to pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without removing of your hand.*

**T**AKE two little whipcords of two foot long a peccoe, double them equally so as there may appear four ends. Then take three great bead-stones, the hole of one of them being bigger than the rest; and put one beadstone upon the eye or bowt of the one cord, and another on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bowts be hidden therein: which may be the better done, if you put the eie of the one into the eie or bowt of the other. Then pull the middle bead upon the same, being doubled over his fellow, and so will the beads seem to be put over the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may toss them as you list, and make it seem manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you have done it, that the beadstones are put upon the two cords without any fraud. Then must you seem to adde more effectually binding of those beadstones to the string, and make one

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**T**AKE two little whipcords of two foot long a peece, double them equally so as there may appear four ends. Then take three great beadstones, with whipcords and beads. the hole of one of them being bigger than the rest; and put one beadstone upon the eye or bowt of the one cord, and another on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bowts be hidden therein: which may be the better done, if you put the cie of the one into the cie or bowt of the other. Then pull the middle bead upon the same, being doubled over his fellow, and so will the beads seem to be put over the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may toss them as you list, and make it seem manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you have done it, that the beadstones are put upon the two cords without any fraud. Then must you seem to adde more effectually binding of those beadstones to the string, and make one

This conveyance must be closely done; Ergo it must be no bunglers work.

halfe of a knot with one of the ends of each side; which is for no other purpose, but that when the bead-stones be taken away, the cords may be seen in the case which the beholders suppose them to be in before. For when you have made your half knot (which in any wise you may not doubt to make a perfect knot) you must deliver into the hands of some standers by those two cords; namely, two ends evenly set in one hand, and two in the other, and then with a wager, &c. begin to pull off your bead-stones, &c. which if you handle nimbly, and in the end cause him to pull his two ends, the two cords will shew to be placed plainly, and the bead-stones to have come through the cords. But these things are so hard and long to be described, that I will leave them; whereas I could shew great variety.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Juggling knacks by confederacie, and how to know whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.*

Lay a wager with your confederate (who must seem simple, or obliquely opposed against you) that standing behind a door, you will (by the found or ringing of the money) tell him whether he cast crosse or pile; so as when you are gone, and he hath slipped the monie before the witnesses who are to be censured, he must say; What is it, if it be crosse; or What is it, if it be pile: or some other such sign, as you are agreed upon, and so you need not fail to guesse rightly. By this means (if you have any invention) you may seem to doe a hundreth miracles, and to discover the secrets of a mans thoughts, or words spoken a far off.

What is it?  
What is it?  
signes of confederacy.

*To make a shoal of goslings draw a timber log.*

TO make a shoal of goslings, or (as they say) a gaggle of Geese to seem to draw a timber log, is done by that very means that is used, when a cart doth draw a fool through a pond or river: but handled somewhat further off from the beholders.

*To make a pot or any such thing standing fast on the cupboard, to fall down thence by vertue of words.*

Let a cupboard be so placed, as your confederate may hold a black thred without in the court, behind some window of that room; and at a certain loud word spoken by you, he may pull the same thred, being wound about the pot, &c. And this was the feat of Eleazer, which Josephus reporteth to be such a miracle.

Eleazers feat of confederacy.

*To make one dance naked.*

Make a poor boy confederate with you, so as after charms, &c. spoken by you, he uncloth himself, and stand naked, seeming (whilest hee undreth

(seth him) to shake, stamp, and crie, still hastening to be unclothed; till he be stark naked; or if you can procure none to goe so far, let him only begin to stamp and shake, &c. and to uncloth him, and then you may (for the reverence of the companie) seem to release him.

*To transform or alter the colour of ones cap or hat.*

TAke a confederates hat, and use certain \* words over it, and deliver it \* As, Drech to him again, and let him seem to be wroth, and cast it back to you again, affirming that his was a good new black hat, but this is an old baroch affinat-blew hat, &c. and then you may seem to countercharm it, and redeliver it to his satisfaction. baroch affinat- farounsee, hey passe passe, &c. or such like

*How to tell where a stolten horse is become.*

BY means of confederacie, Steven Tailor, and one Pope abused divers strange words. For Stephen Tailor would hide away his neighbours horses, &c. and send them to Pope, (whom he before had told where they were) promising to send the parties unto him, whom he described and Tailor confessed known by divers signs: so as this Pope would tell them at their first entrance unto the door. Wherefore they came, & would say that their horses were stolten, but the theef should be forced to bring back the horses, &c. and leave them within one mile south and by west, &c. of his house, even as the plot was laid, and the pack made before by Stephen and him. This Pope is said of some to be a witch, of others he is accounted a conjurer; but commonly called a wise man, which is all one with soothsaier or witch.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Boxes to alter one grain into another, or to consume the grain or corn to nothing.*

THEre be divers juggling boxes with false bottoms, wherein many false feats are wrought. First they have a box covered or rather footed a like at each end, the bottom of the one end being no deeper than as it may contain one lane of corn or pepper glewed thereupon. Then use they to put into the hollow end thereof some other kind of grain, ground or unground; then doe they cover it, and put it under a hat or candlestick; and either in putting it thereinto, or pulling it thence, they turn the box, and open the contrarie end, wherein is shewed a contrary grain: or else they shew the glewed end first (which end they sodainly thrust into a boll or bag such of grain as is glewed already thereupon) and secondly the empty box. Note the manner of this conveyance.

*How*

*How to convey (with words or charms) the corn contained in one box into another.*

There is another box fashioned like a bell, whereinto they doe put so much, and such corn or spice as the aforesaid hollow box can contain. Then they stop or cover the same with a peece of leather, as broad as a tetter, which being thrust up hard towards the middle part or waste of the said bell will stick fast, and bear up the corn. And if the edge of the leather be wet, it will hold the better. Then take they the other box dipped (as is aforesaid) in corn, and set down the same upon the table, the empty end upward, saying that they will convey the grain therein into the other box or bell: which being set down somewhat hard upon the table, the leather and the corn therein will fall down, so as the said bell being taken up from the table, you shall see the corn lying thereon, and the stopple will be hidden therewith, and covered; and when you uncover the other box, nothing shall remain therein. But presently the corn must be swept down with one hand into the other, or into your lap or hat. Many feats may be done with this box, as to put therein a rosette, affirming the same to have been so turned from corn, &c. and then many beholders will suppose the same to be the jugglers devill, whereby his feats and miracles are wrought. But in truth, there is more cunning witchcraft used in transferring of corn after this sort, than is in the transferring of one mans corn in the grasse into another mans field: which the law of the twelve tables doth so forcibly condemn; for the one is a coufening sleight, the other is a false lie.

*Of another box to convert wheat into flower with words, &c.*

There is another box usuall among jugglers, with a bottome in the middle thereof, made for the like purposes. One other also like a tun, wherein is shewed great variety of stufte, as well of liquors as spices, and all by means of another little tun within the same, wherein and whither liquor and spices are shewed. But this would ask too long a time of description.

*Of divers petty juggling knacks.*

These are such sleights that even a bungler may doe them; and yet pretty, &c.

There are many other beggerlic feats able to beguile the simple, as to make an oar stir by spetting thereon, as though it came to passe by words. Item to deliver meal, pepper, ginger, or any powder out of the mouth after the eating of bread, &c. which is done by retaining any of those things stuffed in a little paper or bladder conveyed into your mouth, and grinding the same with your teeth. Item, a rish through a peece of a trencher, having three holes, and at the one side the rish appearing out in the second, at the other side in the third hole, by reason of a hollow place made betwixt them both, so as the sleight consisteth in turning the peece of trencher.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

*To burn a thred, and to make it whole againe with the ashes thereof.*

It is not one of the worst feats to burn a thred handsomly, and to make Mark the man- it whole againe; the order whereof is this. Take two threds, or small ner of this con- laces of one foot in length a peece: roll up one of them round, which ceit and devise. will be then of the quantitie of a peece, bestow the same between your left fore-finger and your thumb. Then take the other thred, and hold it forth at length, betwixt the fore-finger and thumb of each hand, holding all That is, neatly your fingers daintilie, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take up a and daintily. morsell of meat. Then let one cut asunder the same thred in the middle. When that is done, put the tops of your two thumbs together, and so shall you with lesse suspicion receive the peece of thred which you hold in your right hand into your left, without opening of your left finger and thumb; then holding these two peeces as you did the same before it was cut, let those two be cut also a sunder in the midst, and they conveyed againe as before, untill they be cut very short, and then roll all those ends together, and keep that ball of small threds before the other in your last hand, and with a knife thrust out the same into a candle, where you may hold it untill the said ball of short threds be burnt to ashes. Then pull back the knife with your right hand, and leave the ashes with the other ball betwixt the fore-finger and thumb of your left hand, and with the two thumbs and two fore-fingers together seem to take pains to frot and rub the ashes, untill your thred be renewed, and draw out that thred at length which you A thred cut in kept all this while betwixt your left finger and thumb. This is not infe-many peeces rieur to any jugglers feat if it be well handled, for if you have legierde- and burned to main to bestow the same ball of thred, and to change it from place to place ashes made betwixt your other fingers (as may easily be done) then will it seeme whole againe very strange.

*To cut a lace asunder in the midst, and to make it whole againe.*

By a devise not much unlike to this, you may seem to cut asunder any lace that hangeth about ones neck, or any point, girdle, or garter, &c. and with witchcraft or conjuration to make it whole and closed together again. For the accomplishment whereof, provide (if you can) a peece of The means discovered. the lace, &c. which you mean to cut, or at the least a pattern like the same, one inch and a half long, (and keeping it double privily in your left hand, betwixt some of your fingers neer to the tips thereof) take the other lace which you mean to cut, still hanging about ones neck, and draw downe your said left hand to the bought thereof; and putting your own peece a little before the other (the end or rather middle whereof you must hide betwixt your ore-finger and thumb) making the eis- or bought, which shall be seen, of your own pattern, let some stander by cut the same a- sunder

G g

13. Book. The discovery *Juggling with a book*

sunder, and it will be surely thought that the other lace is cut; which with words and froting, &c. you shall seem to renew and make whole again. This, if it be well handled, will seem miraculous.

*How to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth, of what colour or length you list, and never any thing seem to be therein.*

A common juggling knack of that course played among the simple, &c.

AS for pulling laces out of the mouth, it is somewhat a stale jest, where by jugglers gain money among maids, selling lace by the yard, putting into their mouths one round bottom as fast as they pull out another, and at the just end of every yard they tie a knot, so as the same resteth upon their teeth; then cut they off the same, and so the beholders are double and treble deceived, seeing as much lace as will be contained in a hat, and the same of what colour you list to name, to be drawn by so even yards out of his mouth, and yet the juggler to talk as though there were nothing at all in his mouth.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*How to make a booke, wherein you shall shew every leaf therein to be white, blacke, blew, red, yellow, green, &c.*

Juggling a kind of witchcraft. The invention of *Claruis*.

This knack is sooner learned by demonstrative means, than taught by words of instruction.

There are a thousand jugglings, which I am loath to spend time to describe, whereof some be common, and some rare, and yet nothing else but deccit, coulsonage, or confederacie: whereby you may plainly see the art to be a kind of witchcraft. I will end therefore with one device, which is not common, but was specially used by *Claruis*, whom though I never saw to exercise the feat, yet am I sure I conceive aright of that invention. He had (they say) a booke, whereof he would make you think first that every leaf was clean white paper: then by vertue of words he would shew you every leaf to be painted with birds, then with beasts, then with serpents, then with angels, &c. the devise thereof is this. \* Make a booke seven inches long, and five inches broad, or according to that proportion, and let there be 49 leaves; to wit, seven times seven contained therein, as you may cut upon the edge of each leaf six notches, each notch in depth half a quarter of an inch, and one inch distant. Paint every fourth and fifteenth page (which is the end of every sixt leaf, and the beginning of every seventh) with like colour or one kind of picture. Cut off with a pair of sheers every notch of the first leaf, leaving only one inch of paper in the uppermost place uncut, which will remain almost half a quarter of an inch higher than any part of that leaf. Leave another like notch in the second place of the second leaf, clipping away one inch of paper in the highest place immediately above it, and all the notches below the same, and so orderly to the third, fourth, &c. so as there shall rest upon each leaf one only inch of paper above the rest. One high uncut inch of paper must answer to the first, directly, in every seventh leaf of the booke; so that when you have cut the first seven leaves; in such sort as I first describ'd

*Hartumin.* of Witchcraft. Chap. 33.

you are to begin in the self same order at the eight leaf, descending in such wise in the cutting of seven other leaves, and so again at the fifteenth, to 21, &c. untill you have passed through every leaf, all the thickness of your booke.

Now you shall understand, that after the first seven leaves, every seventh leaf in the booke is to be painted, saving one seven leaves, which must remain white. Howbeit, you must observe, that at each Bumleaf or high inch of paper, seven leaves distant, opposite one directly and lineally against the other, through the thickness of the booke, the same page with the page precedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture, and so must you passe through the booke with seven severall sorts of colours or pictures; so as, when you shall rest your thumb upon any of those Bumleaves, or high inches, and open the booke, you shall see in each page one colour or picture throughout the booke; in another row, another colour, &c. To make holders, that snatter more plain unto you, let this be the description herof. Hold the booke with your left hand, and (betwixt your fore-finger and thumb of your right hand) slip over the booke in what place you list, and your thumb will always rest at the seventh leaf; to wit, at the bumleaf or high inch of paper from whence when your booke is strained, it will fall or slip to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, and open the booke, the beholders seeing each leaf to have one colour or picture with so many varieties, all passing continually and directly through the whole booke, will suppose that with words you can discolour the leaves at your pleasure. But because perhaps Where such you will hardly conceive hereof by this description, you shall (if you see booke may be disposed) see or buy for a small value the like booke, at the shop of *W. Brome* gotten in Pauls churchyard, for your further instruction. \* There are certaine seats of activity, which beautifie this art exceedingly: howbeit even in these, some are true, and some are counterfeit; to wit, some done by practise, and some by confederacy. \* There are likewise divers seats, arithmetical and geometrical: for them read *Gemma Phrysius*, and *Record*, &c. which being exercised by jugglers, add credit to their Art. \* There are also (besides them which I have set down in this title of *Hartumin*) sundry strange experiments reported by *Pliny*, *Albert*, *Joh. Bapt. Porta*, *Neap.* and *Thomas Lupton*, whereof some are true, and some false, which being known to *James* and *Jambres*, or else to our jugglers, their occupation is the more magnified, and they thereby more revered. \* Here is See more here place to discover the particular knaveries of casting of lots, and drawing of in the 11. of cuts (as they term it) whereby many coulsonages are wrought: so as booke of this I dare not teach the sundry devices thereof, lest the ungodly make a pra-discovery, in stife of it in the common-wealth, where many things are decided by those the title *Namens*, which being honestly meant may be lawfully used. But I have *has*, cap. 10. said already somewhat herof in generall, and therefore also the rather have suppressed the particularities, which (in truth) are meer juggling knacks: whereof I could discover a great number.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Desperate or dangerous juggling knacks, wherein the simple are made to think, that a silly juggler with words can hurt and help, kill and revive any creature at his pleasure: and first to kill any kind of pulen, and to give it life again.*

**T**AKE a hen, a chick, or a capon, and thrust a nail or a fine sharp pointed knife through the midst of the head thereof, the edge towards the bill, so as it may seem impossible for her to escape death: then use words, and pulling out the knife, lay oars before her, &c. and she will eat and live, being nothing at all grieved or hurt with the wound; because the brain lyeth so farre behind in the head as it is not touched, though you thrust your knife between the combe and it; and after you have done this, you may convert your speech and actions to the grievous wounding and present recovering of your own selfe.

\* The natural cause why a hen thrust through the head with a bodkin doth live notwithstanding.

*To eat a knife, and to fetch it out of any other place.*

It must be cleanly conveyed in any case.

**T**AKE a knife, and contain the same within your two hands, so as no part be seen thereof but a little of the point, which you must so bite at the first, as noise may be made therewith. Then seem to put a great piece thereof into your mouth, and letting your hand slip down, there will appear to have been more in your mouth than is possible to be contained therein. Then lend for drink, or use some other delay, untill you have let the said knife slip into your lap, holding both your fists close together as before, and then raise them so from the edge of the table where you sit (for from thence the knife may most privily slip downe into your lap) and instead of biting the knife, knable a little upon your nail; and then seem to thrust the knife into your mouth, opening the hand next unto it, and thrust up the other, so as it may appear to the standers by, that you have delivered your hands thereof, and thrust it into your mouth; then call for drink, after countenance made of pricking and danger, &c. Lastly, put your hand into your lap, and taking that knife in your hand, you may seem to bring it out from behind you, or from whence you list. \* If you have another like knife and a confederate, you may do twenty notable wonders hereby; as to send a stander by into some garden or orchard, describing to him some tree or herbe, under which it sticketh, or else some strangers sheath or pocker, &c.

*To thrust a Bodkin into your head without hurt.*

**T**AKE a bodkin so made, as the haft being hollow, the blade thereof may slip therinto as soon as you hold the point upward; and let the same to your forehead, and seem to thrust it into your head, and so (with a little sponge in your hand) you may bring out blood or wine, making the bodkin hold.

The manner and means of this action.

holders think the blood or the wine (whereof you may say you have drunk very much) runneth out of your forehead. Then, after countenance of pain and grief, pull away your hand suddenly, holding the point downward; and it will fall so out, as it will seem never to have been thrust into the haft; but immediately thrust that bodkin into your lap or pocker, and pull out another plain bodkin like the the same, saving in that conceipt.

*To thrust a Bodkin through your tongue, and a knife through your arme; a pitifull sight, without hurt or danger.*

**M**AKE a bodkin, the blade thereof being sundred in the middle, so as the one part be not near to the other almost by 3. quarters of an inch, each pattern of this part being kept asunder with one small bought or crooked piece of iron, bodkin and of the fashion, described hereafter in place convenient. Then thrust your knife you shall tongue betwixt the foresaid space; to wit, into the bought left in the bodkin (see described if you turne over the same); and then shall it seem to fast in and through your tongue, a few laves that one can hardly pull it out. \* Also the very like may be done with forward, a knife so made, and put upon your arme; and the wound will appear the more terrible, if a little blood be powred thereupon.

*To thrust a piece of lead into one eye, and to drive it about (with a stick) between the skin and flesh of the forehead, untill it be brought to the other eye, and there thrust out.*

**P**UT a piece of lead into one of the neather lids of your eye, as big as a tag of a point, but not so long (which you may do without danger) and with a little juggling stick (one end thereof being hollow) seem to thrust the like piece of lead under the other eye lid; but convey the same indeed into the hollownesse of the stick, the stopple or peg thereof may be privily kept in your hand untill this feat be done. Then seem to drive the said piece of lead, with the hollow end of the said stick, from the same eye; and so with the end of the said stick, being brought along upon your forehead to the other eye, you may thrust out the piece of lead, which before you had put therinto; to the admiration of the beholders. \* Some eat the lead, and then shove it out of the eye; and some put it into both, but the first is best.

*To cut half your nose asunder, and to heal it again presently without any salve.*

**T**AKE a knife having a round hollow gap in the middle, and lay it upon your nose, and so shall you seem to have cut your nose half asunder. Provided alwaies, that in all these you have another like knife handled it will without a gap, to be shewed upon the pulling out of the same, and words of deceit the enchantment to speak, blood also to bewray the wound, and nimble countenance to fight of the beholders.



*To put a ring through your cheek.*

There is another old knack, which seemeth dangerous to the cheek. For the accomplishing whereof you must have two rings, of like colour and quantity: the one filed asunder, so as you may thrust it upon your cheek; the other must be whole and conveyed upon a stick, holding your hand thereupon in the middle of the stick, delivering each end of the same stick to be holden fast by a stander by. Then conveying the same cleanly into your hand, or (for lack of good conveyance) into your lap or pocket, pull away your hand from the stick: and in pulling it away, whirle about the ring, and so wil it be thought that you have put thereon the ring which was in your cheek.

*To cut off ones head, and to lay it in a platter, &c. which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.*

This was done by one Kingfield of London, at a Bartholomew-tide, An. 1582. in the fight of divers that came to view this spectacle.

Necessary observations to astonish the beholders,

To shew a most notable execution by this art, you must cause a board, a cloth, and a platter to be purposely made, and in each of them holes fit for a bodies neck. The board must be made of two planks, the longer and broader the better: there must be left within half a yard of the end of each plank half a hole; so as both the planks being thrust together, there may remain two holes, like to the holes in a pair of stocks; these must be made likewise a hole in the tablecloth or carpet. A platter also must be set directly over or upon one of them, having a hole in the middle thereof, of the like quantitie, and also a piece cut out of the same, as big as his neck, through which his head may be conveyed into the middle of the platter; and then sitting or kneeling under the board, let the head only remain upon the board in the same. Then to make the sight more dreadfull put a little brimstone into a chafing dish of coals, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaspe two or three times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth (which is not unwholsome) and the head presently will appear stark dead; if the boie set his countenance accordingly; and if a little blood be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger.

This is commonly practiced with a boie instructed for that purpose, who being familiar and conversant with the company, may be known as well by his face, as by his apparell. In the other end of the table, where the like hole is made, another boie of the bignesse of the known boie must be placed, having upon him his usuall apparell; he must lean or lie upon the board, and must put his head under the board through the said hole, so as his body shall seem to lie on the one end of the board, and his head shall lie in a platter on the other end. There are other things which might be performed in this action, the more to astonish the beholders, which because they offer long descriptions, I omit; as to put about his neck a little dough kneaded with bullocks blood, which being cold will appear like dead flesh; and being pricked with a sharp round hollow quill, will bleed, and seem very strange, &c. Many rules are to be observed herein, as to

have the table cloth so long and wide as it may almost touch the ground, \* Not to suffer the company to stay too long in the place, &c.

*To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts very strangely, and to recover immediately.*

Another miracle may be shewed touching counterfeit executions; namely, that with a bodkin or a dagger you shall seem to kill your selfe, or at the least make an unrecoverable wound in your belly: as (in truth) not long since a juggler caused himself to be killed at a tavern in Cheapside, from whence he presently went into Pauls churchyard and dyed. Which misfortune fell upon him through his owne folly, as being then drunken, and having forgotten his plate, which he should have had for his defence. The devise is this. \* You must prepare a paste board, to be made according to the fashion of your belly and breast: the same must by a painter be coloured cunningly, not only like to your flesh, but with paps, navill, hair, &c. so as the same (being handlomely trusted unto you) may shew to be your naturall belly. Then next to your true belly you may put a linnen cloth, and thereupon a double plate (which the juggler that killed himself forgot, or willfully omitted) over and upon the which you may place the false belly. Provided alwaies, that betwixt the plate and the false belly you place a gut or bladder of bloud, which bloud must be of a calf or of a sheep; but in no wise of an ox or a cow, for that will be too thick. Then thrust, or cause to be thrust into your breast a round bodkin, or the point of a dagger, so far as it may pearse through your gut or bladder: which being pulled out again, the said bloud will spin or spirt out a good distance from you, especially if you strain your body to swell, and thrust therewith against the place. You must ever remember to use (with words, countenance and gesture) such a grace, as may give a grace to the action, and move admiration in the beholders.

*To draw a cord through your nose, mouth or hand, so sensible as is wonderful to see.*

There is another juggling knack, which they call the bridle, being made of two elder sticks, through the hollownesse thereof is placed a cord, pattern of this the same being put on the nose like a pair of tongs or pinfers; and the bridle you shall see described, which goeth round about the same, being drawn to and fro, the beholders will think the cord to go through your nose very dangerously. The knots at the end of the cord, which doe stay the same from being drawne out of the stick, may not be put out at the very top (for that must be stopped up) but half an inch beneath each end: and so I say, when it is pulled, it will seem to passe through the nose; and then may you take a knife, and seem to cut the cord asunder, and pull the bridle from your nose.

13. Book. The discovery The conclusion  
The conclusion, wherein the reader is referred to certain patternes of instruments wherewith divers feats here specified are to be executed.

Herein I might wade infinitely, but I hope it sufficeth, that I have delivered unto you the principles, and also the principall feats belonging to this art of juggling, so as any man conceiving thoroughly hereof may not only do all these things, but also may devite other as strange, and vary every of these devises into other formes as he can best conceive. And so long as the power of almighty God is not transposed to the juggler, nor offence ministred by his uncomely speech and behaviour, but the action performed in pastime, to the delight of the beholders, so as alwaies the juggler confesse in the end that these are no supernatural actions, but devices of men, and nimble conveyances, let all such curious conceited, as cannot afford their neighbours any comfort or commodity, but such as please their melancholick dispositions say what they list, for this will not only be found among indifferent actions, but such as greatly advaunce the power and glory of God, discovering their pride and fallhood that they upon them to work miracles, and to be the mighty power of God, as James and Jambres and also Simon Magnus did.

Among what actions juggling is to be counted. A matchlesse fellow for legerdemain.

If any man doubt of these things, as whether they be not as strange, behold as I have reported, or think with Bodin that these matters are performed by familiaris or devils; let him go into S. Martins, and inquire for one John Cantares (a French man by birth, in conversation an honest man) and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who teach not his living hereby, but laboureth for the same with the sweat of his browes, and neverthelesse hath the best hand and conveyance (I think) of any man that liveth this day.

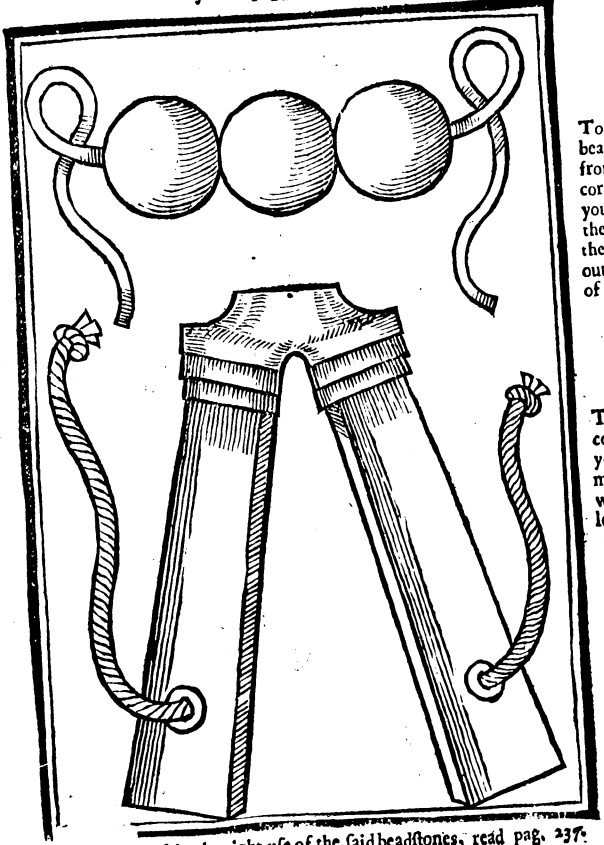
Neither do I speak (as they say) without book herein. For if time, place, and occasion serve, I can shew to much herein, that I am sure Bodin, Spinus, and Vairus, would swear I were a witch, and had a familiar devil at commandment. But truly my study and travell herein hath wholly bene employed to the end I might prove them fooles, and finde out the fraud of them that make them fooles, as whereby they may become wiser, and God may have that which to him belongeth.

Touching the patternes of diverse juggling instruments.

And because the manner of these juggling conveyances are not easily conceived by discourse of words; I have caused to be set down diverse patternes of instruments used in this art; which may serve for patternes to them that would thoroughly see the secrets thereof, and make them for their own private practices, to trie the event of such devices, as in this tract of legerdemain are shewed. Where note, that you shall find every instrument that is most necessarily occupied in the working of these strange feats, to bear the just and true number of the page, where the use thereof is in ample words declared.

Now will I proceed with another confusing point of witchcraft, and the place, necessary for the time, and in mine opinion meet to be discovered, or at the least to be defaced among deceitful arts. And because many are abused hereby to their utter undoing, for that it hath had passage under the protection of learning, whereby they pretend to accomplish their works, it hath gone freely without general controlment through all ages, nations, and people.

Hartummin. of Witchcraft. Here follow patternes of certain instruments to be used in the former juggling knacks.



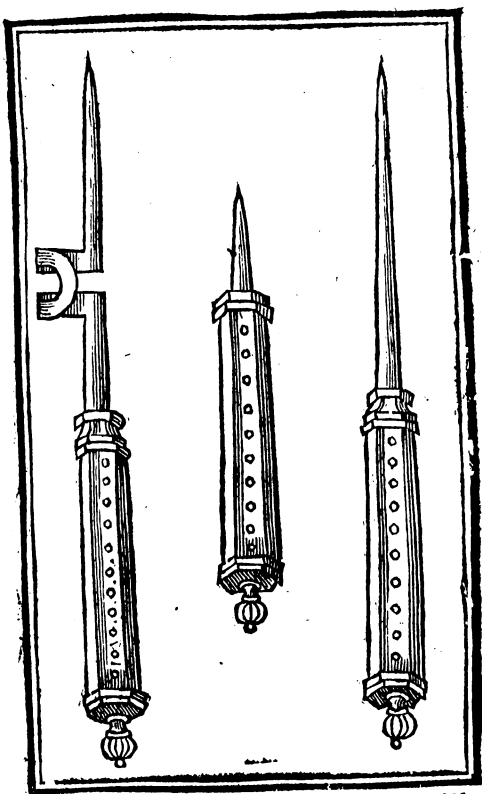
To pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without removing of your hand.

To draw a cord through your nose, mouth or hand; which is called the bridle.

To be instructed in the right use of the said beadstones, read pag. 237. and 238. As for the bridle, read pag. 247. Place this after 248. fol.

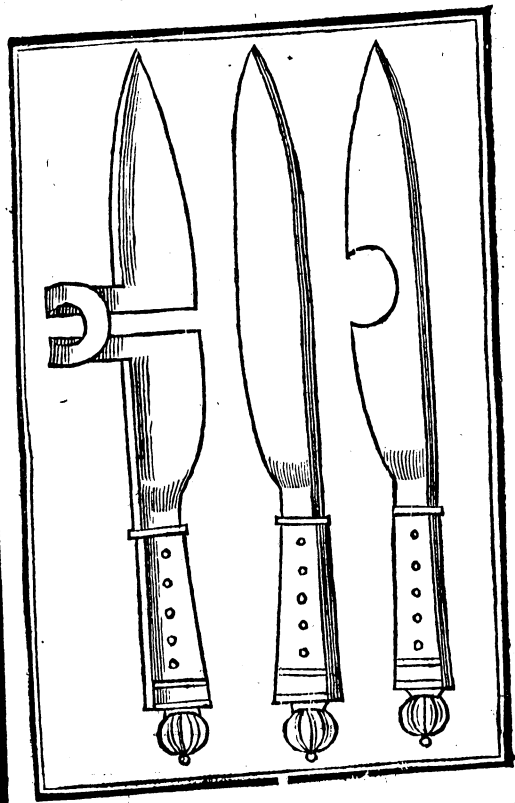
To thrust a Bodkin into your head, and through your tongue, &c.

The hithermost is the bodkin with the bowt, the middlemost is the bodkin with the hollow shaft, the furthermost is the plain bodkin serving for shew.



To be instructed and taught in the right use and ready practice of these bodkins, read pag. 244. 245.

To thrust a knife through your arme, and to cut halfe your nose aunder, &c.

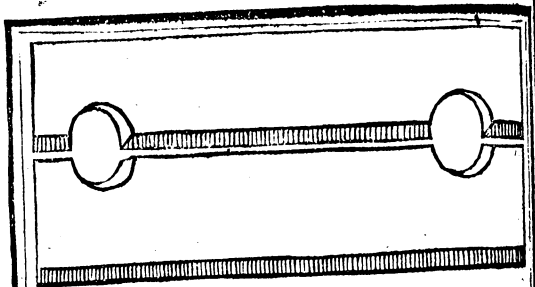


The middlemost knife is so serve for shew; the other two be the knives of device.

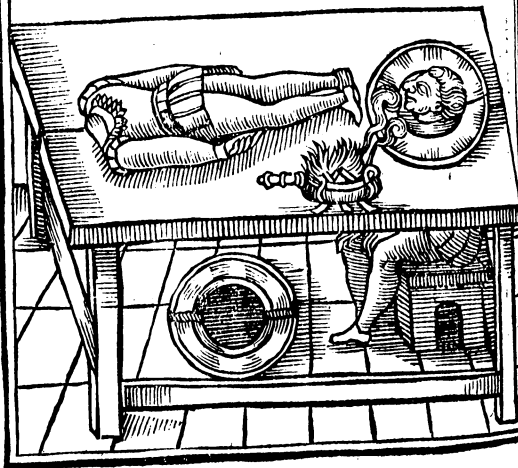
To be ready in the use and perfect in the practice of these knives here portrayed, see page 245. 246.

To cut off ones head, and to lay it in a platter, which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.

The form of the planks, &c.



The order of the action, as it is to be viewed.



What order is to be observed for the practising hereof with great admiration, read pag. 246, 247.

The xiiii. Book

of the Art of Alchimystry, of their words of Art and devices to blear mens eyes, and to procure credit to their profession.

CHAP. I.

**H**ere I thought it not impertinent to say somewhat of Alchimystry the Art or rather the craft of Alchimystry, otherwise craft, not an called Multiplication; which Chaucer, of all other art, men, most lively deciphereth. In the bowels hereof doth both witchcraft and conjuration lie hidden, as whereby some coufen others, and some are coufened themselves. For by this mystery (as it is said in the Chanons mans prologue)

They take upon them to turn upside downe,  
All the earth between Southmark and Canterburie towne;  
And to pave it all of silver and gold, &c.  
But ever they lack of their conclusion,  
And to much folk they doe illusion.  
For their stufte slides away so fast,  
That it makes them beggers at the last,  
And by this craft they doe never win,  
But make their purse empty, and their wits thin.

G. Chaucer in the Chanons mans prolog

And because the practisers hereof would be thought wise, learned, cunning, and their crafts masters, they have devised words of art, sentences and epithets obscure, and confectiōns so innumerable (which are compounded of strange and rare simples) as confound the capacities of them that are either set on work herein, or be brought to behold expect their conclusions. For what plain man would not beleeve, as they are learned and jolly fellowes, that have in such readinesse many mysticall termes of art; as (for a taste) their subliming, amalgaming, englutting, imbibing, incorporating, cementing, reutination, terminations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, matters concolat and coagulat, ingots, tests, &c. Or who is able to conceive (by reason of the abrupt confusion, contrariety, and multitudes of drugs, simples, and confectiōns) the operation and mystery of their stufte and workmanship. For these things and many more, are of necessity to be prepared and used in the execution of this indeavour; namely orpiment, sublimed Mercury, iron squames, Mercury crude, groundly large, armoniac, verdegrece, borace, holes, gall, arsenick, sal armoniac, &c.

The termes of the art alchymistricall devised of purpose to bring credit to coulcnage.

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fail to see such certain successe proceed from his owne handy work wherein could be no fraud (as he surely conceived) and therefore willingly gave the chanon forty pounds for the receipt of this experiment, who for that sum of money taught him a lesson in Alchymistry, but he never returned to hear repetitions, or to see how he profited.

CHAP. III.

Of a yeoman of the country couzened by an Alchymist.

I Could cite many Alchymistricall couzenages wrought by Doctor Doctor, Fenus, and such other; but I will passe them over, and only repeat three experiments of that art; the one practised upon an honest yeoman in the county of Kent, the other upon a mighty prince, the third upon a covetous priest. And first touching the yeoman, he was over-taken and used in manner and forme following, by a notable couzening varler, who professed Alchymistry, juggling, witchcraft, and conjuration: and by means of his companions and confederates discussed the simplicity and ability of the said yeoman, and found out his estate and his name to be convenient in this purpose; and finally came a wooing (as they say) to his daughter, to whom he made love cunningly in words, though his purpose tended to another matter. And among other illusions and rales concerning his owne commendation, for wealth, parentage, inheritance, alliance, activity, learning, pregnancy, and cunning, he boasted of his knowledge and experience in Alchymistry, making the simple man beleieve that he could multiply, and of one angell make two or three. Which seemed strange to the poor man, inasmuch as he became willing enough to see that conclusion: whereby the Alchymist had more hope and comfort to attain his desire, than if his daughter had yielded to have married him. To be short, he in the presence of the said yeoman, did include within a little ball of virgine wax, a couple of angels; and after certain ceremonies and conjuring words he seemed to deliver the same unto him: but in truth (through legierdmain) he conveyed into the yeomans hand another ball of the same scantling, wherein were inclosed many more angels than were in the ball which he thought he had received. Now (forsooth) the Alchymist had him up the same ball of wax, and also use certain ceremonies (which I thought good here to omit.) And after certain dayes, hours, and minutes, they returned together, according to the appointment, and found great gaines by the multiplication of the angels. Inasmuch as he, being a plain man, was hereby perswaded, that he should not only have a rare and notable good sonne in-law; but a companion that might help to adde unto his wealth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and felicity. And so increase this opinion in him, as also to win his further favour: he spectally to bring his cunning Alchymistry, or rather his lewd purpose to passe; he told him that it were folly to multiply a pound of gold, when as easily they might multiply a million: and therefore counseled him

Note the couzening conveyance of this alchymistricall practitioner.

to produce all the money he had, or could borrow of his neighbours and friends; and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiply the same, and redouble it exceedingly, even as he saw by experience how he dealt with the small summe before his face. This yeoman in hope of gains and preferment, &c. consented to this sweet motion; and brought out and laid before his feet, not the one halfe of his goods, but all that he had, or could make or borrow any manner of way. Then this juggling Alchymist, having obtained his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantity farre bigger then the other, and conveying the same into his bosome or pocket, delivered another ball (as before) of the like quantity unto the yeoman, to be reserved and safely kept in his chest; whereof (because the matter was of importance) either of them must have a key, and a severall lock, that no interruption might be made to the ceremony, nor abuse by either of them; in defrauding each other. Now (forsooth) these circumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the Alchymist these purpose thereby performed; he told the yeoman that (until a certain day and hour limited to returne) either of them might employ themselves about their businesse and necessary affairs; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the city of London, and in the mean time the gold should multiply, &c. But the Alchymist (belike) having other matters of more importance came not just at the hour appointed, nor yet at the day, nor within the year: so as, although it were somewhat against the yeomans conscience to violate his promise, or break the league; yet partly by the longing he had to see, and partly the desire he had to enjoy the fruit of that excellent experiment, having (for his owne security) and the others satisfaction, some testimony at the opening thereof, to witnesse his sincere dealing, he brake up the coffer, and loe he soon espied the ball of waxe, which he himselfe had laid up there with his owne hand. So as he thought (if the hardest should fall) he should find his principall: and why not as good increase hereof now, as of the other before? But alas! when the waxe was broken, and the metall discovered, the gold was much abated, and became perfect lead.

