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 novelties;

WHEREIN ALSO,

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

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

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

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

*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 especiall good Lord, S.* Roger Manwood *Knight,*

*Lord chief Baron of her Majesties Court of the Eschequer.*

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English

IN-so-much as I know that your Lordship is by nature wholly inclined, and in purpose earnestly bent to relieve the poor, and that not onely with hospitality and almes, but by divers other devises 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 supporting 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 commended 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

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them 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 inſomuch as your Lordſhip knoweth, or rather excerciſeth 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 meer *fountain* and body



body it ſelf? Inſomuch 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 appertaineth to God, *who onely is the Creator of all things*, Apo. 4. 11.
*who onely ſearcheth the heart and reines*, who onely Rom 8.
*knoweth our imaginations and thoughts*, who onely Acts 5.
*openeth all ſecrets*, who onely *worketh great wonders*, Apo. 2. Luk. 16.
who onely hath power *to raiſe up and caſt down*; *who* Dan. 2. & 28. & 47.
*onely maketh thunder, lightning, rain, tempeſts*, and Pſalme 72. & 136.
reſtraineth them at his pleaſure; who onely *ſendeth* Jeremy 5.
*life and death, ſickneſſe and health, wealth and woe*; *who* Job 5. & 36. Samuel 12.
*neither giveth nor lendeth his glory to any creature.* 1 Reg. 8. 2 Reg 3. Iſaiah. 5. Zac. 10. & 14. Amos. 4. 7. Job 1. Iſaith. 42. 8.

And therfore, 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 themſelvs, 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 divil, 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 ſome-

ſometimes, that the witch doth all theſe things by vertue of her charms; ſometimes that a ſpiritual, ſometimes that a corporal devil doth accompliſhit; ſometimes they ſay that the devil doth but make the witch beleeve he 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 ſomtimes they write that the devil doth all this by Gods permiſſion only; ſomtimes 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 himſelf, 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



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 ſlauterhouſe or butchery. For whoſoever loatheth correction ſhall die. And who ſhould eſcape execution, if this lothſomneſſe (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 abrode in your ſeveral circuits, that (beſides them that be *Veneficæ*, which are plaine poiſoners) there will be found among our witches onlytwo ſorts; the one ſort being ſuch by *imputation*, as

Proverbs 5.

ſo

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

*Inſti. lib. 5. cap. 8. ſect. 6. Item upon Deu. c. 18.* Calvine treating of theſe magicians, calleth them couſeners, ſaying, that they uſe their juggling knacks only to amaſe 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 *confeſs*, that theſe *Greek words* μαγία, μαγγανία, φαρμακία, are moſt *commonly put* for illuſion falſe *packing, confenage, fraud, knavery and deceipt*: & is further driven to ſay, that in *ancient time*, the learned were not ſo *blockiſh*, as not to *ſee* that the *promiſes* of *magicians* and *inchanters* were falſe, and nothing elſe but knavery, couſenage & *old wives fables*; & yet *defendeth* he *their flying* in *the aire*, *their tranſferring of corn or gras from one field to another*, &c.

*Lib. de lamiis, page 5.*

But as *Eraſtus* diſagreeth herein with himſelf and his *friends*: ſo is there no agreement among any of thoſe writers, but only in *cruelties*, *abſurdities* & *impoſſibilies*. 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 Innocent*; *whoſe heat againſt theſe poor wretches cannot be allaied with any other liquor then blood*. And therfore 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*

Iſaiah 59. 7. Rom. 3. 15. Eccleſ. 27. 5. Prov. 1. 16. Jeremy 2. 34. Pſal. 39. 15. Iſaiah 33. 15.



*Depart from me ye bloud-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 miſeras illas mulierculas ſæviat*, *eum ego arbitror divinitus 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

rule 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 suppresse the evill: wherein you shall be thought a father to orphanes, an advocate to widowes, 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 gravity joined with your singular constancy in reading and judging be means of the contrary. And I wish even 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 doubtles would I perswade my self, that the company of witchmongers, *&c.* being once decreased, the number also of witches, *&c.* would soon be diminished. But true be the words of the Poet,

*Haudquaquam poterit fortirier omnia solus,*
*Námque aliis divi bello pollere dederunt,*
*Huic saltandi artem, voce huic cythará que canendi:*
*Rursum alii inservit 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

*Reginald Scot.*

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

*SIr, I see among other malefactors many poor old women convented before you for working of* Miracles, *otherwise called witchcraft, & 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 administration 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 evidence be not frivolous, and whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of guesses, presumptions, and impossibilities contrary to reason, Scripture,*

ture, & nature. See also what persons complain upon them, whether they be not of the baseſt, the ũwiſeſt & 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 ſtrangely 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 God forgive me, my ſtomach 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 truely delivered and ſet down the condition and ſtate of the witch, and alſo of the witchmonger, and have confuted 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



My greateſt adverſaries are young ignorance and old cuſtome. For what folly ſoever trade of time hath ſoſtered, it is ſo ſuperſtitiouſly purſued of ſome, as though no error could be acquainted with cuſtome. But if the lawe of nations would join with ſuch cuſtom, to the maintenance of ignorance, & to the ſuppreſſing of knowledge; the civileſt country in the world would ſoon be one 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. John 5. Prov. 15. 1.

Ariſtotle ſaid to Alexander, that a mind well furniſhed was more beautifull then a body richly arraied. What can be more odious to man, or offenſive to God, than ignorance: for through ignorance the Jewes did put Chriſt to death. Which ignorance whoſoever forſaketh, is promiſed life everlaſting: and 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 wallowe in errors. A blind man may ſeek long in the ruſhes ere he find a needle; and as ſoon is a doubt diſcuſſed by ignorance. Finally, truth is no ſoower found out in ignorance, then a ſweet ſavor in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and give them no leave to uſe it, men were much better be without it than have it. For it is as to have a 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. Acts 3. Proverbs 9. Matth. 25. Matthew 5. Luke 8.

*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 te 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 immortall, 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 callings: 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* councellor 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 wholſome* 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,

ly, as to give and diſtribute great and coſtly gifts bountifully t
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 Iſra-
elites ſacrifices, God was ſatisfied with the tenth part of an Epha
of flower, ſo as it were fine and good. Chriſt liked well of the poo
widowes mite. Lewis of France accepted a rape-root of clown-
iſh Conan. Cyrus vouchſafed to drink a cup of cold water out o
the hand of poor Sinætes: and ſo it may pleaſe you to accept thi
ſimple book at my hands, which I faithfully exhibit unto you, m
knowing your opinions to meet with mine: but knowing your learni
and judgement to be able as well to correct me where I ſpeake hene
unskilfully, as others when they ſpeake hereof 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 Rhodians and at the Lacedæmonians: 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 tha
they which never ſtudied to learne any good thing, will ſtudy t
find faults hereat. I for my part feare not theſe ware, nor all th
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 ſup-
poſe) 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 a
Rocheſter, and to dine that day at Durham with Maſter Docto
Matthew; or can your enemie maime you, when the Ocean ſe
is betwixt you? What reall communitie is betwixt a ſpirit and
body? May a ſpiritual body become temporal at his pleaſure? O
may a carnall bodie become inviſible? is It likely that the lives o
all Princes, Magiſtrates, and Subjects, ſhould depend upon th
will, or rather upon the wiſh of a poor malicious doting old foole
and that power exempted from the wiſe, the rich, the learned, th
godly, &c? Finally, is it poſſible for a man or woman to do an
of thoſe miracles expreſſed in my book, and ſo conſtantly reported o
great clarkes? If you ſay, no; then am I ſatisfied. If you ſa
that God abſolutely, or by meanes can accompliſh all thoſe, an
many more, I go with you. But witches may well ſay they can
thoſ



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

O Maſter Arch-deacon, is it not pitty, 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 coſening kind of witches, did not witchmongers maintaine them, follow them, and beleeve in them and their oracles: whereby indeed all good learning and honeſt arts are overthrowne. For theſe that moſt advance their power, and 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.

Me 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 accompted among ſome ſuch oracles, as may not be doubted of; who inſtead of learning and authority (which they make contemptible) do feed the people with their own deviſes and imaginations, which they prefetre before all other divinity: and labouring to erect a church according to their own fanſies, 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) diſſwade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whiſper in mens eares to teach them their frier-like traditions. And of this ſect the chiefe author at this time is

one

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

Truly not onely nature, being the foundation of all perfection; but alſo ſcripture, being the miſtreſſe and director thereof, and of all chriſtianity, is beautified with knowledge and learning. For as nature without diſcipline doth naturally inclin unto vanities, and as it were ſuck up errors: ſo doth the word, or rather the letter of the ſcripture without underſtanding, not one- Rom. 2. 27. 2. Cor. 3. 6.
ly 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.

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 imployed. For truly, in mine opinion, whoſoever ſhall perform 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 inchantments.

Your loving friend
*Reg. Scot.*

# To the Readers.

TO you that are wiſe and diſcreet few words may ſuffice: for ſuch a one judgeth not at the firſt ſight, nor reproveth by hearſay; but patiently heareth, and thereby increaſeth in underſtanding: which patience bringeth forth experience, whereby true judgement is directed. Iſa. 11. Proverbs 18.
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 conceite: and having obtained this at your hands, I ſubmit my ſelf unto your cenſure. But to make a ſolemn ſuit to you that are partial readers, deſiring you to ſet aſide partiality, to take in good part my writing, and with indifferent eies to looke upon my book, were labour loſt, and time ill imployed. For I ſhould no more prevaile herein, then if a hundred years ſince I ſhould have intreated your predeceſſors to beleeve, that Robin good-fellow, that great and antient bull-begger, had been but a couſening merchant, and no devil indeed.