A notable fool.

A couzening devise by running away to save the credit of the art.

Now who so list to utter his folly,  
Let him come forth and learn to multiply;  
And every man that hath ought in his easter,  
Let him appear, and waxe a Philosopher,  
In learning of his elvish nice lore,  
All is in vain, and pardee much more  
Is to learn a lewd man this fusteltee,  
Is to learn a lewd man this fusteltee,  
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none,  
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.

G. Chaucer in the tale of the Chanons yeoman.

## CHAP. IV.

*A certain King abused by an Alchymist, and of the Kings foole a pretty jest.*

A King censured by Alchymistry.

The second example is of another Alchymist that came to a certain King, promising to work by his art many great things, as well in compounding and transubstantiating of metals, as in executing of other exploiters of no lesse admiration. But before he began, he found the means to receive by vertue of the kings warrant, a great sum of money in prest, assuring the King and his councill, that he would shortly returne, and accomplish his promise, &c. Soone after, the Kings foole among other jests, fell into a discourse and discovery of fooles, and handled that common place so pleasantly, that the King began to take delight therein, and to like his merry vein. Whereupon he would needs have the foole deliver unto him a schedull or scroll, containing the names of all the most excellent fooles in the land.

A wise foole.

So he caused the Kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of his privy councill. The King seeing him so sawy and malepert, meant to have had him punished: but some of his councill, knowing him to be a fellow pleasantly conceipted, besought his Majesty rather to demand of him a reason of his libell, &c. than to proceed in extremity against him. Then the foole being asked why he so sawly accused the King, and his councill of principall folly, answered; Because he saw one foolish knave beguile them all, and to cause them of so great a masse of money, and finally to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the councill) he may returne and performe his promise, &c. Then (quoth the foole) I can help all the matter easily. How (said the King) canst thou doe that? Marry sir (said he) then I will blot out your names, and put in his, as the most foole in the world. Many other practices of the like nature might be hereunto annexed, for the detection of such knavery and deceipts whereupon this art dependeth, whereby the reader may be more delighted in reading, than the practicers benefited in simply using the same. For it is an art consisting wholly of subtlety and deceipt, whereby the ignorant and plain minded man through his too much credulity is circumvented, and the humour of the other slye confener satisfied.

## CHAP. V.

*A notable story written by Erasmus of two Alchymists, also of longation and curtation.*

The third example is reported by Erasmus, whose excellent learning and wit is had to this day in admiration. He in a certain dialogue intituled *Alchymistica* doth finely bewray the knavery of this crafty art; where

Erasm. in coll. 109. de arte Alchymistica.

wherein he proposeth one *Balbine*, a very wise, learned, and devout priest, howbeit such a one as was bewitched, and mad upon the art of Alchymistry. Which thing another confusing priest perceived, and dealt with him in manner and forme following.

M. Doctor *Balbine* (said he) I being a stranger unto you may seem very saucy to trouble your worship with my bold suit, who alwayes are busy in great and divine studies. To whom *Balbine*, being a man of few words, gave a nodde: which was more then he used to every man. But the priest knowing his humour, said; I am sure sir, if you knew my suit, you would pardon my importunity. I pray thee good sir *John* (said *Balbine*) shew me thy minde, and be brief. That shall I doe sir (said he) with a good will, You know M. Doctor, through your skill in Philofophy, that every mans destiny is not alike; and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whecher I may be counted happy or infortunate. For when I weigh mine owne case, or rather my state, in part I seem fortunate, and in part miserable. But *Balbine* being a man of some surlinesse, alwaies willed him to draw his matter to a more compendious forme: which thing the priest said he would doe, and could the better performe, because *Balbine* himselfe was so learned and expert in the very matter he had to repeat, and thus he began.

A flattering and clawing preamble.

I have had, even from my childhood, a great felicity in the art of Alchymistry, which is the very marrow of all Philofophy. *Balbine* at the naming of the word Alchymistry, inclined and yeelded himselfe more attentively to hearken unto him: marry it was only in gesture of body; for he was spare of speech, and yet he had him proceed with his tale. Then said the priest, wretch that I am, it was not my luck to light on the best way: for you M. *Balbine* know (being so universally learned) that in this art there are two wayes, the one called Longation, the other Curtation; and it was mine ill hap to fall upon Longation. When *Balbine* asked him the difference of those two wayes; Oh sir said the Priest, you might count me impudent, to take upon me to tell you, that of all other art best learned in this art, to whom I come, most humbly to beseech you to teach me that lucky way of curtation. The cunninger you are, the more easily you may teach it me: and therefore hide not the gift that God hath given you, from your brother, who may perish for want of his desire in this behalf; and doubtlesse Jesus Christ will enrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

*Balbine* being abashed partly with his importunity, and partly with the strange circumstance, told him that (in truth) he neither knew what Longation or Curtation meant; and therefore required him to expound the nature of these words. Well (quoth the priest) since it is your pleasure, I will doe it, though I shall thereby take upoa me to teach him that is indeed much cunninger than my selfe. And thus he began: Oh sir, they that have spent all the dayes of their life in this divine faculty, doe turne one nature and forme into another, two wayes, the one is very brief, but some what dangerous; the other much longer, marry very safe, and id commodious. Howbeit, I think my selfe most unhappy that have spent my time and travel in that way which utterly misliketh me, and never

Note how the confener circumventeth *Balbine*.

never could get any one to shew me the other that I so earnestly desired. And now I come to your worship, whom I know to be wholly learned and expert herein, hoping that you will (for charities sake) comfort your brother, whose felicity and well doing now resteth only in your hands; and therefore I beseech you relieve me with your counsell.

By these and such other words when this coufening varlot had avoided suspicion of guile, and assured *Balbine* that he was perfect and cunning in the other way: *Balbine* his fingers itched, and his heart tickled; so as he could hold no longer, but burst out with these words: Let the Curtation goe to the devill, whose name I did never so much as once hear of before, and therefore doe much lesse understand it. But tell me in good faith, doe you exactly understand longation? Yes said the priest, doubt you not hereof: but I have no fanlic to that way, it is tedious. Why (quoth *Balbine*) what time is required in the accomplishment of this work by way of longation? Too too much said the Alchymister, even almost a whole year: but this is the best, the surest and safest way, though it be for so many moneths prolonged, before it yeeld advantage, for cost and charges expended thereabouts. Your heart at rest (said *Balbine*) it is no matter, though it were two years, so as you be well assured to bring it then to passe.

Fair words  
make fooles  
faine, and  
large offers  
blind the wife.

Finally, it was there and then concluded, that presently the priest should goe in hand with the work, and the other should bear the charge, the gains to be indifferently divided betwixt them both, and the work to be done privily in *Balbine*'s house. And after the mutuall oath was taken for silence, which is usuall and requisite alwaies in the beginning of this mysteric; *Balbine* delivered money to the Alchymister for bellows, glasses, coales, &c. which should serve for the creation and furniture of the forge. Which money the Alchymister had no sooner fingered, but he ran merrily to the dice, to the alehouse, and to the stewes, and was there so lusty as coufening *fir John*: who indeed this way made a kind of alchymistricall transformation of money. Now *Balbine* urged him to go about his businesse, but the other told him, that if the matter were once begun, it were halfe ended: for therein consisted the greatest difficulty.

Well, at length he began to furnish the furnace, but now forsooth a new supply of gold must be made, as the seed and spawn of that which must be ingendred and grow out of this work of Alchymistry. For even as a fish is not caught without a bait, no more is gold multiplied without some parcels of gold: and therefore gold must be the foundation and groundwork of that art, or else all the fat is in the fire. But all this while *Balbine* was occupied in calculating, and musing upon his account; casting by arithmetick, how that if one ounce yeelded fifteen, then how much gaines two thousand ounces might yeeld: for so much he determined to employ that way.

When the Alchymist had also consumed this money, shewing great travell a month or twain, in placing the bellows, the coales, and such other stuffe, and no whit of profit proceeding or coming thereof. *Balbine* demanded how the world went, our Alchymist was as a man amazed.

Howbeit

Howbeit he said at length; forsooth even as such matters of importance commonly doe goe forward, whereunto there is alwaies very difficult access. There was (saith he) a fault (which I have now found out) in the choyce of the coales, which were of oak, and should have been of beech. One hundred duckets were spent that way, so as the dicing house and the stewes were partakers of *Balbines* charges. But after a new supply of money, better coales were provided, and matters more circumspically handled. Howbeit, when the forge had travelled long, and brought forth nothing, there was was another excuse found out; to wit that the glasses were not tempered as they ought to have been, but the more money was disbursed hereabouts, the worse willing was *Balbine* to give over, according to the dicers vein, whom fruitlesse hope bringeth into a gold, &c. soles paradise.

*Balbine* was  
bewitched  
with desire of  
gold, &c.

The Alchymist, to cast a good colour upon his knavery, took on like a man moonisick, and protested with great words full of forgery and lies, that he never had such luck before. But having found the errour, he would be sure enough never hereafter to fall into the like oversight, and that henceforward all should be safe and sure, and throughly recompensed in the end, with large increase. Hereupon the workhouse is now the third time repaired, and a new supply yet once againe put into the Alchymists hand; so as the glasses were changed. And now at length the Alchymist uttered another point of his art and cunning to *Balbine*; to wit, that those matters would proceed much better, if he sent our Lady a few french crownes in reward; for the art being holy, the matter cannot prosperously proceed, without the favour of the saints. Which counsell exceedingly pleased *Balbine*, who was so devout and religious, that no way escaped him but he said our Lady matters.

Noble and  
senage.

Now our Alchymist having received the offering of money, goeth in his holy pilgrimage, even to the next village, and there consumeth it very penny, among bawds and knawes: and at his returne, he told *Balbine* that he had great hope of good luck in his business; the holy virgin gave such favourable countenance, and such attentive ear unto his prayers and vowes. But after this, when there had been great travell bestowed, and not a dram of gold yeelded nor levied from the forge; *Balbine* began to expostulate, and reason somewhat roundly with the cunning fellow; who still said he never had such filthy luck in all his life before, and could not devise by what means it came to passe, that things went so overthwartly. But after much debating betwixt them upon the matter, at length it came into *Balbines* head to aske him if he had not forewilled to hear masse, or to say his hours: which if he had done, nothing could prosper under his hand. Without doubt (said the coufener) you have hit the nail of the head. Wretch that I am! I remember once twice being at a long feast, I omitted to say mine *Ave Mary* after dinner. So so (said *Balbine*) no marvel then that a matter of such importance hath had so ill successe. The Alchymist promised to do penance; to hear twelve masses for two that he had forewilled; and for every one overslipped, to render and repeat twelve to our Lady.

The Alchymist  
bringeth  
*Balbine* into a  
fooles para-  
dise.

Soone after this, when all our Alchymists money was spent, and also

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bis



Here the Alchymist uttereth a notorious point of coufening knavery.

Mark how this Alchymist goeth from one degree of coufening to another.

his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this vice, as a man wonderfully fraied and amazed, piteously crying and lamenting his misfortune. Whereat *Balbine* being astonished, desired to know the cause of his complaint. Oh (said the Alchymist) the courtiers have spied our caterpise; so as I for my part look for nothing but present imprisonment. Whereat *Balbine* was abashed, because it was felony to goe about that matter, without speciall licence. But (quoth the Alchymist) I fear not to be put to death, I would it would fall out so marry I fear lest I should be shut up in some castle or tower, and there shall be forced to tug about this work and broile in this businesse all the daies of my li fe.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, *Balbine*, because he was cunning in the art of Rhetorick, and not altogether ignorant in law, bear his braines in devising how the accusation might be answered, so that the danger avoided. Alas (said the Alchymist) you trouble your self all in vain, for you see the crime is not to be denied, it is so generally bruited in court: neither can the fact be defended, because of the sacred law published against it. To be short, when many waies were devised and diverse excuses alledged by *Balbine*, and no sure ground to stand on for their security; at length the Alchymist having present want of need of money, framed his speech in this sort; Sir, said he to *Balbine*, I use slow counsell, and yet the matter requireth hast. For I think they are comming for me yet this time to hale me away to prison; and I have no remedy but to die valiantly in the cause. In good faith (said *Balbine*) I know not what to say to the matter. No more doe I, said the Alchymist, but that I see these courtiers are hungry for money, and so am I the readier to be corrupted and framed to silence. And though it be a matter to give those rachelstills they be satisfied, yet I see no better way to sell or advice at this time. No more could *Balbine*, who gave him three ducats of gold to stop their mouths, who in an honest cause would rather have given so many teeth out of his head, then one of those pieces out of his pouch. This cojn had the Alchymist, who for all his pretenses and gay gloses was in no danger, other than for lack of money, leese his leman or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not give up, nor forbeare her company, for all the goods that he was able to have were it by never so much indirect dealing and unlawfull means.

Well, yet now once againe doth *Balbine* newly furnish the forge, and enter being made before to our Lady to blesse the enterprise, and all things being provided and made ready according to the Alchymists owne liking, and all necessities largely ministred after his owne likings; a whole year being likewise now consumed about this bootlesse businesse, and nothing brought to passe; there fell out a strange chance, and that by the means ensuing, as you shall hear.

Our Alchymist forsooth used a little extraordinary lewd company with a courtiers wife, whiles he was from home, who suspecting the matter, came to the door unlooked for, and called to come in, whereat they that he would break open the doores upon them: Some present vice (you see) was now requisite, and there was none other to be

such as the opportunity offered; to wit, to leap out at a back window; which he did, not without great hazard, and some hurt. But this was soon blazed abroad, so as it came to *Balbines* ear, who shewed in countenance that he had heard hereof, though he said nothing. But the Alchymist knew him to be devout, and somewhat superstitious; and such men are easie to be intreated to forgive, how great soever the fault be, and desired to open the matter in manner and forme following.

O Lord (said he before *Balbine*) how infortunately goeth our businesse forward! I marvell what should be the cause. Whereat *Balbine*, being one otherwise that seemed to have vowed silence, took occasion to speak, saying; it is not hard to know the impediment and stop hereof: for it is sinne that hindereth this matter; which is not to be dealt in with pure hands. Whereat the Alchymist fell upon his knees, beating his breast, and lamentably cried, saying; Oh master *Balbine*, you are most truly, it is sinne that hath done us all this displeasure, not your fault, but mine owne, good master *Balbine*. Neither will I be ashamed to discover my filthinesse unto you, as unto a most holy and ghostly father. The infirmity of the flesh had overcome me, and the Devill had caught me in his snare. Oh wretch that I am! Of a Priest I am become an adulterer. Howbeit, the money that erstwhile was sent to our Lady, was not utterly lost; for if she had not been, I had certainly been slain. For the good man of the house brake open the door, and the window was less than I could get out thereat. And in that extremity of danger it came into my minde to fall down prostrate to the virgine, beseeching her (if our gift were acceptable in her sight) that she would, in consideration thereof, assist me with her help. And to be short, I ran to the window, and found it big enough to leap out at. Which thing *Balbine* did not only believe to be true, but in respect thereof forgave him, and religiously admonishing him to shew himself thankful to that pitiful and blessed Lady.

Now once againe more is made a new supply of money, and mutuall promise made to handle this divine matter hence forward purely and honestly. To be short, after a great number of such parts played by the Alchymist; one of *Balbines* acquaintance espied him, that knew him from his childhood to be but a coufening merchant; and told *Balbine* what he was, & that he would handle him in the end, even as he had used many others; for a knave he ever was, and so he would prove. But what did *Balbine* think you? Did he complain of this counterfeit, or cause him to be punished? No, but he gave him money in his purse, and sent him away; desiring him, of all courtesie, not to blab abroad how he had coufened him. And as for the knave Alchymist, he need not care who knew it, or what came of it; for he had nothing in goods or fame to be lost. And as for his cunning in Alchymistry, he had as much as an ass. By this discourse *Erasmus* would give us to note, that under the golden name of Alchymistry there lyeth lurking no small calamitie; wherein there be such several shifts and suits of rare subtleties and decipts, as that not only wealthy men are thereby many times impoverished, and that with the sweet allurements of this art, through their owne covetousnesse;

The mildest and softest nature is commonly soonest abused,

*En immonsa cavi sprant mendacia soltes.*

*Balbine* is ashamed that he should be overfot and overfeen in a case of flat coufening.

as also by the flattering baits of hoped gain: but even wise and learned men hereby are shamefully overshot, partly for want of due experience in the wiles and subtilities of the world, and partly through the softnesse and pliability of their good nature, which couzening knaves doe commonly abuse to their owne lust and commodity, and to the others utter undoing.

## CHAP. VI.

The opinion of diverse learned men touching the folly of Alchymistry.

The substances of things are not transmutable.

Franc. Petrarch lib. de re med. utr. fort. l. cap. 10.

Gosshalcus Boll. ordinis S. August. in suo preceptorio, fol. 244. col. b. c. d. & e.

**A**lbert in his book of Minerals reporteth, that *Avisenna* treating of Alchymistry, saith; Let the dealers in Alchymistry understand, that the very nature and kinde of things cannot be changed, but rather made by art to resemble the same in shew and likenesse; so that they are not the very things indeed, but seem so to be in appearance; as castles and towres do seem to be built in the clouds, whereas the representations there shewed, are nothing else but the resemblance of certain objects below, caused in some bright and clear cloud, when the aire is void of thicknesse and grossnesse. A sufficient prooffe hereof may be the looking glasse, and we see (saith he) that yellow or orange colour laid upon red, seemeth to be gold. *Francis Petrarch* treating of the same matter in forme of a dialogue, introduceth a disciple of his, who fancies the foresaid fond profession and practice, saying; I hope for prosperous successe in Alchymistry. *Petrarch* answereth him; It is a wonder from whence that hope should spring, sith the fruit thereof did never yet fall to thy lot, nor yet at any time chance to any other; as the report commonly goeth, that many rich men, by this vanity and madnesse have been brought to beggery, while they have wearied themselves therewith, weakned their bodies, and wasted their wealth in trying the means to make gold ingender gold. I hope for gold according to the workmans promise, saith the disciple. He that hath promised the gold, will run away with thy gold, and thou never the wiser, saith *Petrarch*. He promiseth me great good, saith the disciple. He will first serve his own turn, and relieve his private poverty, saith *Petrarch*; for Alchymisters are a beggerly kind of people, who though they confesse themselves bare and needy, yet will they make others rich and wealthy; as though others poverty did more molest and pity them then their owne. These be the words of *Petrarch*, a man of great learning and no lesse experience; who as in his time he saw the fraudulent fetches of this compassing craft; so hath there been no age, since the same hath been broached, wherein some few wise men have not smelt out the evill meaning of these shifting merchants, and bewrayed them to the world.

An ancient writer of a religious order, who lived above a thousand years since, discovering the diversities of these, after a long enumeration, in Alchymisters, whom he calleth *Falsificantes metallorum & mineralium*, witches and counterfeiterers of metals and minerals; and saith

them as deep in the degree of thieves, as any of the rest, whose injurious dealings are brought to open arraignment. It is demanded (saith he) why the art of Alchymistry doth never prove that in effect, which it pretendeth in precept and promise. The answer is ready; that if by art gold might be made, then were it behoovefull to know the manner and proceeding of nature in generation; sith art is said to imitate and counterfeite nature. Again, it is because of the lamenesse and unperfectness of phylosophy, specially concerning minerals: no such manner of proceeding being set down by consent and agreement of philosophers in writing, touching the true and undoubted effect of the same. Whereupon one supposeth that gold is made of one kind of stuffe this way, others of another kind of stuffe that way. And therefore it is a chance if any attaine to the artificiall applying of the actives and passives of gold and silver. Moreover, it is certain, that quicksilver and sulphur are the materials (as they terme them) of metals, and the agent is heat, which directeth; howbeit it is very hard to know the due proportion of the mixture of the materials; which proportion the generation of gold doth require. And admit that by chance they attaine to such proportions; yet can they not readily resume or doe it again in another work, because of the hidden diversities of materials, and the uncertainty of applying the actives and passives.

The same ancient author concluding against this vain art, saith, that the same ancient lawmakers it is forbidden, and in no case tolerable in any commonwealth; first because it presumeth to forge Idols for covetousnesse, which are gold and silver; whereupon saith the apostle, Covetousnesse is idolworship; secondly, for that (as *Aristotle* saith) coin should be skant and rare, that it might be dear; but the same would waxe vile, and of small estimation, if by the art of Alchymistry gold and silver might be multiplied; thirdly, because (as experience proveth) wise men are thereby bewitched, couzeners increased, princes abused, the rich impoverished, the poor beggered, the multitude made fooles, and yet the craft and craftmasters (oh madnesse!) credited. Thus saith he. Whereby in few words he discourtenanceth that profession, not by the imaginations of his owne brain, but by manifold circumstances of manifest proof. Touching the which practice I think enough hath been spoken, and more a great deal than needed; sith so plain and demonstrable a matter requireth the lesse travell in confutation.

## CHAP. VII.

That vain and deceitfull hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that their labours therein are bootlesse, &c.

Hitherto somewhat at large I have detected the knavery of the art Alchymistical, partly by reasons, and partly by examples: so that the thing it selfe may no lesse appear to the judicall eye of the considerers, than

Of vain hope.

than the bones and sinews of a body anatomized, to the corporall eye of the beholders. Now it shall not be amisse nor impertinent, to treat somewhat of the nature of that vain and fruitlesse hope, which induceth and draweth men forward as it were with chords, not only to the admiration, but also to the approbation of the same: in such sort that some are compelled rufully to sing (as one in old time did, whether in token of good or ill luck, I do not now well remember) *Spei fortuna valet*; Hope and good hap adieu.

No marvell then though Alchymistry allure men so sweetly, and intangle them in snares of folly; sith the baits which it useth is the hope of gold, the hunger whereof is by the poet termed *Sacra*, which some doe English, Holy; not understanding that it is rather to be interpreted, \* Curled or detestable, by the figure *Acyon*, when a word of an improper signification is cast in a clause as it were a cloud: or by the figure *Antiphrasis*, when a word importeth a contrary meaning to that which it commonly hath. For what reason can there be, that the hunger of gold should be counted holy, the same having (as depending upon it) so many millions of mischiefs and miseries: as weasons, thefts, adulteries, manslaughters, trucebreakings, perjuries, coulengages, and a great troope of other enormities, which were here too long to rehearse. And if the nature of every action be determinable by the end thereof, then cannot this hunger be holy, but rather accursed, which pulleth after it as it were with iron chains such a band of outrages and enormities, as of all their labour, charge, care, and cost, &c. they have no thing else left them in lieu of lucre, but only some few burned bricks of a ruinous furnace, a peck or two of ashes, and such light stufte, which they are forced peradventure in fine to sell when beggery hath arrested and laid his mace on their shoulders. As for all their gold, it is resolved in *primam materiam*, or rather *In levem quendam fumulum*, into a light smoke or fumigation of vapors, than the which nothing is more light, nothing lesse substantiall, spirits only excepted, out of whose nature and number these are not to be exempted.

## CHAP. VIII.

*A continuation of the former matter, with a conclusion of the same.*

Erasmus in colloquio cui titulus Convivium sabbulosum.

THAT which I have declared before, by reasons, examples, and authorities, I will now prosecute and conclude by one other example; to the end that we, as others in former ages, may judge of vain hope accordingly, and be no lesse circumspect to avoid the inconveniences thereof, than *Ulysses* was warie to escape the incantations of *circes* that old transforming witch. Which example of mine is drawne from *Lewes* the French King, the eleventh of that name, who being on a time at *Burgundie*, fell acquainted by occasion of hunting with one *Conon*, a clownish but yet an honest and hearty good fellow. For princes and great men de-

light much in such plain clubhutchens. The king offendles, by means of his game, used the countrymans house for his refreshing; and as no other men somerimes take pleasure in homely and course things, so the King did not refuse to eat turnips and rape roots in *Conons* eotage. Shortly after King *Lewes* being at his palace, void of troubles and quietnesse, *Conons* wife will'd him to repair to the court, to shew himselfe to the King, to put him in minde of the old entertainment which he had at his house, and to present him with some of the fairest and choicest few rape roots that she had in store. *Conon* seemed loth, alledging that he should lose his labour: for princes (saith he) have other matters in hand, than to intend to think of such trifling courtshies. But *Conons* wife overcame him, and perswaded him in the end, choosing a certaine number of the best and goodliest rape roots that she had: which when she had given her husband to carry to the court, he set forward on his journey a good trudging pace. But *Conon* being tempted by the way, partly with the desire of eating, and partly with the toothsomenesse of the meat which he bare, that by little and little he devoured up all the roots saving one, which was a very fair and a goodly great one indeed. Now when *Conon* was come to the court, it was his luck to stand in such a place, as the King passing by, and spying the man, did well remember him, and commanded that he should be brought in. *Conon* very cheerily followed his guide hard at the heeles, and no sooner saw the King, but bluntly coming to him, reached out his hand, and presented the gift to his Majesty. The King received it with more cheerfulness than it was offered, and bad one of those that stood next him, to take it, and lay it up among those things which he esteemed most, and had in greatest accompt. Then he bad *Conon* to dine with him, and after dinner gave the countryman great thanks for his rape root; who made no bones of the matter, but boldly made challenge and claim to the Kings promised courtesie. Whereupon the King commanded, that a thousand crowns should be given him in recompense for his root.

The report of this bountifullnesse was spread in short space over all the kings household: in so much as one of his courtiers, in hope of the like or a larger reward gave the king a very proper gennet. Whose drift the King perceiving, and judging that his former liberality to the clowne, provoked the courtier to this covetous attempt, took the gennet very thankfully: and calling some of his noblemen about him, began to consult with them, what mends he might make his servant for his horse. Whiles this was a doing, the courtier conceived passing good hope of some princely largesse, calculating and calling his cards in this manner; If his majesty rewarded a silly clown so bountifully for a simple rape root, what will he do to a jolly courtier for a gallant gennet? Whiles the King was debating the matter, and one said this, another that, and the courtier travelled all the while in vain hope, at last saith the King, even upon the sudden; I have now bethought me what to bestow upon him: and calling one of his nobles to him, whispered him in the eare, and willed him to fetch a thing, which he should finde in his chamber wrapped up in silk. The root is brought wrapped in silk, which the

A hungry belly will not be bridled.

A princely largesse.

Sic ars deluditur arte.

King

King with his owne hands gave to the courtier, using these words therewithall, that he sped well, inſomuch as it was his good hap to have for his horſe a Jewell that coſt him a thouſand crownes. The courtier was a glad man, and at his departing longed to be looking what it was, and his heart danced for joy. In due time therefore he unwrapped the ſilk (a ſort of his fellow courtiers ſticking about him to teſtifie his good luck) and having unfolded it, he found therein a dry and withered rape root. Which ſpectacle though it ſet the ſtanders about in a loud laughter, yet it quailed the courtiers courage, and caſt him into a ſhrewd fit of penſivenesse. Thus was the confidence of this courtier turned to vanity, who upon hope of good ſpeed, was willing to part from his horſe for had I wiſt.

The morall of the premiſſes.

This ſtory doth teach us into what folly and madneſſe vain hope may drive unſidereer and unexpert men. And therefore no marvell though Alchymifters dream and dore after double advantage, ſaring like *Beſops* dog, who greedily coveting to catch and ſnareh at the ſhadow of the fleſh which he carried in his mouth over the water, loſt both the one and the other: as they doe their increaſe and their principall. But to break off abruptly from this matter, and to leave theſe hypocrites (for why may they not be ſo named, who as *Homer*, ſpeaking in deteſtation of ſuch rakebels, ſaith very divinely and truly;

*Homer.*

*Odi etenim ceu clauſtra Erebi, quicunque loquuntur  
Ore aliud, tacitoque aliud ſub peſtore claudunt :*

Engliſhed by  
*Abraham  
Fleming.*

I hate even even as the gates of hell,  
Thoſe that one thing with tongue do tell,  
And notwithstanding cloſely keep  
Another thing in heart full deep)

To leave theſe hypocrites (I ſay) in the dregs of their diſhoneſty, I will conclude againſt them peremptorily, that they, with the rable above rehearſed, and the rout hereafter to be mentioned, are rank couſeners, and conſuming cankers to the common wealth, and therefore to be rejected and excommunicated from the fellowſhip of all honeſt men. For now their art, which turneth all kind of metals that they can come by into miſt and ſmoak, is no leſſe apparent to the world, than the clear ſunny rayes at noon ſted; in ſo much that I may ſay with the poet.

*Aul. Perſum, ſat.  
1. 3.*

*Hos populus videt, multumque toraſa juvenus  
Ingeminas tremulos naſo criſpante cacubinos :*

Engliſhed by  
*Abraham  
Fleming.*

All people laugh them now to ſcorne,  
each ſtrong and luſty blond  
Redoubleth quavering laughter loud  
with wrinkled noſe a good;

So that, if any be ſo addicted unto the vanity of the art Alchymistical

every ſoole will have his fancy) and that (beſide ſo many experimented examples of divers, whoſe wealth hath vaniſhed like a vapor, whilſt they have beene over raſh in the practice hereof) this diſcourſe will not move to deſiſt from ſuch extreame dotage, I ſay to him or them and that applye.

*— dicitque facitque quod ipſe  
Non ſani eſſe hominis non ſanus jurat Oreftes :*

He ſaith and doth that every thing,  
which mad Oreftes might  
With oath ayerre became a man  
bereft of reaſon right.

*Idem ibid.*

By *Ab. Fleming.*

### The xv. Booke.

The expoſition of Iidoni, and where it is found,  
whereby the whole Art of conjuration is deciphered.

#### CHAP. I.



His word *Iidoni* is derived of *Iada*, which properly ſignifieth to know: it is ſometimes tranſlated, *Divinus*, which is a diviner or ſoothſaier, as in *Deut.* 18. *Levit.* 20. ſometimes *Avialis*, which is one that alſo taketh upon him to foretell things to come, and is found *Levit.* 19. *2 Kings* 23. *Eſai.* 19. To be ſhort, the opinion of them that are moſt ſkilfull in the tongues, is, that it comprehendeth all them, which take upon them to know all things paſt and to come and to give answers accordingly. It alwayes followeth the word *Ob*, and in the ſcriptures is not named ſeverally from it, and differeth little from the ſame in ſenſe, and doe both concerne oracles uttered by ſpirits, poſſeſſed people, or couſeners. What will not couſeners or witches take upon them to doe? Wherein will they profeſſe ignorance? Aſke them any queſtion, they will undertake to reſolve you, even of that which none but God knoweth. And to bring their purpoſes the better to paſſe, as alſo to winne further credit unto the counterfeit art which they profeſſe, they procure confederates, whereby they work wonders. And when they have either learning,

The large ſignification of the word *Iidoni*.



ness of a gallant archer, carrying a bowe and a quiver, he is author of all battels, he doth purrifie all such wounds as are made with arrowes by archers, *Quos optimos objicit tribus diebus diebus*, and he hath regiment over thirty legions.

Valefar.

*Valefar, alias Malephar*, is a strong duke, coming forth in the shape of a lion, and the head of a cheefe, he is very familiar with them to whom he maketh himselfe acquainted, till he hath brought them to the gallows, and ruleth ten legions.

Morax.

*Morax, alias Moraji*, a great earle and a president, he is scene like a bull, and if he take unto him a mans face, he maketh men wonderfull cunning in astronomy, and in all the liberall sciences: he giveth good familiars and wite, knowing the power and vertue of hearbs and stones which are precious, and ruleth thirty six legions.

Ipos.

*Ipos, alias Apyros*, is a great earle and a prince, appearing in the shape of an angell, and yet indeed more obscure and filthy than a lion, with a lions head, a gooses feet, and a hares taile; he knoweth things to come and past, he maketh a man witty, and bold, and hath under his jurisdiction thirty six legions.

Naberius.

*Naberius, alias Carberus*, is a valiant marquette, shewing himselfe in the form of a crow, when he speaketh with a hoarse voice; he maketh a man amiable and cunning in all arts, and specially in rhetoric, he procureth the losse of prelaties and dignities, nineteene legions heare and obey him.

Glasja Labolas.

*Glasja Labolas, alias Caacrimolaas, or Caassmolat*, is a great president, who cometh forth like a dog, and hath wings like a griffin, he giveth the knowledge of arts, and is the captaine of all manslayers: he understandeth things present and to come, he gaineth the minds and love of friends and foes, he maketh a man go invisible, and hath the rule of six and thiry legions.

Zepar.

*Zepar* is a great duke, appearing as a souldier, inflaming women with the love of men, and when he is hidden he changeth their shape, untill they may enjoy their beloved, he also maketh them barren, and six and twenty legions are at his obey and commandment.

Bileth.

*Bileth* is a great king and a terrible, riding on a pale horse, before whom go trumpets, and all kind of melodious musicke. When he is called up by an exorcist, he appeareth rough and furious, to deceive him. Then let the exorcist or conjuror take heed to himselfe, and to allay his courage, let him hold a hazell bar in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out toward the east and south, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand unto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirits; let the conjuror proceed to reading, and by and by he wil submit himselfe, and come in, and do whatsoever the exorcist commandeth him, and he shall be safe. If *Bileth* the king be more stubborne, and refuse to enter into the circle at the first call, and the conjuror shew himselfe fearefull, or if he have not the chaine of spirits, certainly he will never feare nor regard him after. Also if the place be unapt for a triangle to be made without the circle, then set there a boll of wine,

Bileth.

wine, and the exorcist shall certainly know when he cometh out of his house, with his fellowes, and that the aforesaid *Bileth* will be his helper, his friend, and obedient unto him when he cometh forth. And when he cometh, let the exorcist receive him courteously, and glorifie him in his pride, and therefore he shall adore him as other kings do, because he saith nothing without other princes. Also, if he be cited by an exorcist, alwayes a silver ring of the middle finger of the left hand must be held against the exorcists face, as they do for *Amaimon*. And the dominion and power of so great a prince is not to be determined; for there raigneth both men and women in dosing love, till the exorcist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the seventh throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eighty five legions.

Vide Amaimon.

*Siri, alias Bitru*, is a great priace, appearing with the face of a *Siria* baudy leopard, and having wings as a griffin: when he taketh humane shape, he is very beautifull, he inflameth a man with a womans love, and also stirreth up women to love men, being commanded bewillingly dettaineth secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them luxuriously naked, and there obey him sixty legions.

*Paimon* is more obedient to *Lucifer* than other kings are. *Lucifer* is *Paimon*.

he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge: he would needs be like God, and for his arrogancy was throwne into destruction, of whom it is said; Every precious stone is thy covering. *Paimon* is constrained by divine vertue to stand before the exorcist where he putteth on the likenesse of a man: he sitteth on a beast called; a dromedary, which is a swift runner, and weareth a glorious crowne, and hath an effeminate countenance. There goeth before him an host of men with trumpets and well sounding cimbals, and all muscicall instruments. At the first he appeareth with a great cry and roring, as in *Circulo Salomonis*, and in the art is declared. And if this *Paimon* speake sometime that the conjuror understand him not, let him not therefore be dismayed. But when he hath delivered him the first obligation, to observe his desire, he must bid him also answer him distinctly and plainly to the questions he shall aske you, of all philosophy, wisdom, and science, and of all other secret things. And if you will know the disposition of the world, and what the earth is, or what holdeth it up in the water, or any other thing, or what is *Abyssus*, or where the wind is, or from whence it cometh, he will teach you abundantly. Consecrations also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. He giveth dignities and confirmations; he bindeth them that resist him in his own chains, and subiecteth them to the conjuror; he prepareth good familiars, and hath the understanding of all arts. Note, that at the calling up of him, the exorcist must looke towards the northwest, because there is his house. When he is called up, let the exorcist receive him constantly conjuror, without feare, let him aske what questions or demands he list, and no doubt he shall obtaine the same of him. And the exorcist must beware

Cations for the

Exorcist or

conjuror.

he

The fall of  
Beliall.

Solomon gathered  
all the devils  
together in  
a brazen vessel.

The Babylonians  
disappointed  
of their  
hope,

he forget not the creator, for those things, which have been rehearsed before of *Paimon*, some say, he is of the order of dominations; others say, of the order of cherubim. There follow him two hundred legions, partly of the order of angels, and partly of potestates. Note that if *Paimon* be cited alone by an offering or sacrifice, two kings follow him; to wit, *Beball* and *Abalam*, and other potentates: in his host are twenty five legions, because the spirits subject to them are not always with them, except they be compelled to appeare by divine vertue.

Some say that the king *Beliall* was created immediatly after *L* and therefore they thinke that he was father and seducer of them fell being of the orders. For he fell first among the worthier and wiser sort, which went before *Michael* and other heavenly angels, which were lacking. Although *Beliall* went before all them that were throwne downe to the earth, yet he went not before them that tarieth in heaven. This *Beliall* is constrained by divine vertue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he againe may give unto the offerer true answers. But he tarieth not one houre in the truth, except he be constrained by the divine power, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautifull angell, sitting in a fiery chariot; he speaketh faire, he distributeth preferments of senatorship, and the favour of friends, and excellent familiars: he hath rule over eighty legions, partly of the order of vertues, partly of angels; he is found in the forme of an exorcist in the bonds of spirits. The exorcist must consider, that this *Beliall* doth in every thing assist his subjects. If he will not submit himselfe, let the bond of spirits be read: the spirits chaine is sent for him, wherewith wife *Solomon* gathered them together with their legions in a brazen vessell, where were inclosed among all the legions seventy two kings, of whom the cheefe was *Bilith*, the second was *Beliall*, the third *Asmoday*, and above a thousand thousand legions. Without doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my master *Solomon*; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them up so: but I beleieve it was for the pride of this *Beliall*. Certaine nigromancers do say, that *Solomon* being on a certaine day seduced by the craft of a certaine woman, inclined himselfe to pray before the same idoll, *Beliall* by name: which is not credible. And therefore we must rather thinke (as it is said) that they were gathered together in that great brazen vessell for pride and arrogancy, and throwne into a deep lake or hole in *Babylon*. For wife *Solomon* did accomplish his workes by the divine power, which never forooke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshipped not the image *Beliall*; for then he could not have constrained the spirits by divine vertue: for this *Beliall*, with three kings were in the lake. But the *Babylonians* wondering at the matter, supposed that they should find therein a great quantity of treasure, and therefore with one consent went downe into the lake, and uncovered and brake the vessell, out of the which immediatly flew the captaine devils, and were delivered to their former and proper places. But this *Beliall* entred into a certaine image, and there gave answer to them that offered and sacrificed unto him as *Tox*. In his sentences reporteth, and the *Babylonians* did worship and sacrifice thereunto.

*Idoni*.