If I ſhould go to a Papiſt, and ſay, I pray you beleeve my writings, wherein I will prove all popiſh charmes, conjurations, exorciſmes, benedictions and curſes, not 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. Nevertheleſſe, 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. Nevertheleſſe, witches charms, and conjurors couſenages are yet thought effectuall. Yea the Gentiles have eſpied the fraud of their couſening oracles, and our cold prophets and inchanters make us 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 paſter noſter 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 couſenages of witches and conjurors; as though their charmes and conjurations could produce more

apparent, certaine, and better effects then their owne.

But my requeſt unto all you that read my booke ſhall be no more, but that it would pleaſe you to conferre my words with your own ſenſe and experience, and alſo with the word of God. If you find your ſelues 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, ſtay the ſentence of condemnation againſt me, and conſider of the Reſt, at your further leiſure. If this may not ſuffice for to perſwade 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 adverſarys 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 adverſarys 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 releeve 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 *Sagæ, Theſſalæ, Striges, Lamiæ* (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 hagging, their riding in the aire, their transferring of corn or graſſe from one field to another, their hurting of children or cattel with words or charmes, their bewitching of butter, cheeſe, ale, &c. nor yet their tranſubſtantiation; inſomuch as the writers hereupon are not aſhamed to ſay, that it is not abſurd to thinke 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 devills; to wit, to theſe fables of witchcraft, which Peter ſaith that ſhal be much regarded and hearkened unto in the latter daies.

*Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 2.*

1 Pet. 4. 1.

Howbeit, how ancient ſo ever this barbarous conceipt of witches omnipotencie 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 lye hidden: for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be brocched too rathe. Finally, time bewrayeth old errors, and diſcovereth new matters of truth. *Danæus* 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-

*Danæus in ſuo prologo.*



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 beggery; the fear of many fooliſh folke, the opinion of ſome that are wiſe, 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 uſed, ſpecially by Papiſts; and many other like cauſes. All which toies take ſuch hold upon mens fanſies, 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 booke, 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 doubtfulneſſe or rather the impoſſibility of the caſe, nor the ſmall prooſes brought againſt them, nor the rigor executed upon them; nor the pitty that ſhould be in a chriſtian heart, nor yet their ſimplicity, impotency, or age may ſuffice to ſuppreſſe 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 pitty (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, *Nullum memorabile nomen fœminea in pœna eſt.*

Lam. Jer. 3. & 4. cap. verſe 10.

1 Cor. 11. 9.

Ibid verſ 7.

Ge. 2. 22. 18.

*Ariſt. lib. problem. 29.*

*Virg Georg.*

God that knoweth my heart is witneſſe, and you that read my booke 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 ſhoul be attributed to the power of a creature. Secondly, that the religion of the goſpell may be ſeen to ſtand without ſuch peeviſh trumphery. Thirdly, that lawfull favour and chriſtian compaſſion be rather uſed towards theſe poor ſouleſs than rigor and extremity. Becauſe they, which are commonly accuſed of witch-craft,

are the leaſt ſufficient of all other perſons to ſpeake for themſelves; as 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.

Eccl. 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 unskilfull people, and the grave counſell of more diſcreet and learned perſons, may appear by a tale of *Danæus* his own telling; wherein he oppoſeth the raſhneſſe of a few townſmen, to the counſell of a whole ſenate: preferring the folly of the one, before the wiſdome of the other.

At Orleance 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 in ſufficient, 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 Orleance 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 undiſcreeter ſort are alwaies more haſty and furious in judgements, than men of better reputation and knowledge. Neverthelеſſe, *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 beleeved, 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 pondreth (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 beleeved. Which credulity though it is to be derided with laughter; yet this their cruelty is to be la-



mented with teares. For (God knoweth) many of theſe poor wretches had more need to be releeved 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 triall hereof, I will requite *Danæus* 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 Bernard, a poor ſervant, being in wit very ſimple and rude, but in his ſervice very neceſſary and diligent (and in that reſpect deerly beloved of his maſter) profeſſing the art of witch-craft, could in no wiſe be diſſwaded 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 bountifully fed him with good fat meat, and with four egs at a meale, as alſo with ſweet win: which diet was beſt for ſo groſſe and weake a body. And being recovered ſo 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 varietate rerum.*

This hiſtory is more credible than *Sprengers* fables, or *Bodins* bables, 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 numbred. 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 griefs, by words or charmes, but by hearbs and medicines, which he himſelf 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 fanſie 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. Lam. 3. 38. Iſai. 45. 9. Rom. 9. 20.

Now because I mislike the extreame 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 bewray 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 there 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 conjurors, 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.

ÆLianus.
Accius.
Albertus Crantzius.
Albertus Magnus.
Albumazar.
Alcoranum Franciscanorum.
Alexander Trallianus.
Algerus.
Ambrosius.
Andradius.
Andræas Gartnerus.
Andræas Massius.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Apollonius Tyanæus.
Appianus.
Apuleius.
Archelaus.
Argerius Ferrarius.
Aristoteles.
Arnoldus de villa nova.
Artemidorus.
Athanasius.
Averroës.
Augustinus episcopus Hip.
Augustinus Niphus.
Avicennas.
Aulus Gellius.
Barnardines de bustis.
Bartholomæus Anglicus.
Berosus Anianus.
Bodinus.
Bordinus.
Brentius.
Calvinus.
Camerarius.
Campanus.
Cardanus pater.
Cardanus filius.
Carolus Gallus.
Cassander.
Caro.
Chrysostomus.
Cicero.
Clemens.
Cornelius Agrippa.
Cornelius Nepos.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Cyrillus.
Danæus.
Demetrius.
Democritus.
Didymus.
Diodorus Siculus.
Dionysius Areopagita.
Dioscorides.
Diurius.
Dodonæus.
Durandus.
Empedocles.
Ephesius.
Erasmus Roterodamus.
Erasmus Sarcerius.
Erastus.
Eudoxus.
Eusebius Cæsarienſis.
Fernelius.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Fuchsius.
Galenus.
Gerropius.
Galasius.
Gemma Phrysius.
Georgius Pictorius.
Gofridus.
Goschalcus Boll.
Gratianus.
Gregorius.
Grillandus.
Guido Bonatus.
Gulielmus de sancto Clodoaldo.
Gulielmus Parisiensis.
Hemingius.
Heraclides.
Hermes Trismegistus.
Hieronymus.
Hilarius.
Hippocrates.
Homerus.
Horatius.
Hostiensis.
Hovinus.
Hypertus.
Jacobus de Clusa Carthusianus.
Jamblichus.
Jaso Pratensis.
Innocentius 8. papa.
Johannes Anglicus.
Johannes Baptista Neapolitanus.
Johannes Cassianus.
Johannes Montiregius.
Johannes Rivius.
Josephus ben Gorion.
Josias Simlerus.
Isidorus.
Isigonus.
Juba.
Julius Maternus.
Justinus Martyr.
Lactantius.
Lavaterus.
Laurentius Ananias.
Laurentius a villavicentio.
Leo 11. Pontifex.
Lex Salicarum.
Lex 12. Tabularum.
Legenda aurea.
Legenda longa Coloniæ.
Leonardus Vairus.
Livius.
Lucanus.
Lucretius.
Ludovicus Cælius.
Lutherus.
Macrobius.
Magna Charta.
Malleus Maleficarum.
Manlius.
Marbacchius.
Marbodeus Gallus.
Marsilius Ficinus.
Martinus de Arles.
Mattheolus.
Melanchthonus.

Memphra-

## Forreign and Engliſh Authors.

Memphradorus.
Michael Andræas.
Muſculus.
Nauclerus.
Nicephorus.
Nicholaus 5. Papa.
Nider.
Olaus Gothus.
Origenes.
Ovidius.
Panormitanus.
Paulus Ægineta.
Paulus Marſius.
Perſius.
Petrus de Appona.
Petrus Lombardus.
Petrus Martyr.
Peucer.
Philarchus.
Philaſtrius Brixienſis.
Philodorus
Philo Judæus.
Pirkmairus.
Plarius.
Plato.
Plinius.
Plotinus.
Plutarchus.
Polydorus Virgilius.
Pomerium ſermonum quadrageſimalium.
Pomponatius.
Pontificale.
Ponzivibius.
Porphyrius.
Proclus.
Propertius.
Pſellus.
Ptolomeus.
Pythagoras.
Quintilianus.
Rabbi Abraham.
Rabbi ben Ezra.
Rabbi David Kimhi.
Rabbi Joſuah ben Levi.
Rabbi Iſaac Natar.
Rabbi Levi.
Rabbi Moſes.
Rabbi Sedias Haias.
Robertus Carocullus.
Rupertus.
Sabinus.
Sadoletus.
Savanorola.
Scotus.
Seneca.
Septuaginta interpretes.
Serapio.
Socrates.
Solinus.
Speculum exemplorum.
Strabo.
Sulpitius Severus.
Syneſius.
Tatianus.
Tertullianus.
Thomas Aquinas.
Themiſtius.
Theodoretus.
Theodorus Bizantius.
Theophraſtus.
Thucidydes.
Tibullus.
Tremelius.
Valerius Maximus.
Varro.
Vegetius.
Vincentius.
Virgilius.
Vitellius.
Wierus.
Xanrus hiſtoriographus.