*Idoni* is a great and a strong duke, he appeareth as a dragon with three heads, the third whereof is like a man, he speaketh with a divine voice, he maketh the dead to change their place, and devils to assemble upon the sepulchres of the dead: he greatly enricheth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise, answereth truly to all demands, and thirty legions obey him.

*Formus* is a great marquisse, like unto a monster of the sea, he maketh men wonderfull in rhetorick, he adorneth a man with a good name, and the knowledge of tongues, and maketh one beloved as well of foes as friends; there are under him nine and twenty legions, of the order partly of thrones, and partly of angels.

*Romove* a marquisse and an earle, he is resembled to a monster, he bringeth singular understanding in rhetorick, faithfull servants, knowledge of tongues, favour of friends and foes; and nineteen legions obey him.

*Berith* is a great and a terrible duke, and hath three names. Of some he is called *Beall*; of the Jewes *Berith*; of Nigromancers *Belfry*: devill. he cometh forth as a red souldier, with red clothing, and upon a horse of that colour, and a crowne on his head. He answereth truly of things of that colour, and to come. He is compelled to a certain hour, through dispent, past, and to come. He is also a lier, he turneth all mevine vertue, by a ring of art magick. He is also a lier, he turneth all me into gold, he adorneth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a clear and subtil voice, and six and twenty legions are under him.

*Astaroth* is a great and a strong duke, comming forth in the shape of a soule angell, sitting upon an infernall dragon, and carrying on his right hand a viper: he answereth truly to matters present, past, and to come, and also of all secrets. He talketh willingly of the creator of spirits, and of their fall, and how they sinned and fell: he saith he fell not of his owne accord. He maketh a man wonderfull learned in the liberall sciences, he ruleth forty legions. Let every exorcist take heed, that he admit him not too near him, because of his stinking breath. And therefore let the conjuror hold near to his face a magickall ring, and that shall defend him.

*Foras*, alias *Fovras* is a great president, and is seen in the forme of a strong man, and in humane shape, he understandeth the vertue of hearbs and pretious stones: he teacheth fully logick, ethick, and their parts: he maketh a man invisible, witty, eloquent, and to live long; he recovereth things lost, and discovereth treasures, and is lord over nine and twenty legions.

*Fusur* is a great earle, appearing as an hart, with a fiery taile, he lyeth in every thing, except he be brought up within a triangle: being bidden, he taketh angelicall forme, he speaketh with a hoarie voice, and willingly maketh love between man and wife; he raiseth thunders and lightnings, and blasts. Where he is commanded, he answereth well, both of secret and also of divine things, and hath rule and dominion over six and twenty legions.

*Marchosias* is a great marquisse, he sheweth himself in the shape of a cruell

Malphas.

cruell the wolfe, with a griphens wings, with a serpents taile, and being I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans shape is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions truly, he is faithfull in all the conjurors businesse; he was of the order of dominations, he hath him are thirty legions: he hopeth after 1200. years to returne to the 1000th throne, but he is deceived in that hope.

Vepar.

Malphas is a great president, he is seen like a crowe, but being clothed with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth high towers and high towres wonderfully, and quickly bringeth artificers together, throweth downe also the enemies edifications, he helpeth to good husbands, he receiveth sacrifices willingly, but he deceiveth all the sacrificers, there obey him forty legions.

Sabnacke.

Vepar, alias Separ, a great duke and a strong, he is like a mermaid, is the guide of the waters, and of ships laden with armour; he bringeth profit (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shall be calm and stormy, and shall appear full of ships; he killeth men in three dayes with putrefying their wounds, and producing maggots into them; he beareth, they may be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and twenty legions.

Sidomey.

Sabnacke, alias Salmack, is a great marquesse and a strong, he cometh forth as an armed souldier with a lions head, sitting on a pale horse, he doth marvellously change mans forme and favour, he buildeth high towers full of weapons, and also castles and cities; he inflicteth men many dayes with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists commandement, he provideth good familiars, and hath dominion over thirty legions.

Gaap.

Sidomey, alias Asmoday, a great King, strong and mighty, he is seen with three heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a ram, the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of his mouth, he hath feet like a goote, he sitteth on an infernall dragon, carryeth a lance and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, he is under the power of Amaymon. When the conjuror exerciseth his office, let him be abroad, let him be wary and standing on his feet, his cap be on his head, he will cause all his doings to be bewrayed, if he doe not, the exorcist shall be deceived by Amaymon in every thing. But so soon as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by his name, saying; Thou art Asmoday; he will not deny it, and by and by shall boweth downe to the ground; he giveth the ring of vertues, he teacheth geometry, arithmetick, astronomy, and handicrafts, he demandeth he answereth fully and truly, he maketh a man invulnerable, he sheweth the places where treasure lieth, and gardenes, he is among the legions of Amaymon, he hath under his power forty legions.

Gaap, alias Tap, a great president and a prince, he appeareth in a riddionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of foure principall Kings, as mighty as Bileth. There were certain necromancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings unto him; and when he call him up, they exercised an art, saying that Solomon the wise made

which is false: for it was rather Cham, the sonne of Noah, who after the flood began first to invoke wicked spirits. He invocated Bileth, and first necromancer. He made an art in his name, and a book which is known to many mathematicians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts given to him, and much wickedness wrought by the exorcists, who mingled thereunto all the holy names of God, the which in that art are every where expressed. Many there is an Epistle of those names written by Solomon, as he writeth Helias Hierosolymitanus and Heliasus. It is to be noted, that if any exorcist have the art of Bileth, and cannot make him stand before him, nor see him, I may not bewray how and declare the means to contain him, because it is an abomination, and for that I have learned nothing from Solomon of his dignity and office. But yet I will not hide this to wit, that he maketh a man wonderfull in philosophy and all the liberal sciences: he maketh love, hatred, insensibility, consecration, and consecration of those things that are belonging unto the domination of Amaymon, and delivereth familiar out of the possession of other conjurors, knowing truly and perfectly of things present, past, and to come, and converteth men most speedily into other nations, he ruleth sixty six legions, and was of the order of potestates.

Shax alias Scox, is a dark and great marquesse, like unto a stork, with a hoarse and subill voice he doth marvellously take away the sight, hearing, and understanding of any man, at the commandement of the conjuror: he taketh away money out of every Kings house, and carrieth it back after 1500. years, if he be commanded, he is a horsestealer, he is thought to be faithfull in all commandements; and although he prouideth to be obedient to the conjuror in all things; yet is he not so, he is a liar, except he be brought into a triangle, and there he speaketh divinely, and telleth of things which are hidden, and not kept of wicked spirits, he provideth good familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceivers, he hath thirty legions.

Prock is a great and a strong duke, appearing in the shape of an an-evil, he speaketh darkly of things hidden, he teacheth geometry and all the liberal arts, he maketh great noises, and causeth the waters to rore, there are none; he warmeth waters, and distemporeth bathes at certain times, as the exorcist appaineth him, he was of the order of potestates, and hath forty eight legions under his power.

Furcas is a Knight and cometh forth in the similitude of a cruell man, Furcas, with a long beard and a hoary head, he sitteth on a pale horse, carryng in his hand a sharp weapon, he perfectly teacheth practick philosophy, rhetoric, logick, astronomy, chiromancy, pyromancy, and their parts: there obey him twenty legions.

Murmur is a great duke and an eagle, appearing in a shape of a souldier, riding on a griphen, with a dukes crown on his head; there go before him two of his ministers, with great trumpets, he teacheth philosophy abundantly, he constraineth soules to come before the exorcist, to answer what he shall aske them, he was of the order partly of thrones, and partly of angels, and ruleth thirty legions.

Caim is a great president, taking the form of a thrush, but when he pur-



with on mans shape, he answereth in burning asies, carrying in his hand a most sharp sword, he maketh the best disputers, he giveth men the understanding of all birds, of the lawing of bullocks, and barking of dogs, and also of the sound and noise of waters, he answereth both things to come, he was of the order of angels, and ruleth thirty legions of devils.

Raim.

Raim, or Raim is a great earle, he is seen as a crow, but when he putteth on humane shape, at the commandement of the exorcist, he leth wonderfully out of the Kings house, and carryeth it whither he is signed, he destroyeth cities, and hath great despite unto dignities, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends, he was of the order of thrones, and governeth thirty legions.

Halphas.

Halphas is a great earle, and cometh abroad like a stork, with a hoarse voice, he notably buildeth up townes full of munition and weapons, he sendeth men of war to places appointed, and hath under him six and twenty legions.

Focalor.

Focalor is a great duke cometh forth as a man, with wings like a griffin, he killeth men, and drowneth them in the waters, and overturneth the tower of war, commanding and ruling both windes and seas. And let the conjuror note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willingly consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000. years to returne to the seventh throne, he is deceived, he hath three legions.

Vine.

Vine is a great king and an earle, he sheweth himself as a lion, riding on a black horse, and carryeth a viper in his hand, he gladly buildeth towres, he throweth down stone walles, and maketh waters rough, he hath the commandement of the exorcist he answereth of things hidden, of things to come, and of things present, past, and to come.

Bifrons.

Bifrons is seen in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the shape of man, he maketh one wonderfull cunning in astrology, absolute in clearing the mansions of the planets, he doth the like in geometry, and in admeasurements, he perfectly understandeth the strength and vertues of herbs, precious stones, and woods, he changeth dead bodies from place to place; he seemeth to light candles upon the sepulchres of the dead, and hath under him six and twenty legions.

Gamigin.

Gamigin is a great marquesse, and is seen in the forme of a little boy, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a hoarse voice, disposing of all liberall sciences; he bringeth also to passe, that the foules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatory (which is called *tormenta*, that is, affliction of foules) shall take airy bodies, and evidently appear and answer to interrogatories at the conjurors commandement; he carrieth with the exorcist, until he have accomplished his desire, and hath thirty legions under him.

Zagan.

Zagan is a great King and a president, he cometh abroad like a bull, with griffins wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men witty, he turneth all metals into the coine of that dominion, and turneth water into wine, and wine into water, he also turneth bloud into wine, and wine into bloud, and a foole into a wise man, he is head of thirty and three legions.

Orias.

Orias is a great marquesse, and is seen as a lion riding on a strong horse, with a serpens taile, and carryeth in his right hand two great serpens hissing, he knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectly teacheth the vertues of the starres, he transformeth men, he giveth dignities, prelaties, and confirmations, and also the favour of friends and foes, and hath under him thirty legions.

Valac is a great president, and cometh abroad with angels wings like a boy, riding on a two headed dragon, he perfectly answereth of treasure hidden, and where serpents may be seen, which he delivereth into the conjurors hands, void of any force or strength, and hath dominion over thirty legions of divels.

Gemoy a strong and mighty duke, he appeareth like a fair woman with a duchesse crownet about her middle, riding on a camell, he answereth well and truly of things present, past, and to come, and of treasure hid, and where it lyeth: he procureth the love of women, especially of maids, and hath six and twenty legions.

Decarabia or Carabia, he cometh like a \* and knoweth the force of herbs and precious stones, and maketh all birds flee before the exorcist, and to carry with him, as though they were tame, and that they shall drink and sing, as their manner is, and hath thirty legions.

Amduscias a great and a strong duke, he cometh forth as an unicorn, when he standeth before his master in humane shape, being commanded, he easily bringeth to passe, that trumpets and all muscicall instruments may be heard and not seen, and also that trees shall bend and incline, according to the conjurors will, he is excellent among familiars, and hath nine and twenty legions.

Andras is a great marquesse, and is seen in an angels shape with a head like a black night raven, riding upon a black and a very strong wolf, flourishing with a sharp sword in his hand; he can kill the master, the servant, and all assistants, he is author of discords, and ruleth thirty legions.

Andralphm is a great marquesse, appearing as a peacock, he raiseth great noises, and in humane shape perfectly teacheth geometry, and all things belonging to admeasurements, he maketh a man to be a subtill disputer, and cunning in astronomy, and transformeth a man into the likeness of a bird; and there are under him thirty legions.

Ose is a great president, and cometh forth like a leopard, and counterfeiting to be a man, he maketh one cunning in the liberall sciences, he answereth truly of divine and secret things, he transformeth a mans shape, and bringeth a man to that madnesse, that he thinketh himself to be that which he is not; as he that is a king or a pope, or that he weareth a crown on his head, *Duratque id regnum ad horam.*

Aym or Haberim is a great duke and a strong, he cometh forth with three heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a man having two heads, the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper, carrying in his hand a light fire brand, with the flame whereof castles and cities are fired, he maketh one witty every kinde of way, he answereth truly of privy matters, & reigneth over twenty six legions.

Orubus.

*Orubus* is a great prince, he cometh forth like a horse, but when he putteth on him a mans idol, he talketh of diuine vertue, he giveth true answers of things present, past and to come, and of the diuinity, and of the creation, he deceiveth none, ndr suffereth any to be tempted, he giveth dignities and preclacies, and the favour of friends and foes, and hath over twenty legions.

Vapula.

*Vapula* is a great duke and a strong, he is seen like a lion with phephens wings, he maketh a man subtil and wonderfull in handicrafts, philolophy, and in sciences contained in books, and is ruler of thirty six legions.

Cimeries.

*Cimeries* is a great marqueste and a strong, ruling in the parts of *Aphrica*; he teacheth perfectly grammar, logick, and rhetorick, he discovereth treasures and things hidden, he bringeth to passe, that a man shall seem with expedition to be turned into a souldier, he rideth upon a black horse, and ruleth twenty legions.

Amy.

*Amy* is a great president, and appeareth in a flame of fire, but having taken mans shape, he maketh one marvellous in astrology, and in all the liberall sciences, he procureth excellent familiars, he bewrayeth treasures preserved by spirits, he hath the government of thirty six legions, he is partly of the order of angels, partly of potestates, he hopeth after a thousand two hundred years to returne to the seventh throne: which is credible.

Flawos.

*Flawos* is a strong duke, is seen in the forme of a terrible strong leopard in humane shape, he sheweth a terrible countenance, and fiery eyes, answereth truly of things present, past, and to come; if he be in a triangle, he lyeth in all things, and deceiveth in other things, he beguileth in other businesses, he gladly talketh of diuinity, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by diuine vertue, and so are all diuels or spirits, to burne and destroy all the conrers adversaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the conjuration to be tempted, and he hath legions under him.

Balam.

*Balam* is a great and a terrible king, he cometh forth with three heads, the first of a bull, the second of a man, the third of a ram, he hath a serpents taile, and flaming eyes, riding upon a furious beare, and carrying a hawke on his fist, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, answering truly of things present, past, and to come, he maketh man invisible, and he governeth forty legions, and was of the order of dominions.

Allocey.

*Allocey* is a strong duke and a great, he cometh forth like a souldier, riding on a great horse, he hath a lions face, very red, and with flaming eyes, he speaketh with a big voice, he maketh a man wonderfull in astrology, and in all the liberall sciences, he bringeth good familiars, and ruleth thirty six legions.

Saleos.

*Saleos* is a great earle, he appeareth as a gallant souldier, riding on a crocodile, and weareth a dukes crowne, peaccable, &c.

Vnall.

*Vnall* is a great duke and a strong, he is seen as a great and terrible dromedary, but in humane forme, he soundeth out in a base voice the Egyptian tongue, This man above all other procureth the especial love

Sidons.

of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, precuring the love of friends and foes, he was of the order of potestates, and governeth thirty seven legions.

*Haagenti* is a great president, appearing like a great bull, having the wings of a griphen, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh a man wise in every thing, he changeth all metals into gold, and changeth wine and water the one into the other, and commandeth as many legions as *Zogan*.

*Phanix* is a great marqueste, appearing like the bird *Phanix*, having a childs voycc: but before he standeth still before the conjuror, he singeth many sweet notes. Then the exorcist with his companions must beware he give no eare to the melody, but must by and by bid him put on humane shape; then will he speake marvellously of all wonderfull sciences. He is an excellent poet, and obedient, he hopeth to returne to the seventh throne, after a thousand two hundred yeares, and governeth twenty legions.

*Sielas* is a great prince, appearing in the forme of a night-raven, before the exorcist, he taketh the image and shape of a man, and teacheth astrology, absolutely understanding the vertues of herbs and precious stones; there are under him twenty six legions.

Note that a legion is 6666. and now by Multiplication you may see how many legions doe arise out of every particular.

\* Secretum secretorum.

The secret of secrets;

Tu operus sis secretus horum,

Thou that workst them, be secret in them.

CHAP. III.

The houres wherein principall diuels may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from doing of hurt.

*Maymon* king of the east, *Corson* king of the south, *Zimmar* king of the north, *Goap* king and prince of the west, may be bound from poore, and the third hour, till noone, and from the ninth hour till evening, glory of gods Marquestes may be bound from the ninth hour till compline, and holy name: as from compline till the end of the day. Dukes may be bound from the first hour till noone and cleare weather is to be observed. Prelates may be bound in any hour of the day. Knights from day dawning, till sunne rising; or from evening, till the sunne set. A President may not be bound in any hour of the day, except the king whom he obeyeth,

This was the worke of one T.R. written in faire letters of red & black upon parchment, and made by him, Ann. 1570. to the maintenance of his living, the edi-



This is contrary the scripture, which saith that every good gift cometh from the father of light, &c.

A breviary of the inventory of spirits.

The authors further purpose in the detection of conjuring.

of their governers, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their jection, of their submission, and of the wayes to bind or loose them with a note what wealth, learning, office, commonity, pleasure they can give, and may be forced to yeeld in spite of their hearts, to (forsooth) as are cunning in this art: of whom yet was never seen a rich man, or at least that gained any thing that way; or any unlesse man, that became learned by that meanes; or any happy man, could with the helpe of this art either deliver himselfe, or his friends from adversity, or adde unto his estate any point of felicity: yet men in all worldly happine, must needs exceed all others; if things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed, if they may learne of *Marbas*, all secrets, and to cure all diseases; of *Furcas*, wisdom, and to be cunning in all mechanicall arts; and change any mans shape; of *Zepar*: if *Euno* can make them rich and content, if *Beroth* can tell them of all things present, past, and to come; if *Aimodie* can make them go invisible and shew them all hidden treasures; if *Salmacke* will afflict whom they list, and *Alloer* can procure them of any woman; if *Amy* can provide them excellent familiars; if *Can* can make them understand the voyce of all birds and beasts, and *Bifrons* can make them live long; and finally, if *Orias* could procure unto them great friends, and reconcile their enemies, and they in the end had all these at commandement; should they not live in all world honor and felicity? whereas contrariwise they lead there lives in all poverty, misery, and beggery, and in fine come to the gallows; as those they had chosen unto themselves the spirit *Valser*, who they say, beareth all them with whom he entereth into familiarity, to no better end than the gibbet or gallows. But before I proceed further to the confirmation of this stuffe, I will shew other conjurations, devised more lately, of more authority; whereto you shall see how fooles are trained to believe these absurdities, being wonne by little and little to such credulity. For the author hereof beginneth, as though all the cunning of conjurors were derived and fercht from the planetary motions, and true course of the celestiall bodies, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The names of the Planets, their characters, together with the twelve signes of the zodiacke, their dispositions, aspects, and government, with other observations.

Conjunction	☉	☿	♁	♂	♃	♄	♅	♆	♇	♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Sequitur	*												the characters of the Planets.								
Quadrat	□												Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercur. Luna.								
Tripe	△												Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercur. Luna.								
Opposition	♁												Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercur. Luna.								

The twelve signes of the zodiacke, their characters and denominations, &c.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo
♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricornus	Aquarius	Pisces

Their dispositions or inclinations.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍	♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Good				Evill				Signes indifferent.			
♈				♉				♊			
♋				♌				♍			
♏				♐				♑			
♒				♓				♈			

♈ ♉ ♊ ♋ ♌ ♍ ♎ ♏ ♐ ♑ ♒ ♓ Very good signes. ♈ ♉ ♊ ♋ ♌ ♍ ♎ ♏ ♐ ♑ ♒ ♓ Very evill signes.

Mm

The

The disposition of the Planets.

h 2e ♂ ○ ♀ ♃ ♄															
Planets good, 2e ♀ Indifferent, ○ ♄ Evil h ♂															
♄ b ←		♄		♄		♄		♄		♄					
♄		♄		♄		♄		♄		♄					
Aferie Triplis tie.				Anearth Triplis tie.				Asterie Triplis tie.				Anavie Triplis tie.			

The aspects of the Planets.

- ♄ Is the best aspect, with good planets, and the worst with evil.
- ♃ Is a meane aspect in goodnesse or badnesse.
- ♂ Is very good in aspect to good planets, and hurteth not in evil.
- ♁ This aspect is of enimity not full perfect.
- ♁ This aspect is of enimity most perfect.

How the day is divided or distinguished.

A day naturall is the space of foure and twenty houres, accounting the night withall, and beginneth at one of the clocke after midnight.

An artificiall day is that space of time, which is betwixt the rising and falling of the ☉ &c. All the rest is night, and beginneth at the ☉ rising.

After followeth a table, shewing how the day and the night is divided by houres, and reduced to the regiment of the planets.

The division of the day, and the planetary regiment.

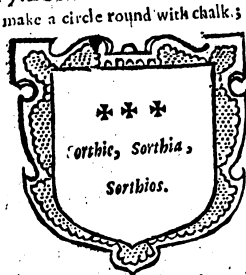
	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
☉	♄	♃	♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♄	♃	♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♃	♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁

The division of the night, and the planetary regiment.

	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
♄	♃	♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♃	♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♂	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁
♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁	♁







And why might not he do it himselfe, as well as madam Sibylla?

The faire Sibylla conjured to appeare, &c.

make a circle round with chalk; and let the master and his fellow sit down in the first circle, the master having the book in his hand, his fellow having the crystal stone in his right hand, looking in the stone when the faire doth appear. The master also must have upon his brest this figure here written in parchment, and begin to work in the new of the D and in the hour of ♃ the ☉ and the ♀ to bein one of inhabitants signes, as ♃ ♃ ♃. This bond as followeth, is to cause the spirit in the crystal stone, to fetch unto thee the fairy Sibylla. All things fulfilled, be gin this bond as followeth, and be bold, for doubtlesse they will come before thee, before the conjuration be read seven times.

I conjure thee spirit N. in this crystal stone, by God the father, by God the son Jesus Christ, and by God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, and by their vertues. I conjure thee spirit, that thou do goc in peace, and also to come again to me quickly, and to bring with thee into that circle appointed, Sibylla faire, that I may talk with her, those matters that shall be to her honour and glory; and so I charge thee declare unto her. I conjure thee spirit N. by the blood of the innocent lamb, the which redeemed all the world, by the vertue thereof I charge thee thou spirit in the crystal stone, that thou do declare unto me this message. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtues, cherubims, and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure thee N. that thou do depart with speed, and also to come again with speed, and to bring with thee the faire Sibylla, to appeare in that circle, before I doe read the conjuration in this booke seven times. Thus I charge thee my will be fulfilled, upon pain of everlasting condemnation: Fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen.

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brest, rehearse the words therein, and say, ✕ Sorthie ✕ Sorthia ✕ Sorthios ✕ then begin the conjuration as followeth here, and say; I conjure thee Sibylla, O gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercy of the Holy Ghost; and by the dreadfull day of dooms; and by their vertues and powers; I conjure thee Sibylla, O gentle virgine of fairies, and by all the angels of ♃ and ♀ characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of ♃ and ♀ and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters that be in the firmament and by the king and queen of fairies, and their vertues, and by the faith and obedience that thou bearest unto them. I conjure thee Sibylla by the blood that ran out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the opening of heaven, and by the renting of the Temple, and by the darknesse of the Sunne in the time of his death, and by the rising up of the dead in the time of his resurrection, and by the Virgin Mary

Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the unspeakable name of God Tetragrammaton. I conjure thee O Sibylla; O blessed and beautifull Virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid, I conjure thee Sibylla by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the form and shape of a beautifull woman in a bright and white vesture, adorned and garnished most fair, and to appear to me quickly without deceit or tarrying; and that thou faile not to fulfill my will and desire effectually. For I will choose thee to be my blessed virgine, and will have common copulation with thee. Therefore make hast and speed to come unto me, and to appear as I have said before. To whom be honor and glory for ever ever Amen.

The which done and ended, if shee come not, repeat the conjuration till they doe come: for doubtlesse they will come. And when shee is appeared, take your censers, and incense her with frankincense; then bind her with the bond as followeth. ✕ I doe conjure thee Sibylla, by God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, and by the blessed virgine Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; and by all the whole and holy company of heaven, and by the dreadfull day of doome, and by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principates, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I conjure thee: and binde thee Sibylla, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeared, nor yet to alter thy shape, except I give thee licence to depart. I conjure thee Sibylla by the blood that ran out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I conjure thee Sibylla to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visibly, as the conjuration of words leadeth, written in this booke. I conjure thee Sibylla, O blessed Virgine of fairies, by the opening of heaven, and by the renting of the Temple, and by the darknesse of the Sun at the time of his death, and by the rising of the dead in the time of his glorious resurrection, and by the unspeakable name of God ✕ Tetragrammaton ✕ and by the king and queen of fairies, and by their vertues I conjure thee Sibylla to appeare before the conjuration be read over four times, and that visibly to appeare, as the conjuration leadeth written in this booke, and to give mee good counsell at all times, and to come by treasures hidden in the earth, and all other things that is to do me pleasure, and to fulfill my will without any deceit or tarrying; nor yet that thou shalt have any power of my body or soul, earthly or ghostly; nor yet to perish so much of my body as one haire of my head. I conjure thee Sibylla by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues and powers, I charge and binde thee by the vertue thereof, to be obedient unto me, and to all the words aforesaid, and this bond to stand between thee and me, upon pain of everlasting condemnation, Fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen.

The manner of binding the faire Sibylla at her appearing.

If all this will not fetch her up, the divell is a knave.



CHAP. IX.

A license for Sibylla to goe and come by at all times.

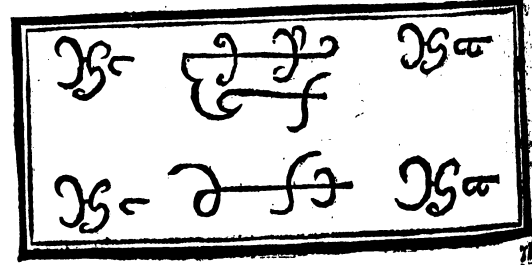
I Conjure thee Sibylla, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt have no powers in thy going or coming unto me, imagining any evil in any manner of wayes, in the earth or under the earth, of evil doings, to any person or persons. I conjure and command thee Sibylla by all the riail words and vertues that be written in this Book, that thou shalt not goe to the place from whence thou camest, but shalt remaine peaceably, invisibly, and look thou be ready to come unto me, when thou art called by any conjuration of words that be written in this book, to come (I say) at my commandement, and to answer unto me truly and duly of all things, my will quickly to be fulfilled. Vade in pace, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti. And the holy crosse be between thee and me, or between us and you, and the Lion of Judah, the root of Jesse, the kindred of David, be between thee and mee. Christ commeth. Christ commandeth. Christ giveth power. Christ defend me. and his innocent blood, from all perils of body and soul, sleeping or waking: Fiat, Amen.

CHAP. X.

To know of treasure hidden in the earth.

This would be much practised if it were not a coufening knack.

Write in paper these characters following, on the saturday, in the name of D, and lay it where thou thinkest treasure to be: if there be any the paper will burn, else not. And these be the characters.



This is the way to goe invisible by these three sisters of Fairies.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, first goe to a fair parlor or chamber, and an even ground, and in no loft, and from people nine dayes; for it is the better: and let all thy clothing be clean and sweet. Then make a candle of Virgine wax, and light it, and make a faire fire of charcoles, in a fair place, in the middle of the parlour or chamber. Then take fair clean water, that runneth against the east, and set it upon the fire: and yet thou walkest thy selfe, say these words, going about the fire three times holding the candle in the right hand. Pamboon. Craton. Muriton. Escognaton. Selson. Diaton. Maion. Tetagrammaton. Agla. Agavion. Tegya. Pentastaron. Tridicata. Then rehearse these names. So thie. Sorthia. Sorthos. Milia. Achilia. Sibylla. In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti. Amen. I conjure you three sisters of fairies, Milia, Achilia, Sibylla; by the Father, by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost, and by their vertues and powers, and by the most mercifull and living God, that will command his angell to blow the trump at the day of Judgement; and he shall say, Come, come, come to judgement; and by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principates, potestates, vertues, cherubim angels, and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure you three sisters, by the vertue of all the riail words aforesaid: I charge you that you doe appeare before me visibly, in form and shape of faire women, in white vestures, and to bring with you to me, the ring of invisibility, by the which I may goe invisible at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in all houres and minutes: In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen.

The three sisters of the Milia, Achilia, and Sibylla.

Being appeared, say this bond following. O blessed virgins, Milia, Achilia. I conjure you in the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, & by their vertues I charge you to depart from me in peace for a time. And Sibylla I conjure thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the vertue of his flesh and precious blood, that hee took of our blessed Lady the Virgine, and by all the holy company in heaven I charge thee Sibylla, by all the vertues aforesaid, that thou be obedient unto me, in the name of God; that when, and in what time and place I shall call thee by this foresaid conjuration written in this book, looke thou be ready to come unto me, at all houres and minutes, and to bring unto me the ring of invisibility, whereby I may goe invisible at my will and pleasure, and that at all houres and minutes; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

The ring of invisibility.

And if they come not the first night, then doe the same the second night, and if they come not the third night, then doe the same the third night. And if they come, and lie thou in thy bed, in the same parlor or chamber. And lay thy right hand out of the bed, and look thou have a faire silken kercher bound about thy head, and be not afraid, they will doe thee no harm. For there will come before thee three faire women, and all in white clothing; and one of them will put a ring upon thy finger, wherewith thou shalt goe invisible.

invisible. Then with speed bind them with the bond aforesaid. When thou hast this ring on thy finger, looke in a glasse, and thou shalt see thy self. And when thou wilt goe invisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and every new D renew it again. For after the first time thou shalt ever have it, and ever begin this work in the new of the D and in the houre of V and the D in S \* X.

CHAP. XI.

An experiment following, of Citrael, &c. angeli diei dominici.

Say first the prayers of the angels every day, for the space of seaven dayes.

Michael.	⊙	O Ye glorious angels written in this square, be you my
Gabriel.	⊙	coadjutors and helpers in all questions and demands
Samael.	♂	in all my businesse, and other causes, by him which shall
Raphael.	♄	come to judge both the quick and the dead, and the world
Sachiel.	♃	by fire. O angeli gloriosi in hac quadra scripti, estote ad-
Anael.	♀	juutores & auxiliatores in omnibus questionibus & inter-
Cassiel.	♆	rogationibus, in omnibus negotiis, ceterisque causis in
		eum qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos & mundum
		dum per ignem.

Say this prayer fasting, called \* Reginalingua.

\* O queen or governess of the tongue.

\* Lemae \* solma ac \* elmay \* gezagya \* raamaasin \* ezirego \* mihi \* egziephiax \* Iosamin \* sabach \* ha \* aem \* ve \* bo \* esepha \* sephar \* yamar \* semoit \* lemajo \* pberalon \* amic \* phin \* gergoin \* teu \* Amin \* amin \*.

In the name of the most pitifullest and and mercifullest God of Ihesus and of paradise, of heaven and of earth, of the seas and of the infernall, by thine omnipotent help may perform this work, which livest and reignest over one God world without end, Amen.

O most strongest and mightiest God, without beginning or ending, by thy clemency and knowledge I desire, that my questions, work, and labour may be fully and truly accomplished through thy worthinesse, good Lord, which livest and reignest, ever one God world without end, Amen.

O holy, patient, and mercifull great God, and to be worshipped, the Lord of all widome, clear and just; I most heartily desire thy holinesse and clemency, to fulfill, perform and accomplish this my whole work, through thy worthinesse and blessed power: which livest and reignest ever one God; Per omnia secula seculorum; Amen.

CHAP. XII.

How to inclose a spirit in a crysell stone.

This operation following, is to have a spirit inclosed into a crysell stone or beryll glasse, or into any other like instrument, &c. \* First thou Observations in the new of the D being clothed with all new, and fresh and clean aray, of cleanliness, and shaven, and that day to fast with bread and water; and being cleane skinnence, and confessed, say the seven Psalmes, and the Letany for the space of two days, devotion.

with this prayer following. I desire thee O Lord God, my mercifull and most loving God, the giver of all graces, the giver of all sciences; grant that I thy well-beloved N. (although unworthy) may know thy grace and power, against all the deceits and craftinesse of devils. And grant to me thy power good Lord, to constrain them by this art: for thou art the true, and lively, and eternal God, which livest and reignest ever one God through all worlds; Amen.

Thou must doe this five dayes, and the sixth day have in a readinesse, five bright swords: and in some secret place make one circle with one of the said swords. And then write this name, Sitrael, which done standing in the circle, thrust in thy sword into that name. And write again Malambon, with another sword; and Thamaor, with another; and Falaw, with another; and Sitrami, with another; and doe as ye did with the first. All this done, turn thee to Sitrael, and kneeling say thus; having the crysell stone in thine hands.

An observati- on touching the use of the five swords.

O Sitrael, Malantha, Thamaor, Falaw, and Sitrami, Written in these circles, appointed to this work; I doe conjure; and I doe exorcise you, which I shall command you, by the Sonne, and by the Holy-Ghost, by him which by the Father, by the Sonne, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire, that all you five infernall masters and princes doe come unto mee, to accomplish and to fulfill all my desire and request, which I shall command you. Also I conjure you devils, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Iesus Christ, the Sonne of the most highest God, and by the blessed and glorious Virgine Mary, and by all the Saints, both of men and women of God, and by all the Angels, Archangels, Patriarches, and prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, martyrs and confessours, virgins, and widows, and all the elect of God. Also I conjure you, and every of you, ye infernall Kings by the heaven, by the starres, by the ☉ and by the ☽ and by all the planets, by the earth, fire, air and water, and by the terrestriall paradise, and by all things in them contained, and by your vertue and power, and by all whatsoever, and dwelling about it, and by your vertue and power, and by all whatsoever, and with whatsoever it be, which may constrain and binde you. Therefore by all these foresaid vertues and powers, I doe bind you and constrain you into my will and power; that you being thus bound, may

A weighty charge of conjuration upon the five Kings of the north,

A penalty for not appearing, &c.

The five spirits of the north: as you shall see in the type expressed in pag. 287. next following.

come unto me in great humility, and to appeare in your circles before me visibly, in fair form and shape of mankinde kings, and to obey unto me all things, whatsoever I shall desire, and that you may not depart from me without my licence. And if you doe against my precepts, I will promise unto you that you shall descend into the profound deepe of the Sea, except that you doe obey unto me, in the part of the living sea of God, which liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen.

Say this true conjuration five courses, and then shalt thou see come out of the North part five Kings with a marvellous company: which when they are come to the circle, they will alight down off from their horses, and will kneel downe before thee, saying: Master, command us what thou wilt, and we will out of hand be obedient unto thee. Unto whom thou shalt say; see that ye depart not from me, without my licence; that which I will command you to doe, let it be done truly, surely, faithfully, and essentially. And then they all will sweare unto thee to do all thy will; And after they have sworn, say the conjuration immediately following.

I conjure, charge, and command you, and every of you *Sirraet, Malthan, Thamaar, Falsur,* and *Sivrami*, you infernal kings, to put into the crystal stone one spirit learned and expert in all arts and sciences, by the vertue of this name of God *Tetragrammaton*, and by the crosse of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the blood of the innocent lambe, which redeemed all the world, and by all their virtues and powers I charge you, ye infernal kings, that the said spirit may teach, shew and declare unto me, as to my friends, at all houres and minutes, both night and day, the true of all things both bodily and ghostly, in this world, whatsoever I shall request or desire, declaring also to me my very name. And this I command in your part to doe, and to obey thereunto, as unto your own Lord and Master. That done, they will call a certain spirit, whom they will command to enter into the centre of the circled or round crystal. Then put the crystal between the two circles, and thou shalt see the crystal made black.

Then command them to command the spirit in the crystal, not to depart out of the stone, till thou give him licence, and to fulfill what thou wilt for ever. That done, thou shalt see them goe upon the crystal both to answer your requests, and to carry your licence. That done the spirits will crave licence: and say; Goe ye to your place appointed of Almighty God, in the name of the father, &c. And then take up the crystal, and look therein, asking what thou wilt, and it will shew it unto thee. Let all your circles be nine foot every way, and made as followeth. Work this work in  $\text{SM}$  or  $\text{X}$  in the houres of the  $\text{M}$  or  $\text{X}$ . And when the spirit is inclosed, if thou feare him, binde him with some bond, in such sort as is elsewhere expressed already in this treatise.

A figure or type proportionall, shewing what form must be observed and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in crystal is to be accomplished, &c.



The names written within the five circles doe signifie the five infernal kings: See pag 292, 293, 294.

CHAP. XII.

An experiment of Bealpbares.

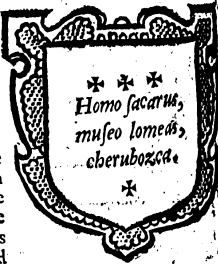
**T**his is proved the noblest carrier that ever did serve any man upon the earth, and here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit; and how to have a true awler of him, without any craft or harm; and he will appeare unto thee in the likenesse of a fair man or fair woman; the which spirit will come to thee at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in any place, hee will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee: or if thou wilt goe from one country to another, he will bear thee without any harm of body or soul. Therefore he that will doe this work, shall abstaine from lecherousnesse and drunkennesse, and from false swearing, and doe all the abstinence that he may doe, and namely three dayes before he goe to work, and in the third day which the night is come, and when the starres doe shine, and the element is clear, he shall bath himselfe and his fellows (if he have any) all together in a quick wellspring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white clothes, and he must have another privy place, and beate him inke and pen, wherewith he shall write this holy name of God Almighty in his right hand \**Aglā*\* and in his left hand this name

\* Memorandum with what vices the conjuror (the conjuror I should say) must not be polluted; therefore he must be no knave, &c.

The conjurors brest-plate.

Salomons circle.

**I** H E V E and he must have a dry thong of a lions or of a lions skin, and make thereof a girdle, & write the holy names of God all about and in the end \**A & O*\*. And upon his brest he must have this prescriptive figure or mark written in virgin parchment, as it is here shewed. And it must be sowed upon a peece of new linnen, and so made fast upon thy brest. And if thou wilt have a fellow to worke with thee, hee must be appointed in the same manner. You must have also a bright knife that was never occupied, and hee must write on the one side of the blade of the knife \**Aglā*\* and on the other side of the knives blade \**I H E V E*\*. And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called *Salomons circle*. When that hee is made, goe into the circle, and close again the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and say; *Per crucis hoc signum* & *at procul omne malignum; Et per idem signum* & *salvetur quodque ben-* & *num*. By the sign of the Crosse \*may all evill fly farre away, and the same signe \*may all that is good be preserved; and make supplications to thy self, and to thy fellow or fellows, with frankincense, and stike, *signum aloes*; then put it in wine, and say with good devotion



in the worship of the high God Almighty, all together, that he may defend you from all evils. And when he that is master will close the spirit, he shall say towards the cast with meeke and devout devotion, these psalmes and prayers as followeth here in order.

The two and twentieth Psalm.

**O** My God my God, look upon me, why hast thou forsaken me, and art so farre from my health, and from the words of my complaint? And so forth to the end of the same psalm, as it is to be found in the book.

This psalm also following, being the fifty one psalme, must be said three times ever, &c.

**H**Ave mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodnesse, according to the multitude of thy mercies, doe away mine offences. And so forth to the end of the same psalm, concluding it with, Glory to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be world without end, Amen. Then say this verse: O Lord leave not my soul with the wicked; nor my life with the bloud-thirsty. Then say a *Pater noster*, an *Ave Maria*, and a *Credo*, & ne nos inducas. O Lord shew us thy mercy, and we shall be saved. Lord heare our prayer, and let our cry come unto thee. Let us pray.

O Lord God almighty, as thou warnedst by thine angell, the three kings of *Cullen*, *Iasper*, *Melchior*, and *Balthasar*, when they came with worshipfull presents toward *Bethlehem*; *Iasper* brought myrrh; *Melchior*, incense; *Balthasar*, gold; worshipping the high king of all the world, Jesus Gods son of heaven, the second person in Trinity, being born of the holy and cleane virgine *S. Mary* queen of heaven, empress of hell, and lady of all the world: at that time the holy angell *Gabriel* warned and bad the foresaid three kings, that they should take another way, for dread of perill, that *Herod* the king by his ordinance would have destroyed these three noble kings, that meekly sought out our Lord and Saviour. As wittily and truly as these three Kings turned for dread, and took another way; so wisely and so truly, O Lord God, of thy mightfull mercy, blesse us now at this time, for thy blessed passion save us, and keep us all together from all evils; and thy holy angell defend us. Let us pray.

O Lord, King of all Kings, which containest the throne of heavens, and beholdest all deeps, weighest the hills, and shuttest up with thy hand the earth, heare us most meekest God, and grant unto us (being unworthy) according to thy great mercy, to have the verity and vertue of knowledge nor, of hidden treasure by this spirit invocated, through thy help O Lord Jesus christ, to whom be all honour and glory, from worlds to worlds everlastingly, Amen. Then say these names \**Helic*\* \**elym*\* \**essejere*\* \**Deus* \**ternus*\* \**eloy*\* \**clemen*\* \**eloy*\* \**D: us* \**sanctus*\* \**jab: ori*\* \**D: us* \**exercituum* \**donay*\* \**Deus* \**mirabilis*\* \**jabo*\* \**verax*\* \**anephus*\* \**neion*\* \**Deus* \**ineffabilis*\* \**fo-* doy

Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51 Psalms all over; r else rebearie them by heart; for these are counted necessary, &c.

Gaspar, Balthasar, and Melchior, who followed the star, wherein was the image of a little babe bearing a cross; i: *Longa legenda Colonia* lic





Then take the salt in thy hand, and say putting it into the water, making in the manner of a Crosse,

Oratio ad Deum Commixtio salis & aque pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen. Dominus omnipotens, Et cum spiritu tuo. Oramus: \* Deus in cæle virtutis author, & insuperabilis imperii rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui ad cæle dominationis throni sedes, qui inimici ingenitæ salutem speras, qui hostili nequitia potius expugnans te Demone mentes & in plicis de peccatis ac peccatis, ut hanc creaturam salis & aque affectus, benignus illi. Et es, putatis tuæ voce facti. \* fecit, ubi cunctis suam aspecta, per invocatiōem sancti tui nominis, omnis visio in mundi spiritus abicitatur, terræque renouit se patris procul pellatur; & presculta sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam postcibus ubique adesse dignatur, per Donum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui cum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.

Then sprinkle upon any thing, and say as followeth.

Oratio, in qua dicenda, exorcistica, & aspergine debet se rotare. Asperges me Domine hyssopo, & mundabor, lavabis me, & supra nivem dealabor, Misere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, & supra nivem dealabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in secula seculorum, Amen. Et supra nivem dealabor, asperges me. &c. Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam, & salutare tuum da nobis exaudi nos Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aternus Deus, & mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de cælis, qui custodiat, servet, visitet, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.

CHAP. XVI.

To make a spirit to appear in a crysell.

I Do conjure thee N, by the father, and the sonne, and the Holy ghoſt, the which is the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, and by the latter day of judgement, that thou N. do appear in this crysell stone, or any other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and my fellow, gently and beautifully, in faire forme of a boy of twelve yeares of age, without hurt or damage of any of our bodies or soules; and certainly to informe and to shew me, without any guile or craft, all that we do desire or demand of thee to know, by the vertue of him, which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fire, Amen.

Mark how consonant this is with popery, &c. Also I conjure and exorcise thee N. by the sacrament of the altar, and by the substance thereof, by the wisdom of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, and by all things that are above the earth, and by

Idoni.

by their vertues, by the ☉ and the ☽ by ♃ and ♄ and ♀ and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the virgins and widows, and the chaste, and by all Saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principatus, potestates, virtutes, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the holy names of God, Tetragrammaton, Et cetera, Alti, tutes, and by the other holy names of God, and by their vertues, by the cit, and by all the other holy names of God, and by their vertues, by the cuncion, p. s. s. and returne of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the heavens of our lady the virgine, and by the joy which she had when she saw her sonne rise from death to life, that thou N. do appear in this crysell stone, or any other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my fellow, gently, and beautifully, and visibly, in faire forme of a child of twelve yeares of age, without hurt or damage of any of our bodies or soules, and truly to informe and shew unto me and to my fellow, without fraud or guile, all things according to thine oath and promise to me, whatsoever I shall demand or desire of thee, without any hindrance or taryng, and this conjuration be read of me three times, upon paine of eternall condemnation, to the last day of judgement: Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.

And when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of the dead above written; then say as followeth. \* I charge thee N. by the father, by the true visions in this crysell stone, if there be any treasure hidden in For hidden such a place N and wherein it lieth, and how many foot from this peccet treasure, of earth, east, west, north, or south.

CHAP. XVII.

An experiment of the dead.

First go and get of some person that shall be put to death, a promise, and swear an oath unto him, that if he will come to thee, after his death, his spirit to be with thee, and to remaine with thee all the dayes of thy life, and will do thee true service, as it is contained in the oath and promise following. Then lay thy hand on thy booke, and swear this oath unto him. I N. do swear and promise to thee N. to give for thee an almesse every moneth, and also to pray for thee once in every weeke, to say the Lords prayer for thee, and so to continue all the dayes of my life, as God me helpe and holy doome, and by the contents of this booke, Amen. Promises and oaths interchangeably made betwene the conjuror and the spirit.

Then let him make his oath to thee as followeth, and let him say after this, laying his hand upon the booke. \* I N. do swear this oath to thee N. by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Iesus Christ, and by his precious blood which hath redeemed all the world, by the which blood I do trust to be saved at the generall day of judgement, and by the vertues thereof, I N. doe swear this oath to thee N. that my spirit that is within my body now, shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to any place of rest, but shall come to thee N. and be very well pleased to remaine with

with thee N. all the dayes of thy life, and so to be bound to thee N. and to appeare to thee N. in any crytall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so loone as my spirit is departed out of my body, straightway to be at your commandments, and that in and at all days, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient unto thee N. being called of thee by the vertue of our Lord Jesu Christ, and our of hand to have common talke with thee at all times, and in all houres and minutes, to open and declare to thee N. the truth of all things present, past, and to come, and how to werke the magick art and all other noble sciences, and to under the throne of God. If I do not performe this oath and promise to thee N. but doe flie from any part thereof, then to be condemned for ever and ever, Amen.

Note the penalty of breaking promise with the spirit.

Also I N. do sweare to thee by God the Holy ghost, and by the great wisdomed that is in the divine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by the holy angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and by all their vertues do I N. sweare, and promise thee to be obedient as is rehearsed. And here, for a witness, do I N. give thee N. my right hand, and do plight thee my faith and troth, as God me helpe and holydome. And by the holy contents in this booke do I N. sweare, that my spirit shall be thy true servant, all the dayes of thy life, as is before rehearsed. and here for a witness, that my spirit shall be obedient unto thee N. and to those bonds of words that be written in this N. before the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thise; else to be damned for ever: and thereto say all faithfull foules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

\* Three times, in reverence (peradventure) of the Trinitie, P.F. SS.

Then let him sweare this oath \* three times, and at every time kisse the book, and at every time make marks to the bond. Then perceiving the time that he will depart, get away the people from you, and get or take your stone or glasse, or other thing in your hand, and say the Pater noster, Ave, and Credo, and this prayer as followeth. And in all the time of his departing, rehearse the bonds of words; and in the end of every bond, say oftentimes; Remember thine oath and promise. And bind him strongly to thee, and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, reading thy bond 24. times And every day when you do call him by your other bond, bind him strongly by the first bond: by the space of 24. dayes apply it, and thou shalt be made a man for ever.

Now the Pater noster, Ave, and Credo must be said, and then the prayer immediately following.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God of Tobias; the which diddest deliver the three children from the hot burning oven, Shadrach, Misac, and Abdnago, and Susanna from the false crime, and Daniel from the lions power: even so O Lord omnipotent, I beseech thee for thy great mercy sake, to helpe me in these my works, and to deliver me this spirit of N. that he may be a true subject unto me N. all the dayes of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this N. all the dayes of my life.

O glorious God, Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, I beseech thee to help me at this time, and to give me power by thy holy name, merits and vertues, whereby I may conjure and constrain this spirit of N. that he may be obedient unto me, and may fulfill his oath and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine holinesse. This grant: O Lord God of hosts, as thou art righteous and holy, and as thou art the word, and the word God, the beginning and the end, sitting in the thrones of thine everlasting kingdomes, and in the divinity of thine everlasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glory, now and for ever and ever, Amen.

CHAP. XVIII.

Abond to binde him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.

I N. conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the living God, by the true God, and by the holy God, and by their vertues and powers I conjure, and constrain the spirit of thee N. that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy body, to no place of rest, but onely to take thy resting place with N. and with this N. all the dayes of my life, according to thine oath and promise. I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by these holy names of God \* Tetragrammaton \* Adonay \* Aela \* Sada \* Sabaob \* plana \* bothe \* panthom \* craton \* ucupmatou \* Deus \* homo \* omnipotens \* sempiternus \* glus \* terra \* unigenitus \* salvator \* via \* vita \* manus \* sons \* origo \* filius \* and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that thou shalt not remaine in the fire, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in any privy place of the earth, but onely with me N. and with this N. all the dayes of my life. I charge the spirit of N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation, remember thine oath and promise. Also I conjure the spirit of N. and constrain thee by the excellent name of Jesus Christ, A and Omega, the first and the last; for this holy name of Jesus is above all names, for unto \* it a l knees doe bow and obey both of heavenly things, earthly things, and infernals. Nor is there any other name given to man, whereby we have any salvation, but by the name of Iesus. Therefore by the name, and in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and by his nativity, resurrection and ascension, and by all that appertaineth to his passion, and by their vertues and powers, I do conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that thou shalt not take any resting place in the ☉ nor in the ☽ nor in ☿ nor in ♀ nor in ♁ nor in ♃ nor in any of the twelve signes, nor in the concavity of the clouds, nor in any other privie place, to rest or stay in, but onely with me N. or with this N. all the dayes of my life. If thou be not obedient unto me, according to thise oath and promise, I N. do condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of hell for ever, Amen.

\* Scripture as well applied of the conjuror, as that of Iatan in tempting Christ Matth. 4.6.

I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the blood of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, the which was shed upon the crosse, for all those that do



Note what fore penalties the spirit is joy- ned to suffer for disobedience.

do obey him to it, and beleeve in it, shall be saved and by vertue thereof, and by all the aforesaid riall names and words of the living God by me pronounced, I do conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that thou do be obedient unto me, according to thine oath and promise. If thou refuse to do as is aforesaid, I N. by the holy Trinity, and by his vertue and power do condemne the spirit of N. into the place whereas there is no hope of mercy, but everlasting condemnation, and horror, and paine upon paine, daily, horribly, and lamentably the paines there to be augmented, so thicke as the stars in the firmament, and as the gravell sand in the sea except thou spirit of N. obey me N. as is aforesaid hearsed; else I N. do condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of everlasting condemnation; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Also I conjure thee, and constrain the spirit of N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and by the foure evangelists, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and John, and by all things contained in the old law and the new, and by their vertues, and by the twelve apostles, and by all patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, innocents, and by all the elect and chosen, is, and shall be, which followeth the lambe of God, and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. strongly, to have common talke with me, at all times, and in all dayes, nights, houres, and minutes, and to talke in my mother tongue plainly, that I may heare it, and understand it, declaring the truth unto me of all things, according to thine oath and promise; else to be condemned for ever; Fiat, Amen.

\* There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was worth a golden girdle.

Bugs words.

Also I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the \*golden girdle, which girdeth the loines of our Lord Jesus Christ, so thou spirit of N. be thou bound and cast into the pit of everlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and unreverent regard that thou hast to the holy names and words of God almighty, by me pronounced: Fiat, Amen. Also I conjure, constrain, command, and binde the spirit of N. by the two edged sword which John saw proceed out of the mouth of God almighty, except thou be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thee in peeces, and condemne thee into the pit of everlasting paines, where the fire goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

\* Is it possible to be greater than S. Adalberts curse?

Also I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the throne of the Godhead, and by all the heavens under him, and by the celestiall city new Jerusalem, and by the earth, by the sea, and by all things created and contained therein, and by their vertues and powers, and by all things contained therein, and by their vertues and powers, and by all things contained therein, and by their vertues and powers, I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that now immediatly thou be obedient unto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced according to thine oath and promise: \* Else let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadow and darkenesse of everlasting condemnation be upon thee thou spirit of N. for ever and ever, because thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and salvation, for the great disobedience thou art worthy to be condemned.

Therefore let the divine trinity, angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the generall day of judgement, condemne the spirit of N. for ever and ever, and be a witness against thee, because of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Being thus bound, he must needs be obedient unto thee, whether he will or no: prove this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your N. and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the houre of h to bind or inchant any thing, and in the houre of V for peace and concord, in the houre of O to bind tongues and other bonds of men in the houre of Q to increase love, joy, and good will, in the houre of D for love, goodwill and concord, h lead V tinne O iron O gold Q copper Q quicksilver D silver, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your crystall stone, or glasse, &c.

Also I do conjure thee spirit N. by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holy ghost, A and 12, the first and the last, and by the later day of judgement, of them which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fire, & by their vertues and powers I constrain thee spirit N. to come to him that holdeth the crystall stone in his hand, and to appeare visibly, as hereafter followeth. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by these holy names of God: Iteing ammaton, Adonay, El, Ohsion, Agla, Jesus of Nazareth, and by the vertues thereof, and by his nativity, death, buriall, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things appertaining unto his passion, and by the joy which she had when she saw her sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers thereof I constrain thee spirit N. to come into the crystall stone, and to appeare visibly, as hereafter shall be declared. Also I conjure thee N. thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and by the O D h V O Q, and by the twelve signes, and by their vertues and powers, and by all things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by their vertues and powers I constrain thee spirit N. to appeare visibly in that crystall stone, in faire forme and shape of a white angell, a greene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, a boy, a maiden virgine, a white grayhound, a divell with great hornes, without any hurt or danger of our bodies or soules, and truly to informe and shew unto us, true visions of all things in that crystall stone, according to thine oath and promise, and that without any hindrance or

\* A popish supplement.

\* Belike he had the gift to appear in sundry shapes, as it is said of Proteus in Ovid lib. metamor. 8. fab. 10. and of Vertumnus lib. metamor. 14. fab. 16.

carrying, to appeare visibly, by this bond of words read over by me three times, upon paine of everlasting condemnation; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Then being appeared, say these words following.

I conjure thee spirit, by God the father, that thou shew true visions in this crystall stone, where there be any N. in such a place or no, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, Fiat, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by God the sonne Iesus Christ, that thou doe shew true visions unto us, whether it be gold or silver, or any other metals, or whether there were any of us, upon paine of condemnation, Fiat, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by God the Holy ghost, the which doth sanctifie all faithfull soules and spirits, and by their vertues and powers I constrain thee spirit N. to speake open and to declare the true way, how we may come by these treasures hidden in N. & how to have it in our custody, & who are the keepers thereof, and how many there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to shew me true visions of what sort and similitude they be, and how long they have kept it, and to know in what dayes and howes we shall call such a spirit, N. to bring unto us these treasures, into such a place N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation. \* Also I constrain thee spirit N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, cherubim & seraphim, that you do shew a true vision in this crystall stone, who did convey or steale away such a N. and where, it is, and who hath it, and how far off, and what is his or her name, and how and when to come unto it, upon paine of eternal condemnation, Fiat, Amen.

Note that the spirit is tied to obedience under paine of condemnation and hell fire.

Also I conjure thee spirit N. by the C D H V S Q P & by all the characters in the firmament, that thou do shew unto me a true vision in this crystall stone, where such N. and in what state he is, and how long he hath been there, and what time he will be in such a place, what day and hour: and this and all other things to declare plainly, in paine of hell fire; Fiat, Amen.

#### Alience to depart.

Depart out of the sight of this crystall stone in peace for a time, and ready to appeare therein againe at any time or times I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appeare visibly, as the words be rehearsed. I constrain thee spirit N. by the vicinity of the Godhead, to be obedient unto these words rehearsed, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come, Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XX.

When to talk with spirits, and to have true answers to find out a theife.

The dayes and houres of H S Q and the D is best to doe all crafts of This is necromancy, and for to speake with spirits, and for to find theft, and to demned for have true answer thereof, or of any other such like. \* And in the dayes rank folly by and houres of C V Q is best to doe all experiments of love, and to pursue the doctors chafe grace, and for to be invisible, and to do any operations whatsoever it by C H S O J J A P be, for any thing, the D being in a convenient signe. \* As when thou laboureest for theft, see the moon be in an earthy signe, as S M V, or of a horn. I. E. the air, as II S Z. \* And if it be for love, favour or grace, let the Y pi, han. Dominis be in a signe of the fire, as Y S A, and for hatred, in a signe of the wa- and others. ter, as S M X. For any other experiment, let the Y be in V. \* And if thou findest the C and the D in one sign that is called in even number, then thou mayst write, consecrate, conjure, and make ready all manner of things that thou wilt doe, &c.

To speak with spirits.

Call these names, Orimoth, Belimah, Lymock, and say thus: I conjure you up by the names of the angels Saur and Azimor, that you intend to me in this houre, and send unto a me spirit called Sagrigrit, that he do fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can understand my words for one or two houres, or as long as I will, &c.

#### CHAP. XXI.

A confutation of conjuration, especially of the raising, binding and dismissing of the diuell, of going invisible, and other lewd practises.

Thus far have we waded in shewing at large the vanity of necromancers, conjurers, and such as pretend to have reall conference and consultation with spirits and diuels: wherein (I trust) you see what notorious blasphemy committed, besides other blind superstitious ceremonies, a disordered heap, which are so far from building up the endeavours of these black art practitioners, that they doe altogether ruinate and overthrow them, making them in their follies and falsehoods as bare and naked as an anatomy. As for these ridiculous conjurations, least rehearsed, being of no small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part made by T. R. (for so much of his name he bewrayeth) and Iohn Cockes, invented and devised for the augmentation and maintenance of their living, for the edifying of the poore, and for the propagating and enlarging of Gods glory, as in the beginning of their book of conjurations they protest; which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impiety, and of the witchmongers follie and credulity, I thought good to insert, whereby the

All the former practises briefly confuted. See the title of the book, with the authors intent, in a marginal note, and of the ginal note, whereby the page 277. reduce

residue of their proceedings may be judged, or rather detected. For if we seriously behold the matter of conjuration, and the drift of conjurors, we shall finde them, in mine opinion, more faulty then such as take upon them to be witches, as manifest offenders against the majesty of God, and his holy law, and as apparent violators of the laws and quietnesse of this realm: although indeed they bring no such thing to passe, as is surmised and urged by credulous persons, confensors, lyars, and witchmongers. For these are alwayes learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselves by others abused.

Luk. 6. &c.

An ironical confutation.

Engli hed by Abraham Fleming.

2 Per. 2. Ephes. 5. Psal. 72 & 73.

Sap. 16. Eccles. 43. To deny the subsistence or naturall being of a thing materiall and visible is impudency.

Tam credula mens hominis, & arrepta fabulis aures. So light of beleeif is the mind of man, And attentive to tales his eares now and than.

But if Christ (onely for a time) left the power of working miracles among his Apostles and Disciples for the confirmation of his Gospell, and the faith of his elect: yet I deny altogether that hee left that power with these knaves, which hide their coufening purposes under those lewd and foolish words, according to that which Peter saith; With fained words they make merchandize of you. And therefore the counsell is good that Paul giveth us, when he biddeth us take heed that no man deceive us with vain words. For it is the Lord only that worketh great wonders, and bringeth mighty things to passe. It is also written, that Gods Word, and not the words of conjurors, or the charmes of witches healeth all things, maketh tempests, and stilleth them.

But put case the Divell could be fetched up and fettered, and loosed again at their pleasure &c. I marvell yet, that any can be so bewitched as to be made to beleeve, that by vertue of their words, any earthly creature can be made invisible. We think it a lye to say that white is black; and black white; but it is a more shamelesse assertion to affirm, that white is not, or black is not at all; and yet more impudency to hold that

a man is a horse; but most apparent impudency to say, that a man is no man, or to be extenuated into such a quantity, as thereby he may be invisible, and yet remain in life and health, and that in the cleare light of the day, even in the presence of them that are not blinde. But surely he that cannot make one haire white or black, whereof (on the other side) not one falleth from the head without Gods speciall providence, can never bring to passe, that the visible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace pawred therinto by God the creator of all things.

If they say that the divell covereth them with a cloud or veil, as M. Mal. Ezck. 8 & 9. Bodin, and many other doe affirm; yet (me thinks) we should either see 11. 6. & 26. the cover, or the thing covered. And though perenance they say in & 30. their hearts; Tush, the Lord seeth not, who indeed have blinded them, so as seeing, they see not; yet they shall never be able to persuade the \* Ichi Iaveti; wife, but that both God and man doth see both them and their knavery servanto G. in this behalf, I have heard of a fool, who was made beleeve that he should spee Anatho in this behalf, could not see him. Into which tools parasite they say \* he ards, Anno dom. 1582. March. 18. after dinner was brought, that enterprised to kill the prince of Oreng.

upon a Sunday this mischief was done. Read the whole discourse hercof printed at London for The. Chard, and Will. Brome bookellers.

CHAP. XXII.

A comparison between popish exorcists and other conjurors, a popish conjuration published by a great doctor of the Romish Church, his rules and cautions.

I See no difference, between these and popish conjurations; for they agree in order, words, and matter, differing in no circumstance, but that the Papists doe it without shame openly, the other doe it in higger migger secretly. The papists (I say) have officers in this behalfe, which are called exorcists or conjurors, and they look narrowly to other countenances, as having gotten the upper hand over them. And because the papists shall be without excuse in this behalfe, and that the world may see their coufenance, impiety, and folly to be as great as the others, I will cite one conjuration (of which sort I might cite a hundred) published by Iacobus de Chusis, a great doctor of the Romish church, which serveth to find out the cause of noise and spirituall rumbing in houses, churches, or chappels, and to conjure walking spirits; which evermore is knavery and countenance in the highest degree. Mark the coufening devile hercof, and conter the impiety with the others.

First (for sooth) he saith it is expedient to fast three days, and to celebrate a certain number of masses, & to repeat the seven psalms penitential; when four or five priests must be called to the place where the haunt or noise is, then a candle hallowed on candlemas day must be lighted, and in the lighting

Iac. de Chusa in lib. de apparitionibus quorundam spirituum.

Observations for the exorcising priest.

ing thereof also must the seven psalmes be said, and the Gospell of St. John. Then there must be a cense: and a censer with frankincense, and there with all the place must be censed or perfumed, holy water must be sprinkled, and a holy stoal must be used, and (after divers other ceremonies) a prayer to God must be made, in manner and form following.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the knower of all secrets, which alwayes revealest all wholesome and profitable things to thy faithfull children, and which sufferest a spirit to shew himself in this place, wee beseech thee for thy bitter passion, &c. vouchsafe to command this spirit, to reveale and signifie unto us thy servants, without our terrour or hurt, what hee is, to thine honour, and to his comfort: *In nomine patris, &c.* And then proceed in these words. Wee beseech thee, for Christs sake, O thou spirit, that if there be any of us, or among us, whom thou wouldst answer, name him, or else manifest him by some sign. Is it fryer P. or de Gord, or doctour Butc. or sir Feats, or sir John, or sir Robert; *Et sic de ceteris circumstantibus.* For it is well tryed (saith the glosse) he will not answer every one. If the spirit make any sound of voice, or knocking, at the naming of any one, he is the coufenour (the conjuror I would say) that must have the charge of this conjuration or examination. And these words must be the interrogatories, to wit: Whose soule art thou? Wherefore camst thou? What wouldst thou have? Wantest thou any suffrages, masses, or almes? How many masses will serve thy turn, three, six, ten, twenty, thirty, &c? By what price? Must he be religious or secular? Wilt thou have any falls? What? How many? How great? And by what persons? Among Hospitals, Lepers? Or beggers? What shall be the signe of thy perfect deliverance? Wherefore licst thou in purgatory? and such like. This must be done in the night.

Memorandum that he must be the veriest knave or fool in all the company.

The spirits are not so cunning by day as by night. \* For so they might be bewrayed. For so the coufenage may be best handled.

If there appear no sign at this hour, it must be deferred untill another hour. Holy water must be left in the place. There is no fear (they say) that such a spirit will hurt the conjuror; for he can sinne no more, as being in the meane state between good and evill, and as yet in the state of satisfaction. \* If the spirit doe hurt, then it is a damned soule, and not an elect. Every man may not be present hereat, specially such as be weak of complexion. They appear in divers manners, not alwayes in body or bodily shape, (as it is read in the life of S. Marime, that the devill did) but sometimes invisible, as only by sound, voice, or noise. Thus saith *Jacobus de Chusa.* But because you shall see that these be not empty words, nor standers but that in truth such things are commonly put in practise in the Romish church, I will here set downe an instance, lately and truly, though lewdly performed; and the same in effect as followeth.

## CHAP. XXIII.

A late experiment or censuring conjuration practised at Orleans by the Franciscan Friars, how it was detected, and the judgement against the authors of that comedy.

IN the year of our Lord 1534. at Orleans in France, the Maiors wife dyed, willing and desiring to be buried without any pompe or noise. Her husband, who revered the memoriall of her, did even as she &c. And because she was buried in the church of the \* *Franciscans*, besides her Father and Grandfather, and gave them in reward only six crownes, whereas they hoped for a greater prey; shortly after it chanced, that as he felled certain woods and sold them, they desired to give them some part thereof freely without mony; which he flatly denyed. This they took very grievously. And whereas before they mistook him, now they conceived such displeasure as they devised this means to be revenged; to wit, that his wife was damned for ever. The chiefe workmen and framers of this tragedy were *Colimannus* and *Stephanus A-worckmen* and framers of this tragedy; this *Colimannus* was a great Conjuror, and had all his implements in a readinesse, which hee was wont to use in such businesse. And thus they handle the matter. They place over the arches of the church a young novice; who about midnight when they came to mumble their prayers, as they were wont to doe, maketh a great rumberling, and noise. Out of hand the Monks began to conjure and to charm, but he answered nothing. Then being required to give a signe, whether he were a dum spirit or no, he began to rumber againe; which thing they took as a certain signe. Having laid this foundation, they goe unto certain citizens, chief men, and such as favoured them, declaring that a heavy chance had happened at home in their monastery; not shewing what the matter was, but desiring them to come to their matters at midnight. When these citizens were come, and that prayers were begun, the counterfeit spirit beginneth to make a marvellous noise in the top of the church. And being asked what he meant, and who hee was, gave signes that it was not lawfull for him to speak. Therefore they commanded him to make answer by tokens and signes to certain things they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in a vawt, through the which he might heare and understand the voice of a conjuror. And then had he in his hand a little board, which at every question he strake, in such sort as he might easily be heard beneath. First they asked him, whether he were one of them that had been buried in the same place. Afterwards they reckoning many by name, which had been buried there; at the last also they name the Maiors wife: and there by and by the spirit gave a signe that he was her soule. He was further asked whether he was damned or no; and if he were, for what cause, for pride or fert or fault; whether for covetousnesse, or wanton lust, for pride or want of charity; or whether it were for heresie, or for the sect of Luther newly

CHAP

\* The confederate spirit was taught that lesson before.

For so might the confederate be found.

An obstinate and willfull persisting in the denying or not confessing of a fault committed.

newlie sprung up: also what he meant by that noise and stirre he kept there: whether it were to have the body now buried in holy ground to be digged up again, and laid in some other place. To all which points he answered by signes, as he was commanded, by the which he affirmed or denied any thing, according as he strake the board twice or thrice together. And when he had thus given them to understand, that the very cause of his damnation was *Luthers* heresie, and that the body must needs be digged up againe: the monks requested the citizens, whose presence they had used or rather abused, that they would bear witness of those things which they had seen with their eye: and that they would subscribe to such things as were done before. The citizens taking good advice on the matter, lest they should offend the Maior, or bring themselves in trouble, refused so to doe. But the monks notwithstanding take from thence the sweet bread, which they called the host and body of our Lord, with all the reliques of saints, and carry them to another place, and there lay their masse. The Bishops substitute judge (whom they called Officiall) understanding that matter, cometh thither, accompanied with certaine honest men, to the intent he might know the whole circumstance more exactly: and therefore hee commandeth them to make conjuration in his presence; and also he requireth certain to be chosen to goe up into the top of the wawt, and thence to see whether any ghost appeared or not. *Stephanus Auerbatensis* stiffly denied that to be lawfull, and manvellously perswading the contrary, affirmed that the spirit in no wise ought to be troubled. And albeit the Officiall urged them very much, that there might be some conjuring of the spirit: yet could hee nothing prevaile.

Whilest these things were doing, the Maior, when he had shewed the other Justices of the city, what he would have them to doe, took his journey to the king, and opened the whole matter unto him. And because the monks refused judgement upon plea of their owne laws and liberties, the king choosing out certain of the Aldermen of *Paris*, giveth them absolute and full authority to make enquiry of the matter. The like doth the Chancellor master *Anthonius Pratenfis* cardinall and Legat for the Pope throughout *France*. Therefore when they had no exception to alledge, they were conveyed unto *Paris*, and there constrained to make their answer. But yet could nothing be wrung out of them by confession, whereupon they were put a part into divers prisons, the novice being kept in the house of master *Fumanus*, one of the Aldermen, was oftentimes examined, and earnestly requested to utter the truth, but would notwithstanding confesse nothing: because he feared that the monks would afterwards put him to death for staining their order, and putting it to open shame. But when the Judges had made him sure promise that he should escape punishment, and that he should never come into their handling, he opened unto them the whole matter as it was done: and being brought before his fellows, avouched the same to their faces. The monks, albeit they were convicted, and by these means almost taken tardy with the deed doing, yet did they refuse the Judges, bragging and themselves vaunting on their priviledges, but all in vain. For sentence passed upon them, and they were condemned.

condemned to be carryed back again to *Orleanse*, and thereto be cast in prison, and so should finally be brought forth into the chiefe church of the city openly, and from thence to the place of execution, where they should make open confession of their trespasses.

Surely this was most common among monks and fryers, who maintained their religion, their lust, their libertics, their pompe, their wealth, their estimation and knavery by such confesing practises. Now I will shew you more speciall orders of popish conjurations, that are so shamelesly admitted into the church of *Rome*, that they are not only suffered, but commanded to be used, not by night secretly, but by day impudently. And these forsooth concerning the curing of bewitched persons, and such as are possessed, to wit, such as have a divell put into them by witches inchantments. And here withall I will set down certain rules delivered unto us by such popish doctors, as are of greatest reputation.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Who may be conjurers in the Romish Church besides Priests, a ridiculous definition of Superstition, what words are to be used and not used in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to conjure any thing, differences between holy water and conjuration.*

*Thomas Aquinas* saith, that any body, though he be of an inferior or superior order, yea though of noae order at all (and as *Guilielmus Durantus glossator Raimundi* affirmeth, a woman, so the blesse nor the girdle or the garment, but the perion of the bewitched) hath power to exorcise the order of an exorcist or conjuror, even as well as any priest may say masse in a house unconsecrated. But that is (saith *M. Mal.*) rather through the goodnesse and license of the Pope, than through the grace of the Sacrament. Nay, there are examples set down, where some being bewitched were cured (as *M. Mal.* taketh it) without any conjuration at all. Marry there were certain *Pater noster*, *Aves*, and *Credos* said, and crosses made, but they are charmes, they say, and no conjurations. For they say, that such charmes are lawfull, because there is no superstition in them, &c.

And it is worthy my labour to shew you how papists define superstition, and how they expound the definition thereof. Superstition (say they) is a religion observed beyond measure, a religion practised with evil and unperfect circumstances. Also, whatsoever usurpeth the name of religion, through humane tradition, without the Popes authority, is superstitious: as to adde or join any hymnes to the masse, to interrupt any diriges, to abridge any part of the creed in the singing thereof, or to sing when the organs goe, and not when the quier singeth, nor to have one to help the priest to masse; and such like, &c.

These popish exorcists doe many times forget their owne rules: they should not directly in their conjurations call upon the divell (they doe) with intreaty, but with authority and commandement.

Q 9 2

*Mendaces de- For bent esse memo- (as res, multo ma- Nci-28 astuti exor- therista,*

A parebasis or transfixion of of the author to matter further purposed.

ther should they have in their charmes and conjurations any unknown names. Neither should there be (as alwayes there is) any falsehood contained in the matter of the charm of conjuration, as (say they) old women have in theirs, when they say; the blessed Virgin passed over Jordan, and then S. Stevens met her and asked her, &c. Neither should they have any other vain characters, but the crosse (for those are the words) and many other such cautions have they, which they observe not, for they have made it lawfull elsewhere.

Tho. Aquin. super. Marc. ultim. Mark. 16. 17.

A trimme consequent.

Mal. Malispav. 2. que. 2.

Rites, ceremonies, and reliques of exorcism in rebaptizing of the possessed or bewitched.

But Thomas their chief pillar proveth their conjuring and charms lawfull by S. Mark who saith; *Signa eos qui excederunt*; and, *In nomine meo demonia ejicient*, &c. whereby he also proveth that they may conjure serpents. And there he taketh pains to prove, that the words of God are of a great holinesse as reliques of saints, whereas (in such respect as they mean) they are both alike, and indeed nothing worth. And I can tell them further, that so they may be carried, as either of them may doe a man much harm either in body or soul.

But they prove this by S. Augustine, saying; *Non est minus verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi*: whereupon they conclude thus; By all mens opinions it is lawfull to carry about reverently the reliques of saints; Ergo it is lawfull against cvill spirits, to invocare the name of God every way; by lawfull against cvill spirits, to invocare the name of God every way; by the Pater noster, the Ave, the nativitic, the passion, the five wounds, the title triumphant, by the seven words spoken on the crosse, by the nalles, &c. and there may be hope reposed in them. Yea, they say, it is lawfull to conjure all things, because the devill may have power in all things. And first, always the person or thing, wherein the devill is, must be exorcised, and then the devill must be conjured. Also they affirm, that it is as expedient to consecrate and conjure porrage and meate, as water and salt, or such like things.

The right order of exorcism in rebaptism of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exufflation and abrenunciation be done toward the west. Item, there must be erection of hands, confession, profession, oration, benediction, imposition of hands, denudation and unction, with holy oil after baptism, communion, and indultion of the surplis. But they say that this needeth not, where the bewitched is exorcised: but that the bewitched be first confessed, and then to hold a candle in his hand, and in stead of a surplis to tie about his bare body a holy candle of the length of Christ, or of the crosse whereupon he dyed, which for many may be had at Rome. Ergo (saith M. Mal.) this may be said; I conjure thee Peter or Barbara being sick, but regenerate in the holy water of baptism, by the living God, by the true God, by the holy God, by the God which redeemed thee with his pretious blood, that thou mayst be made a conjured man, that every fantasie and wickednesse of diabolicall deceite doe avoid and depart from thee, and that every uncleane spirit bee conjured through him that shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire, Amen. *Oremus*, &c. And this conjuration with *Oremus* and a prayer, must be thrice repeated, and at the end alwayes must be said; *Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam*, &c. There he saith; *curse d'evill know thy sentence*, &c. And this order must alwayes be followed

followed: and finally, there must be diligent search made, in every corner, and under every coverlet and pallet, and under every threshold of the that this is for doores, for instruments of witchcraft. And if any be found, they must once bewitched, straightway be throwne into the fire. Also they must change all their bedding, their clothing, and their habitation; and if nothing be found, the party that is to be exorcised or conjured, must come to the church early the morning; and the holier the day is, the better, specially our Lady the morning; and the priest if he be shriven himself and in perfect state, shall doe the better therein. And let him that is exorcised hold a holy candle in his hand, &c. Alwayes provided, that the holy water be throwne upon Note the profane, and a stoal put about his neck, with *Deus in adiutorium*, and the *Lea-vi-*o, with invocation of saints: and this order may continue thrice a week, so as (say they) through multiplication of intercessions, or rather intercessions, grace may be obtained, and favour procured.

There is also some question in the Romish church, whether the sacrament of the altar is to be received before or after the exorcisme. Item in shrifte, the confessor must learn whether the partie be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endureth this vexation. Thomas sheweth the difference between holy water and conjuration, saying that holy water driveth the devill away from the externall and outward parts; but conjuration driveth the devill away from the internall and inward parts; and therefore unto the bewitched party both are to be applied.

CHAP. XXV.

The seven reasons why some are not rid of the devill with all their popish conjurations, why there were no conjurors in the primitive Church, and why the devill is not so soon cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.