*Theſe Engliſh.*

Barnaby Gonge.
Beehive of the Romiſh church.
Edward Deering.
Geffrey Chaucer.
Giles Alley.
Guimelf Maharba.
Henry Haward.
John Bale.
John Fox.
John Malborn.
John Record.
Primer after 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 Author. 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 certain old women here on earth, called witches, muſt needs be the contrivers of all mens calamities, and as though they themſelves were innocents, and had deſerved no ſuch puniſhments. Inſomuch as they 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. Job 5. 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; inſomuch as a clap of thunder, or a gale of winde is no ſooner heard, but either they runne to ring bels, 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 inchantments, as Brentius affirmeth. *In concione.*

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 * 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 ſea in time of tempeſt, as Chriſt did; or raiſe the ſtormy wind, as * God did with his word; and I will beleeve in them. Hath any witch or conjurer, or any creature entred into the * treaſures of the ſnowe, or ſeen the Pſal.25. Pſal 83. Eccleſ.43. Luke 8. Math 8. Mark.4.41. Luk.8.14. Pſal.107.

Job 38.22. Eccles. 43. 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 Sirach, 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.

Levit. 26. verse. 3, 4.

Psa 78.23. Nahum. 1. 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 *Marcionists* acknowledged one God the author of good things, and another the ordainer of evill: 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 fountaines; saith *Osee*. 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.

Job. 26.8. Job. 37. Psalme 135. Jer. 10. & 15. Ose. 13.

Psa. 39. &c. The Imperiall law (saith *Brentius*) condemneth them to death that

In epist. ad 1o. Wierum 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 only. Though (besides *Bodin*, and all the popish writers in generall) it please *Danæus*, *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, *Erastus*, &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? S. *Augustine* saith, *Non est putandum istis transgressoribus angelis servire hanc rerum visibilium materiem: sed soli Deo*; We must not think that these visible things are at the commandement of the angels that fell, but are obedient to the only God.

Exod. 13. Isai. 66. Ps. 18, 11. 19. *August. 3. de sancta Trinit.*

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.

Mar. 4.41. The



## 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.*

BUt 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 Physitian 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 him 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 ministery 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 sowen 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.

‖ Joh. 10. 21.

* Psal. 72. & 136. Jeremie 5. † Hag. 2. 28. * Idem ca 1. * Joel. 1.

S. *Paul* fore-saw the blindnesse and obstinacy, both of these blind shepherds, and also of their scabbed sheep, when he said ‖ They will not suffer wholsome 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 thou away such prophane and old wives fables. In which sense *Basil* saith; Who so giveth heed to inchanters, harkeneth to a fabulous and frivilous thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe am not only *Oculatus testis*, but have examined the cause, and am to justifie 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.

Leviti. 26. 2 Tim. 4. 3 4. 1 Tim. 4. 1.

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

A story of Margaret Simons, a suppo-sed witch.

the wife of *John Simons*, of *Brenchly* in *Kent*, was arraigned for witchcraft, at the instigation and complaint of divers fond and malicious persons; and specially by the meanes of one *Iohn Ferrall* vicar of that parish: with whom I talked about that matter and found him both fondly affected 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 whome 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 disdained, and yet nevertheless would not be perswaded 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: insomuch as the vicar (who thought himself so privileged, as he little mistrusted that God would visit his children with sickenesse) 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 sonne was by her bewitched. Yea, he also told me, that this his 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 scant be heard at all. Which he could impute, he said, to nothing else, but to her inchantment. 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 hoarseneesse, 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 injoined by M. D. Lewen the ordinary) he had brought from *London* a certificat, under the hands of two Physitians, that his hoarsenes proceeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificate 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 beleeve that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations; and of cosening witches.*

ONe sort of such as are said to be witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, blear-eyed, pale, fowle, and full of wrinckles; poor, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as know no religion: in whose drousie minds the devill hath gotten a fine seat; so as, what mischief, mischance, calamity, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easily perswaded 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 doting, 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 beleeve they were true indeed. *Cardan de var. rerum.*

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, pottage, 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 whome 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 borrowe; 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 despited 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 and maintained by unskilful phyſitians, according to the common ſaying: *Inſcitiæ pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and inchantment 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 cattell periſh, either by diſeaſe or miſchance. Then they, upon whom ſuch adverſities fall, weighing the fame that goeth upon this woman, her words, diſpleaſure, and curſes, 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 concurre, and as it were to take effect: and ſo confeſſeth that ſhe (as a goddeſs) hath brought ſuch things t 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.

*I. Bodin. li. 2. de. dæmon. cap. 8.*

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

## CHAP. IIII.

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

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 ſet forward their maſters 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 haile, tempeſts, and hurtfull weather; as lightning, thunder, &c. Theſe be they that procure barrenneſſe in man, woman and beaſt. Theſe can throw children into waters, as they walke with their mothers, and not

*Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæſt. 1. cap. 2.*



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 torments. Theſe can bring trembling to the hands, and ſtrike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. Theſe can manifeſt unto others, things hidden and loſt, and foreſhew things 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.

*Ovid. lib. metamorphoſeon 7. Danæus in dialog. Pſellus in Operatione dæm. Virg. in Damone. Hor. epod. 5. Tibul. de faſcinat. lib. 1. eleg 2. Ovid. Epiſt. 4. Lex. 12. Tabularum. Mal. Malef. Lucan. de bello civili. lib. 6, Virg. eclog. 8. Ovid de remedio amoris lib. 1. Hyperius. Eraſtus. Rich. Gal. in his horrible treatiſe. Hemingius. Bar. Spineus. Bryan Darcy Confeſſio Windeſor. Virgil. Aeneid. 4. C. Manlius aſtrol. lib. 1. Mal. Malef. part 2. quæſt. 1. cap. 14.*

All theſe things are avowed by *Iames Sprenger* and *Henry Inſtitor* In *Malleo Maleficarum*, to be true, and confirmed by *Nider*, and the inquiſitor *Cumanus*; and alſo by *Danæus*, *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, and multiplyed by *Bodin*, and Frier *Bartholomæus 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 ſuppreſſe 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 transferre 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 laſſe 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 venery. 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 Poetæ*. 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 creame; or the good-wife have ſold the butter before in the market. Whereof I have had ſome triall, although there may be true and naturall cauſes to hinder the common courſe thereof: as for example. Put a litle ſope or ſugar into your cherne of creame, 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

be

confirmed and maintained by unskilful physitians, according to the common saying: *Inscitiæ pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and inchantment 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 cattell perish, either by disease or mischance. Then they, upon whom such adversities fall, weighing the fame that goeth upon this woman, her words, displeasure, 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 concurre, and as it were to take effect: and so confesseth that she (as a goddesse) hath brought such things t 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. *I. Bodin. li. 2. de dæmon. cap. 8.*

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

## CHAP. IIII.

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

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 masters 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 haile, tempests, and hurtfull weather; as lightning, thunder, &c. These be they that procure barrennesse in man, woman and beast. These can throw children into waters, as they walke with their mothers, and not *Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæst. 1. cap. 2.*



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 torments. These can bring trembling to the hands, and strike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. These can manifest unto others, things hidden and lost, and foreshew things 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. *Ovid. lib. metamorphoseon 7. Danæus in dialog. Psellus in Operatione dæm. Virg. in Damone. Hor. a epod. 5. Tibul. de fascinat. lib. 1. eleg 2. Ovid. Epist. 4. Lex. 12. Tabularum. Mal. Malef. Lucan. de bello civili. lib. 6, Virg. eclog. 8. Ovid de remedio amoris lib. 1. Hyperius. Erastus. Rich. Gal. in his horrible treatise. Hemingius: Bar. Spineus. Bryan Darcy Confessio Windesor. Virgil. Aeneid. 4. C. Manlius astrol. lib. 1. Mal. Malef. part 2. quæst. 1. cap. 14.*

All these things are avowed by *Iames Sprenger* and *Henry Institor* In *Malleo Maleficarum*, to be true, and confirmed by *Nider*, and the inquisitor *Cumanus*; and also by *Danæus*, *Hyperius*, *Hemingius*, and multiplyed by *Bodin*, and Frier *Bartholomæus 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 suppresse 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 transferre 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 venery. 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 Poetæ*. 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 creame; or the good-wife have sold the butter before in the market. Whereof I have had some triall, although there may be true and naturall causes to hinder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a litle sope or sugar into your cherne of creame, 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 be

bewitch, infect, and kill kine, and dry up the milke: alledging for the
1 Cor. 9. 9. 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 (cosenage, dotage, and poysoning excepted: for 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 knowne, beleeved, 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 cosening art take on them the office of Christ in this behalfe; but use his very phrase of speech to such idolaters, as come to seeke divine assistance at their hands, saying; Go thy waies, thy son or thy
John 5, 6. daughter, &c. shall do well, and be whole.
Mark. 5. 34. It will not suffice to dissuade a witch-monger from his credulity, that he seeth the sequele 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
To go to witches, &c. is idolatry. 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 blasphemer, 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 dissuasions 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 insomuch as it is confessed, by the most part of witch-mongers themselves, that he knoweth not the cogitation of mans heart, he should (me thinks) 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 entreth into the mind, and that way seeketh mans confusion.

The act 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; but with their minds they can but will and understand; and with their bodyes 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 benefit of the cause. And we see; that ignorant and impotent women, or witches, are the causes of incantations and charmes; wherein we shall perceive there is none effect, if we will credit our 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; Truely, the devill little needs such instruments to bring his purposes to passe.

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

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

Why should not the devill be as ready to helpe thereafter as a witch? *L. multum. Si quis alteri, vel sibi.*

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 unpoſſible, 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 *Berwicke*; 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.