The reason why some are not remedied for all their conjurations, the papists say is for seven causes. First, for that the faith of the standers by is naught; secondly, for that theirs that present the party is no better; thirdly, because of the sins of the bewitched; fourthly, for the neglecting of meet remedies; fifthly, for the reverence of vertues going out into others; sixthly, for the purgation; seventhly, for the merit of the party bewitched. And so, the first four are proved by Matthew the 7. and Marke the 4. when one presented his sonne, and the multitude wanted faith, and the father said, Lord help mine incredulity or unbelieving faith, and where these words are written; And Jesus rebuked him, &c. That is to say, say they, the possessed or bewitched for his finnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appeareth, that there were not with Christ good & perfect men. For the pillars of the faith; Peter, James, and John were absent. Neither was there fasting and prayer, without the which that kind of devils could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith may ap-

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peare; for that afterwards the disciples asked the cause of their impotency therein. And Iesus answered, it was for their incredulity, saying that if they had as much faith as a graine of mustard seed, they should move mountaines, &c. The first is proved by *Vitas patrum*, the lives of the fathers, where it appeareth that *S. Anthony* could not do that cure, when his scholar *Paule* could do it, and did it. For the proove of the first excuse it is said, that though the fault be taken away thereby; yet it followeth not that alwayes the punishment is released. Last of all it is said, that it is possible that the divell was not conjured out of the party before baptism by the exorcist, or the midwife hath not baptized him well, but omitted some part of the sacrament. If any object that there were no exorcists in the primitive church, it is answered, that the church cannot now erre. And *Saint Gregorie* would never have instituted it in vaine. And it is a generall rule, that who or whatsoever is newly exorcised, must be rebaptized, as also such as walke or talke in their sleepe; for (say they) call them by their names, and presently they wake, or fall if they clime; whereby it is gathered, that they are not truly named in baptism. Item they say, it is somewhat more difficult to conjure the divell out of one bewitched then out of one possessed; because in the bewitched, he is double; in the other single. They have a hundred such beggerly, foolish, and frivolous notes in this behalfe.

Why there were no conjurers in the primitive church with other subtil points.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers in this matter of conjurations.*

SURELY I cannot see what difference or distinction the witchmongers doe put betweene the knowledge and power of God and the divell; but that they think, if they pray or rather talk to God, till their hearts ake, he never heareth them; but that the divell doth know every thought and imagination of their minds, and both can and also will do any thing for them. For if any that meaneth good faith with the divell read certaine conjurations, he commeth up (they say) at a trice. Marry if another that hath no intent to raise him, reade or pronounce the words, he will not stirre. And yet *I. Bodin* confesseth, that he is afraid to read such conjurations, as *Iohn Wierus* reciteth; lest (belike) the divell would come up, and scratch him with his fowle long nailes. In which sort I wonder that the divell dealeth with none other, then witches and conjurers. I for my part have read a number of their conjurations, but never could see any divels of theirs, except it were in a play. But the divell (belike) knoweth my mind; to wit, that I would be loth to come within the compasse of his clawes. But lo what reason such people have. *Rodin*, *Bartholomewus*, *Spineus*, *Sprenger*, and *Inflitor*, &c. do constantly affirme, that witches are to be punished with more extremity than conjurers; and somerimes with death, when the other are to be pardoned doing the same offense: because (say they) the witches make a league with the divell, and so

A conjuror then belike must not be timorous or fearefull.

Where a witch cureth by incantation, and the conjuror by conjuration,

so do not conjurers. Now if conjurers make no league by their owne confession, and divels indeed know not our cogitations (as I have sufficiently proved) then would I weete of our witchmongers the reason, (if I read the conjuration and performe the ceremony) why the divell will not come at my call? But oh absurd credulity! Even in this point many wise and learned men have been and are abused: whereas, if they would make experience, or duly extend the cause, they might be soone resolved; specially when the whole art and circumstance is so contrary to Gods word, as it must be false, if the other be true. So as you may understand, that the papists do not only by their doctrine, in bookes and sermons teach and publish conjurations, and the order thereof, whereby they may induce men to bestow, or rather cast away their money upon masses and suffrages for their soules; but they make it also a parcell of their sacrament or orders (of the which number a conjuror is one) and insert many forms of conjurations into their divine service, and not only into their pontificals, but into their masse bookes; yea into the very canon of the masse.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Certaine conjurations taken out of the pontificall and out of the missall.*

BUT see yet a little more of popish conjurations, and conferre them with the other. In the Pontificall you shall find this conjuration, which the other conjurers use as solemnly as they: I conjure thee thou creature of water in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou drive away the divell from the bounds of the just, that he remaine not in the darke corners of this church and altar. \* You shall find in the same title, these words following, to be used at the halloving of churches. There must a crosse of albes be made upon the pavement, from one end of the church to the other, one handfull broad: and one of the priests must write on the one side thereof the Greeke alphabet, and one the other side the Latin alphabet. *Durandus* yeeldeth this reason thereof; to wit, It representeth the union in faith of the Jewes and Gentiles. And yet well agreeing to himselfe he saith even there, that the crosse reaching from the one end to the other, signifieth that the people, which were in the head, shall be made the taile.

\* Tit. de ecclesia d. dicatione.

¶ A conjuration written in the masse booke. Fol. 1.

I conjure thee O creature of salt by God, by the God that liveth, by the true God, by the holy God, which by *Elizeus* the prophet commanded, that thou shouldest be throwne into the water, that it thereby might be made whole & sound, that thou saist [here let the prest looke upon the salt] maist be conjured for the health of all beleevers, and that thou

In Missali

fol. 1. The manner of conjuring salt.

be





out divels, speake with new tongues: if they shall drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall take away serpents, they shall lay hands on the sicke, and they shall recover. According to the promise, this grant of miraculous working was performed in the primitive church, for the confirmation of Christs doctrine, and the establishing of the Gospell.

But as in another place I have proved, the gift thereof was but for a time, and is now ceased; neither was it ever made to papist, witch, or conjuror. They take upon them to call up and cast out divels; and to undoe with one divell, that which another divell hath done. If one divell could cast out another, it were a kingdome divided, and could not stand. Which argument Christ himselfe maketh: and therefore I may the more boldly say even with Christ, that they have no such power. For a besides him, there is no saviour, none can deliver out of his hand. Who but he can declare, set in order, appoint, and tell what is to come? He destroyeth the tokens of soothsayers and maketh the conjurors fooles, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot witches.

There is no helpe in inchanters and soothsayers, and other such vaine sciences. For divels are cast out by the finger of God, which Matthew calleth the spirit of God, which is the mighty power of God, and not by the vertue of the bare name only, being spoken or pronounced; for then might every wicked man do it. And Simon Magus needed not then to have proffered mony to have brought the power to do miracles and wonders: for he could speake and pronounce the name of God, as well as the apostles. Indeed they may loose throw out all the divells that are in frankincense, and such like creatures, wherein no divels are: but neither they, nor all their holy water can indeed cure a man possessed with a divell, either in body and mind; as Christ did. Nay, why do they not cast out the divell that possesseth their owne soules?

Let me heare any of them all speake with new tongues; let them drinke but one dramme of a potion which I will prepare for them, let them cure the sicke by laying on of hands (though witches take it upon them, and witchmongers believe it) and then I will subscribe unto them. But if they which repose such certaintie in the actions of witches and conjurors, would diligently note their deceit, and how the scope whereat they shooe is money (I meane not such witches as are falsely accused, but such as take upon them to give answers, &c: as mother Bungie did) they should apparently see the confusion. For they are abused, as are many beholders of jugglers, which suppose they do miraculously, that which is done by sleight and subtilty.

But in this matter of witchcrafts and conjurations, if men would rather trust their owne eyes, than old wives tales and lies, I dare undertake this matter would soone be at a perfect point; as being easier to be perceived than juggling. But I must needs confesse, that it is no great marvell, though the simple be abused therein, when such lies concerning those matters are maintained by such persons of account, and thrust into their divine service. As for example:

a Isa 43 11.  
b verse. 13.  
cap. 41.  
ver 7.  
verse 25.  
Isa. 46. 10.  
cap 47. verse  
12, 13, &c.  
Luke 11. 20.  
Matt. 12. 28.  
Acts. 8. 49.

Mony is the  
marke wherat  
all witches and  
conjurors do  
aimc.

Tidoni.

It is written that S. Martine thrust his fingers into ones mouth that had a S. Martine  
divell within him, and used to bite folk; and then did bid him devoure conjuration:  
them if he could. And because the divell could not get out at his mouth, In die sancti  
being stopp with S. Martins fingers, he was faine to run out at his fundam- Martini. c. 11  
ment. O thinking lye!

CHAP. XXX.

That it is a shame for papists to beleev other conjurors doings, their  
owne being of so little force, Hippocrates his opinion  
herein.

AND still me thinks papists (of all others) which indeed are most credulous, and doe most maintaine the force of witches charmes, and of conjurors coufnages should perceive and judge conjurors doings to be void of effect. For when they see their owne stuffe, as holy water, salt, candles, &c. conjured by their holy bishop and priests; and that in the words of consecration or conjuration (for so their own Doctors terme To wit,  
them) they adjure the water, &c. to heal, not onely the soules infirmities, Vincent Pomi-  
nie, but also every malady, hurt, or ach of the body; and doe also comie, nica in albis, in  
and the candles, with the force of all their aurbority and power, and oia. pasch. ser-  
by the effect of all their holy words, not to consume: and yet neither mone 25,  
soul nor body any thing recover, nor the candles last one minute the lon- p. and. de ex-  
ger: with what face can they defend the others miraculous workes, as orist.  
though the witches and conjurors actions were more effectuall than their  
owne? Hippocrates being but a heathen, and not having the perfect know-  
ledge of God, could see and perceive their coufnage and knavery well  
enough, who saith; They which boast so, that they can remove or help  
the infections of diseases, with sacrifices, conjurations, or other magi-  
call instruments or means, are but needy fellows, wanting living; and  
therefore refer their words to the divell: because they would seeme to  
know somewhat more then the common people. It is marvell that pa-  
pists doe affirm, that their holy water, crosses, or bugges words have  
such vertue and violence, as to drive away divels; so as they dare not  
approach to any place or person besmeared with such stuffe; when as it  
appeareth in the Gospell, that the divell presumed to assault and tempt  
Christ himselfe. For the divell indeed most earnestly busied himselfe to  
seduce the godly: as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and just ac-  
count of them, as of his own already. But let us goe forward in our re-  
futation.

CHAP. XXXI.

How conjurers have beguiled witches, what bookes they carry about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Joseph.

A foul offence to backbite the absent, and to belye the dead. Acts 19.

Iust. lib. 16.

Plin. lib. 30. cap. 2. Strab. lib. 16.

Dan. in dialog. de sermariis.

Thus you see that conjurers are no small fooles. For whereas witches being poor and needy, goe from doore to doore for relief, have they never so many todes or cats at home, or never so much hogs dung and charvill about them, or never so many charmes in store; these conjurers (I say) have gotten their offices in the church of Rome, whereby they have obtained authority and great estimation. And further to adde credit to that art, these conjurers carry about at this day, books entituled under the names of Adam, Abel, Tobie, and Enoch; which Enoch they repute the most divine fellow in such matters. They have also among them books that they say Abraham, Aaron and Salomon made. Item they have bookes of Zachary, Paul, Honorius, Cyprian, Jerome, Jeremy, Albert, and Thomas; also of the angels, Riziel, Razael, and Raphael; and doublets these were such books as were said to have been burnt in the latter Asia. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be &c are skillfull and learned in these arts; to wit, ars Almadel, ars Notoria, ars Bulaphie, ars Arithmetici, ars Pomena, ars Revelations, &c. Yea, these conjurers in corners stick not (with Justine) to report and affirm, that Josiah who was a true figure of Christ that delivered and redeemed us, was learned in these arts, and thereby prophesied and expounded dreams; and that those arts came to him from Moses, and finally from Moses to them: which thing both Pliny and Tacitus affirm of Moses. Also Strabo in his cosmographie maketh the very like blasphemous report; and likewise Apollonius Molon, Possidonius, Lissimachus, and Appian term Moses both a magician and a conjuror, whom Eusebius confuteth with many notable arguments. For Moses differed as much from a magician, as truth from falshood, and piety from vanity: for in truth, he confounded all magick, and made the world see, and the cunningest magicians of the earth confesse, that their own doings were but illusions, and that his miracles were wrought by the finger of God. But that the poore old witches knowledge reacheth thus far, (as Damians affirmeth it doth) is untrue; for their furbest fetters, that I can comprehend, are but to fetch a pot of milk, &c. from their neighbours house, half a mile distant from them.

CHAP

CHAP. XXXII.

All magicall arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gallus have left written thereof, and proved by experience.

Merely Nero proved all these magicall arts to be vain and fabulous lies, and nothing but consenage and knavery. He was a notable prince, having gifts of nature enough to have conceived such matters, treasure enough to have employed in the search thereof, he offered, and would have given, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would have given half his kingdom to have learned those things, which he heard might be wrought by magicians; he procured all the cunning magicians in the world to come to Rome, he searched for bookes also, and all other things necessary for a magician; and never could find any thing in it, but consenage and legierdemaine. At length he met with one Tridates the great magician, who having with him all his companions, and fellow magicians, witches, conjurers, and consenors, invited Nero to certaine magicall bankets and exercises. Which when Nero required to learne, Emperor Nero he (to hide his consenage) answered that he would not, nor could not to a banker, teach him, though he would have given him his kingdom. The matter of his refusal (I say) was, least Nero should espy the consenning devices thereof. Which when Nero conceived, and saw the same, and all the side of that art to be vaine, lying and ridiculous, having only shadows of truth, and that their arts were only veneficall; hee prohibited the same utterly, and made good and strong laws against the use and practise thereof, as Pliny and others doe report. It is marvell that any man can be so much abated, as to suppose that Satan may be commanded, compelled, or tyed by the power of man; as though the Diuell would yield to man, beyond nature; that will not yeeld to God his creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they call) good angels as well as bad; I would know why they call up the angels of hell, and not call downe the angels of heaven. But this they answer (as Agrippa saith) Good angels (to sooth) doe hardly appeare, and the other are ready at hand. Here I may not omit to tell you how Cornelius Agrippa bewrayeth, detecteth, and defaceth this art of conjuration, who in his youth travelled into the bottom of all these magicall sciences, and was not only a great conjuror and practiser thereof, but also wrote cunningly. De occultis philosophia. Howbeit afterwards in his wiser age, hee recanteth his opinions; and lamenteth his follies in that behalfe, and covereth the impiety and vanities of magicians, and inchanters, which boast they can doe miracles; which action is now ceased (saith he) and assigneth them a place with Janes and Jambres, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vain totes for a shew. Carolus Gallus also saith; I have tried oftentimes, by the witches and conjurers themselves, that their arts, (especially those which doe consist of charmes, impossibilities,

R. 13

C. Agrip. lib. de vanitat. scient.

conjurations, and witchcrafts, whereof they were wont to boast) to be meeer foolishnesse, doting lies and dreams. I for my part can say as much, but that I delight not to alleadge mine owne proofs and authorities; for that mine adversaries will say they are partiall, and not indifferent.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Salomons conjurations, and of the opinion conceived of his cunning and practise therein.

IT is affirmed by sundry authors, that Salomon was the first inventor of those conjurations; and thereof Josephus is the first reporter, who in his first book De Iudeorum antiquitatibus, cap. 22. rehearseth soberly this story following; which Polydore Virgil, and many other repeat verbatim, in this wite, and seem to credit the fable, whereof there is scarce a true word.

Salomon was the greatest philosopher, and did philosophy about all things, and had the full and perfect knowledge of all their properties; but he had that gift given from above to him, for the profit and health of mankind; which is effectuell against devils. He made also incantations wherewith diseases are driven away; and left divers manners of conjurations written, whereunto the devils giving place are so driven away, that they never return. And this kind of healing is very common among my country men: for I saw a neighbour of mine, one Eliazar, that in the presence of Vespasian and his sonnes, and the rest of the soldiers, cured many that were possessed with spirits. The manner and order of his cure was this. He did put unto the nose of the possessed a ring, under the seal whereof was inclosed a kind of root, whose vertue Salomon declared, and the savour thereof drew the devill out at his nose; so as down fell the man, and then Eliazar conjured the devill to depart, and to return no more to him. In the mean time he made mention of Salomon, reciting incantations of Salomons owne making, and the wonderful efficacy of his art, did set not far from thence, a pot or basin full of water, and commanded the devill that went out of the man, that he should verthrowing thereof, he would give a signe to the beholders, that he had utterly forsaken and left the man. Which thing being done, none doubted how great Salomons knowledge and wisdom was. Wherewith a juggling knack was produced, to confirm a cogging cast of knavery or sorcery.

Probatum est upon a patient before witnesses; Ergo no lie.

Another story of Salomons conjuration I finde cited in the sixe lessons, read in the church of Rome upon S. Margarets day, far more viciouly than this. Also Peter Lombard master of the Sentences, and Gratian his brother, the compiler of the golden decrees; and Durandus in his Ratione librorum, doe all soberly affirm Salomons cunning in this behelment; and specially this tale; to wit, that Salomon inclosed certain thousand

Lib. 4. dist. 14. Decret. aureum dist. 21. Rub. de exorcist.

was in a brazen bowle, and left it in a deep hole or lake, so as afterwards the Babylonians found it, and supposing there had beene gold or silver therein, brake it, and out flew all the devils, &c. And that this fable is of credit, you shall perceive, in that it is thought worthy to be read in the Romish church, as parcel of their divine service. Look in lessons of the day of S. Margarets the virgine, and you shall finde these words verbatim; which I rather recite, because it serveth me for divers turns; to wit, for Salomons conjurations, for the tale of the brazen vessel, and for the popes conjurations, which extended both to faith and doctine, and to shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefully is stained with liess and fables.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Lessons read in all Churches, where the Pope hath authority, on S. Margarets day translated into English word for word.

Holy Margarets required of God, that shee might have a conflict face to face with her secret enemy the devill; and rising from prayer, shee saw a terrible dragon, that would have devoured her, but she made the signe of the crosse, and the dragon burst in the midst.

Afterwards, she saw another man sitting like a Neger, having his hands bound fast to his knees, she taking him by the hair of the head, she threw him to the ground, and set her foot on his head; and her prayer being made, a light shined from heaven into the prison wherethin he was, and the crosse of Christ was seen in heaven, with a dove sitting thereon, who said; blessed art thou O Margarets, the gates of Paradise attend thy coming. Then she giving thanks to God, said to the devill, Declare me thy name. The devill said; Take away thy foot from my head, that I may be able to speak, and tell thee: which being done, the devill said, I am Voluis, one of them whom Salomon shut in the brazen vessel, and the Babylonians comming, and supposing there had beene gold therein, brake the vessel, and then we flew out; ever since lying in wait to annoy the just. But seeing I have recited a part of her story, you shall also have the end thereof: for at the time of her execution this was her prayer following.

Grant therefore O father, that whosoever writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or make:h memorial of me, may deserve pardon for all his sins: whosoever calleth on me, being at the point of death, deliver him out of the hands of his adversaries. And I also require, O Lord, that whosoever shall build a church in the honour of me, or ministrerth unto me any candles \* of his just labour, let him obtain whatsoever he asketh for his health. Deliver all women in travell that call upon me, from the danger thereof. This is common (they say) when a witch or conjuror dieth.

Her prayer ended, there were many great thunder claps, and a dove came down from heaven, saying; Blessed art thou O Margarets the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted unto thee; therefore

Leff. 5. & 6.

Leff. 6.

Look in the word Fidoni, pag. 270.

\* For the priests profit, I warrant you.

fore come thou into everlasting rest, &c. Then the hangman (though she did bid him) refused to cut off her head: to whom she said; But thou doe it, thou canst have no part with me, and then loe he did it, &c. But sithence I have been, and must be redfous, I thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable story, depending upon the matter present, reported by many grave authors, word for word, in manner and form following.

CHAP. XXXV.

A delicate story of a Lombard, who by S. Margarets example would needs fight with a reall divell.

There was (after a sermon made, wherein this story of S. Margaret was recited, for in such stufte consisted not only their service, but also their sermons in the blind time of popery;) there was I say, a certain young man, being a Lombard, whose simplicity was such, as he had no respect unto the commodity of worldly things, but did altogether affect the salvation of his soule, who hearing how great S. Margarets divell was, began to consider wih himself, how full of sleights the divell was. And among other things thus he said; O that God would suffer, that the divell might fight with me hand to hand in visibie form! I would then surely in like manner overthrow him, and would fight with him till I had the victory. And therefore about the twelv houre he went out of the town, and finding a convenient place where to pray, secretly kneeling on his knees, he prayed a mong other things, that God would suffer the divell to appear unto him in visibie form, that according to the example of S. Margaret, he might overcome him in battell. And as he was in the midst of his prayers, there came into that place a woman with a hook in her hand, who gather certaine hearbs which grew there, who was dumb born. And when she came into the place, and saw the young man among the hearbs, she was afraid and waxed pale, and going back, she rored in the sort, as her voice could not be understood, and with her head she made threatning signes unto him. The young man seeing such an ill-favoured foul quean, that was for age decrepit and full of wrinkles, with a long body, lean of face, pale of colour, with ragged clothes, crying very loud, and having a voice not understandable, threatning him with the hook which she carried in her hand, he thought surely she had been no woman, but a divell appearing unto him in the shape of a woman, and though God had heard his prayers. For the which causes he fell upon her lustily, and at length threw her downe to the ground, saying; Art thou come thou cursed divell, art thou come? [No no, thou shalt not overthrow mee in visibie fight, whom thou hast often overcome in invisibie temptations.

And as he spake these words, he caught her by the hair, and drew her by the hour, bearing her sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his hands, and sometimes with the hook so long, and wounded her so sore, that she

Kaccor. lia.

Mutual error by means of sudden sight.

left her a dying. At the noise whereof many people came running unto them, and seeing what was done they apprehended the young man, and thrust him into a vjle prison. S. Vincent by vertus of his holynesse, and standing all this matter, caused the body that seemed dead, to be brought unto him; and thereupon (according to his maner) he laid his hand upon the dead woman to her, who immediately revived, and he called one of his chaplains to hear her confession. But they that were present said to the man of God, that it were altogether in vain so to doe, for that she had been from her nativity dumb, and could neither hear nor see. And the priest, neither could he in words confesse her sin. Notwithstanding, S. Vincent had the priest make her confession, affirming that she should very distinctly speak all such things unto him. And therefore, whatsoever the man of God commanded the priest did confidently accomplish and obey; and as soon as the priest approached unto her, to hear her confession, she, whom all Catholics knew to be dumb born, spake and confessed her self, pronouncing every word as distinctly, as though she had never been dumb. After her confession she required the eucharist and extream unction to be ministered unto her, and at length she commended her selfe to God; and she had any breath in her body. The young man that killed her being saved from the gallows by S. Vincents means, and at his intercession, departed home into Italy. This story last rehearsed is found in D. B. 8. exempl. Speculo exemplorum, and repeated also by Robert. Carecul. bishop of Spey, and many others, and preached publicly in the church of Rome.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The story of Saint Margaret proved to be both ridiculous, and impious in every point.

First, that the story of S. Margaret is a fable, may be proved by the incredible, impossible, foolish, impious, and blasphemous matters contained therein, and by the ridiculous circumstance thereof. Though it were cruelly done of her to beat the divell, when his hands was bound; yet it was curiously done of her, to pull away her foot at his desire. He could not speak so long as she trod on his head, and yet he said; I tread off, that I may tell you what I am. She saw the heavens open, and yet she was in a close prison. But her sight was very clear, that could see a little dove sitting upon a croffe so far off. For heaven is higher than the Sun; and the sun, when it is nearest to us, is 396600. miles from us. And she had a good pair of ears, that could hear a dove speak so far off. And she had good luck, that S. Peter who (they say) is porter, or else the Pope, who hath more doings than Peter, had such leisure as to stay the gates so long for her. Salomon provided no good place, neither took good order with his brazen bowl. I marvell how they escaped that let out the divels. It is marvell also that they melted it not with their breath long before

Secundum Bor-dinum Corri-gen. Quest. Math. 1. 77.

*Psallui de operatione demonum.*

before: for the devils carry hell and hell fire about with them always, in so much as (they say) they leave ashes evermore where they stand. Surely she made in her prayer an unreasonable request, but the date of her patent is out; for I believe that whosoever at this day shall burn a pound of good candles before her, shall be never the better, but three pence the worse. But now we may find in *S. Margarets* life, who it is that is Christ's wife; whereby we are so much wiser then we were before. But look in the life of *S. Katharine*, in the golden legend, and you shall find that he was also married to *S. Katharine*, and that our Lady made the marriage, &c. An excellent authority for bigamie. Here I will also cite another of their notable stories, or miracles of authority, and so leave shaming of them, or rather troubling you the readers thereof. Neither would I have written these fables, but that they are authentick among the papists, and that we that are protestants may be satisfied, as well of conjurors and witches miracles, as of others; for the one is as grosse as the other.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*A pleasant miracle wrought by a popish Priest.*

*Inspeculo exemplorum, dist. 6. ex lib. exemplarium, Casarii, exempl. 69. Memorandum* it is confessed in popery that true miracles cannot be joined with false doctrine; Ergo neither papist, witch, nor conjuror can work miracles.

What time the *Waldenses* heresies began to spring, certain wicked men being upheld and maintained by diabolicall vertue, shewed certain signes and wonders, whereby they strengthened and confirmed their heresies, and perverted in faith many faithfull ones; for they walked on the water and were not drowned. But a certain catholick priest seeing the same, and knowing that true signs could not be joined with false doctrine, brought the body of our Lord, with the pix, to the water, where they shewed their power and vertue to the people, and said in the hearing of all that were present: I conjure thee O devill, by him, whom I carry in my hands, that thou exercise not these great visions and fantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the priest in a rage threw the body of our Lord, with the pix into the river, and by, so soon as the sacrament touched the element, the phantasm lead to the bottome, and were drowned; the pix with the sacrament immediately was taken away by an angell. The priest seeing all these things, was very glad of the miracle, but for the losse of the sacrament he was very penfive, passing away the whole night in sorrow and mourning; in the morning he found the pix with the sacrament upon the altar.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*The former miracle confuted, with a strange story of St Lucy.*

How glad *St Iohn* was now it were folly for me to say. Now would he have plagued the devill, that threw his God in the river to be drowned? But if other had had no more power to destroy the *waldenses* with sword and fire, than this priest had to drown them with his conjuring box and conjuring sacraments, there should have been many a life saved. But I may not omit one fable, which is of authority, wherein though there be no conjuration expressed, yet I warrant you there was countenance both in the doing and telling thereof. \* You shall read in the lesson on saint *Lucy* in the *Sanctes* day, that she being condemned, could not be removed from the place she was in, with a team of Oxen, neither could any fire burn her, in so much as one was faine to cut off her head with a sword, and yet she could speak afterwards as long as the list. And this passeth all other miracles, except it be that which *Bodin* and *M. Mal.* recite out of *Nider*, of a witch that could not be burned, till a scroll was taken away from where she hid it, betwixt her skin and flesh.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds, and of other illusions, of wandering soules: with a confutation thereof.*

Many through melancholy doe imagine, that they see or hear visions, spirits, ghosts, strange noises, &c. as I have already proved before, at large. Many again through fear proceeding from a cowardly nature and complexion, or from an effeminate and fond bringing up, are rimerous and afraid of spirits, and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their own shadows, & (as *Aristotle* saith) see themselves sometimes as it were in a glasse. And some through weaknesse of body have such imperfect imaginations. Drunken men also sometimes suppose they see trees walk, &c. according to that which *Salomon* saith to the drunkards; Thine eyes shall see strange visions, and marvellous appearances.

In all ages monks and priests have abused and bewitched the world Against the which counterfeit visions; which proceeded through idleness, and re-counterfeit visions of marriage, whereby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore such means to compass and obtaine their loves. And the simple priests, and people being then so superstitious, would never seem to mistrust, that their coupling with holy men would make them cuckholds, but forsooke their beds in devices. such case, and gave room to the cleargy. Item, little children have been so scared with their mothers maids, that they could never after endure to be in the dark alone, for fear of bugs. Many are deceived by glasse through

Many hearkening unto false reports, conceive and believe that which is nothing so. Many give credit to that which they read in authors. But how many stories, and bookes, are written of walking spirits and soules of men, contrary to the word of God; a reasonable volum cannot containe. How common an opinion was it among the papists, that all soules walked on the earth, after they departed from their bodies? In so much as it was in the time of popery a usual matter, to desire sick people in their death beds, to appeare to them after their death, and to reveale their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulous herein, &c. Therefore no marvel, though the common simple sort of men, and least of all, that women be deceived herein. God in times past did send downe visible angels, & appeared to men; but now he doth not so, through ignorance of late in religion, it was thought, that every churchyard swarmed with soules and spirits: but now the word of God being more free, open, and known, those conceits and illusions are made more manifest and apparent; &c.

The doctors, counsels, and popes, which (they say) cannot erre, have confirmed the walking, appearing, and raising of soules. Where find they in the scriptures any such doctrine? And was certaintie them, that those appearances were true? Truly all they cannot bring to passe, that the lies which have beene spread abroad herein, should be beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seale, and sweare thereunto never so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who heareth their noyses? Who seeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such moane for trespases where by to be saved of the paines in purgatory? Are they all gone into Italy, because masses are growne deere here in England? Marke this illusion, and see how contrary it is unto the word of God. Consider how all papists beleve this illusion to be true, and how all protestants driven to say it is & was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that were to have buriall for their bodies? For many of those walking soules were about their business, to preach and teach the people such doctrines, and to insert into their divine service such fables, as are read in their church, all scripture giving place thereto for the time? You shall see lessons read there upon St. Stevens day, that Gamaliel, Nichodemus, and a man and Abdias his sonne, with his friend, S. Steven, appeared to him, and bury them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of death, untill they being in the raigne of Honorius the emperor, were buried in the field of Gamaliel) who in that vision said to Sir Lucian, Non nisi solymmodo causa sollicitus sum, sed propter illi qui mecum sunt, &c. I am not only carefull for my selfe, but chiefly for those my friends that are with me. Whereby the whole court may be perceived to be a false practise, and a counterfeit vision, or rather a lewd invention. For in heaven mens soules remaine not in sorrow and care; neither studie they there how to compare

This doctrine was not only preached, but also proved; note the particular instances following.

and get a worshipfull buriall here in earth. If they did, they would not have forefellowed it so long. Now therefore let us not suffer our selves to be abused any longer, either with conjuring priests, or melancholical witches; but be thankfull to God that hath delivered us from such blindness and error.

CHAP. XL.

Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfeit visions grow to be credited, of popish appearances, of pope Bonifacius.

Cardanus speaking of noises, among other things, saith thus; A noise is heard in your house; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among themselves; it may be a counterfeit or a theafe indeed, or the fault may be in your eares, I could recite a great number of tales, how men have even forsaken their houses; because of such apparitions and noises; and all hath bene by meere and ranke knavery. And where soever you shall heare, that there is in the night season such rumbling and fearefull noises, be you well assured that it is flat knavery, performed by some that seemeth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And herof there is a very art, which the divell seeketh daily as well as for some respects I will not discover. The divell seeketh daily as well as nightly whom he may devour; and can do his feats as well by day as by night; or else he is a young divell; and a very bungler. But of all other counterfeiters, these conjurers are in the highest degree, and are most worthy of death for their blasphemous impiety. But that these popish visions and conjurations used as well by papists, as by the popes themselves, were meere counterfeits; and that the tales of the popes recited by Bruno and Platina of their magicall devices, were but plaine counterfeits and knaveries, may appeare by the history of Bonifacius the eight, who used this kinde of enchantment, to get away the popedom from his predecessor, Celestinus. He counterfeited a voyce through a cane reed, as though it had come from heaven, perswading him to yeeld up his authority of popedom, and to institute therein one Bonifacius, a worthy man; otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therefore the foole yeilded it up accordingly, to the said Bonifacius, An. 1264. of whom it was said; He came in like a fox, lived like a wolfe, and died like a dog. There be innumerable examples of such visions, which when they are not detested; goe for true stories; and therefore when it is answered that some are true tales and some are false, untill they be able to shew forth before your eyes one matter of truth, you may reply upon them with this distinction; to wit: visions tryed are false, visions, undecided and untryed are true.

H. Card. lib de vort. 15. c. 32.

Pope Celestinus: coufessed of his popedom by pope Bonifacius.

Visions to singular.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Of the noise or sound of echoes, of one that narrowly escaped drowning thereby, &c.*

Alas! how many naturall things are there so strange, as to many seeme miraculous; and how many counterfeit matters are there, that to the simple seem yet more wonderfull? *Cardane* telleth of one *Comansis*, who coming late to a rivers side, not knowing where to passe over, cried aloud for some body to shew him the foords who hearing an eccho to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the way, he passed through the river, even there where was a deepe whirlepoole, so as he hardly escaped with his life, and told his friends, that the diuell had almost persuaded him to drowne himselfe. And in some places these noises of eccho are farre more strange than other, specially at *Ticinum* in *Italy*, in the great hall, where it rendereth sundry and manifold noises or voyces, which seeme to end so lamentably, as it were a man that lay a dying, so as few can be persuaded that it is the eccho, but a spirit that answereth.

*H. Card. lib de subtilitat. 23.*

*Idem ibid.*

*Of Winchester noise.*

The noise at *Winchester* was said to be a very miracle, and much wondering was there at it, about the year 1569. though indeed a mere naturall noise ingendered of the wind, the concavity of the place, and other instrumentall matters helping the sound to seeme strange to the hearers; specially to such as would adde new reports to the augmentation of the wonder.

## CHAP. XLII.

*Of Theurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter sent to me concerning these matters.*

There is yet another art professed by these coufening conjurers, which some fond divines affirme to be more honest and lawfull than necromancy, which is called *Theurgie*; wherein they worke by good angels. Howbeit, their ceremonies are altogether papisticall and superstitious, consisting in cleanlines partly of the mind, partly of the body, and partly of things about and belonging to the body; as in the skinnes, in the apparell, in the house, in the vessell and household stuffe, in oblation, and sacrifices; the cleanlines whereof they say, doth dispose men to the contemplation of heavenly things. They cite these words of *Ezay* for their authority; to wit: Wash your selves and be cleane, &c. In so much as I have knowne divers superstitious persons of good account, which usually washed all their apparell upon concrets ridiculously. For uncleanlinesse (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chafeth away cleane spirits.

*Idem.*

of Witchcraft,

Chap. 42.

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Hereunto belongeth the art of *Almadel*, the art of *Pauls*, the art of Revelations, and the art Notary. But (as *Agrippa* saith) the more divine these arts seeme to the ignorant, the more damnable they be. But their false assertions, their presumptions to worke miracles, their characters, their strange names, their diffuse phrases, their counterfeit holines, their poppish ceremonies, their foolish words mingled with impiety, their barbarous and unlearned order of construction, their shamelesse practises, their paltry stuffe, their secret dealing, their beggerly life, their bargaining with sooles, their coufening of the simple, their scope and drift for money doth bewray all their art to be counterfeit coulenage. And the more thoroughly to satise you herein, I thought good in this place to insert a letter, upon occasion sent unto me, by one which at this present time lieth as a prisoner condemned for this very matter in the kings bench, and reprieved by her majesties mercy, through the good mediation of a most noble and vertuous personage, whose honorable and godly disposition at this time I will forebear to commend as I ought. The person truly that wrote this letter seemeth unto me a good body, well reformed, and penitent, nor expecting any gaines at my hands, but rather fearing to speake that which he knoweth further in this matter, lest displeasure might ensue and follow.

The copy of a letter sent unto me R. S. by T. E. Master of art, and practiser both of physick, and also in times past, of certaine vaine sciences; now condemned to die for the same wherein he openeth the truth touching these deceits.

After R. Scott, according to your request, I have drawne out certaine Mark the abuses worth the noting, touching the work you have in hand; things sum and scope which I myselfe have seen within these xxvi. yeares, among those which of this letter, which were counted famous and skilfull in these sciences. And because the whole discourse cannot be set downe, without nominating certaine persons, of whom some are dead and some living, whose friends remaine yet of this credit: I respect thereof, I knowing that mine enemies doe already in number exceed my friends; I have considered with my selfe, that it is better for me to stay my hand, than to commit that to the world, which may increase my misery more than releaseth the same. Notwithstanding, because I am noted above a great many others to have had some dealings in those vaine arts and wicked practises: I am therefore to signifie unto you, and to speake it in the presence of God, that among all those famous and noted practisers; that I have bene conversant withall these xxvi. yeares, I could never see any matter of truth to be done in those wicked sciences, but only mere coufening and illusions. And they, whom I thought to be most skilfull therein, sought to see some things at my hands, who had spent my time a dozen or fourteen yeares, to my great losse and hindrance; and could never

Appendants unto the supposed divine art of Theurgie.

never at any time see any one truth, or speake of truth therein. As at this present I stand worthily condemned for the same; for that contrary to my private lawes, and the law of God, and also to mine owne conscience, I did spend my time in such vaine and wicke studies and practises, being much and maintaining a spectacle for all others to receive warning by. The last of my may be the last (I speake it from my heart) and I wish it, not only among native country, but also through the whole face of the earth, especially among Christians. For mine owne part I lament my time lost, and have repented me five yeares past: at which time I saw a booke, written in the old Saxon tongue, by one Sir John Malborne a draine of Oxonford, three hundred years past, wherein he openeth all the illusions and inventions of these arts and sciences: a thing most worthy the noting. I left the booke with the parson of Slangham in Sullex, where if you send for it in my name, you may have it. You shall thinke your labour well bestowed, and it shall greatly further the good enterprise you have in hand, and there shall you see the whole science thoroughly discussed, and all their illusions and censures depicted at large. Thus craving pardon at your hands, for that I promised you, being very fearfull, doubtfull, and loth to see my blame name under any thing that may be offensive to the world, or hurtfull to myselfe, considering my case, except I had the better warrant from my L. of Leicester, who is my very good Lord, and by whom next under God (her Majesty only excepted) I have bene preserved, and therefore will I do any thing that may offend his Lordships eares. And so I leave you, wishing to the Lord keeping you of all your actions to good end, and purpose, to Gods glory, and to the profit of all Christians. From the Bench this 6. of March, 1582. Your worshipps poore and desolate friend and servant, T.E.

Sc. John Malbornes booke detecting the devites of conjuration, &c.

The author his conclusion.

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of Slangham, and procured his best friend, even of great worship and credit, to send with him, that he might borrow it for a time. But such is his craft and superstition, that although he confessed he had it, yet he would not lend it: albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire, would have given his word for the restitution of the same, if he had found. The conclusion therefore, shall be this, whatsoever heretofore hath gone for currant, touching all these fallible arts, whereof heretofore have written in ample sort, he now counteth counterfeits, and therefore not to be allowed, no not by common sense, much lesse by reason, which should sit such cloaked and pretended practises, turning them out of their rags and patched clowts, that they may appeare discovered, and stand themselves in their nakednesse. Which will be the end of every secret intent, privy purpose, hidden practise, and close devise, have they ever shrouds and shelters for the time: and be they with never so much care, relousnesse and subtilly circumspection clouded and shadowed, yet will they at length be manifestly detected by the light, according to that old Jewish verie:

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne revelat:  
What thing soever snow doth hide,  
Heat of the sunne doth make it spide.