Seeing therefore that ſome other things might naturally be the occaſion and cauſe of ſuch calamities as witches are ſuppoſed to bring; let not us that profeſſe the Goſpel and knowledge of Chriſt, be bewitched to beleeve that they do ſuch things, as are in nature impoſſible, and in ſenſe and reaſon incredible. If they ſay it is 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 miſchiefes 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?

An objection anſwered.

## CHAP. VII.

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

Surely the naturall power of man or woman cannot be ſo inlarged, as to do any thing beyond the power and vertue given and ingraffed by God. But it is the will and mind of man, which is vitiated and depraved by the 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 throughly perſwaded, reſolved, or ſatisfied, that witches can indeed accompliſh all theſe impoſſibilities: but ſome one is bewitched in one point, and ſome are cozened in another, untill in fine, all theſe impoſſibilities, and many more, are by ſeveral perſons affirmed to be true.

Miracles are ceaſed.

The opinions of people concerning witchcraft are diverſe and inconſtant

And this I have alſo noted, that when any one is cozened with a cozening toie of witch-craft, and maketh report thereof accordingly, verifiing 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 inchantments), even the ſelfe ſame man will deride the like



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 ſupernaturall 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 legierdemaine 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 idolatry and ſuperſtition, ſpecially in Images, pardons, and reliques of ſaints, will yet perſevere to think, that the reſt of his doctrine and trumpery is holy and good. Finally, many maintain and cry out for the execution of witches, that particularly beleeve never a whit of that which is imputed 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.*

Cardanus writeth, 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 deligently upon the execution of them: becauſe more wealth is to be caught from them: inſomuch as now they deale ſo lopſly 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 convented by the inquiſitors *Hæreticæ pravitatis*. 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 An objection anſwered.

that it is refuted and decided: But how wisely soever the Parliament-house 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 civill 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 forreign 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 *torture* are farre too light, and their rigor too mild; and that in that respect he impudently exclameth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when murtherers, and such malefactors be so used, which deserve not the hundreth 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 wise man, how mad all these witch-mongers dealings be in this behalfe.

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

## CHAP. IX.

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

AND 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 cankerd and spitefull malice, what outragious 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, inexcusable, and apparent shame of all witch-mongers. Neither will I insert any private or doubtfull dealings of theirs; or such as they can either 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, pactised by inquisitors, priviledged by princes, commended by doctors, confirmed by popes, councels, 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



## The second Book.

### CHAP. 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.*

EXcommunicate persons, partakers of the fault, infants, wicked servants, and run-a-waies are to be admitted to bear witnesse against their dames in this matter of witch-craft, because (saith *Bodin* the champion of witch-mongers) none that be honest are able to detect them. Hereticks also and witches shall be received to accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finally, the testimony of all infamous persons in this case is good and allowed. Yea, one lewd person (saith *Bodin*) may be received to accuse and condemne a thousand suspected witches. And although by law, a capitall enemy may be challenged; yet *James Sprenger*, and *Henry Institor*, (from whom *Bodin*, and all the writers that ever I have read, do receive their light, authorities and arguments) say (upon this point of law) that the poor friendlesse old woman must prove, that her capitall enemy would have killed her, and that he hath both assaulted and wounded her; otherwise she pleadeth all in vain. If the judge ask her, whether she have any capitall enemies; and she rehearse other, and forget her accuser: or else answer that he was her capitall enemy, but now she hopeth he is not so; such a one is neverthelesse admitted for a witnesse. And though by law, 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 with.

*Mal. Malef. quæst. 5. pa. 3. I. Bod, lib 4. cap. 2. de dæmon. Arch. in C. alle. accusatus. in S. lz. super. verba. I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 1. de dæmon. Mal. Malef. quæst. 56. pa. 3. & quæ. 5. part. 3. Ibidem. Quæ. 7. act 2.*

### CHAP. II.

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

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

The Scottish custome of accusing a witch.

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

Item, there must be great perswasions used to all men, women, and 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 unawarres 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* setteth downe this principle in witch-craft, to wit, *Si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia*: howbeit the law forbiddeth it, *Ob sanguinis reverentiam*.

I. *Bod. lib. de damon. 4. cap. 4. L parentes de testibus.*

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 faults, 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 [illegible] nevertheless by that confession to be condemned, as in any other crime.

Item, the judges must seem to be in a pittifull countenance and [illegible] bemone them; saying, that it was not they, but the devill that compelled them to do it; and must make them beleeve that they thinke them to be innocents.

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

K. Childeberts cruel devise.

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 (as *Bodin*



*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: wisheth that when witches sleepe, and feel no pain upon the torture, *Domine labia mea aperies* should be said; and so (saith he) both the torments will be felt, and the truth will be uttered: *Et sic ars deluditur arte.* *P. Grillandus.*

Item, *Bodin* saith, that at the the time of examination, there should be a semblance of great a do, to the terrifying of the witch; and that a number of instruments, gives, manacles, ropes, halters, fetters, &c. be prepared, brought forth, and laid before the examinate: 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 examinate 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. A subtill and devilish devise.

Item, there must be subborned some crafty spy, that may seem to be a prisoner with her in the like case; who perhaps may in conference undermine 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 fly in the air, or make a dog speak, or cut off any mans members, and unite them again to men or childrens bodyes; it is sufficient proofe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and conjectures are sufficient proofes against witches.

Item,

Item, if three witnesses do but say, Such a woman is a witch; then 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.

*Bar. Spineus & I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 2. Alexander. L. ubi numerus de testibus.*

Item, the complaint of any one man of credit is sufficient to bring a poor woman to the rack or pully.

*I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

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 tortures, and confesse nothing, as all other are in any criminall cases.

Item, though in other cases the epoisions 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 cond emned; she may nevertheless serve to accuse and condemne a witch.

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

Item, a capitall enemy (if the enmity be pretended to growe by meanes of witch-craft) may object against a witch; and none exception is to be had or made against him.

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

Item, although the proose of perjury may put back a witnesse in other causes; yet in this a perjured person is a good and lawfull witnesse.

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 assemblies, but witches onely: because (as Bodin saith) none other can do it.

In his foolish pamphlet of the execution of Windsor-witches.

Howbeit, *Ri. Ga.* writeth, that he came to the God-speed, and with his sword and buckler killed the devill; or at the least he wounded him sore, that he made him stinke of brimstone.

*I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

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. IIII.

### *Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.*

Is there any probability that such would continue witches? *Idem ibid. Ioan. An. ad specular. tit de litis contest. part. 2.*

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 these may not be spared (saith he) although the law doth execute 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 that may be true; she is to be taken and executed upon that confession: Item



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

*a non alienem eodem.*

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 hagging, 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 forbare to do, *Propter reverentiam honoris & familiæ.*

*L. de æt. 5. nihil eodem. &c. I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

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.

*I. Bod de dæmon lib. 4. cap. 4.*

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.

*I. Bod de dæmon. lib. 4. cap. 4. L. decurionem de panis. Panorm. & Felin in C. veniens. 1. de testibus. par. si. causa 15. 4. Lib 4 numero 12. usq; 18.*

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 not condemned; but (as I said) defamed with the name of a witch. For rumors and reports are sufficient (saith Bodin) to condemne a witch

Item, if any man, woman, or child do say, that such a one is a witch; if it is a most vehement suspicion (saith Bodin, and sufficient to bring her to the racke; 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; I 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 disea-
ed 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 drops
out of her right eye.

Item, it is not only a vehement suspicion, and presumption, but an e-
vident proof of a witch; if any man or beast dy suddainly where she hath
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 a
witch.

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

*L.5.de adult. S.gl. & Bart. c. venerabilis de electio. &c. I Bod.de dæmon. lib.4. cap. 4.*

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

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

*Idem Ibid.*

Item, little children may be had to the torture at the first dash; but
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 pre-
sumption sufficient for the judge to proceed and give sentence of death
upon her.

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

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

Item, their law saith, that an uncertain presumption is sufficient, where
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, fe-
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 suffi-



ent confutation thereof. Now therefore I will proceed to a more par-
ticular 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.

*Mal.malef. super interrog.*

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 wo-
man weepeth when she meaneth most deceipt; and therefore saith M. Mal.
she must be well looked unto, otherwise she will put spitle 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 cause, and so weighty a triall! I am sure that the worst sort of the
children of Israel wept bitterlly: yea, if there were any witches at all in I-
srael, 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.

*Seneca in tragœd*
*Mal.malef. part.3. quæst*
*15.act.10.*
*Num.11.4.*
*1 Sam 11 4.*
*2 Sam 15 23.*
*Mar 8 & 13.*
*& 22.& 24.*
*& 25.*
*Luke 3 &c.*

But God knoweth many an honest matrone cannot sometimes in
the heavinesse of her heart shed teares; the which oftentimes are more
ready and common with crafty 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 fœ-
minium est mendacium*: which argueth, that they ly which say, that wick-
ed women cannot weep. But let these tormentors take heed, that the
teares in this case which runne down the widowes cheeks, with their cry
spoken by Jesus Sirach, be not heard above. But lo what learned, godly,
and lawfull meanes these popish inquisitors have invented for the triall of
true or false teares.

*Seneca in tragœd.*
*Eccl.35. 15.*

## CHAP. VII.

### *The inquisitors triall of weeping by conjuration.*

I Conjure thee by the amorous teares, which Jesus Christ our Saviour
shed upon the crosse for the salvation of the world; and by the most
earnest and burning teares of his mother the most glorious Virgin Mary,
sprinkled upon his wounds late in the evening; and by all the teares,
which every saint and elect vessell 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. quæ.15.pa.3.*

## CHAP. VIII.

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

But to manifest their further follies, I will recite some of their cau-
tion, which are published by the ancient inquisitors, for perpetual les-
sons of their successors: as followeth.

The first caution is that, which was last rehearsed concerning weep-
ing; 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 always 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.

Ia. Sprenger. H. Institor.

Mal. malef. pa. 3. quæ. 15.

Item, she must come to her arreignment backward, to wit, with her
taile to the judges face, who must make many crosses, at the time of
her approching to the barre. And least we should condemne that for
superstition, they prevent us with a figure, and tell us, that the same
superstition may not seem superstitious unto us. But this resembleth
the perswasion of a theef, that disswadeth his sonne from stealing; and
nevertheless telleth him that he may pick or cut a purse, and rob by the
high way.

Prolepsis or Preoccupation.

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
skinne and their flesh. For which cause I marvell they flea them not,
for one of their witches would not burne, being in the middest of the
flame, as M. Mal. reporteth; untill a charme written in a little scroll was
espied to be hidden between her skin and flesh, and taken away. And
this is so gravely and faithfully set down by the inquisitors themselves, that
one may beleeve it if he list, though indeed it be a verity. The like ci-
teth *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 he
had done.

Mal. Malef.

Another caution is, that at the time and place of torture, the hal-
lowed things aforesaid, with the seven words spoken on the crosse, be hang-
ed about the witches neck; and the length of Christ in wax be knit a-
bout 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
cursed his mother for a peacoke, and cursed 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.

Iohn Bod. Anno. 1485. a knave inquisitor. Q. 16. de tempore & modo interrog. Blasphemous Pope Joly, of that name the third.

Another



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 conveied again to the place of
torture: and that in the middest 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 triall 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 per-
forme the same.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. quæ. 16.

Another caution is, that the judge take heed, that when she once be-
ginneth to confesse, he cut not off her examination, but continue it
night and day. For many times, whiles they go to dinner, she return-
eth 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 cheef 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 be-
leeve 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. quæ. 16. act. 11.

And in this place it may not be omitted, that above all other times,
they confesse upon *frydaies*. Now saith *James Sprenger*, and *Henry In-
stitor*, 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
eves-dropers 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 eves-droppers
be also bewraied; so as there shall be no end of torture before she have
confessed what they will.

The

## CHAP. IX.

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

1 They deny God, and all religion.
*Answer* Then let them dy therefore, or at the least be used liked infi-
dels, or apostata's.
They curse, blaspheme, and provoke God with all despite.
2 *Answer* Then let them have the law executed in *Levit.*24. and
*Deut.*13 & 17.
They give their faith to the devill, and they worship and offer sacri-
3 fice unto him.
*Anſ.* Let such also be judged by the same law.
They do solemnely vow and promise all their progenie unto the
4 devill.
*Anſ.* This promise proceedeth from an unsound mind, and is not to
be regarded; because they cannot performe it, neither will it be pro-
ved true. Howbeit, if it be done by any that is sound of mind, let the
curse of *Jeremie* 32. 36. light upon them, to wit, the sword, famine and
Pestilence.
They sacrifice their own children to the devill before baptisme, hold-
5 ing them up in the aire unto him, and then thrust a needle into their
braines.
*Anſ.* If this be true, I maintain them not herein: but there is a law
to judge them by. Howbeit, it is so contrary to sense and nature, that I
were folly to beleeve it; either upon *Bodins* bare word, or else upon his
presumptions; especially when so small commodity and so great danger
and inconvenience insueth to the witches thereby.
They burn their children when they have sacrificed them.
6 *Anſ.* Then let them have such punishment, as they that offered their
children unto *Molochi*: *Levit.*20. But these be meer devises of witch-
mongers and inquisitors, that with extreame tortures have wrung such
confessions from them; or else with false reports have belyed them; or
by flattery and fair words and promises have won it at their hands, at
length.
They swear to the devil to bring as many into that society as they can.
7 *Anſ.* This is false, and so proved elsewhere.
They swear by the name of the devill.
8 *Anſ.* I never heard any such oath, neither have we warrant to kill
them that so do swear; though indeed it be very lewd and impious.
They use incestuous adultery with spirits.
9 *Anſ.* This is a stale ridiculous ly, as is proved at parently hereafter.
They boile infants, after they have murthured them unbaptised, until
10 their flesh be made potable.
*Anſ.* This is untrue, incredible, and impossible.

11 The



They eat the flesh and drink the bloud of men and children openly. 11
*Anſ.* 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.
They kill men with poyson. 12
*Anſ.* Let them be hanged for their labour.
They kill mens cattell.
*Anſ.* Then let an action of trespasse be brought against them for so do- 13
ing.
They bewitch mens corne, and bring hunger and barrenneſſe into the
country; they ride and flie in the air, bring stormes, make tempests &c. 14
*Anſ.* 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.
They use venery with a devil call'd *Incubus*, even when they ly in bed with 15
their husbands, & have children by them, which become the best witches.
*Anſ.* 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 surmiseth, or in malice imputeth 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 commonly put in execution those lewd actions, than such as are called witches and are handged for their labour. The question or matter in controversie: that is to say, the proposition or theme.

Some of these crimes also laid unto witches charge, are by me denyed, and by them cannot be proved to be true, or committed by any one witch. Othersome of these crimes likewise are so absurd, supernaturall, and impossible, that they are derided almost of all men, and as false, fond, and fabulous reports condemned: insomuch as the very 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 deserveth 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 whome I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authority of all writers in this matter. The reason is, because it was never throughly 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 further of the inquisitors orders and customes, say also; that there is no way in the world for these 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 exchange 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 & councellor in the Common-wealth of *Maestright* in *Brabant*, he had sore 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 in 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* replyed, 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 ingraffed into this child, as a disease that commeth by inheritance.

*C.*



*C. Agrippa* replying against the inquisitors folly and superstitious blind- A bitter inenesse, said; O thou wicked Priest! Is this thy divinity? Dost thou use vective ato 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 *Faustus* or *Donatus*? Be it as thou sayest, doest quisitor. 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 dotest thou more than any of them, which never beleeved that any of those devils, together with their stolne 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, threatned 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 clawes of the bloody monke, who with her accusers, were condemned in a great summe of money to the charter of the church of *Menz*, 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 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.

John Fox in the acts and monuments

## 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 historie, or remembreth the persecutions in Queen *Maries* 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 middest of such horrible tortures

and torments, promise unto her selfe constancy; or forbeare 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?

Peters apostasie & renouncing of Christ.

*Peter* the Apostle renounced, cursed, and forsware his master and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for fear of a wenches menaces; or rather at a question demanded by her, wherein he was not so circumvented, as these poor witches are, which be not examined by girles, 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 destruction 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, not 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 girle, against his conscience, forsooke, thrice denyed, 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 halse so many steps. A pastors declination is much more abominable than the going astray of any of his sheep, 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 imployed 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, or rather avowed; specially when there is promise made that none shall be tempted above their strength. The poor old witch is commonly unlearned, unwarned, 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 decrepite, which is a disease that moveth them to these follyes.

*Danæus in dialog.*

1 Cor. 10.

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 shew compassion upon these poor soules, if they shew themselves sorrowful for their misconceipts and wicked imaginations.





# The third Book.

## CHAP. I.

*The witches bargain with the devill, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Danæus, Psellus, Erastus, 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 devil 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 forme; but confer and talke familiarly with him. In which conference the devill exhorteth 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, promiseth to observe and keep all the devils commandements.

The double bargain of witch with the devill.

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 soul 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 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 potion they put into flaggons, whereof whosoever drinketh, observing certain ceremonies, immediately becommeth a master or rather mistresse in that practise and faculty.

*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 a certain terme of years; sometimes for ever. Sometimes it consisteth in the deniall of the whole faith, sometimes in part. The first is, when the soul is absolutely yeelded 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 sundaies, &c. And this is done either by oath, protestation of words, or by obligation in writing, sometimes sealed with wax, sometimes signed with bloud, sometimes by kissing the devils bare buttocks; as did a Doctor called *Edlin*, who as (*Bodin* saith) was burned for witch-craft.

*Spineus, cap. 1. in nuo 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 again. 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

*Idem Ibid.*

hunger; as *Spineus* saith. And this must be an infallible rule, that every fortnight, or at the least every moneth, each witch must kill one childe at the least for her part.

*I. Bod. de damon. 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 up 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 extreame folly (unction I should have said.) But if that be so dangerous, the which socke the corps had need to take great care, that they rub not o the oyle, which divers other wayes may also be thrust out of the forehea 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 b ptisme, which I take to be largely of as great force as the other; and y I think is commonly wiped and washed off, within four and twenty hou



after baptisme: 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 discerne 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 phantasticall 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. tract.*

## CHAP. III.

*How witches are summonded to appear before the devill, of their riding in the aire, of their accompts, of their conference with the devil, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewel and sacrifices: according to Danæus, Psellus, &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-wise of some writer or other, that maintaineth the almighty power of witches. But *Danens* saith, the devill oftentimes in the likeneſse of a 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 clawes, 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 *Danæus* 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.

*Danæus in dialog. cap. 4.*

*Idem Ibidem. Idem in dialog. cap. 3.*

*Psellus* addeth hereunto, that certain magicall hereticks, to wit; the *Eutychians*, 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)

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

probably) that theſe excourſes, dancings, &c. had their beginning from certaine hereticks called *Dulcini*, who deviſed thoſe feaſts of *Bacchus* which are named *Orgia*, whereunto theſe kind of people openly aſſembled; and beginning with riot, ended with this folly. Which feaſts being prohibited, they nevertheleſſe haunted them ſecretly; and when they could not do ſo, then did they it in cogitation onely, and even to this day (ſaith he) there remaineth a certain image or reſemblance thereof among our melancholicke women.