Andreas] Gartencus Mavimontanus. Eng by Ab. Fle.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Nazarite, who never told untruth, but who is the substance and groundworke of truth it selfe, saying: Nihil est tam occultum quod non sit divulgandum, Nothing is so secret, but it shall be knowne and revealed.

Matt. 20. 26. Mark 4. 22. Luke 8. 17. and 12. 2.

The xvj. Booke.

CHAP. I.

A conclusion, in manner of an epilogue, repeating many of the former absurdities of witchmongers concepts, confutations thereof, and of the authority of James Sprenger and Henry Inffitor inquisitors and compilers of M. Mal.



Therto you have had delivered unto you, that which I have conceived and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principall parts whereof I can see no difference among the writers hereupon; of what country, condition, estate, or religion so ever they be; but I find almost all of them to agree in unconstancy, fables, and impossibilities; searching out of M. Mal. the substance of all their arguments: so as their authors being disapproved, they must coine new stufte, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wives tales, whereof this art of witchcraft is contrived. But you must know that James Sprenger, and Henry Inffitor, whom I have had of that profound and learned booke called Malleus Maleficarum, and were the greatest doctors of that art: out of whom I have gathered matter and absurditie enough, to confound the opinions conceived of witchcraft; although they were allowed inquisitors and assigned by the pope, with the authority and commendation of all the doctors of the university of Colen, &c. to call before them, to emprison, to condemne, and to execute witches; and finally to seize and confiscate their goods,

The compilers or makers of the booke called a Mallet to braine witches

T

These

Quicquid



16. Book. The discovery *Witchcraft described*

No marvell  
that they were  
so opinionative  
herein, for  
God gave them  
over into  
strong delusi-  
ons.

These two doctors, to maintaine their credit, and to cover their injuries, have published those same monstrous lies, which have abused all Christendome, being spread abroad with such authority, as it will be hard to suppress the credit of their writings, be they never so ridiculous and false. Which although they maintaine and stir up with with their owne praises; yet men are so bewitched, as to give credit unto them. For proof whereof I remember they write in one place of their said book, that by reason of their severe proceedings against witches, they suffered intolerable assaults, specially in the night, many times finding needles sticking in and their biggens, which were thither conveyed by witches charmes; and through their innocency and holinesse (they say) they were ever miraculously preserved from hurt. Howbeit they affirm that they will not tell all that might make to the manifestation of their holinesse: for then should their owne praise stink in their owne mouths. And yet God knoweth their whole book containeth nothing but stinking lies and popery. Which groundwork and foundation how weak and wavering it is, how unlike to continue, and how slenderly laid, a child may soone discern and perceive.

## CHAP. II.

*By what means the common people have been made beleve in the miraculous workes of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.*

The common people have been so assorted and bewitched, with whatsoever poets have fained of witchcraft, either in earnest, in jest, or else in derision; and with whatsoever lowd liars and coufeners for their pleasures herein have invented, and with whatsoever tales they have heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids, and with whatsoever the grandfoole their ghostly father, or any other morrow more priest had informed them; and finally with whatsoever they have swallowed up through tract of time, or through their owne timorous nature or ignorant conceipt, concerning these matters of hags and witches: as they have so settled their opinion and credit thereupon, that they think it heresie to doubt in any part of the matter; specially because they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures; which is as to defend praying to saints, because *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* is written in *Deum*.

The definition  
or description  
of witchcraft.

The formall  
cause.

And now to come to the definition of witchcraft, which hitherto I did defer and put off purposely: that you might perceive the true nature thereof, by the circumstances, and therefore the rather to allow of the same, seeing the variety of other writers. Witchcraft is in truth a coufening art, wherein the name of God is abused, prophaned, and blasphemed; and his power attributed to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a supernaturall work, contrived between a corporall old woman, and a spirituall divell. The manner thereof is so secret, mysticall,

*And proved consenage.* of Witchcraft. Chap. 3. 341

and strange, that to this day there hath never been any credible witness thereof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull, a profitable matter to children, fools, melancholick persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes evil, as when thereby man or beast, grasse, trees, or corn, &c. is hurt; sometimes good, as whereby sick folks are healed, thieves bewrayed, and true men come to their goods, &c. The matter and instruments wherewith it is accomplished, are words, charmes, signes, images, characters, &c. The which words although any other creature doe pronounce, in manner and form as they doe, leaving out no circumstance requisite or usuall for that action; yet none is said to have the grace or gift to perform the matter, except she be a witch, and so taken, either by her own consent, or by others imputation.

## CHAP. III.

*Reasons to prove that words and characters are but bables, and that witches cannot doe such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest wonders proved trifles, of a young gentleman consened.*

THAT words, characters, images, and such other trinkets, which are thought so necessary instruments for witchcraft (as without the which no such thing can be accomplished) are but bables, devised by coufeners, to abuse the people withall; I trust I have sufficiently proved. And the same may be further and more plainly perceived by these short and commendous reasons following.

First, in that the Turke and infidels, in their witchcraft, use both other words, and other characters than our witches doe, and also such as sequel are most contrary. In so much as, if ours be bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doe anything, ours can doe nothing. For as our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despise his sacraments; so doe the other forsake *Mahomet* and his laws, which is one large step to christianity.

It is also to be thought, that all witches are coufeners; when mother *Probatum est, Bungie*, a principall witch, so reputed, tryed, and condemned of all men, by mother and continuing in that exercise and estimation many years, (having confessed and abused the whole realm in so much as there came to her, witch-*Confession that all* sion that all mongers from all the furthest parts of the land, she being in divers books set out with authority, registred and chronicled by the name of the great witch of *Rocheester*, and reputed among all men for the chief ringleader of all other witches) by good proof is found to be a meeke coufener; confessing in her death bed freely, without compulsion or inforcement, that her cunning consisted only in deluding & deceiving the people; saying that shee had (towards the maintenance of her credit in that coufening trade) some sight in phyick and surgery, and the assistance of a friend of hers, called

called *Heron*, a professor thereof. And this I know, partly of mine own knowledge, and partly by the testimony of her husband, and others of credit, to whom (I say) in her death bed, and sundry other times she protested these things; and also that she never had indeed any material spirit or divell (as the voice went) nor yet knew how to work any supernatural matter, as she in her life time made men believe shee had and could doe.

The like may be said of one *T. of Canterbury*, whose name I will not literally discover, who wonderfully abused many in these parts, making them think he could tell where any thing lost became; with divers other such practises, whereby his fame was far beyond the others. And therupon his death bed he confessed, that he knew nothing more then another, but by sleight and devices, without the assistance of any divell or spirit, saving the spirit of coufenge: and this did he (I say) protest before many of great honesty, credit, and wisdom, who can witness the same, and also gave him good commendations for his godly and honest end.

Again, who will maintaine, that common witchcrafts are not coufenges, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had stolne credit not only from all the common people, but from men of great wisdom and authority, are discovered to be beggerly sleights of coufening various? Which otherwise might and would have remained a perpetual objection against me. Were there not \* three images of late years found in a dung-hill, to the terrour and astonishment of many thousands? In so much as great matters were thought to have been pretended to be done by witchcraft. But if the Lord preserve those persons (whose destruction was doubted to have been intended thereby) from all other the lewd practises and attempts of their enemies; I feare not, but they shall easily withstand these and such like devices, although they should indeed be practised against them. But no doubt, if such bables could have brought these matters of mischief to passe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papists, we should long since have been deprived of the most excellent jewel and comfort that we enjoy in this world. Howbeit, I confesse, that the sect, conceipt, and doubt of such mischievous pretences may breed inconvenience to them that stand in awe of the same. And I wish, that even for such practises, though they never can or doe take effect, the practisers be punished with all extremity; because therein is manifested a traitorous heart to the Queen, and a presumption against God.

But to return to the discovery of the foresaid knavery and witchcraft. So it was that one old coufenger wanting money, devised or rather practised (for it is a stale device) to supply his want, by promising a young Gentleman, whose humor he thought would that way be well served, the sum of forty pounds, he would not fail by his cunning in that art of witchcraft, to procure unto him the love of any three women whom he would name, and of whom he should make choice at his pleasure. The young Gentleman being abused with his cunning devices, and too hastily yielding to that motion, satisfied this cunning mans demand of money, which, because he had it not presently to disburse, provided it for him at the

*I. Bodin* in the preface before his book of *Demonomania* reporteth this by a conjuring priest late currat of *Islington*; he also the weth to what end; read the place you that understand *Latine*.

Note this device of the waxen images found of late near *London*.

hand of a friend of his. Finally, this cunning man made the three pup-pens of wax, &c. leaving nothing undone that appertained to the coufenge, until he had buried them, as you have heard. But I omit to tell what adoe was made hereof, and also what reports and lies were bruited; as what white dogs and black dogs, there were seene in the night season passing through the watch, mawgre all their force and preparation against them, &c. But the young Gentleman, who for a little space remained in hope mixed with joy and love, how through tract of time hath those his felicities powdered with doubt and despair. For in stead of achieving his love he would gladly have obtained his money. But because he could by no means see either the one or the other (his money being in hucksters hands, and his sure in no better forwardness) hee revealed the whole matter, hoping by that means to recover his money which he neither can yet get again; not hath payed it where he borrowed. But till trial was had of his simplicity or rather folly herein, he received some trouble himselfe, hereabout; though now dismissed.

## CHAP. III.

Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no Scriptures, but canonically, of a divell that could speak no *Latine*, a proof that witchcraft is flat coufenge.

HERE I may apply insert another miracle of importance, that happened within the compass of a childes remembrance, which may induce any reasonable body to conceive, that these supernatural actions are but factitious and coufenges. There was one, whom for some respects I name not, that was taken blind, deaf, and dumb; so as no Physician could help him. That man (forsooth) though he was (as is said) both blind, dumb and deaf, yet could heeread any canonically Scriptures; but, as for apocrypha, hee could read none; wherein a Gods name consisted the miracle. But a leaf of apocrypha being extraordinarily inserted among the canonically scriptures, he read the same as authentick; wherein his knavery was bewrayed. Another had a divell, that answered men to all questions, Many her divell could understand no *Latine*, and so was free (and by such meanes all she rest may be) bewrayed. In deed our witching writers say, that certaine devils speake onely the language of that country where they are resident, as *French*, or *English*, &c.

Furthermore in my conceipt, nothing proveth more apparently that witchcraft is coufenge, and that witches instruments are but ridiculous bibles, and altogether void of effect; than when learned and godly Divines in their serious writings, produce experiments wrought by witches, and by divels at witches commandements: which they expound by miracles, although indeed meer trifles. Whereof they conceive amiss, being overtaken with credulity.

CHAP. V.

Of the divination by the five and sheeres, and by the book and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know whom a clock, of certain juggling knacks, manifold reasons for the overthrow of witches and conjurers, and their coufenages, of the divinations of Ferrum candens, &c.

Heming in lib. de superstit. magicis.

To passe over all the fables, which are vouched by the popish doctors, other wise I might justly commend: howbeit I am sorry and ashamed to see his ignorance and folly in this behalf. Neither would I have bewayed it, but that he himself, among other absurdities concerning the malignance of witches omnipotency, hath published it to his great disgrace. Popish priests (saith he) as the Chaldaans used the divination by five and sheeres for the detection of theft, doe practise with a psalter and a key fastened upon the 49. psalme, to discover a thief, and when the names of the suspected persons are orderly put into the pipe of the key, at the reading of these words of the psalme [If thou sawest a thief thou dost consent unto him] the book will wagge and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the key must be the thief. Hereupon Hemingius inferreth, that although conjuring priests and witches bring not this to passe by the absolute words of the psalm, which tend to a far other scope; yet Satan doth nimbly, with his invisible hand, give such a twitch to the Book, as also in the other case to the five and sheeres, that down falls the book and key, five and sheeres, upstarts the book and away runneth the divell laughing, &c.

The greatest clarkes are not the wisest men.

A naturall reason of the former knock.

But alas, Hemingius is deceived, as not perceiving the conceipt, or rather the deceipt thereof. For where he suppoeth those actions to be miraculous, and done by a divell; they are in truth meer bables wherein consisteth not so much as legierdemaine. For every carter may conceive the sleight hereof; because the book and key, five and sheeres, being stayed up in that order, by naturall course of necessity must within that space (by means of the air, and the pulse beating at the fingers end) turne and fall down. Which experience being knowne to the witch or conjurer, she or hee doe forme and frame their prophesie accordingly; as who so ever maketh prooffe thereof shall manifestly perceive it. By this never practis'd, or experience, you shall know what it is a clock, if you shall between your finger and your thumb a thred of six or seven inches long, unto the other end whereof is tyed a gold ring, or some such like thing in such sort as upon the beating of your pulse, and the moving of the ring, the same may strike upon either side of a goblet or glasse. These things are (I confesse) witchcraft, because the effect or event proceedeth not of that cause which such coufeners say, and others believe they do. As when they lay a medicine for the ague, &c. to a child's wrists, they also pronounce words of vertue whereof (they say)

the child is healed; whereas indeed the medicine only doth the feat. And this is also a silly jugglers knock, which wanteth legierdemaine, whom you shall see to thrust a pinne, or a small knife, through the head and brain of a chicken or pullet, and with certaine mysticall words seeme to cure him; whereas, though no such words were spoken, the chicken would live, and doe well enough; as experience teacheth and declareth.

Again, when such as have maintained the art and profession of conjuring, and have writen thereupon most cunningly, have published recantations, and confessed the deceipts thereof, as Cornelius Agrippa did, why should we defend it? Also, when heathen princes, of great renown, authority, and learning, have searched with much industry and charge, the knowledge and secrecy of conjuration and witchcraft, and finally found by experience all to be false and vain that is reported of them, as Nero, Julianus apostata, and Valence did; why should we seek for further trials, to prove witchcraft and conjuration to be coufenage?

Also, when the miracles that Christ wrought here upon earth, for the establishing of his Gospell, for the confirmation of our faith, and for the advancement of his glorious name; what good christian will belevee them to be true? And when Christ himselfe saith; The works that I doe, no man else can accomplish; why should we think that a foolish old woman can doe them all, and many more?

Also, when Christ knew not these witches, nor spake one word of them in all the time of his being here upon earth, having such necisary occasion (if at leastwise they with their familiars could doe as he did by the spirit of God, as is constantly affirmed) why should we suppose that they can doe as they say, but rather that they are deceivers? When they are said to say, that witches wrought not in that art, all those thirty three yeeres that Christ lived, and that there were none in Judea time, and that the cunning oracles are now ceased; who seeth not that they are wisest, and maddede fooles that maintaine it? When all the mischiefes are accomplished by poysons and naturall means, which they affirm to be brought to passe by words, it manifesteth to the world their coufenage. When all the places of Scripture, which witchmongers allow for the proof of such witches, are proved to make nothing for their purpose, their own fables and lies deserve small credit. When one of the chief points in controversy, and lies execution of witches, is grounded upon a false translation, namely, You shall not suffer a witch to live (which is in Latine *Veneficam non retinebis in vita*) where the word in every mans ear soundeth to be a poisoner, rather than a worker of miracles, and so interpreted by the seventy interpreters, Josephus, and almost all the Rabbins, which were Hebrews born: why should any of their interpretations or allegations be trusted, or well accounted of? When working of miracles is ceased, and the gift of prophesie also; so as the godly, through invocation of the holy spirit, cannot perform such wonderful things, as these witches and conjurers by the invocation of devils and wicked spirits undertake, and are said to doe; what man that knoweth and honoureth God will be so fatuate

Note that during all Christs time upon earth, which was 33. yeeres, witches were put to silence, &c.





I. Nep. Neapol.  
in lib. de natu-  
rali magia.

This is held of  
some for truth.

Non est in spec-  
culo res que  
specularur  
in illo.

retain such venom in their eyes, and send it forth by beams and streams so violently, that therewith they annoy not only them with whom they are conversant continually; but also all other, whose company they frequent, of what age, strength or complexion soever they be: as *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Philarchus*, and many others give out in their writings.

This fascination (saith *John Baptista Porta Neapolitanus*) though it begin by touching or breathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the eye, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits through the eyes, approaching to the heart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Whereby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a young man endued with a clear, whole, subtil and sweet blood, yeeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapours springing from the purer blood of the heart. And the lightest and finest spirits, ascending into the highest parts of the head, do fall into the eyes; and so are from thence sent forth, as being of all other parts of the body the most clear, and fullest of veins and pores, and with the very spirit or vapour proceeding thence, is conveyed out as it were by beams and streams a certain fiery force; whereof he that beholdeth by eyes shall have good experience. For the poison and disease in the eye infecteth the air next unto it, and the same proceedeth further, carrying with it the vapour and infection of the corrupted blood: with the contagion whereof, the eyes of the beholders are most apt to be infected. By this same means it is thought that the cockatrice depriveth the life, and a wolf taketh away the voice of such as they suddenly meet withall and behold.

Old women, in whom the ordinary course of nature faileth in the office of purging their naturall monthly humours, shew also some proof hereof. For (as the said *I. B. P. N.* reporteth alledging *Aristotle* for his author) they leave in a looking glasse a certain froth, by means of the grosse vapours proceeding out of their eyes, which commeth so to passe, because those vapours or spirits, which so abundantly come from their eyes, cannot pierce and enter into the glasse, which is hard and without pores, and therefore resisteth: but the beams which are carryed in the chariot of conveyance of the spirits, from the eyes of one body to another, do pierce to the inward parts, and there breed infection, whilest they search and seek for their proper region. And as these beams and vapours do proceed from the heart of the one, so are they turned into blood about the heart of the other, which blood disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched party, infecteth the rest of his body, and maketh him sick; the contagion whereof so long continueth, as the distempered blood hath force in the members. And because the infection is of blood, the fever or sickness will be continuall; whereas if it were of cholers, or Regme, it would be intermitent or alterable.

## CHAP. X.

## Of naturall witchcraft for love, &amp;c.

But as there is fascination and witchcraft by malicious and angry eyes Nescio quis unto displeasure; so are there witching aspects, tending contrariwise to love, or at the least, to the procuring of good will and liking. For if *mibi fascinat* the fascination or witchcraft be brought to passe or provoked by the desire, *agnos*, saith by the wishing and coveting of any beautifull shape or favour, the venom thus is strained through the eyes, though it be from a far, and the imagination of a beautifull forme resteth in the heart of the lover, and kindleth the fire wherewith it is afflicted. And because the most delicate, sweet, and tender blood of the beloved doth there wander, his countenance is there represented shining in his owne blood, and cannot there be quiet; and is sohaled from thence, that the blood of him that is wounded, reboundeth and slippeth into the wounder, according to the saying of *Lucretius* the poet to the like purpose and meaning in these verses:

*Idque petit corpus, mens unde est saucia amore,  
Namque omnes plerunque cadum in vulnus, & illum  
Emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimus illu  
Et si cominus est, os tamen rubor occupat humor*

And to that body tis rebounded,  
From whence the mind by love is wounded,  
For in a manner all and some,  
Into that wound of love do come,  
And to that part the blood doth flee  
From whence with stroke we striken bee,  
If hard at hand, and near in place,  
Then ruddie colour fills the face.

Thus much may seem sufficient touching this matter of naturall magick; whereunto though much more may be annexed, yet for the avoiding of tediousness; and for speedier passage to that which remaineth; I will break off this present treatise. And now somewhat shal be said concerning devils and spirits in the discourse following.

Englified by  
Abraham Fle-  
ming.

# A Discourse upon divels and spirits, and first of Philosophers opinions, also the manner of their reasoning hereupon; and the same confuted.

## CHAP. I.

H. Card. de var. ser. 16. cap. 93.

The Platonicks and Stoicks.

The Epicureans and Peripateticks.

Summum bonum cannot consist in the happinesse of the body or minde.

Moral temperance.

Moral prudence.



Here is no question nor theme (saith Hierome Cardane) so difficult to deal in, nor so noble an argument to dispute upon, as this of divels and spirits. For that being confessed or doubted of, the eternity of the soul is either affirmed or denied. The heathen philosophers reason hereof amongst themselves in this sort. First, they that maintain the perpetuity of the soul, say that if the soul died with the body; to what end should men take pains either to live well or die well, when no reward for vertue nor punishment for vice insueth after this life, the which otherwise they might spend in ease and security? The other sort say that vertue and honesty is to be pursued, *Non spe premii, sed virtutis amore*, that is, Not for hope of reward, but for love of vertue. If the soul live ever (say the other) the least portion of life is here. And therefore we that maintain the perpetuity of the soul, may be of the better comfort and courage, to sustain with more constancy the losse of children, yea and the losse of life it self: whereas, if the soul were mortal, all our hope and felicity were to be placed in this life, which many Atheists (I warrant you) at this day do. But both the one and the other misse the cushion. For, to do any thing without Christ, is to weary our selves in vain; *sith in him only our corruptions are purged.* And therefore the folly of the Gentiles, that place *Summum bonum* in the felicity of the body, or in the happinesse or pleasures of the mind, is not only to be derided, but also abhorred. For both our bodies and mindes are intermedled with most miserable calamities: and therefore therein cannot consist perfect felicity. But in the word of God is exhibited and offered unto us that hope which is most certain, absolute, sound and sincere, not to be answered or dehyed by the judgement of philosophers themselves. For they that preferre temperance before all other things as *Summum bonum*, must needs see it to be but a wretchedness of their natural calamity, corruption and wickednesse; and that it serveth for nothing, but to restrain the dissolutenesse, which hath place in their mindes infected with vices; which are to be bridled with such corrections; yea and the best of them all faileth in some point of modesty. Wherefore serveth our philosophers prudence, but to provide for their owne folly and misery; whereby they might else be utterly overthrowed. And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should have no need

of such circumspection. The justice whereof they speake, serveth but to Morall justice: keepe them from ravine, theft, and violence: and yet none of them all are so just but that the very best and uprightest of them fall into great infirmities, both doing and suffering much wrong and injury. And what is Morall fortitude but to arme them to endure misery, griefe, danger, & death rude, their fortitude but to arme them to endure misery, griefe, danger, & death rude, it selfe? But what happinesse or goodnesse is to be reposed in that life, which must be waited upon with such calamities, and finally must have the helpe of death to finish it? I say, if it be so miserable, why do they place *Summum bonum* therein? S. Paul to the Romans sheweth, that it cannot be that we should attaine to justice, through the morall and naturall actions and duties of this life: because that never the Jewes nor the Gentiles could expresse so much in their lives, as the very law of nature or of Moses required. And therefore he that worketh without Christ, doth as he that reckoneth without his host.

## CHAP. II.

Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to the disproofe of some writers hereupon.

For my part do also thinke this argument, about the nature and substance of divels and spirits, to be so difficult, as I am perswaded that no one author hath in any certaine or perfect sort hitherto written thereof. In which respect I can neither allow the ungodly and prophane sects and doctrines of the Sadducees and Peripateticks, who deny that there are any divels or spirits at all; nor the fond and superstitious treatises of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyrius; or yet the vaine and absurd opinions of Platonius, Nider, Sprenger, Cumanus, Bodin, Mich. el, Andreas, Ianus, of Pfellus, Ananias, Iamblichus, &c: who with many others write so ridiculously in these matters, as if they were babes strait with bugges; some affirming that the soules of the dead become spirits, the good to be angels, the bad to be divels; some that spirits or divels are only in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some, that divels are of such gender as they list themselves; some, that they had that beginning, nor shall have ending, as the Manichees maintaine; some, that they are mortall and die, as Plutarch affirmeth of Pan; some, that they have no bodies at all, but receive bodies, according to their phantasies and imaginations; some, that their bodies are given unto them; some, that they make themselves. Some, say they are wind; some, that they are the breath of living creatures; some, that one of them beget another; some, that they were created of the least part of the masse, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances betwene God and man, and that of them some are terrestriall, some celestiall, some watery, some airy, some fry, some stary, and some of each and every part of the elements, and that they know our thoughts, and carry our good works and prayers to God, and returne his benefits backe unto us, and that they are to be worshipped: wherein they meete and agree iumpe with the papists; as if you read the notes upon the second chapter to the Colossians

The question about spirits doubtfull and difficult.  
Plotinus.  
The Greeks.  
Laur. Ananias.  
The Manichees.  
Plutarch.  
Pfellus.  
Mal. malf.  
Avice, and the Cabalists.  
The Thalmudists.  
The Platonists.  
The Papists.  
Colossians









greed with *Pfellus* then with *Plato*: for he said they were begotten, born, died, and lived long; but how long they told him not: howbeit, as he might conjecture by the divels face, who was 42 years old, and yet appeared very young, he thought they lived two or three hundred years: they said that their soules and ours also died with their bodies. They had schooles and universities among them: but he conceived not that any were so dull headed, as *Pfellus* maketh them. But they are very quick in that, that believe such fables, which indeed is the ground-work of witchcraft and conjuration. But these histories are so grosse and palpable, that I might be thought as wise in going about to confute them, as to answer the stories of *Fryer Ruso*, *Adam Bell*, or the golden Legend.

CHAP. VI.

The opinion of *Plato* concerning spirits, divels and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of *Socrates* his familiar divell.

The Platonists opinion.

*Plato* and his followers hold, that good spirits appear in their own likeness; but that evil spirits appeare and shew themselves in the form of other bodies; and that one divell reigneth over the rest, as a prince doth in every perfect common-wealth over men. Item, they obtain their purposes and desires, only by intreaty of men and women; because in nature they are their inferiors and use authority over men none otherwise than priests by vertue of their function, and because of religion wherein (they say) they execute the office of God. Sometimes they say that the fiery spirits or supreme substances enter into the purities of the minde, and so obtaine their purpose; sometimes otherwise to wit, by vertue of holy charmes, and even as a poore man obtaineth for Gods sake any thing at a princes hand as it were by importunenesse.

What kind of sacrifices each spirit liketh best.

The other sort of divels and defiled soules are so conversant on earthly things that they doe much hurt unto earthly bodies, specially in leachery. *Geni* and angels (say they) because they want all materiall and grosse substances desire most the pure sacrifice of the minde. The grosser and more terrestrial spirits desire the grosser sacrifices; as beads and cartell. They in the middle or mean region delight to have frankincense, and such like meane stufke offered unto them: and therefore (say they) it is necessary to sacrifice unto them, all manner of things, so the same be fitting and dye not of their own accord; for such they abhor. Some say that they feare wonderfully vain threats, and thereupon will depart; as if you tell them that you will cut the heavens in peeces, or reveal their secrets, or such things as they cannot understand; they are so timorous, that they will presently be gone: and that is thought the best way to be rid of them. But these be most commonly of that sort or company which

which are called *Principatus*, being of all other the most easie to be conjured.

They say *Socrates* had a familiar divell: which *Plato* relyeth much upon, using none other argument to prove that there are such spirits, but his private discourse because *Socrates* (that would not lye) said so; and partly because that well or familiar divell did ever disswade and prohibit, not only in *Socrates* his own cases, spirit, but sometimes in his friends behalf; who (if they had been ruled) might through his admonition have saved their lives. His disciples gathered that his divell was Saturnall, and a principall fiery divell; and that he, and all such as doe naturally know their divels, are only such as are called *Demonii vivi*, otherwise, counsers. Item, they say that fiery spirits urge men to contemplation, the airy to businesse, the watery to lust; and among these there are some that are Martiall, which give fortitude; some are Joviall, giving wisdom; some Saturniall, always using disswasion and dehorting. Item, some are born with us, and remaine with us all our life; some are meer strangers, who are nothing else but the soules of men departed this life, &c.

CHAP. VII.

*Plato*'s nine orders of spirits and angels, *Dionysius* his division thereof not much differing from the same, all disproved by learned Divines.

*Plato* propoeth or setteth forth nine severall orders of spirits, besides the spirits and soules of men. The first spirit is God that commandeth all the residue; the second are those that are called *Idæ*, which give all things to all men; the third are the soules of heavenly bodies which are mortal; the fourth are angels; the fifth archangels; the sixth are divels, who are ministers to infernall powers, as angels are to supernall; the seventh are half Gods; the eighth are principalities; the ninth are princes. From which division *Dionysius* doth not much swarve, saying that he dealeth (as he saith) only with good spirits, whom he likewise divideth into nine parts or offices. The first he calleth Seraphim, the second cherubim, the third thrones, the fourth dominations, the fifth vertues, the sixth powers, the seventh principalities, the eighth archangels, the ninth and inferiour the tenth are called angels. Howbeit, some of these (in my thinking) are evil spirits; or else *Paul* gave us evil counsell, when he willed us to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spiritual wickednesse.

But *Dionysius* in that place goeth further, impropriating to every countrey, and almost to every person of any account, a peculiar angel; as to *Jewry*, he assigneth *Michael*; to *Adam, Raxael*; to *Abraham, Zerubiel*; to *Isack, Raphael*; to *Jacob, Pheliel*; to *Moses, Metraton*, &c. But in these discourses be either followed his owne imaginations and conceits, or else the corruptions of that age. Nevertheless, I had rather confute him by *M. Calvins*, and my kinman *M. Diering*, than by my selfe, or mine

I. Calv. lib. in. Sit. l. c. 14.

Edw. Deering in lect upon the Hebrews reading. 6. Mal 3.1.

mine own words. For M. Calvine saith, that Dionysius, herein speaketh not as by hearsay, but as though he had slipped down from heaven and told of things which he had seen. And yet (saith he) Paul was especially handled; where he saith, that whensoever archangell is mentioned in the Scriptures, it signifieth our Saviour Christ, and no creature. And certaine it is that Christ himself was called an angell. The names also of angels, as Mich:el, Gabriel, &c. are given to them (saith Calvine) according to the capacity of our weaknesse. But because the decision of this is neither within the compasse of mans capacity, nor yet of his knowledge, I will proceed no further to discusse the same, but to shew the absurd opinions of papists and witchmongers on the one side, and the most sober and probable collections of the contrary minded on the other side.

CHAP. VIII.

The commencement of divels fondly gathered out of the 14. of Isa. of Lucifer and of his fall, the Cabalists the Thalmudists and Schoollmans opinions of the creatin of angels.

Isai. 14.

The witchmongers, which are most commonly bastard divines, do fondly gather and fallly conceive the commencement of divels out of the fourteenth of Isay, where they suppose Lucifer is cited, as the name of an angell; who on a time being desirous to be checkmate with God himself, would needs (when God was gone a little aside) be sitting down or rather pirking up in Gods own principall and cathedrall chaire; and that therefore God cast him and all his confederates out of heaven; some fell down from thence to the bottom of the earth; some having descended but into the middle region; and the tail of them having yet passed through the higher region, stayed even then and there, when God said, Ho. But God knoweth there is no such thing meant nor mentioned in that place. For there is only fore-shewed the deposing and privation of King Nebuchadnezzar, who exalting himself in pride (as he were above the starres) esteemed his glory to surmount all others, as farre as Lucifer the bright morning starre shineth more gloriously than the other common starres, and was punished by exile, untill such time as he had humbled himself; and therefore metaphorically was called Lucifer.

The opinion of the Thalmudists,

But forsooth, because these great clerks would' be thought methodical, and to have crept out of wisdoms bosome, who rather crawled out of holes lies breeches; they take upon them to shew us, first, whereof these angels that fell from heaven were created; to wit, of the left side of that massie mold, whereof the world was compounded, the which (say they) was Putredo terrae; that is, the rottennesse of the earth. The Cabalists with whom Avicenn seemeth to agree, say that one of these begat another

others say, they were made all at once. The Greeks doe write that angels were created before the world. The Latinists say they were made the fourth day, when the stars were made. Lawrence Ananias saith they were made the first day, and could not be made the fourth day, because it is written; Quando facta sunt sidera, laudaverunt me angeli. When the stars were made the angels praised me; so as (saith he) they were made under the names of the heavens.

Law. Anan. lib. de natur. dem. 1. Creati celum, & terram.

There is also a great question among the schoolemen, whether more angels fell down with Lucifer, or remained in heaven with Michael. Many having a bad opinion of the angels honesties, affirm that the greater part fell with Lucifer; but the better opinion is (saith Lawrence Ananias) that the most part remained. And of them that think so, some say the tenth part were cast down, some the ninth; and some gather upon S. John, that the third part were only damned; because it is written, that the dragon with his taile plucked down with him the third part of the starres.

Law. Anan. lib. de natur. dem. 1.

CHAP. IX.

Of the contention between the Greek and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselves herein, a confit between Michael and Lucifer.

There was also another contention between the Greek church and the Latine; to wit, of what orders of angels they were that did fall with Lucifer. Our schoolemen say they were of all the nine orders of angels in Lucifers conspiracy. But because the superior order was of the more noble constitution, and excellent estate, and the inferior of a less worthy nature, the more part of the inferior orders fell as guilty and offenders with Lucifer. Some say the divell himself was of the inferior order of angels, and some that he was of the highest order; because it is written, In cherubim extensus & protegens posuit in monte sanctis Dei, Extended upon a cherubin and protecting, I have put thee in the holy mountain of God. And these say further, that he was called the dragon, because of his excellent knowledge. Finally these great doctors conclude, that the divell himselfe was of the order of Seraphim, which is the highest, because it is written, Quomodo enim mane oriebaris Lucifer? For when thou didst rise in the morning O Lucifer? They of this sect affirm, that Cacedamon was they that rebelled against Jove; I mean they of Plato his sect, himself also holding the same opinion. Our schoolemen differ much in the cause of Lucifers fall. For some say it was for speaking these words, Pannam sedem meam in aquilone, & similis ero altissimo, I will put my seat in the North, and I will be like the most High. Others say, because he utterly refused felicity, and thought scorn thereof; others say, because he thought all his strength proceeded from himself, and not from God; others say that it was, because he attempted to doe that by himself, and his own ability, which he should have obtained by the gift of another; others say,

Law. Anan. lib. de natur. dem. 1.

say, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for that he challenged the place of the Messias; others say, because he detracted the time to adore the majesty of God, as other angels did; others say, because he ungratefully refused it. Scotus and his disciples say that it was, because he rebelliously claimed equal omnipotency with God; with whom lightly the Thomists never agree. Others say it was for all these causes together, and many more: so as hereupon (saith Laurentius Ananias) grew a wonderful conflict between Michael and the good angels on the one side, and Lucifer and his fiends on the other: so as, after a long and doubtfull skirmish, Michael overthrew Lucifer, and turned him and his fellows out of the doores.

Law. Anan. lib. de natur. dam. 1.

CHAP. X.

Where the battell between Michael and Lucifer was fought, how long it continued, and of their power; how fondly papists and infidels write of them, and how reverently Christians ought to think of them.

Now where this battell was fought, and how long it continued, there is as great contention among the schoolemen, as was betwixt Michael and Lucifer. The Thomists say this battell was fought in the empyreal heaven, where the abode is of blessed spirits, and the place of pleasure and felicity. Augustine and many others say, that the battell was fought in the highest region of the air; others say, in the firmament; others in paradise. The Thomists also say it continued but one instant or prick of time; for they carried but two instants in all, even from their creation to their expulsion. The Scotists say, that between their production and their fall there were just four instants. Nevertheless, the greatest number of schoolemen affirm, that they continued only three instants; because the Lord with Gods justice, to give them three warnings; so as at the third warning Lucifer fell down like lead (for so are the words) to the bottom of hell; the rest were left in the air, to tempt man. The Sadducees were as grosse the other way; for they said, that by angels was meant nothing else, but the motion that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens of his power. He that readeth Eusebius shall see many more absurd opinions and asseverations of angels; as how many thousand years they serve as angels, before they come to the promotion of archangels, &c.

Instant, viz. punctum temp. nempe indivisibilem Nunc.

Euseb. in eccl. histor.

7000000. Johannes Cassianus in confessione theolog. tripart.

of Daniel, that there are just ten millions of angels in heaven. Many say that angels are not by nature, but by office. Finally, it were infinite to shew the absurd and curious collections hereabout. I for my part think with Calvine, that angels are creatures of God; though Moses spake of the thing of their creation, who only applied himselfe to the capacity of the common people, reciting nothing but things seen. And I say further with him, that they are heavenly spirits, whose ministracion and service God useth; and in that respect are called angels. I say yet again with the

that it is very certain, that they have no shape at all; for they are spirits, who never have any; and finally, I say with him, that the scriptures, for the capacity of our wit, doth not in vain paint out angels unto us with wings; because we should conceive, that they are ready swiftly to succour us. And certainly all the sounder divines do conceive and give out, that both the names and also the number of angels are set downe in the scripture by the Holy-ghost, in termes to make us understand the greatness and the manner of their message; which (I say) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

1. Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14. sect. 8.

Furthermore, the schoole doctors affirme, that four of the superior orders of angels never take any forme or shape of bodies, neither are sent of any arrand at any time. As for archangels, they are sent only about great and secret matters; and angels are common hacknies about every trifling and that these can take what shape or body they list; marry they never take the form of women and children. Item they say that angels take most terrible shapes: for Gabriel appeared to Mary, when he saluted her, Facie rutilante, veste coruscante, ingressu mirabili, aspectu terribili, &c. that is, with a bright countenance, shining attire, wonderful gesture, and a dreadful visage, &c. But of apparitions I have spoken somewhat before, and wil say more hereafter. It hath been long, and continueth yet a constant opinion, not only among the papists; but among others also, that every man hath assigned him, at the time of his nativity, a good angel and a bad. For the which there is no reason in nature, nor authority in scripture. For not one angel, but all the angels are said to rejoice more of one convert, than of ninety and nine just. Neither did one angel convey Lazarus into Abrahams bosome. And therefore I conclude with Calvine, that he which referreth to one angel, the care that God hath to every one of us, doth himselfe great wrong; as may appear by so many fiery chariots shewed by glireus to his servant. But touching this mystery of angels, let us reverently think of them, and not curiously search into the nature of them, considering the vileness of our condition, in respect of the glory of their creation. And as for the foresaid fond imaginations and fables of Lucifer, &c. they are such as are not only ridiculous, but also accomprable among those impious curiosities, and vain questions, which Paul speaketh of: neither have they any title or letter in the scripture for the maintenance of their grosse opinions in this behalfe.

Mich. And. thes. 107. 101. Idem. thes. 103, 108.

Luk 15. 7. Luk. 16. 23.

1. Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14.

2. Reg. 16. 17.

CHAP. XI.

Whether they became divels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Jude and Peter; of the fond opinion of the Rabbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof.

WE do read in Jude, and finde it confirmed in Peter, that the angels kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation, and sinned, and (as Job saith) committed folly: and that God therefore did cast them

Jud. vers. 6. 2. Pet. 2. 4. them



*The equivocation of this word spirit, how diversly it is taken in the Scriptures, where (by the way) is taught that the Scripture is not alwayes literally to be interpreted, nor yet allegorically to be understood.*

*a* Exod. 31. 1.  
*b* Acts 8. 19.