## CHAP. IIII.

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

IF the league be untrue, as are the reſidue of their confeſſions, the witch-mongers arguments fall to the ground: for all the writers herein hold this bargaine for certaine, good, and granted, and as their onely maxime. But ſurely the indenrures, containing thoſe covenants, are ſealed with butter; and the labels are but babies. What firme bargaine can be made betwixt a carnall body and a ſpirituall? Let any wiſe or honeſt man tell me, that either hath been a parey, or a witneſſe; and I will beleeve him. But by what authority, proof, or teſtimony, and upon what ground all this geere ſtandeth, if you read M. *Mal.* you ſhall find to the ſhame of the reporters (who do ſo vary in their tales, and are at ſuch contrariety:) and to the reproch of the beleevers of ſuch abſurd lies.

*Mal.malef. part.2. qua.7. cap.2.*

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

For the beginning of the credit hereof, reſteth upon the confeſſion of a baggage young fellow condemned to be burnt for witch-craft, who ſaid to the inquiſitors, of likelihood to prolong his life, (if at leaſt wiſe the ſtory be true, which is taken out of *Nider*;) If I wiſt (quoth he) that I might obtain pardon, I would diſcover all that I know of witch-craft. The which condition being accepted, and pardon promiſed (partly in hope thereof, and partly to be rid of his wife) he ſaid as followeth.

The novice or young diſciple goeth to ſome church, together with the miſtreſſe of that profeſſion, upon a ſunday morning, before the conſumption of Holy-water, and there the ſaid novice renounceth the faith, promiſeth obedience in obſerving, or rather omitting of ceremonies in meetings, and ſuch other follyes; and finally, that they do homage to their young maſter the devill, as they covenanted.

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

And this is in no wiſe to be forgotten, that notwithſtanding his confeſſion, his confeſſion, & his accuſation of his own wife (contrary to the inquiſition promiſe and oath) he and his wife were both burned at a ſtake, being the firſt diſcoverers of this notable league, whereupon the fable of witch-craft is maintained; and whereby ſuch other confeſſions have been from the like perſons, ſince that time, extorted and augmented.



## CHAP. V.

*Of the private league, a notable tale of Bodins concerning a French-lady, with a confutation.*

The manner of witches private league with the devill.

THE manner of their private league is ſaid to be, when the devill inviſible, and ſometimes viſible, in the middeſt of the people talketh with them privately; promiſing, that if they will follow his counſell, he will ſupply all their neceſſities, and make all their endeavours proſperous; and ſo beginneth with ſmall matters: whereunto they conſent privily, and come not into the fairies aſſembly.

And in this caſe (me thinks) the devill ſometimes, in ſuch externall or corporall ſhape, ſhould meet with ſome that would not conſent to his motions (except you will ſay he knoweth their cogitations) and ſo ſhould be bewrayed. They alſo (except they were idiots) would ſpie him; and forſake him for breach of covenants. But theſe bargaines, and theſe aſſemblies do all the writers hereupon maintaine; and *Bodin* confirmeth them with a hundred and odd lies; among the number whereof I will (for diverſe cauſes) recite one.

There was (ſaith he) a noble Gentlewoman at *Lions*, that being in bed with a lover of hers, ſuddenly in the night aroſe up, and lighted a candle: which when ſhe had done, ſhe took a box of ointment, wherewith ſhe annointed her body; and after a few words ſpoken, ſhe was carried away. Her bed-fellow ſeeing the order hereof, lept out of his bed, took the candle in his hand, and ſought for the Lady round about the chamber, and in every corner thereof; But though he could not find her, yet didhe find her box of ointment: and being deſirous to know the vertue thereof, beſmeered himſelfe therewith, even as he perceived her to have done before. And although he were not ſo ſuperſtitious, as to uſe any words to helpe him forward in his buſineſſe, yet by the vertue of that ointment (ſaith *Bodin*) he was immediately conveyed to *Lorreine*, into the aſſembly of witches. Which when he ſaw, he was abaſhed, and ſaid; In the name of God, what make I here? And upon thoſe words the whole aſſembly vaniſhed away, and left him there alone ſtarke naked; and ſo was he faiu to returne to *Lions*. But he had ſo good a conſcience, for you may perceive by the firſt part of the hiſtory, he was a very honeſt man, that he accuſed his true lover for a witch. And cauſed her to be burned. But as for his adultery, neither, M. *Mal.* nor *Bodin* do once ſo much as ſpeake in the diſpraiſe thereof.

*I. Bod. lib.2. de dæmonomania.cap.4.*

This agreeth not with their interpretation, that ſay, this is onely done by vertue of the league; nor yet to them that referre it unto words; quoth nota.

It appeareth throughout all *Bodins* booke, that he is ſore offended with *Cornelius Agrippa*, and the rather as I ſuppoſe, becauſe the ſaid *C. Agrippa* recanted that which *Bodin* maintaineth, who thinketh he could worke wonders by magicke, and ſpecially by his black dog. It ſhoud ſeem he had

C. *Agrippa. cap.* 51.

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 coſener, hath written a certain fable or miracle done at *Lions*, &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 *Lions*; 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: inſomuch 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 ſpirituall congelations, as of fire and aire; yet it cannot be perceived of mortall creatures. What credible witneſſe 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. Me thinketh their covenant made at baptiſme with God before good witneſſes, ſanctified with the word, confirmed with his promiſes, and eſtabliſhed with his ſacraments, ſhould be of more force 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.

*Tatianus contra Græcos.*

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 coſening 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 thereabouts: and further, have ſent certain old perſons to indent with them, to be admitted into their ſociety. But as well by their excuſes and delaies, as by other circumſtances, I have tried and found all their trade to be meer coſening.

The author ſpeaketh upon due proof and triall.

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-ſayer, which hath his ſeverall kinds of witch-craft and divination expreſſed in the Scripture? Or is it not granted that they make none? How chanceth it that we hear not of this bargain in the Scriptures?



## 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, and deſerveth 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.

Confeſſion compulſory; as by Hiſpanicall inquiſition: Look *Mal. malef.* & *Io. Bodin.*

Confeſſion perſwaſory; as by flatterie: Look *Bry. Darcy* againſt *Vſu. Kempe. Iohn Bod. Mal. malef. L. abſens. de panis. L. 2. cum gloſ. de iis qui ante ſenient. moatui ſunt, & bi necem conſciſcente.*

First, if their confeſſion be made by compulſion, of force or authority, or by perſwaſion, and under colour of friend-ſhip, 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 malancholike mood and frantick humor, ſhe deſire not the abridgement of her own dayes. Which thing *Ariſtotle* ſaith doth oftentimes happen unto perſons ſubject to malancholike paſſions: and (as *Bodin* and *Sprenger* ſay) to theſe old women called witches, which many times (as they affirme) refuſe to live; threatning 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 witneſſe 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, tranſferre 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.

Abſurdities in witches confeſſions.

If they confeſſe that, which hath been indeed committed by them, as poyſoning, or any other kind of murther, which falleth into the power of ſuch perſons to accompliſh; I ſtand not to defend their cauſe. Howbeit, I would wiſh that even in that caſe there be not too raſh credit given, nor 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 murthered their neighbours with a wiſh, ſometimes with a word, ſometimes with a look, &c. ſo they confeſſe, that with

the delivering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they have killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added thereunto, which 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 yeelding 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 murther in *Canterbury*: 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.

*I. Bod. de dæmono. lib 2. cap. 8.*

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

## CHAP. VIII.

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

ALas! if they were so subtill, 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 sore. 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 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 blindnesse 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 commiti, 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 publique hurt of any man; and much more that an impossible purpose is unpunishable. *Sanæ mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; A sound mind willeth nothing, but that which is possible.

*Iohn Bod. L. si per errorem iurisd. omni cum inde. C. sed hoc d. de publ. &c. Bal. in leg. &c.*

## 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 cosening 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 malancholike 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 gallowes; 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: anorher 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 Phrygian, otherwise found enought of mind (as it is said) imagined that he heard and saw musitians 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 murther.

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

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

ty, imagining that his noſe was as big as a houſe; inſomuch as no friend nor Phyſitian could deliver him from this conceipt, nor yet either eaſe his griefe, or ſatisfie his fanſie in that behalfe: till at the laſt, a Phyſitian 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 hereat, 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 me good; the reſidue of my friends flatter me, and would hide my infirmity from me. Well (ſaid the Phyſitian) 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 Phyſitian 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 griefe was eaſed, and his diſeaſe cured.

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

*Danæus in dialog. cap. 3.*

Now, if the fanſie of a melancholike perſon may be occupyed 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 Phyſitians ſay) upon the ſtopping of their monethly melancholike flux or iſſue of blood, in their age muſt needs increaſe therein, as (through their weakneſſe both of body and braine) the apteſt perſons do meet with ſuch melancholy like imaginations: with whom their imaginations remaine, even when their ſenſes are gone. Which *Bodin* laboureth to diſprove, thereby ſhewing himſelfe as good a Phyſitian, as elſe-where a divine.

I. *Baptiſt. P. Nicap. 2. Card. de var. rerum.* I. *Wie. de preſtigiis dæmonum, &c. Ariſtotle, Iohn Bod.*

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 infeeble other mens bodyes; or which is leſſe, hinder the coming of butter? &c. But what is it that they will not imagine, and conſequently confeſſe that they can do; ſpecially being ſo earneſtly perſwaded thereunto, ſo ſorcly tormented;



ſo craftily examined, with ſuch promiſes of favour, as whereby 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 countryes, or lately in this land; you ſhall ſee ſuch impoſſibilities confeſſed, as one, having his right wits, will beleeve. 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 wiſe men beleeved 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 ſithence in this ſort performed.

A Kentiſh ſtory of a late accident.

One *Ade Davie*, the wife of *Simon Davie* husband-man; being reputed a right honeſt body, and being of good parentage, grew ſuddenly (as her husband informed me, and as it is well known in theſe parts) to be ſomewhat penſive and more ſad than in times paſt. Which thing though it greeved him; yet he was loth to make it ſo 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 penſiveneſſe, to ſome perturbation of mind; ſo as her accuſtomed reſt began in the night ſeaſon to be withdrawne from her, through ſighing and ſecret lamentation; and that, not without teares, her could not but demande the cauſe of her conceipt 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 greef: 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 approched 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.

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 innocent 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 fansies 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, insomuch as being retained in her chamber, shesaw not any one carrying a faggot 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 imgination, but unto her selfe.

Confutation.

And as for the rumbling, it was by occasion of a sheep, which was flayed, 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.

A comicall catastrophe.

## 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 depræst.lib. 6. cap.*

BUt in truth, this thalancholike humor (as the best Physitians affirme) is the cause of all their strange, impossible and incredible confessions; which



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 feeding those places, from whence proceed feares, cogitations, superstitions, fastings, labours, and such like.

This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some say) foresight of things to come, and preserveth health, as being cold and dry; it maketh men subject to leanesse, 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.)

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

If our witches phantasies were not corrupted, nor their wils confounded with this humor, they would not so voluntarily and readily confesse that which calleth 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 Physitian *John Wier* for his opinion in that behalfe. But because I am no Physitian, I will set a Physitian to him; namely *Erastus*, who hath these words, to wit, that these witches, through their corrupt phantasie 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.

*Io.Bod.contra.Io.Wierum.*

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, infeebled a child, forespoken her neighbour, &c. than when she confesseth that she transubstantiateth her self, maketh it rain or hail, flieth 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 sound, 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. 3. Iamblichus. Io.Wierus. Cardanus. Pampia. &c.*

## 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 unsound mind. Yea I say further, that we our selves, which are sound of mind, and yet seek any other way of salvation than Christ Jesus, or break his commandements, 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 imbrace 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 seething of them, and the making of their potion or pottage, and the effects thereof; their good-fridayes 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 journy, nor to returne, &c. it is so horrible, unnaturall, unlikely, and unpossible; 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 pottage 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 not, by the opinion of all philosophers, Physitians, and divines, void of such vertue, as is imputed thereunto?

Their not fasting on fridayes, and their fasting on sundayes, their spitting at the time of elevation, their refusall 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 devills 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 none which acknowledgeth God to be onely omnipotent, and the onely worker of all miracles, nor any other indued with meane sense, but will deny that the elements are obedient to witches, and at their commandement; or that they may at their pleasure send rain, hail, tempests, thunder, lightning; when she being but an old doting woman, casteth a flint-stone over 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 laieth sticks acrosse upon a banke, where never a drop of water is; or burieth sage till it be rotten: all which things are confessed by witches, and affirmed by writers to be the meanes that witches use to move extraordinary tempests and rain, &c.



The waies that witches use to make raine &c.

*Nider. Mal. Malef. I. Bod. Frier Barth. Heming. Danæus, &c. Mal. Malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 12.*

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 thereof 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 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.

He that can lye, can steale, as he that can worke can play.

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

But Jeremy, by the word of God, doth utterly confound all that which may be devised for the maintenance of that foolish opinion, saying: Are there any among the gods of the gentiles, that send raine, or give 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 coldnesse thereof constraineth and thickeneth those vapours: which being become clouds, are dissolved again by the heat of the sunne, whereby rain or hail is ingendred; rain, if by the way the drops be not frosen and made haile. These

Jer. 16.22. *Dii gentium demonia.*

The gods of the gentiles are devils.

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.

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 Job. 11. 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 Ib. vers. 16. the Lords hand that punished *Job*, and not the hand of the devill, who said not, 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 Job. 2. 5. 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 remembred, that M. *Mal.* and the residue of the witch-mongers deny, that there were any witches *Mal. maleficar. pa. 1. quæ. 2.* in *Jobs* time. But see more hereof elsewhere.

## CHAP. XIIII.

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

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

IF it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or the witch-mongers report, or that fools beleeve, we should never have bitter in the chearne, nor cow in the close, nor corne in the field, nor fair weather abroad, nor health within doors. 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 said to confesse, what creature could live in security? Or what needed such preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe? Nay Prince should be able to raigne or live in the land. For (as *Danæus* 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 over-throw an army roiall: and then what needed guns, or wild-fire, or any other instruments of warre? A witch might supply all wants, and accomplish a Princes will in this behalfe, even without charge or blood-shed of his people.

If it be objected, that witches worke by the devill, and christian princes are not to deale that way; I answer, that for princes disposed to bad, tell would make conscience therein, specially such as take unjust wars in hand, using other helps, devises, and engines as lawfull: and devillish that; in whose campe there is neither the rule of religion or christian order observed; insomuch as ravishments, murthers, blasphemies and



thefts are there most commonly and freely committed. So that the devill is more feared, and better served in their campes, than God Almighty. *Mal. maleficar.* I. *Bodin.* *Bar. Spinæus.*

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.*

Witches in warres.

IN the warres betweene the kings of *Denmarke* and *Sueveland*, 1563. the *Danes* do write, that the king of *Sueveland* carryed 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: insomuch as, if they had taken in hand any enterprise, they were so infeebled by those witches, as they could performe nothing. And although this could have no credit at the first, yet in the end, one of these witches was taken prisoner, and confessed the whole matter; so as (saith he) the threads, and the line, and the characters were found in the high way and water-plashes.

Eybitting witches.

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

Pumher an archer.

I find another story written in M. Mal. repeated by *Bodin*; that one souldier called *Pumher*, daily through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes three of the enemies, as they stood peeping over the walls of a castle beleaguered: so as in the end he killed them all quite, saving one. The triall of the archers sinister 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.

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. *Maries* justices, upon the complaint of many wise 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 perswaded, 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 inchantment; 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 commonwealth, and to his owne inriching. And therefore the archer was severely punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wise example of justice; but specially to the overthrow of witch-craft. And now again to our matter.

## CHAP. XVI.

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

CErtaine generall councells, by their decrees, have condemned the confessions and erroneus credulity of witches, to be vain, fantasticall and fabulous. And even those, which are parcell 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 entring 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 councell to be meere fantasticall, and imaginations in dreames; but so affirmed by the ancient writers. The words of the councell are these; It may not be omitted, that certain wicked women following Satans provocations, being seduced by the illusion of devils, beleeve and professe, that in the night-times they ride abroad with *Diana*, the goddesse of the *Pagans*, or else with *Herodias*, with an innumerable multitude, upon certain beasts, and passe over many countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and do whatsoever those fairies or ladies command &c. And it followeth even there; Let all ministers thereforein 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 likenesse of any, but of the creator himselfe, is assuredly an infidell, and worse than a *Pagan*.

*Concil. Acquirens. in decret. 26. quæ. 5. can. episcopi. Augustin. de spiritu & anima cap. 8. Fran. Ponzivib. tract. de lam. numero 49. Grillandus de sort. numero. 6. In histor. vel vita. sancti Germani.*

And if this be credible, then all these their bargaines and assemblies &c. are incredible, which are onely ratified by the certaine foolish and extorted confessions; and by a fable of S. Germane, who watched the fairies or witches, being at a neer banquet, and through his holinesse 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 likenesse of those women. Which if it were as true, as it is false, it might serve well to confute this their meeting and night-walkings For if the devils be only present in the likenesse of witches, then is that false, which is attributed to witches in this behalfe.



But because the old hammer of *Sprenger* and *Institor*, in their old *Malleo maleficarum*, was insufficient to knock down this counsel; a young beetle-head called Frier *Bartholomæus Spineus* hath made a new leaden beetle, to beat down the counsell, and kill these old woman. Wherein he counterfeiting *Æsops* 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 authenticall but apocryphall: saying (though untruly) that that counsel was not called by the commandement 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, cantrary 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. Mal. in quæ. de strigib. cap. 21, 22. &c. 23.*

*Bar. Spineus Mal. malef. cap. 23. in quæ. de strig. lib.*

## CHAP. XVII.

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

OLd M. *Malificarum* also saith, that the counsels and doctors were all deceived herein, and alledging authority therefore, confuteth that opinion by a notable reason, called *Petitio principii*, or rather, *Ignotum per ignotius*, in this manner: They can put changelings in the place of other children; *Ergo* they can transferre and transforme themselves and others, &c. according to their confession in that behalfe. Item he saith, and *Bodin* justifieth it, that a priest in *Frisland* was corporally transferred into a farre 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 impunity of horrible witches. Wherein he opposeth his folly 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 beleeve 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. Paris.*

*August. de spiritu & anima. Lib.1. cap. 7. de Eucharist.*

plainly appear also if you read Aristotle *De somnio.*

And thereof S. *Agustine* saith well, that he is too much a fool and a blockhead, that supposeth those things to be done indeed, and corporally, which are by such persons phantastically imagined: which phantasticall illusions do as well agree and accord (as *Algerus* saith) with magicall deceipts, 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 councels determine in this case.*