Gal. 3.

*c* John 6.

Math. 16.

*d* 1 Cor. 3.

Gal. 3.

1 Cor. 2.

2 Cor. 7.

*e* Luk. 9.

1 Cor. 5.

Philip. 1.

1 Thes. 5.

*f* 1 John 4.

*g* 1 Tim. 4.

*h* Ephes. 5.

Isai. 11. 2.

Zach. 12. 10.

Rom. 1. 15.

1 Cor. 12. 8, 9.

10.

1 Cor. 12. 11.

Isai. 19. 14.

Isai. 29.

1 Sam. 28.

Hest. 16.

Sap. 15. 13, 29.

Judg. 9. 23.

Such as search with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, shall find, that spirits, as well good as bad, are in the Scriptures diversly taken; yea they shall well perceive, that the devil is no horned beast. For *a* sometimes in the Scriptures, spirits and devils are taken for infirmities of the body; *b* sometimes for the vices of the minde; sometimes also for the gifts of either of them. *c* Sometimes a man is called a devil, as *Judas* in the first of *John*, and *Peter* in the xvi. of *Matthew*. *d* Sometimes a spirit is put for the Gospel; sometimes for the mind or soul of man; sometimes *e* for the will of man, his minde and counsell; sometimes *f* for teachers and prophets; sometimes *g* for zeal towards God; sometimes *h* for joy in the Holy-ghost, &c.

And to interpret unto us the nature and signification of spirits, we find these words written in the scripture; to wit, The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him; The spirit of counsel and strength; The spirit of wisdom and understanding; The spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. Again, I will pour out my spirit upon the house of *David*, &c. The spirit of grace and compassion. Again, Ye have not received the spirit of bondage, but the spirit of adoption. And therefore *Paul* saith, To one is the gift of wisdom by the spirit; to another, the gift of healing; to another, ledge by the same spirit; to another, the gift of prophesie; to another, the operation of great works; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, the diversity of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues; and all these things worketh one and the self same spirit. Thus saith the words of *Paul*. And finally, *Esay* saith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of error. And in another place, The Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slumber.

As for the spirits of divination spoken of in the scripture, they are such as was in the woman of *Endor*, the *Philippian* woman, the witch of *Midewell*, and the holy maid of *Kent*; who were indued with spirits or gifts of divination, whereby they could make shift to gain money, and abuse of the people by sleights and crafty inventions. But these are possessed of borrowed spirits, as it is written in the book of *Wisdom*; and spirits of meer coustnage and deceipt, as I have sufficiently proved elsewhere. I deny not therefore that there are spirits and devils, of such substance as it hath pleased God to create them. But in what place soever it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or devil is to be understood spiritually, and is neither a corporall nor a visible thing. Where it is written, that God sent an evil spirit between *Abimelech*, and the men of *Siehem*, we are to

understand, that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bulbecker. Also where it is said; If the spirit of jealousy come upon him. it is as much to say as; If he be moved with a jealous minde: and not that a corporal devil assaulted him. It is said in the Gospel; There was a woman, whom Christ, by laying his hand upon her, delivered of her disease. Whereby it is to be seen, that although it be said, that *Satan* had bound her, &c. yet that it was a sickness or disease of body that troubled her; for Christ's own words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some say was the cause thereof.

There were seven devils cast out of *Mary Magdalen*. Which is not so grossly understood by the learned, as that there were in her just seven corporal devils, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seven devils, a great multitude, and an uncertain number of vices is signified; which figure is usual in divers places of the scripture. And this interpretation is more agreeable with Gods word, than the papisticall paraphrase, which is; that Christ, under the name of the seven devils, recounteth the seven deadly sins only. Others allow neither of these expositions; because they suppose that the efficacy of Christ's miracle should this way be confounded; as though it were not as difficult a matter, with a touch to make a good Christian of a vicious person; as with a word to cure the ague, or any other disease of a sick body. I think not but any of both these cures may be wrought by means, in proccesse of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physician. But I say that Christ's work in both was apparently miraculous: for with power and authority, even with a touch of his finger, and a word of his mouth, he made the blind to see, the halt to goe, the lepers clean, the deaf to hear, the dead to rise again, and the poor to receive the Gospel, our come good Christians, which before were dissolute livers; to whom he said, Go your wayes and sin no more.

## CHAP. XIV.

*That it pleased God to manifest the power of his Sonne and not of witches by miracles.*

Jesus Christ, to manifest his divine power, rebuked the winds, and they ceased; and the waves of water, and it was calme; which if neither our divines nor physicians can do, much lesse our conjurors, and least of all our old witches can bring any such thing to passe. But it pleased God to manifest the power of Christ Jesus by such miraculous and extraordinary means, providing and as it were preparing diseases, that none other wife could be cured, than his sons glory, and his peoples faith might the more plainly appear; as namely, leprosie, lunacy, and blindness; as it is apparent in the Gospel, where it is said, that the man was not stricken with blindness for his owne sines, nor for any offence of his ancestors; John 9.

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but that he was made blinde, to the intent the works of God should be shewed upon him by the hands of Jesus Christ. But witches with their charmes can cure (as witchmongers affirme) all these diseases mentioned in the Scripture, and many other more; as the gout, the toothach, &c. which we find not that ever Christ cured.

Mat. 4. 17, &c.

As touching those that are said in the Gospel to be possessed of spirits, it seemeth in many places that it is indifferent, or all one, to say; He is possessed with a divel; or, he is lunaticke or phrenticke; which disease in these dayes is said to proceed of melancholy. But if every one that now is lunaticke, be possessed with a real divel; then might it be thought, that divels are to be thrust out of men by medicines. But who saith in these times with the woman of Canaan, My daughter is vexed with a divel, except it be presupposed, that she meant her daughter was troubled with some disease? Indeed we say, and say truly, to the wicked, the divel is in him: but we mean not thereby, that a real divel is gotten into his guts. And if it were so, I marvel in what shape this real divel, that possesseth them, remaineth. Entrench he into the body in one shape, and into the minde in another? If they grant him to be spiritual and invisible, I agree with them.

Mat. 15. 28.

Mat. 12. 22.

Some are of opinion, that the said woman of Canaan meant indeed that her daughter was troubled with some disease; because it is written in stead of that the divel was cast out, that her daughter was made whole, even the selfsame houre. According to that which is said in the 12. of Matthew; There was brought unto Christ one possessed of a divel, which was both blinde and dumbe, in whom he healed him: so as, he that was blind and dumbe both spake and saw. But it was the man, and not the divel, that was healed, and made to speak and see. Whereby (I say) it is gathered, that such as were diseased, as well as they that were lunaticke, were said sometimes to be possessed of divels.

CHAP. XV.

Of the possessed with divels.

Mal. malcf. quest. 5. pa. 1.

HERE I cannot omit to shew, how fondly divers writers, and namely, James Sprenger, and Henry Institor do gather and note the cause, why the divel maketh choice to possess men at certaine times of the moone; which is (say they) in two respects: first, that they may defame so good a creature as the moon; secondly, because the brain is the moistest part of the body. The divel therefore considereth the aptnesse and conveniently thereof (the moon having dominion over all moist things) so as they take advantage thereby, the better to bring their purposes to passe. And farther they say, that divels being conjured and called up, appear and come sooner in some certain constellations, than in other some: thereby to induce men to think, that there is some godhead in the starres. But when Saul was relieved with the sound of the harp, they say that the departure of the divel was by means of the signe of the crosse imprinted in Davids veins: whereby we may see how absurd the imaginations and do-

\* A maxime in philosophy, as the sun in aridic & secis.

visions of men are, when they speak according to their owne fancies, with our warrant of the word of God. But methinks it is very absurd that Joseph de anti-sphus affirmeth; to wit, that the divel should be thrust out of any man by vertue of a roor. And as vain it is, but Alanus writeth of the magical herb Cynopastus, otherwise called Aglabotus; which is all one with Salomons roor named Baaras, as having force to drive out any divel from a man possessed.

CHAP. XVI.

That we being not thoroughly informed of the nature of divels and spirits, must satisfie our selves with that which is delivered us in the Scriptures touching the same, how this word divell is to be understood both in the singular and plural number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the divell, of same spirits, of Ahab.

THE nature therefore and substance of divels and spirits, because in the Scripture it is not so set down, as we may certainly know the same; we ought to content and frame our selves faithfully to believe the words and sense there delivered unto us by the high spirit, which is the Holy Ghost, who is Lord of all spirits; alwayes considering, that evermore spirits are spoken of in scripture, as of things spiritual, though for the help of our capacities they are there sometime more grossly and corporally expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indeed they are. As for example (and to omit the history of Job, which elsewhere I handle) it is written; The Lord said, Who shall entice Ahab, that hee may fall at Ramoth Gilead, &c. Then came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said; I will goe entice him. And the Lord said, Where with? And he said; I will goe and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then he said; Goe forth, thou shalt prevaile, &c.

Num. 27. 16.

1 Reg. 18: verse 23. verse 4.

This story is here set forth in this wise, to bear with our capacities, and specially with the capacity of that age, that could not otherwise conceive of spiritual things, than by such corporall demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted, that one spirit, and not many of diverse, did possess all the false prophets at once. Even as in another place, many thousand divels are said to possess one man; and yet it is also said even in the self same place, that the same man was possessed only with one divell. For it is there said that Christ met a man, which had a divell, and hee commanded the foul spirit to come forth of the man, &c. But Calvine saith, Where Satan or the divell is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse, that standeth against the kingdome of justice. And where many divels are named in the scriptures, we are thereby taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, lest despising the fewnesse of them, we should be more slack to enter into battell, and so fall into security and idlenesse.

Luke 8. 27, 28. Mark. 5. 9. Luk. 8.

1. Cal. lib. instit. lib. 1. cap. 14. sect. 14.

On the other side, it is as plainly set down in the scripture, that some

are

are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the divell. Yea sometimes we read, that one good spirit was put into a great number of person; and again, that divers spirits rested in and upon one man: and yet no real or corporall spirit meant. As for example; The Lord took of the spirit that was upon *Moses*, and put it upon the seventy elders, and when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied. Why should not this be as substantiall and corporall a spirit, as that wherewith the maid in the *Acts* of the Apostles was possessed? Also *Elisba* intreated *Elia*, that when he departed, his spirit might dwell upon him. We read also that the spirit of the Lord came upon *Athias*, *Gidon*, *Jephtha*, *Samson*, *Balaam*, *Saul*, *David*, *h. E. 1 Sam. 16. 13.* *Zachiel*, *Zachary*, *Amasai*; yea it is written, that *Caleb* had another spirit than all the Israelites beside; and in another place it is said, that *Dani* had a more excellent spirit than any other. So as; though the spirits, as well good as bad, are said to be given by number and proportion; yet the quality and not the quantity of them is always thereby meant and presupposed. Howbeit I must confesse, that Christ had the spirit of God without measure, as it is written in the Evangelist *John*. But where it is said that spirits can be made tame, and at commandment, I say to those grosse conceivers of Scripture with *Salomon*, (who as they falsely affirme was of all others the greatest conjuror) saith thus in expresse words; No man is lord over a spirit, to retaine a spirit at his pleasure.

## CHAP. VII.

Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doe extremely contend and vary.

Some hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume and take upon them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list; of which mind all papists, and some protestants are, being more grosse than another sort, which hold that such bodies are made to their hands. Howbeit, these doe varie in the elements, wherewith these spirituall bodies are composed. For (as I have said) some affirme that they consist of fire, some think of air, and some of the starres and other celestiall powers. But if they be celestiall, then (as *Peter Martyr* saith) must they follow the circular motion; and if they be elementary, then must they follow the motions of those elements, of which their bodies consist. Of air they cannot be, for air is *Corpus homogeneum*; so as every part of air is air, whereof there can be no distinct members made. For an organically body must have bones, sinews, veins, flesh, &c. which cannot be made of air. Neither (as *Peter Martyr* affirmeth) can an airy body receive or have other shape or figure. But some ascend up into the clouds, where they find (as they say) diverse shapes and formes even in the air. Unto which objection *P. Martyr* answereth, saying, and that truly, that clouds are not

altogether air, but have a mixture of other elements mingled with them.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Certaine popish reasons concerning spirits made of air, of day divels and night divels, and why the divell loveth no salt in his meat.

Many affirm (upon a fable cited by *M. Mal.*) that spirits are of air, because they have been cut (as he saith) in sunder and closed presently again; and also because they vanish away so suddenly. But of such apparitions I have already spoken, and am shortly to say more, which are rather seen in the imagination of the weak and diseased, than in verity and truth. Which sights and apparitions, as they have been common among the unfaithfull; so now, since the preaching of the Gospell they are most rare. And as among fainthearted people; namely, women, children, and sick folks, they usually swarmed: so among strong bodies and good stomachs they never used to appeare; as elsewhere I have proved; which argueth that they were only phantasticall and imaginary. Now say they that imagine divels and spirits to be made of air, that it must needs be that they consist of that element; because otherwise when they vanish suddenly away, they should leave some earthy substance behinde them. If they were of water, then should they moisten the place where they stand, and must needs be shed on the floore. If they consisted of fire, then would they burn any thing that touched them: and yet (say they) *Abraham* and *Lot* washed their feet, and were neither scalded nor burnt. *Gen. 18. 19.*

I finde it not in the Bible, but in *Bodin*, that there are day divels and night divels. The same fellow saith, that *Deber* is the name of that divell, which hurtech by night; and *Cheleb* is he that hurtech by day: howbeit, he confesseth that *Satan* can hurt both by day and night; although it be certain (as he saith) that he can doe more harm by night than by day; producing for example, how in a night he slew the first born of *Egypt*. And yet it appeareth plainly in the text, that the Lord himself did it. Whereby it seemeth, that *Bodin* putteth no difference between God and the divell. For further confirmation of this his foolish assertion, that divels are more valiant by night than by day, he alleadgeth the 104 *Psalme*, where in is written, Thou makest darknesse, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest creep forth, the lions roar, &c. when the sun riseth, they retire, &c. So as now he maketh all beasts to be divels, or divels to be beasts. Oh barbarous blindness! This *Bodin* also saith, that the divell loveth no salt in his meat, for that it is a sign of eternity, and used by Gods commandment in all sacrifices; abusing the Scriptures, which Levitic. hee is not ashamed to quote in that behalfe. But now I will declare how the Scripture teacheth our dull capacities to conceive what manner of thing the divell is, by the very names appropriated unto him in the same.

Z z

CHAP.





374  
Juno and Mi-  
nerva.

Coufening  
gods or knaves.

Terra, aqua,  
aer, ignis, sol &  
Luna.

Hudgin of Ger-  
many, and Ruff  
of England.

Wier. lib. de  
praest. dem. l.  
cap. 23.

### A discovery of

that were said to make men live quietly within doores. But some think these rather to be such, as the Gentiles thought to be set over kingdoms and that *Lares* are such as trouble private houses, and are set to oversee croffe wayes and cities. *Larvae* are said to be spirits that walk only by night. *Genii* are the two angels, which they supposed were appointed to wait upon each man. *Manes* are the spirits which oppose themselves against men in the way. *Dæmones* were feigned gods by poets, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. in the way. *Vivunculi terrei* are such as was *Robin Good-fellow*, that would supply the office of servants, specially of maids; as to make a fire in the morning, sweep the house, grind mustard and malt, draw water, &c. these also rumble in houses, draw latches, goe up and down stairs, &c. *Dii geniales* are the gods that every man did sacrifice unto at the day of their birth. *Tetrices* be they that make folk afraid, and have such ugly shape, which make ny of our Divines doe call *Subterranei*. *Cobals* are they that follow men, and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, juggling, and such like toies. *Vivunculi* are dwarfs about three handfulls long, and doe no hurt, but seem to dig in minerals, and to be very busie, and yet doe nothing. *Gutels* or *Trulls* are spirits (they say) in the likenesse of women, showing great kindnesse to all men; and hereof it is that we call light women, true. *Dæmones montani* are such as work in the minerals, and further the worke of the labourers wonderfully, who are nothing afraid of them. *Hudgin* is a very familiar divell, which will doe no body hurt, except hee receive injury: but he cannot abide that, nor yet be mocked: he talketh with men friendly, sometimes visibly, and sometimes invisibly. There are many tales upon this *Hudgin*, in some parts of *Germany*, as there did in *England* of *Robin Good-fellow*. But this *Hudgin* was so called, because hee always wore a cap or a hood; and therefore I think it was *Robin Hood*, and *Fryar Ruff* was for all the world such another fellow as this *Hudgin*, and brought up even in the same school; to wit, in a kitchen: in so much as the selfe same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is said to have been slain, &c. for the reading whereof I referre you to *Fryar Ruff* his story, or else to *John wierus*, *De praestigii demonum*.

There were also *Familiares demones*, which we call familiars: such as *Socrates* and *Cæsar* were said to have; and such as *Feats* sold to *Dogor Buroot*. *Quintus Sertorius* had *Diana* herself for his familiar; and *Mama Pompilius* had *Ageria*; but neither the one nor the other of all these could be preserved by their familiars from being destroyed with untimely death. *Simon Samaveus* boasted, that he had gotten by conjuration, the soul of a little child that was slain, to be his familiar, and that hee told him all things that were to come, &c. I marvell what priviledge soules have, which are departed from the body, to know things to come more than the soules within mans body. There were spirits, which they called *Albe mulieres*, and *Albe Sibyllæ*, which were very familiar; and did much harm (they say) to women with child, and to suckling children. *Deumus* as a divell is worshipped among the *Indians* in *Calesme*, who (as they think) hath power given him of God to judge the earth, &c. his image is horribly pictured in a most ugly shape. *Thevet* saith, that a divell

### Divels and spirits.

In *America*, called *Agnan*, beareth sway in that country. In *Gimic* one *Grigrie* is accounted the great divell, and keepeth the woods; these have Bawdy priests called *Charoibes*, which prophesie after they have lien by the space of in *Gimic*, one hour prostrate upon a wench of twelve yeares old, and all that while (say they) he calleth upon a divell called *Hovululfray*, and then cometh fourth and uttereth his prophesie. For the true success: whereof the people pray all the while that he lieth groveling like a lecherous knave. There are a thousand other names, which they say are attributed unto the divels; and such as they take to themselves are more ridiculous than the names that are given by others, which have more leisure to devise them. In little bookes containing the coufening possessed, at *Maidstone*, where such a wonder was wrought, as also in other places, you may see a number of counterfeit divels names, and other trash.

Looke in the  
word (ob)lib.  
7. cap 3.

### CH A P. XXII.

Of the Romans chiefe gods called *Dii-selekti*, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.

There were among the *Romans* twenty idolatrous gods, which were called *Dii-selekti* (five *elekti*, ch. ten gods; whereof twelve were male, and eight female, whose names do thus follow: *Janus*, *Saturnus*, *Jupiter*, *Genius*, *Mercurius*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Vulcanus*, *Nepitunus*, *Sol*, *Orcus*, and *Vibars*, which were all the gods: *Tellus*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Luna*, and *Venus*, were all the goddesses. No man might appropriate any of these unto himselfe, but they were left common and indifferent to all men dwelling in one realme, province, or notable city. These heathen gentiles had also their gods, which served for sundry purposes; as to raise thunder, they had *Statores*, *Tonantes*, *Feretrii*, and *Jupiter*. A good god was more apt for this purpose than *Minerva* that issued out of *Jupiter* for women. They had *Cantius*, to whom they prayed for wife children, who and goddesse owne braine. *Lucina* was to send them that were with childe safe delivery, and in that respect was called the mother of child wives. *Opis* was called the mother of the babe new borne, whose image women with child hanged upon their girdles before their bellies, and bare it so by the space of nine moneths; and the midwife always touched the child therewith before she or any other layed hand thereon.

If the child were well borne, they sacrificed thereunto, although the mother miscaried: but if the child were in any part unperfect, or dead, &c. they used to beat the image into powder, or to burne or drowne it. *Vagianus* was he that kept their children from crying, and therefore they did always hang his picture about babes neckes: for they thought much certain hea- crying in youth portended ill fortune in age. *Cuninus*, otherwise *Cunius*, thenish gods, &c. was he that preserved (as they thought) their children from misfortune in their peculiar the cradle. *Ruminus* was to keepe their duges from corruption. *Volumnus* offices, and his wife *Volumna* were gods, the one for young men, the other for maids.





they powred forth their prayers, were stocks and stones, and only pictures of those persons whom they resembled: yea they also knew, that the papists and witchmongers think the Rood of grace, or mother Buncie could doe. And yet the papists can see the abuse of the Gentiles, and may not hear of their owne idolatry more grosse and damnable than the others.

The papists see a moth in the eye of others, but no beam in their owne.

CHAP. XXVI.

The conceipt of the heathen and the papists all one in idolatry, of the counsell of Trent, a notable story of a hangman arraigned after he was dead and buried, &c.

But papists perchance will deny, that they attribute so much to these idols as I report; or that they think it so meritorious to pray to the images of saints as is supposed, affirming that they worship God, and the saints themselves, under the formes of images. Which was also the conceipt of the heathen, and their excuse in this behalf; whose eyesight and insight herein reached as farre as the papisticall distinctions published by popes and their counsels. Neither doe any of them admit so grosse idolatry, as the counsell of Trent hath done, who alloweth that worship to the Rood that is due to Jesus Christ himselfe, and so likewise of other images of saints. I thought it not impertinent therefore in this place to insert an example taken out of the Rosarie, of our Lady, in which book do remaine (besides this) ninety and eight examples to this effect: which are of such authority in the church of Rome, that all scripture must give place unto them. And these are either read there as their speciall homilies, or preached by their chief doctors. And this is the sermon for this day verbatim translated out of the said Rosarie, a book much esteemed and revered among papists.

The idolatrous counsell of Trent.

Exempl. 4.

A certain hangman passing by the image of our Lady, saluted her, commending himself to her protection. Afterwards, while he prayed before her, he was called away to hang an offender; but his enemies intercepted him, and slew him by the way. And loe a certain holy priest, which nightly walked about every church in the city, rose up that night, and was going to his Lady, I should say to our Lady church. And in the churchyard he saw a great many dead men, and some of them he knew, of whom he asked what the matter was, &c. who answered, that the hangman was slain, and the divel challenged his soul, the which our Lady said was hers: and the judge was even at hand comming thither to hear the cause, and therefore (said they) we are now come together. The priest thought he would be at the hearing hereof, and hid himselfe behind a tree; and anon he saw the judicall seat ready prepared and furnished, where the judge, to wit, Jesus Christ, sat, who took up his throne unto him. Soon after the divels brought in the hangman pinnioned, and proved by good evidence, that his soul belonged to them. On the other

But our Lady spied him well enough; as you shall read.

either side, our Lady pleaded for the hangman, proving that he at the hour of death commended his soul to her. The judge hearing the matter so well debated on either side, but willing to obey (for these are his words) his mothers desire, and loath to do the divels any wrong, gave sentence that the hangmans soul should returne to his body, untill he had made sufficient satisfaction; ordaining that the pope should set forth a publick forme of prayer for the hangmans soul. It was demanded, who should doe the errand to the popes holinesse? Many quoth our Lady, that shall yonder priest that lurketh behind the tree. The priest being called forth, and enjoined to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope to take the paines to do according to it is decreed, asked by what token he should be directed. Then was delivered unto him a rose of such beauty as when the pope saw it, he knew his message was true. And so, if they do not well, I pray God we may.

The priests arse made but tons.

CHAP. XXVII.

A confutation of the fable of the hangman, of many other feigned and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproofe thereof.

BY the tale above mentioned you see what it is to worship the image of our lady. For though we kneel to God himself, and make never so humble petitions unto him, without faith and repentance, it shall do us no pleasure at all. Yet this hangman had great friendship shewed him for one point of courtserie used to our lady, having not one dramme of faith, repentance, nor yet of honesty in him. Nevertheless, so credulous is the nature of man, as to beleve this and such like fables: yea, to disrepute such stuffe, is thought among the papists flat heresie. And though we see that are protestants will not beleve these roies, being so apparently foolish: yet we credit and report other appearances, and assuming of bodies by soules and spirits; though they be as prophane, absurd, and impious as the other. We are sure the holy maid of Kents vision was a very countenance: but we can credit, imprint, and publish for a true possession or history, the knavery used by a countenancing varlor at Maidstone; and many other such as that was. We think soules and spirits may come out of heaven or hell, and assume bodies, believing many absurd tales told by the schoolemen and Romish doctors to that effect: but we discredit all the stories that they, and as grave men as they are, tell us upon their knowledge and credit, of soules condemned to purgatory, wandering for succour and release by trentals and masses said by a popish priest, &c. and yet they in probability are equal, and in number farre exceed the other. We think that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fattered upon places elsewhere; to wit, that he knew the divell, and was very conversant with where innuamed him, and had eaten many bushels of salt and made jolly good cheereable with him; and that he was confuted in a disputation with a reall divell about these things.

Our B.ladies favour.

Greg. 4. dialog. cap. 51. Alex. and lib. 5. cap. 23. & lib. 2. cap. 9. &c. Greg. lib. 4. di. &c. log. ca. 40. idem. &c. cap. 55.

about the abolishing of private masse. Neither do we beleve this report, that the divell in the likenesse of a tall man, was present at a sermon openly made by *Carolostradius*; and from this sermon went to his house, and told his sonne that he would fetch him away after a day or twain: as the papists say he did indeed, although they lie in every point thereof most maliciously. But we can beleve *Platina* and others, when they tell us of the appearances of pope *Benedict* the eight, and also the ninth; how the one rode upon a black horse in the wilderness, requiring a bishop (as I remember) whom he met, that he would distribute certain money for him, which he had purloined of that which was given in almes to the poor, &c. and how the other was seen a hundred years after the divell had killed him in a wood, of an heremite, in a beauster the divell had killed him on his shoulders, &c. himselfe saying that he appeared in such sort as he lived. And diverse such stuffe rehearsed by *Platina*.

*Ambros. ser. 90.*  
*de passione Agn.*  
*Euseb. lib. eccles. hist. 5. Niccpb. lib. 5. cap. 7.*  
*Euseb. in vita Pauli Theodor. lib. hist. 5. ca. 24. Alban. in vita Autho.*

\* *Melanctho. in Calendar. Manlii. 23. April.*  
*Marbach. lib. de miracul. adversus Inf.*  
*Johannes Rivinus de veter. superstit.*  
*Athan. lib. 99. que. 11. August. de cura pro mortu. ca. 13. Luk. 16.*

Now because *S. Ambrose* writeth, that *S. Anne* appeared to *Constantine* the daughter of *Constantine*, and to her parents, watching at her sepulchre; and because *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* say, that the *Pontamian* virgine, *Origen*s disciple, appeared to *S. Basil*, and put a crown upon his head, Intoken of the glory of his martyrdome, which should shortly follow: and because *Hierome* writeth of *Pauls* appearance; and *Theodoret*, of *S. John* the *Baptists*; and *Athanasius*, of *Ammons*, &c. many do beleve the same stories and miraculous appearances to be true. But few protestants will give credit unto such shamefull fables, or any like them, when they finde them written in the *Legendary*, *Festivall*, *Rosaries* of our *Lady*, or any other such popish authors. Whereby I gather, that if the protestant beleve some few lies, the papists beleve a great number. This I write, to shew the imperfection of man, how attentive our ears are to hearken to tales, And though herein consist no great point of faith or infidelity; yet let us that professe the gospell take warning of papists; but let us cast away these prophane and with every vain blast of doctrine; not to be carried away with old wives fables. And although this matter have passed so long with generall credit and authority; yet many grave authors have condemned long since all those vain visions and apparitions, except such as have been shewed by God, his sonne, and his angels. *Athanasius* saith, that soules once loosed from their bodies, have no more society with mortall men, *Augustine* saith, that if soules could walk and visit their friends, &c. or admonish them in sleep, or other-wise, his mother that followed him by land and by sea would shew her selfe to him, and reveal her knowledge, or give him warning, &c. But most true it is that is written in the gospell; We have *Moses* and the prophets, who are to be hearkened unto, and not the dead.

A confutation of *Johannes Laurentius*, and of many others, maintaining these fained and ridiculous tales and apparitions, and what driveth them away: of *Moses* and *Helias* appearance in mount *Thabor*.

Furthermore, to prosecute this matter in more words; if I say that these apparitions of soules are but knaveries and coufenages; they object that *Moses* and *Helias* appeared in mount *Thabor*, and talked with *Christ*, in the presence of the principal apostles. yea, and that God appeared in the bush, &c. As though spirits and soules could do whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to do, or appoint to be done for his owne glory, or for the manifestation of his sonne miraculously. And therefore I mention thought good to give you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this behalf.

And first you shal understand, that they hold, that all the soules in heaven may come down and appear to us when they list, and assume any body saving their owne; otherwise (say they) such soules should not be perfectly happy. They say that you may know the good soules from the bad very easily. For a damned soul hath a very heavy and sower look; but a saints soul hath a cheerfull and a merry countenance; these also are white and shining, the other cole black. And these damned soules also may come up out of hell at their pleasure; although *Abraham* made *Devils* beleave the contrary. They affirme that damned soules walk oftent: next unto them the soules of purgatory; and most seldome the soules of saints. Also they say that in the old law soules did appear seldome; and after dooms day they shal never be seen more: in the time of grace they shall be most frequent. The walking of these soules (saith *Michaell Andr.*) is a most excellent argument for the proof of purgatory; for (saith he) those soules have testified that which the popes have affirmed in that behalfe; to wit, that there is not only such a place of punishment, but that they are released from thence by masses, and such other satisfactory works; where by the goodnesse of the masse is: lo rarified and confirmed.

These heavenly or purgatory soules (say they) appear most commonly to them that are bora upon ember daies, and they also walk most usually mens on those ember daies; because we are in best state at that time to pray for the one, and to keep company with the other. Also they say, that ad episc. soules appear oftent by night; because men may then be at best leisure, and most quiet. Also they never appear to the whole multitude, seldome to a few, and most commonly to one alone; for so one may tell a lie without controlment. Also they are oftent seen by them that are ready to dye; as *Trasilla* saw pope *Felix*; *Ursine*, *Peter* and *Paul*; *Galba Mich. And. Romana*, *S. Peter*; and as *Musa* the maid saw our *Lady*; which are the most certain appearances, credited and allowed in the church of *Rome*; also they may be seen of some, and of some other in that presence not seen cap. 11.

Mich. And. thes. 347.  
Mich. And. thes. 348.  
Ide. thes. 388.  
Ide. thes. 411.  
Mal. malef. I. 6ad. &c.  
Mich. And. thes. 412.  
Idem. thes. 414.

at all; as *Virgine* saw *Peter* and *Paul*, and yet many at that instant being present could not see any such sights, but thought it a lie; as I doe. *Michael Andreas* confesseth, that papists see more visions than protestants; he saith also, that a good soul can take none other shape than of a man; or marry a damned soul may and doth take the shape of a black moor, or of a beakt, or of a serpent, or specially of an heretick. The christian signs that drive away these evill souls, are the crosse, the name of *Jesus*, and the relickes of saints; in the number whereof are holiwater, holy bread, *Agnes Dei*, &c. For *Andrew* saith, that notwithstanding *Julian* was an Apostle, and a betrayer of a christian religion; yet at an extremity, with the only sign of the crosse, he drove away from him many such evill spirits; where by also (he saith) the greatest diseases and sicknesses are cured, and the worst dangers avoided.

## CHAP. XXIX.

## A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced Eve.

Gen. 3. 14, 15.

THEY that contend so earnestly for the divels assuming of bodies and visible shapcs, do think they have a great advantage by the words uttered in the third of *Genesis*, where they say, the divell entered into a serpent or snake; and that by the curse it appeareth, that the whole displeasure of God lighted upon the poor snake only. How those words are to be considered may appear, in that it is of purpose so spoken, as our weak capacities may thereby best conceive the substance, tenor, and true meaning of the word, which is there set downe in the manner of a tragedie, in such humane and sensible forme, as wonderfully informeth our understanding; though it seem contrary to the spirituall course of spirits and divels, and also to the nature and divinity of God himself; who is infinite, and whom no man ever saw with corporall eyes, and lived. And doubtlesse, if the serpent there had not been taken absolutely, nor metaphorically for the divell, the Holy-ghost would have informed us thereof in some part of that story. But to affirme it sometimes to be a divell, and sometimes a snake; whereas there is no such distinction to be found or seen in the text, is an invention and a fetch (me thinks) beyond the compasse of all divinity. Certainly the serpent was he that seduced Eve; now whether it were the divell, or a snake; let any wise man (or rather let the word of God) judge. Doubtlesse the scripture in many places expoundeth it to be the divell. And I have (I am sure) one wiseman on my side for the interpretation hereof, namely *Solomon*; who saith, Through the envie of the divell came death into the world; referring that to the divell, which *Moses* in the letter did to the serpent. But a better expositor hereof needeth not, than the text it self, even in the same place, where it is written; I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, he shall break thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. What christian knoweth not, that in these words the mystery of our

Gen. 3. 1.  
1 Cor. 11. 3.

Sap. 2. 24.

our redemption is comprised and promised? Wherein is not meant (as many suppose) that the common seed of women shall tread upon a snakes head, and so break it in pieces, &c. but that speciall seed, which is *Christ*, should be borne of a woman, to the utter overthrow of *Satan*, and to the redemption of mankind, whose heel or flesh in his members the *Devill* should bruise and assault, with continuall attempts, and carnall provocations, &c.

## CHAP. XXX.

## The objection concerning the divels assuming of the serpents body answered.

THIS word serpent in holy scripture is taken for the divell: The serpent was more subtil than all the beasts of the field. It likewise signifieth such as be evill speakers, such as have slandering tongues, also heretics, &c. They have sharpened their tongues like serpents. It doth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of *Christ*: as *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lifted up upon the crosse. Moreover, it is taken for wicked men: O ye serpents and generation of vipers. Thereby also is signified as well a wise as a subtil man: and in that sense did *Christ* himself use it; saying, Be ye wise as serpents, &c. So that by this brief collection you see, that the word serpent, as it is equivocally, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the good and sometimes in the evill part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceit: me thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the allegory. Truly *Calvines* opinion is to be liked and reverenced, and his example to be embraced and followed, in that he offereth to subscribe to them that hold, that the Holy-ghost in that place, did of purpose use obscure figures, that the clear light thereof might be deferred, till *Christ*s coming. He saith also with like commendation (speaking hereof, and writing upon this place) that *Moses* doth accommodate and fitt for the understanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there delivereth; forbearing once to rehearse the name of *Satan*. And further he saith, that this order may not be thought of *Moses* his owne device; but to be taught him by the spirit of God: for such was (saith he) in those dayes the childish age of the church, which was unable to receive higher or profounder doctrine. Finally, he saith even hereupon, that the Lord hath supplied, with the fervent light of his spirit, whatsoever wanted in plainnesse and clearnesse of externall words.

If it be said, according to experience, that certain other beasts are farre more subtil than the serpent; they answer, that it is not absurd to conclude, that the same gift was taken away from him, by God, because he brought destruction to mankind. Which is more (me thinks) than need be granted in that behalfe. For *Christ* saith not; Be ye wise as serpents were.

Gen. 3. 1.

Psal. 139. 4.

Num. 8. 8. 9.  
John 3. 14.Mar. 23. 33.  
Mat. 10. 16.1. Cal. in *Genes.*  
cap. 3. 1.Idem *ibid.*Idem *ibid.*  
Idem *ibid.*

Mat. 10. 16.



Ifai. 30. 6.  
Mat. 2. 12, 13.  
Luk. 3. 8. c.  
Gen. 3.

were before their transgression; but, Be wise as serpents are. I would lea-  
what impiety, absurdity, or offense it is to hold, that *Moses*, under the per-  
son of poysoning serpent or snake, describeth the divell that poysoned  
*Eve* with his deceitfull words, and venomous assault. Whence cometh  
it else, that the divell is called so often, The viper, The serpent, &c. and  
that his children are called the generation of vipers; but upon this first de-  
scription of the divell made by *Moses*? For I think none so grosse, as to  
suppose, that the wicked are the children of snakes, according to the letters;  
no more than we are to think and gather, that God keepeth a book of life,  
written with penne and inke upon paper; as citizens record their free  
men.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the curse rehearsed Gen. 3. and that place rightly expounded,  
John Calvines opinion of the divell.

Family of love.

**T**He curse rehearsed by God in that place, whereby witchmongers labour  
so busily to prove that the divell entered into the body of a snake, and  
by consequence can take the body of any other creature at his pleasure  
&c. reacheth I think further into the divels matters, than we can compre-  
hend it, or is needfull for us to know, that understand nor the wayes of  
the divels creeping, and is far unlikely to extend to plague the generation  
of snakes; as though they had been made with legges before that time,  
and through his curse was deprived of that benefit. And yet, if the di-  
vell should have entered into the snake, in manner and form as they sup-  
pose; I cannot see in what degree of sin the poore snake should be so  
guilty, as that God, who is the most righteous Judge, might be offended  
with him. But although I abhorre that lewd interpretation of the fami-  
ly of love, and such other heretiques, as would reduce the whole Bible  
into allegories: yet (me thinks) the creeping there is rather metapho-  
rically or significantly spoken, than literally; even by that figure, which is  
there prosecuted to the end. Wherein the divell is resembled to an odorous  
creature, who as he creepeth upon us to annoy our bodies; so doth the di-  
vell there creep into the conscience of *Eve*, to abuse and deceive her; whose  
seed; nevertheless shall tread down and dissolve his power and malice.  
And through him, all good christians (as *Calvine* saith) observe  
power to doe the like. For we may not imagine such a materiall  
tragedy, as there is described, for the case of our feeble and weak crea-  
tures.

1. Cal. lib. instit.  
1. cap. 14. sect. 13.

For whensoever we find in the scriptures, that the divell is called god,  
the prince of the world, a strong armed man, to whom is given the pow-  
er of the air; a roaring lion, a serpent, &c. the Holy Ghost moved us there-  
by, to beware of the most subtil, strong and mighty enemy, and to make  
preparation, and arm our selves with faith against so terrible an ad-  
versary. And this is the opinion and counsell of *Calvine*, that we seeing  
our own weaknesse, and his force manifested in such termes, may beware

1. Cal. lib. instit. 1.  
cap. 14. sect. 13.

the divell; and may flee to God for spirituall aid and comfort. And as for  
his corporall assaults, or his attempts upon our bodies, his night walk-  
ings, his visible appearings, his dancing with witches, &c. we are neither  
warned in the scriptures of them, nor willed by God or his prophets to  
flee them; neither is there any mention made of them in the scriptures.  
And therefore think I those witchmongers and absurd writers to bee as  
grosse on the one side, as the *Sadducees* are impious and fond on the other,  
which say, that spirits and divels are only motions and affections, and that  
angels are but tokens of Gods power. I for my part confesse with *Augu-  
stine*, that these matters are above my reach and capacity; and yet for  
saire as Gods word teacheth me, I will not stick to say, that they  
are living creatures, ordained to serve the Lord in their vocation.  
And although they abode not in their first estate, yet that they are  
the Lords ministers, and executioners of his wrath, to trie and tempt  
in this world, and to punish the reprobate in hell fire in the world to  
come.

Aug. de cura pr.  
mort. &c.

CHAP. XXXII.

Mine own opinion and resolution of the nature of spirits, and of the  
divell, with his properties.

**B**Ut to use few words in a long matter, and plain termes in a doubtful  
case, this is mine opinion concerning this present argument. First, *com. 9. sect. 14.*  
that divels are spirits and no bodies. For (as *Peter Martyr* saith) spirits are  
and bodies are by antithesis opposed one to another; so as a body is  
no spirit, nor a spirit a body. And that the divell, whether he be many  
or one (for by the way you shall understand, that he is so spoken of in the  
scriptures, as though there were but a one, and sometimes as though  
there were many legions, the sense whereof I have already declared ac-  
cording to *Calvines* opinion, he is a creature made by God, and that for  
vengeance, as it is written in *Eccles. 39. vers. 28.* and of himself naught,  
though employed by God to necessary and good purposes. For in places  
where it is written, that all the creatures of God are good: and again,  
where God, in the creation of the world, saw all that he had made was  
good; the divell is not comprehended within those words of commenda-  
tion. For it is written that he was a murderer from the beginning  
and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him; but when he  
spake a lye, he speaketh of his own as being a lye, and the father of  
lies, and (as *John* saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was  
he created (so far as I can finde) in that week that God made man,  
and those other creatures mentioned in *Genesis* the first, and yet God  
appointed him purposely to destroy. I take his substance to be such as no  
man can by learning define, nor by wisdom search out. *M. Deering* saith that *Edw. Deering*, in  
himselfe, reckoning up principalities, powers, &c. addeth, Every name is reading up-  
on him is named in this world, or in the world to come. A clear sentence on the Hebr. 1.  
(with he) of *Pauls* modesty, in confessing a holy ignorance of the state reading the 6.

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Ephes. 6. 12.  
Col. 2. 16.  
Matth. 25.

Chap. 33.

A discovery of

of angels, which name is also given to divels in other places of the *Scripture*. His essence also and his form is also so proper and peculiar (in *my* opinion) unto himself, as he himself cannot alter it, but it must needs be content therewith, as with that which God hath ordained him, and *is* signed unto him, as peculiarly as he hath given to us our substance *with* our power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that *we* can make a body, more than a body can make a spirit: the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Nevertheless; I learn that *the* nature is prone to all mischief: for as the very signification of *an* enemy and an accuser is wrapped up in Satan and *Diabolus*; so doth *the* himselfe declare him to be in the thirteenth of *Matthew*. And *the* fore he brooketh well his name; for he lyeth dayly in wait, not only to corrupt, but also to destroy mankind; being (I say) the very *mentor* appointed by God to afflict the wicked in this world with wicked temptations, and in the world to come with hell fire. But I may here forget how *M. Mal.* and the residue of that crew doe expound *this* word *Diabolus*; for *Dia* (say they) is *Duo*, and *Bolus* is *Morsellus*, where by they gather that the divell eateth up a man both body and soul at two morsels. Whereas in truth the wicked may be said to eat up and *destroy* low down the divell, rather than the divell to eat up them; though it may well be said by a figure, that the divell like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devoure; which is meant of the soule and spirittuall devouring, as very novices in religion may judge.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions concerning all divels.

Now, how *Brids Darcies* the spirits and the spirits, Titty and *Pidge*, Suckin and *Pidgin*, Liard and *Robin*, &c. his white spirits and black spirits, gray spirits and red spirits, divell tode and divell lambe, *cat* and *divels dam*, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of God, or true philosophy, let heaven and earth judge. In the mean time, let any man with good consideration peruse that book *published* by *W. W.* and it shall suffice to satisfie him in all that is required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions; where, though the tale be told only of the confusers part, without any other answer of theirs than their *adversary* teth down; mine assertion will be sufficiently proved true. And *because* it seemeth to be performed with some kind of authority, I will say *more* for the confutation thereof, but referre you to the book it self, whereto if nothing be added that may make to their reproach, I warrant nothing is left out that may serve to their condemnation: whether the witnesses be not single, of what credit, sex and age they are, namely lewd, miserable, and envious poor people; most of them

The book of  
W. W. publish-  
ed.

Divels and spirits.

Chap. 34.

book to any purpose being old women, and children of the age of 45; 6; or 9. years. And note how and what the witches confesse, and see of what weight and importance the causes are; whether their confessions be not wonne through hope of favour, and extorted by flattery or threats, without proof. But in so much as there were not past seventeen or eighteen condemned at *the* *of* *S. Oses* in the county of *Essex*, being a whole parish (though of *At S. Oses* 17.) no great quantity) I will say the lesse: trusting that by this time there or 18. witches remain not many in that parish. If any be yet behind, I doubt not but *Richard Gallis* of *Windsor* will find them out; who, if he lack aid, *Richard Gallis* of *Windsor* were meet to be associated with him; which *Gallis* hath set forth another book to that effect, of certain witches of *Windsor* executed at *Abington*. But with what impudency and dishonesty he hath finished it, with what lies and forgeries he hath furnished it, what folly and frenzy he hath mingled in it; I am ashamed to report; and therefore being but a two penny book, I had rather desire you to buy it, and so to peruse it, than to fill my book with such beastly stuffe.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A conclusion wherein the Spirit of spirits is described, by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tryed: with a confutation of the Pneumatomachi flatly denying the divinity of this Spirit.

T'ouching the manifold signification of this word [Spirit] I have elsewhere in this brief discourse told you my minde; which is a word no thing differing in Heb. from breath or wind. For all these words followings to wit, *Spiritus, Ventus, Flatus, Halitus*, are indifferently use by the Hebrews, and called by this Hebrew word *רוח* in the sacred scripture, *Isai. 30. 28.* For further proof wherof I cite unto you the words of *Isay*; For his *breath* (or breath) is as a river that overfloweth up to the neck, &c. in which *place* the prophet describeth the coming of God in heat and indignation *unto* judgment; &c. I cite also unto you the words of *Zacharie*; These are *Zach. 6. 5.* the four spirits of the heaven, &c. Likewise in *Genesis*; And the spirit of *Gen. 1. 2.* God moved upon the waters. Moreover, I cite unto you the words of *John*; The spirit (or wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said *John 3. 8.* places infinite more might be added out of holy writ, tending all to this purpose; namely, to give us this for a note, that all the sayings above cited have many more that I could alleadge, where mention is made of spirit, *as* the Hebrew text useth no word but one to wit, *רוח* which signifieth (as I said) *Spiritus, ventum, flatum, halitum* which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

But before I enter upon the very point of my purpose, it shall not be unprofitable, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certaine Schoole of *Wine*, who distinguisheth and divideth this word [Spirit] into six significations; saying that it is sometimes taken for the air, sometimes for the

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*Eras. Sacer. in  
disting. Scholasti.  
doctr. lib. 5.*

the bodies of the blessed, sometimes for the souls of the blessed; sometimes for the power imaginative or the minde of man; and sometimes for God. Again he saith, that of spirits there are two sorts, some created and some uncreated.

A spirit uncreated (saith he) is God himselfe, and it is essentially taken, and agreeth unto the three persons notionally, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost personally. A spirit created is a creature, and that is likewise of two sorts; to wit, bodily, and bodilesse. A bodily spirit is also of two sorts: for some kinde of spirit is so named of spiritualnesse, as it is distinguished from bodilinesse: otherwise it is called *Spiritus a spirando, id est, a stando*, of breathing or blowing, as the winde doth.

A bodilesse spirit is one way so named of spiritualnesse, and then it is taken for a spirituall substance; and is of two sorts; some make a full and compleat kind, and is called compleat or perfect, as a spirit angell-call: some doe not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incomplete or imperfect as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certaine subtrill or very fine substance necessarily disposing and tending unto life. There be moreover spirits naturall, which are a kind of subtrill and very fine substances, disposing and tending unto equall complexions of bodies. Again there be spirits animall, which are certain subtrill and very fine substances disposing and tempering the body, that it might be animated of the form, that is, that it might be perfected of the reasonable soule. Thus far he. In whose division you see a philosophicall kinde of proceeding, though not altogether to be condemned, yet in every point not to be approved.

Now to the spirit of spirits, I mean the principall and holy spirit of God, which one describeth or rather describeth to be the third person in unity issuing from the Father and the Son, no more the charity, dilection & love of the Father and the Son, than the Father is the charity, dilection and love of the Son and Holy Ghost. Another treating upon the same argument proceedeth in this reverent manner: The holy spirit is the vertue or power of God, quickning, nourishing, fostering, and perfecting all things; by whose only breathing it cometh to pass that we both know and love God, and become at the length like unto him: which spirit is the pledge and earnest penny of grace, and beareth witness unto our hearts, whiles wee cry *Abba, Father*. This spirit is called the spirit of God, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of him which raised up Jesus from the dead.

Jesus Christ, for that he received not the spirit by measure, but in fulnesse, doth call it his spirit, saying; When the comforter shall come, whom I will send, even the holy spirit, he shall testify of me. This spirit hath divers metaphoricall names attributed thereunto in the Holy Scriptures. It is called by the name of water, because it washeth, comforteth, moisteneth, strengtheneth, and maketh fruitfull with all godlinesse and vertues; the mindes of men, which otherwise would be unclean, comfortlesse, hard, dry, and barren of all goodness; whereupon the prophet *Isay* saith; *I will pour water upon the thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground.* Where

Erasm. Sar. in lib. loc. & lit. prae dicitur.

Laurent. a P. Lavicentio in phrasib. script. lit. S. pag. 176.

Rom. 8. 15. 2 Cor. 6. 5.

John. 15. 26.

Isai. 44.

Wherewithall the words of Christ doe agree; He that beleeveth in me, as saith the scripture, out of his belly shall flow rivers of waters of life. And elsewhere; Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never be more a thirst. Other places likewise there be, wherein the holy spirit is signified by the name of water and flood; as in the 13. of *Isay*, the 39. of *Ezech.* the 146. *Psalme*, &c. The same spirit by reason of the force and vehemency thereof is termed fire. For it doth purifie and cleanse the whole man from top to toe, it doth burn out the soil and dross of sins, and scereth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeal to prefer and further Gods glory. Which plainly appeared in the Apostles, who when they had received the spirit, they spake fiery words, yea such words as were uncontrollable, in so much as in none more than in them this saying of this prophet *Jeremy* was verified, *Nunquid non verba mea sunt quasi ignis?* Jer. 23. 29. *Ace not my words even as it were fire?* This was declared and shewed by those fiery tongues, which were seen upon the Apostles after they had received the holy spirit.

Moreover, this spirit is called anointing, or ointment, because that in old time priests and kings were by anointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and serviceable for the same; even so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training up of the holy spirit, both to live well and also to glorifie God. Whereupon dependeth the saying of *John*; And ye have no need that any should teach you, but as the same ointment doth teach you. It is also called in Scripture, The oil of gladnesse and joycing; whereof it is said in the book of *Psalmes*; God even thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of joy and gladnesse, &c. And by this goodly and comfortable name of oil in the Scriptures is the mercy of God oftentimes expressed, because the nature of it doth agree with the property and quality of this. For as oil doth flow and swim above all other liquors, so the mercy of God doth surpass and overreach all his works, and the same doth most of all disclose itself to miserable man.

It is likewise called the finger of God, that is the might and power of God: by the vertue whereof the Apostles did cast out divels; to wit, even by the finger of God. It is called the spirit of truth, because it maketh men true and faithfull in their vocation; and for that it is the touchstone to try all counterfeit devices of mans braine, and all vain sciences, prophane practises, deceitfull arts, and circumventing inventions; such as be in generall all sorts of witchcrafts and inchantments, within whose number are comprehended all those wherewith I have had some dealing in this my discovery; to wit, charmes or incantations, divinations, augury, judiciall astrology, nativity casting, alcumystery, conjuration, sorcery, popery which is meer paltry, with diverse other: not one whereof no nor all together are able to stand to the triall and examination, which this spirit of truth shall and will take of those false and evill spirits. Nay, they shall be found, when they are laid into the balance, to be lighter than vanity: very drosse, when they once come to be tried by the fervent heat of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth upon them, driven away with a violent whirlwind; such is the perfecti-

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perfection, integrity, and effectual operation of this spirit, whose working as it is manifold, so it is marvellous, and therefore may and is called the spirit of spirits.

The holy spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and unclean.

Isai. 29. 10. Isai. 19. 14.

Ro. 1. 21, 23.

Deut. 28. 28, 29.

A question.

An answer.

A great likelihood no doubt.

Judgement distinguished.

This spirit withdrawing it selfe from the hearts of men, for that it will not inhabit and dwell where sinne hath dominion, giveth place unto the spirit of error and blindness, to the spirit of servitude and compunction, which bereth, gnaweth, and wheteth their hearts with a deadly hate of the gospell; in so much as it grieveth their minds and irketh their ears either to hear or understand the truth; of which disease properly the Pharises of old were, and the papists even now are sick. Yea, the want of this good spirit is the cause that many fall into the spirit of perverseness and frowardnesse, into the spirit of giddinesse, lying, drowzinesse, and duinesse; according as the prophet *Isay* saith; For the Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slumber, and hath shut up your eyes, and again elsewhere, *Dominus miscuit in medio, &c.* The Lord hath mingled among them the spirit of giddinesse, and hath made *Egypt* to erre, as a drunken man erreth in his vomit; as it is said by *Paul*; And their foolish heart was blinded, and God gave them over unto their owne hearts lusts, which punishment *Moses* threatneth unto the Jewes; The Lord shall smite thee with madnesse, with blindness and amazement of mind, and thou shalt grope at high noon as a blinde man useth to grope, &c.

In some, this word [Spirit] doth signifie a secret force and power, wherewith our minds are moved and directed; if unto holy things, then is it the motion of the holy spirit, of the spirit of Christ and of God; if unto evill things, then is it the suggestion of the wicked spirit, of the divell, and of satan. Whereupon I inferre, by the way of a question, what spirit we are to suppose such to be moved, as either practise any of the vanities treated upon in this book, or through credulity add themselves thereunto as unto divine oracles, or the voice of angels breaking through the clouds? We cannot impute this motion unto the good spirit; for then they should be able to discern between the nature of spirits, and not swarve in judgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindness and error doth seduce them; so that it is no marvell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadows for substances, fancies for verities, &c. for it is likely that the good spirit of God hath forsaken them, or at leastwise absented it selfe from them, else would they detest these divilish devices of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vain practices, whereof (I suppose) this my book to be a sufficient discovery.

It will be said that I ought not to judge, for he that judgeth shall be judged. Whereto I answer, that judgement is not to be understood of three kind of actions in their proper nature; whereof the first are secret, and the judgement of them shall appertain to God, who in time will disclose whatsoever is done in covert, and that by his just judgement. The second are mixed actions, taking part of hidden and part of open, so that by reason of their uncertainty and doubtfulness they are discussible and to be tryed; these after due examination are to have their competent judgement, and are incident to the magistrate. The third are manifest and evident

and such as doe no lesse apparently shew themselves than an inflammation of blood in the body: and of these actions every private man giveth judgement, because they be of such certainty, as that of them a man may as well conclude, as a gatherer, that because the sun is risen in the east, *Ergo* it is morning; he is come about and is full south, *Ergo* it is high noon; he is declining and closing up in the west, *Ergo* it is evening. So that the objection is answered.

Howbeit, letting this passe, and spiritually to speak of this spirit, which whiles many have wanted, it hath come to passe that they have proved altogether carnall; and not favouring heavenly divinity have tumbled into worse than philosophical barbarisme, and these be such as of writers are called *Pneumatomachi*, a sect so injurious to the holy spirit of God, that concerning the sentence of Christ, wherein he foretelleth that the sin against the holy spirit is never to be pardoned, neither in this world nor in the world to come, they do not only deny him to be God, but also so pull from him all being, and with the *Sadduces* maintain there is none such; but that under and by the name of holy spirit is meant a certain divine force, wherewith our minds are moved, and the grace and favour of God whereby we are his beloved. Against these shamelesse enemies of the holy spirit, I will not use materiall weapons, but syllogisticall charmes. And first I will set downe some of their paralogismes or false arguments; and upon the neck of them infer fit contutations grounded upon sound reason and certain truth.

Their first argument is knit up in this manner. The holy spirit is no where expressly called God in the scriptures; *Ergo* he is not God, or at leastwise he is not to be called God. The antecedent of this argument is false, because the holy spirit hath the title or name of God in the fit of the Acts. Again, the consequent is false. For although he were not expressly called God, yet should it not thereupon be concluded that he is not very God; because unto him are attributed all the properties of God, which unto this doe equally belong. And as we deny not that the father is the true light, although it be not directly written of the father, but of the sonne; He was the true light giving light to every man that cometh into this world; so likewise it is not to be denied, that the spirit is God, although the scripture doth not expressly and simply note it; since it ascribeth equall things thereunto; as the properties of God, the works of God, the service due to God, and that it doth interchangeably take the names of Spirit and of God oftentimes. They therefore that see these things attributed unto the holy spirit, and yet will not suffer him to be called by the name of God; do as it were refuse to grant unto *Eve* the name of *Homo*, whom notwithstanding they confesse to be a creature reasonable and mortall.

The second reason is this. *Hilarie* in all his twelve books of the Trinity doth no where write that the holy spirit is to be worshiped; he never spirit God, giveth thereunto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce neither is he thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are usuall so named in prayers of the church commonly called the Collects, whereof some are the common made to the Father, some to the Sonne, but none to the holy spirit; and Collects yet

*Jo. 14. 17. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

\* The 2. answer. Hilarius lib. 12. de Triade.

yet in them all mention is made of the three persons. \* Hereunto I answer, that although Hilarie doth not openly call the holy spirit, God: yet doth he constantly deny it to be a creature. Now if any aske me why Hilarie was so coy and nice to name the holy spirit, God, whom he denieth to be a creature, when as notwithstanding between God and a creature there is no mean: I will in good sooth say what I think. I suppose that Hilary, for himself thought well of the godhead of the holy spirit; but this opinion was thrust and forced upon him of the Pneumatomachi, who at that time rightly deeming of the son did erewhiles joine themselves to those that were found of judgement. There is also in the ecclesiastical history a little book which they gave Liberius a bishop of Rome, wherein they foisted the Nicen. creed. And that Hilarie was a friend of the Pneumatomachi, it is perceived in his book De synodis, where he writeth in this manner; Nihil autem mirum vobis videri debet, fratres charissimi, etc. It ought to seem no wonder unto you dear brethren, &c. As for the objection of the prayers of the church called the collects, that in them the holy spirit is not called upon by name: we oppose and set against them the songs of the church, wherein the said spirit is called upon. But the collects are more ancient then the songs, hymnes, and anthems. I will not now contend about ancientnesse, neither will I compare songs and collects together; but I say thus much only, to wit, that in the most ancient times of the church the holy spirit hath been openly called upon in the congregation. Now if I be charged to give an instance, let this serve. In the collect upon trinity sunday it is thus said; Almighty and everlasting God, which hast given unto us thy servants grace by the confession of a truth to acknowledge the glory of the eternal trinity, and in the power of the divine Majesty to worship the unity; we beseech thee that through the steadfastnesse of this faith, we may evermore be defended from all adversity, which liveth and reigneth one God world without end. Now because that in this collect, where the trinity is expressly called upon, the names of persons are not expressed; but almighty and everlasting God invocated, who abideth in trinity and unity; it doth easily appear elsewhere also that the persons being not named under the name of almighty, & everlasting God, not only the father to be understood, but God which abideth in trinity and unity, that is the father, the sonne, and the Holy-ghost.

A third objection of theirs is this. The sonne of God oftentimes praying in the gospels, speaking unto the father, promiseth the holy spirit, and doth also admonish the apostles to pray unto the heavenly father, but yet in the name of the sonne. Besides that, he prescribeth them this forme of prayer. Our father which art in heaven. Ergo the father only is to be called upon, and consequently the father only is that one and very true God, of whom it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

\* Whereunto I answer first by denying the consequent; The son prayed to the father only, Ergo the father only is of us also to be prayed unto. For the sonne of God is distinguished of us both in person and in office; he as a mediator maketh intercession for us to the father; and although the sonne

The place is long, and therefore I had rather referre the reader unto the book than to insert so many lines.

Collecta in die domin. sancta Trinit.

3. Objection. The spirit is not to be prayed unto but the father only.

\* 3. Answer. The consequent is denied.

sonne and the holy spirit do both together receive and take us into favour with God; yet is he said to intreat the father for us; because the father is the fountain of all counsels and divine works. Furthermore touching the forme of praying described of Christ, it is not necessary that the fathers name should personally be there taken, sith there is no distinction of persons made; but by the name of father indefinitely wee understand God or the essence of God, the father, the sonne, and the Holy-ghost. For this name hath not alwaies a respect unto the generation of the sonne of God; but God is called the father of the faithfull, because of his gracious and free adopting of them, the foundation whereof is the son of God, in whom we be adopted: but yet so adopted, that not the father only receiveth us into his favour; but with him also the sonne and the holy spirit doth the same. Therefore when we in the beginning of prayer do advertise our selves of Gods goodnesse towards us; we doe not cast an eye to the father alone, but also to the sonne, who gave us the spirit of adoption; and to the holy spirit in whom we cry Abba, Father. And if so be that invocation and prayer were restrained to the father alone, then had the saints done amisse, in calling upon, invocating, and praying to the son of God, and with the son the holy spirit, in baptisme, according to the forme by Christ himselfe assigned and delivered.

Another objection is out of the fourth of Amos, in this manner. For lo it is I that make the thunder, and create the spirit, and shew unto men their Christ, making the light and the clouds, and mounting above the high places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. Now because it is read in that place, shewing unto men their Christ; the Pneumatomachi contended that these words are to be understood of the holy spirit.

\* But Ambrose in his book De spiritu sancto lib. 2. cap. 7. doth rightly answer, that by spirit in this place is meant the wind: for if the prophets purpose and will had been to speak of the holy spirit, he would not have begunne with thunder, nor have ended with light and clouds. Howbeit, the same father saith; If any suppose that these words are to be drawn unto the interpretation of the holy spirit, because the prophet saith, Shewing unto men their Christ; he ought also to draw these words unto the mystery of the Lords incarnation: and he expoundeth thunder to be the words of the Lord, and spirit to be the reasonable and perfect soul. But the former interpretation is certain and convenient with the words of the prophet, by whom there is no mention made of Christ; but the power of God is set forth in his works. Behold (saith the prophet) he that smeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, which maketh the morning darknesse, and walketh upon the high places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. In this sort Sanctus a right skilfull man in the Hebrew tongue translate this place of the prophet. But admit this place were written of the holy spirit, it were not applicable either to the wind or to the Lords incarnation; yet it doth not follow that the holy spirit is a creature; because this word of creating doth not alwaies signifie a making of something out of nothing; as Ambrosius in expounding these words (The Lord created me in the beginning of his wayes) writeth thus, The prophet in the person of God, saying;

4. Objection. Amos saith that the spirit was created.

\* 4. Answer. Spirit in this place signifie, eth wind.

To create is not him to be made that was not. Euseb. Casariensis lib. 3. adversus Iulianum in expounding these words (The Lord created me in the beginning of his wayes) writeth thus, The prophet in the person of God, saying;

saying; Behold I am he that made the thunder, and created the spirit, and shewed unto men their Christ: this word created is not so to be taken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, since by the same he hath shewed and declared his Christ unto all men. Neither was it a thing of late being, and gaining under the sonne, but it was before all beginning, and was then sent, when the apostles were gathered together, when a sound like thunder came from heaven, as it had been the coming of a mighty order: this word created being used for sent downe, for appointed, ordained, &c. and the word thunder signifying in another kind of manner the preaching of the gospels. To be like saying is that of the *Psalmist*, A clean heart create in me O God: wherein he prayed not as one having no heart, but as one that had such a heart as needed purifying, as needed perfecting: and this phrase also of the scripture, that he might create in one new man; that is, that he might join, couple, or gather together, &c. Furthermore, the *Pneumatologi* by these testimonies insaue endeavour to prove the holy spirit to be a creature. Out of *John* the 1. cha. By this word were all things made, and without it nothing was made: Our of the 1. Cor. 8. We have one God the father, even he from whom are all things, &c. we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we by him. Our of the 1. Coloss. By him were all things made, things in heaven, and things in earth, visible and invisible, &c. Now if all things were made by the sonne, it followeth that by him the holy spirit was also made.

5. Objection. All things were made by the son, Ergo the spirit was also made by him.

\* 5. Answer. Universal propositions or speeches are to be restrained.

Where I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that some universall proposition is restrained by *John* himselfe in a certain kind of things: Without him (saith the evangelist) was nothing made that was made. Therefore it is first to be shewed that the holy spirit was made, and then will we conclude out of *John*, that if he were made, he was made of the sonne. The scripture doth no where say that the holy spirit was made of the father, or of the sonne, but to proceed to come, and to be sent from them both. Now if these universall propositions are to suffer no restraint, it shall follow that the father was made of the son, and the which what is more absurd and wicked?

6. Objection. The spirit knoweth not the father and the sonne.

Again, they object out of *Matth.* 11. None knoweth the sonne but the father, and none the father but the sonne; to wit, of and by himselfe; for otherwise both the angels, and to whom sever else it shall please the Lord, to reveal the father, they do know both the father and the son. Now if so be the spirit be not equall with the father and the sonne in knowledge, he is not only unequal and lesser than they, but also no God; for ignorance is not incident unto God.

\* 6. Answer. How exclusive propositions or speeches are to be interpreted.

Where I answer, that where in holy scripture we do meet with universall propositions negative or exclusive, they are not to be expounded of one person so as the rest are restrained, but creatures or false gods are to be excluded, and whatsoever else is without or beside the persons and being of God. Reasons to prove and confirme this interpretation, could bring very many, whereof I will adde some for example. In the seventh of *John* it is said; When Christ shall come, none shall know from whence he is; notwithstanding which words the Jewes thought that neither God nor his angels should be ignorant: from whence Christ should

should be. In the fourth to the *Galatians*; A mans covenant or testament confirmed with authority no body doth abrogate, or adde any thing thereunto. No just man doth so; but tyrants and truce-breakers care not for covenants. In *John* eight; Jesus was left alone, and the multitude of people was not present, and the disciples of Christ likewise; but the word *Solus*, alone, is referred to the womans accusers, who withdrew themselves away every one, and departed. In the first of *Mark*; when it was evening, the ship was in the midst of the sea, and he alone upon land: he was not alone upon land or shore, for the same was not utterly void of dwellers; but he had not any of his disciples with him, nor any body to carry him aboard unto his disciples. Many phrases be for answer to speeches like unto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures; and in authors both Greek and Latine, whereby we understand, that neither antithors both Greek and exclusive particles are strictly to be urged, but to be versall negative nor exclusive particles are strictly to be urged, but to be explained in such sort as the matter in hand will bear. When as therefore the son alone is said to know the father, and it is demanded whether the holy spirit is debarred from knowing the father; but of either places of scriptures judgement is to be given in this case. In some places the holy spirit is counted and reckoned with the father and the son jointly; wherefore he is not to be separated. Elsewhere also it is attributed to the holy spirit that he alone doth know the things which be of God; and searcheth the deep secrets of God; wherefore from him the knowing of God is not to be excluded.

They do yet further object, that it is not convenient or fit for God after the manner of fathers to humble and cast downe himselfe; but the holy spirit doth so, praying and intreating for us with unspeakable groans; Rom. 8. Ergo the holy spirit is not God.

\* 8. Answer. Whereunto I answer that the holy spirit doth pray and intreat, inso-

much as he provoketh us to pray, and maketh us to groan and sigh. Oftentimes also in the scriptures is that action or deed attributed unto God, which we being stirred up and moved by him doe bring to passe. So it is pray, said of God unto *Abraham*; Now I know that thou fearest God; and yes before he would have sacrificed *Isaac*, God knew the very heart of *Abraham*: and therefore this word *Cognovi*, I know, is as much as *Cognoscere feci*, I have made or caused to know. And that the spirit, to pray and intreat, is the same that, to make to pray and intreat, the apostle teacheth even there, writing that we have received the spirit of adoption, in whom we cry *Abba* Father. Where it is manifest that it is we which cry, the Holy-ghost provoking and forcing us thereunto.

Howbeit they goe further, and frame this reason, Whosoever is sent, the same is inferior and lesser than he of whom he is sent, and furthermore he is of a comprehensible substance, because he passeth by sent from one local motion from place to place; but the holy spirit is sent from the father and the sonne, *John* 14. 15, & 16. It is powred forth and shed upon men, *Acts* 10. Ergo the holy spirit is lesser than the father and the sonne, and of a comprehensible nature, and consequently not very God.

8. Answer. How the spirit is sent.

Where to I answer first, that he which is sent is not alwayes lesser than he that sendeth: to prove which position any mean wit may inferre many instances. Furthermore, touching the sending of the holy spirit we are here to imagin no changing or shifting of place. For if the spirit when he goeth from the Father and is sent, changeth his place, then must the Father also be in a place, that he may leave it and goe to another. And as for the incomprehensible nature of the spirit, hee cannot leaving his place passe unto another. Therefore the sending of the spirit is the eternall and unvariable will of God, to doe something by the holy spirit, and the revealing and executing of this will by the operation and working of the spirit. The spirit was sent to the Apostles; which spirit was present with them, such it is present every-where; but then according to the will of God the Father hee shewed himselfe present and powerfull.

Some man may say; if sending be a revealing and laying open of presence and power, then may the Father be said to be sent, because hee himselfe is also revealed. I answer, that when the spirit is said to be sent, not only the revealing, but the order also of his revealing is declared; because the will of the Father and of the son, of whom he is sent, going before, not in time, but in order of persons, the spirit doth reveal himselfe, the Father, and also the Son. The Father revealeth himselfe by others, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so that his will goeth before. Therefore sending is the common work of all the three persons; howbeit, for order of doing, is distinguished by diverse names. The Father will reveal himselfe unto men with the son and the spirit and be powerfull in them, and the son is said to send. The sonne doth assent unto the will of the Father, and will that to be done by themselves, which God will to be done by them; these are said to be sent. And because the will of the son doth goe before the spirit in order of persons, he is also said to send the spirit.

9. Objection. The spirit speaketh not of himselfe.

Yet for all this they alleadge, that if the spirit had perfection, then would he speak of himselfe, and not stand in need alwayes of another's admonishment: but he speaketh not of himselfe, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expressly testifieth, John 16. Ergo he is imperfect, and whatsoever he hath it is by partaking, and consequently he is not God.

10. Answer. Cyrill lib. 13. de law. cap. 3.

Where to I answer that this argument is stale: for it was objected by heretiques long agoe against them that held the true opinion, as Cyrill saith; who answereth that by the words of Christ is rather to be gathered, that the son and the spirit are of the same substance. For, the spirit is named the minde of Christ, 1 Cor. 2. and therefore he speaketh not of his own proper will, or against his will in whom and from whom he is; but hath all his will and working naturally proceeding from the substance as it were of him.

11. Objection.

Lastly they argue thus; Everything is either unbegotten or unborn, or begotten and created; the spirit is not unbegotten, for then he were the father; and so there should be two without beginning; neither is he begotten, for then he is begotten of the father, and so there shall be two

sons, both brothers; for he is begotten of the son, and then shall he be Gods nephew; than the which what can be imagined more absurd? Ergo he is created.

Where to I answer, that the division or distribution is imperfect; for that member is omitted which is noted of the very best divine that ever was, even Jesus Christ our Saviour; namely, to have proceeded, or proceeded: That same holy spirit (saith he) which proceedeth from the Father: Which place *Naxianzen* doth thus interpret. The spirit, because he proceedeth from thence, is not a creature; and because he is not begotten, he is not the son; but because he is the mean of begotten and unbegotten, he shall be God, &c.

And thus having avoided all these cavils of the *Pneumatomachi*, a sect of heretiques too too injurious to the holy spirit, in so much as they seeke what they can, to rob and pull from him the right of his divinity; I will all christians to take heed of their pestilent opinions, the poison whereof though so them that he resolved in the truth it can do little hurt, yet to such as stand upon a wavering point it can doe no great good. Having thus far waded against them, and overbrowne their opinions, I must needs exhort all to whom the reading hereof shall come, that first they consider with themselves what a reverend mystery all that hitherto hath been said in this chapter concerneth; namely, the spirit of sanctification, and that they ponder places to and fro, as that they reserve unto the holy spirit the glorious title of divinity, which by nature is to him appropriate; esteeming of those *Pneumatomachi* or *Thiomachi*, as of swine, delighting more in the dirty draffe of their devices than in the fair fountaine waters of Gods word; yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance than the old philosophers, who though they favoured little of heavenly theology, yet some illumination they had of the holy & divine spirit, marry it was somewhat misty, dark lame, and limping; nevertheless, what it was, and how much little soever it was, they gave thereunto a due reverence, in that they acknowledged and intituled it *Animam mundi*, The soul or life of the world, and (as *Naxianzen* witnesseth) *ψυχη του παντος*. The mind of the universall, and the outward breath, or the breath that cometh from without. *Porphyrie* expounding the opinion of *Plato*, who was not utterly blind in this mystery, saith that the divine substance doth proceed and extend to three subsistencies and beings; and that God is chiefly and principally good, next him the second creator, and the third to be the soule of the world; for he holdeth that the divinity doth extend even to this soul. As for *Hermes Trismegistus*, he saith that all things have need of this spirit; for according to his worthinesse he supporteth all, he quickeneth and susteineth all, and he is derived from the holy fountaine, giving breath and life unto all, and evermore remaineth continuall, plentifull, and unempayed.

And here by the way I give you a note worth reading and considering; namely, how all nations in a manner, by a kinde of heavenly influence, agree in writing and speaking the name of God with no more than foure letters. As for example, the Egyptians doe call him *Theus*, the Persians *Mus* in arg. in call him *Syr*, the Jews expresse his unpeakeable as well as they can by

the word *Adonai* consisting of foure vowels; the *Arabians* call him *Alla*, the *Mahometists* call him *Abdi*, the *Greeks* call him *Theos*, the *Latines* call him *Deus*, &c. This although it be not so proper to our present purpose, (yet because we are in hand with the holy spirits deity) is not altogether impertinent. But why God would have his name as it were uniuersally bounded within the number of four letters; I can give sundry reasons, which requires too long a discourse of words by digression: and therefore I will conceal them for this time. These opinions of philosophers I have willingly remembered, that it might appear, that the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit is very ancient; which they have taken either out of *Moses* writings, or out of the works of the old fathers, published and set forth in books, though not wholly, fully, and perfectly understood and known; and also that our *Pneumatomachi* may see themselves to be more doctish in divine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essentiall and working power of the diuinity whereby all things are quickned: which the heathen did after a sort see; after a sort (I say) because they separated the soul of the world (which they also call the begotten mind) from the most sovereign and unbegotten God; and inagined certain differences of degrees, and (as *Cyrril* saith) did arraignize in the Trinity.

So then I conclude against these *Pneumatomachi*, that in so much as they imitate the old gyants, who piling up *Pelion* upon *Ossa*, and them both upon *Olympus*, attempted by scaling the heavens to pull *Iupiter* out of his throne of estate; and to spoil him of his principality, and were notwithstanding their strength, whereby they were able to carry huge hills on their shoulders, overwhelmed with those mountaines and lquered under the weight of them even to the death; so these *Pneumatomachi*, being enemies both to the holy Spirit, and no friends to the holy church (for then would they confesse the Trinity in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity) and consequently also the deity of the holy Spirit) deserve to be consumed with the fire of his mouth, the heat whereof by no means can be slackted, quenched, or avoided. For there is nothing more unnatural, nothing more monstrous, than against the person of the deity (I mean the spirit of sanctification) to oppose mans power, mans wit, mans policy, &c. which was well signified by that poetical fiction of the *giants*, who were termed *Anguipedes*, Snakefooted; which as *Ioachimius Camerarius* expoundeth of wicked counsellours, to whose filthy persuasions tyrants doe trust as unto their feet; and *James Sadoler* interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting over much unto their own wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisdoms, that in fine all turneth to folly and confusion; so I expound of heretikes and schismatikes, who either by corrupt doctrine, or by maintaining precise opinions, or by open violence, &c. assay to overthrow the true religion, to break the unity of the church, to deny *Cæsar* his homage, and God his duty, &c. and therefore let *Jovis fulmen*, wherewith they were slain, assure these that there is *Divina ultio* due to all such, as dare in the sicklenesse of their fancies arraign themselves against the holy spirit; of whom saith they are ashamed here upon earth (otherwise they would confidently & boldly confesse him both

with mouth and pen) he will be ashamed of them in heaven, where they are like to be so farre from having any society with the saints, that their portion shall be even in full and shaken measure with miscreants and infidels. And therefore let us, if we will discerne and try the spirits whether they be of God or no, seek for the illumination of this enlightning spirit, which as it bringeth light with it to discover all spirits, so it giveth such a fiery heat, as that no false spirit can abide by it for fear of burning. Howbeit the holy spirit must be in us, otherwise this prerogative of trying spirits will not fall to our lot.

But here some will peradventure move a demand, and do aske how the holy spirit is in us, considering that *Infiniti ad infinitum nulla est proportio*, neque loci angustia quod immensum est potest circumscribi: of that which is infinite, to that which is finite there is no proportion; neither can that which is unmeasurable be limited or bounded within any precise of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent sacher for Christs sake sendeth him unto us, according as Christ promised us in the person of his apostles; The comforter (saith he) which is the holy spirit, whom my father will send in my name. And as for proportion of that which is infinite to that which is finite, &c. I wil in no case have it thought, that the holy spirit is in us, as a body placed in a place terminably; but to attribute thereunto, as duly belongeth to the deity, an ubiquity, or uniuersall presence; not corporally and palpably; but effectually, mightily, mystically, &c. Yea, and this I may boldly adde, that Christ Jesus sendeth him unto us from the father: neither is he given us for any other end, but to enrich us abundantly with all good gifts and excellent graces; and (among the rest) with the discerning of spirits aright, that we be not deceived. And here an end.

FINIS.



The summe of every chapter contained in the fixteene books of this discovery, with the discourse of diuels and spirits annexed thereunto.

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