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

ALas! what creature being sound 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 yeelded 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 enemy presently? As for theeves, 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 beleeved without further proof. For as *Augustine* and *Isidore*, with the rest of the sounder divines say, that these perstigious things, which are wrought by witches, are fantasticall: so do the sounder decrees of councels and canons agree, that in that case, there is no place for cirminall 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 & possible.* But these things are opposite 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 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. quæ. 5. ca. non mirum. Ponzivibus de lamiis, volum. 10. L. error; & L. cum post. c. de juris & facti ignor. ac in L. de etat. S. item de interrog. action. Per glos. Bal.*

The law also saith, *In criminalibus regulariter non statur soli confessioni rei.* 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 proof but



but by confession: It is answered thus in the law, to wit: Their confession in this case containet han outward act, and the same impossible both in the law and nature, and also unlikely to be true; and therefore *Quod 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, *Si factum absit, solaque opinione laborent, estultorum genere sunt*; If they confesse a fact performed but in opinion, they are to be reputed among the number of fooles. Neither may any manbe by law condemned for criminall causes, upon presumptions, nor yet by single witnesses: neither at the accusation of a capitall enemy; who indeed is not to be admitted to give evidence in this case; though it please M. M. l. 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 greatest of all others; because of their carnall copulation with the devill, and therefore they are to be punished as heteticks, four nannes of waies: to wit, with excommunication, deprivation, losse of goods, and also with death.

*& alios in L. 1. c. de confes. glos. nec si de confes. in 6. S. ad leg. Aquil. L. Neracius. S. fin. Vt per Bald. & August. in L. 1. c. de confes. &c. Extra. de præsum. literas. Per Bald. in deleg. &c. Extra detest. cum literis.*

And indeed they find law, and provide meanes thereby to maintaine this their bloudy humor. For it is written in their popish canons, that As for these kind of heretikes, how much soever they repent and returne to the faith, they may not be 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 *Moses* delivered not three tables to the children of Israel; or at the least-wise, that he exhibited not commandements for it. It is not credible that the greatest should be included in the lesse, &c.

*Mal. malef. pa. 3. quæst. 5. cap. 11.*

*Mal. malef. quest. 14. pa. 1. C. de malef. L. nullus. L. nemo. & L. culpa. and affirme by Mal, malef. Mal. Malef. quæst. 17.*

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 capitall crimes objected against witches, all fully answered and confuted as frivolo us.*

FIrst therefore they lay to their charge idolatry. But alas without all reason; for such are properly known to us to be idolaters, as do externall 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 neither

ther seek nor beleeve to have salvation at the hands of devils, but by them they are onely deceived; the instruments of their fantasie being corrupted, and so infatuated, 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 *Yorke* before noon, when they have been seen at *London* in the morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters; whose idolatry is spirituall and committed onely in mind, should be punished by death; then should every covetous man or other, that setteth 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 erstwhile 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 admit 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 herein 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*, *Dienaus*, *Erastus*, and others that take upon them to write hereof 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 insomuch as I am driven (for the more manifest bewraying and displaying of this most filthy and horrible error) to staine 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 abhominable 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 groome thrust their bawdy stuffe (even that which I my selfe loath) as into a stinking corner: howbeit, none otherwise, I hope. but that the other parts of my writing shall 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. malef. part. 2. cap. 4. quæst. 1.*

IAmes Sprenger and Henry Institor, in M. Mal. agreeing with Bodin, Barth. Spineus, Danæus, Erastus, Hemingius, and the rest, do make a bawdy discourse; labouring to prove by a foolish kind of philosophie; that evill 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 also retaine, digest, and avoid the same; and finally, use diverse kinds of activities, but specially excell in the use and art of venery. For M. Mal. saith, that the eyes and eares of the mind are farre more subtill than bodily eyes or carnall eares. Yea it is there affirmed, that as they take bodies, and the likenesse of members; so they take minds and similitudes of their operations. But by the way, I would have them answered this question. Our minds and soules are spirituall things. If our corporall ears be stopped, what can they hear or conceive of any eternall wisdome? And truly, a man of such a constitution of body, as they imagine of these spirits, which make themselves, &c. were of farre more excellent substance, &c. than the bodies of them that God made in paradise; and so the devils workman-ship should exceed the handy-work of God the father and Creator of all things.

If his bodily eyes were out he would see but ilfavoredly.

### CHAP. II.

*Of bawdy Incubus and Succubus, and whether the action of venery may be performed between witches and devils, and when witches first yielded to Incubus.*

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

HEretofore (they say) *Incubus* was fain to ravish women against their vill, untill Anno. 1400. but now since that time witches consent willing to their desires: Insomuch 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 *Ravenspurge*. But what goodly fellowes *Incubus* begetteth upon these witches, is proved by *Thomas* of *Aquine*, *Bodin*, M. *Mal. Hyperius*, &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 his knowledge of the constellations, which are friendly to such corporall effects. And lastly, by the excellent complexion of such as the devil maketh choice of, to beget such notable personages upon, as are the causes



causes of the greatnesse and excellency of the child thus begotten. *Mal. malef. Par. 7. quæ. 1.*

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 divell and man. Wherein he saith truely; 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 ingendreth, 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. *August. de doctrina. Christ.*

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 venery 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 decision 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, conventicles, 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 feed away (as hath been said) from some wicked man being about that lecherous businesse, and therewith getteth young witches upon the old. *Mal. malef. quæ. 1. part. 1. Mal. Malef. par. 1. quæ. 1.*

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 heate, and consequently the vertue: M. Mal. *Danæus* and the rest do answere, 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 *Benedicit*, driveth *Incubus* away, when *Ave Maries*, crosses, and all other charmes fail. *Danæus in dialog. de sortiariis. Ja. Sprenger in Mal. malef.*

## CHAP. III.

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

BUt 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 *Institor* 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; saving that after such a 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. Nevertheleſſe, many times the husband seeth *Incubus* making him cuckhold, in the likneſſe of a man, and sometimes striketh off his head with his sword but becauſe the body is nothing but air: it closeth together again: so that although the good-wife be sometimes hurt thereby; yet she maketh him beleeve he is mad or possessed, and that he doth he knoweth not what. For she hath more pleasure and delight (they say) with *Incubus* that way than with any mortall man; whereby you may perceive that spirits are palpable.

This was done at Ravenspurge.

*Mal. malef.*

## CHAP. IIII.

### *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 meanes again restored.*

THey also affirme, that the vertue of generation is impeached by witches, both inwardly, and outwardly: for intrinsecally 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 extrinsecally, with images, herbs, &c. And to prove this true, you shall heare certain stories out of M. Mal. worthy to be noted.

*Mal. malef. cap. 6. quæ. pa. 2.*

A young priest at *Mespurge* in the diocesse 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 vain for evermore he was brought as far backward by night, as he went forward in the day before; some time 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 further confirmation of our beleef in *Incubus*, M. Mal. citeth a story of a notable matter executed at *Ravenspurge*, as true and as cleanly





as the rest. A young man lying with a wench in that towne (saith he) was fain 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 vain; 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 whilest he was losing the towell, 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 shrift 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 injoyned 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 so beleeved him, as he would needs be *Oculatus testis*, and made him pull down his breeches, and so was satisfied of the truth and certainty thereof.

*Ia. Sprenger. in Mal. malef. part. 2. quæ.*

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 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.

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

Note.

## CHAP. V.

*Of biſhop Sylvanus his lechery opened and covered again, how maides 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.*

YOu 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 likeneſſe 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 ſhrew indeed, that 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 witch-craft is practiſed among many bad husbands, for whom it were a good excuſe to ſay they were bewitched.

Saints as holy and chaſte as horſes & mares.

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

## 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.*

THe 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 ſucceſſively



ſively to dy for her love, as ſhe her ſelfe confeſſed, by the report of M. Mal. In *Gelderland* a prieſt perſwaded a ſick woman that ſhe was bewitched; and except he might ſing a maſſe upon her belly, ſhe could not be 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.

Of bawdy prieſt in Gelderland.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of divers ſaints and holy perſons, which were exceeding bawdy and lecherous, and by certain miraculous meanes became chaſte.*

*In col. patrum,*

CAſſianus 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 *Equicius* being naturally as unchaſte as the other, fell to his beads ſo devoutly for recovery of honeſty, that there came an angell 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 nunnes. 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 fain 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 damſels, if we free thee from all concupiſcence? Yea (quoth he) with all my heart. And when they had ſworne 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 putting about him a girdle, which they brought down with them from heaven.

*Gregor. lib. 1. dial 2.*

*In vitis patrum.*

*Heraclider in paradiſo.*

*Nider in formicarii.*

## CHAP. VIII.

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

FOr direct cure 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 Maries*, and all manner of croſſings; which are all ſaid to be wholeſome, except the witch-craft be perpetuall, and in that caſe the wife may have a divorſe 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 cuſhin, 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 boſome, if you be ſo bewitched is very good.

*Aliter.*

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; *Hoſtienſis* 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, eſt ſignum maleficii.*

*Aliter.*

S. Thomas Moores, medicinable receipt &c.

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.

*Aliter.*

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

*Aliter.*

Item, one *Katharine Loe* (having a husband not ſo 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. *Anthonies* altar; ſo as, through the holineſſe of the maſſe it might be ſanctified, to be more couragious; and of better diſpoſition and abilitie, &c.

## CHAP. IX.

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

NOw being wearied with the rehearſall 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 Pratenſis*, which though it be rude, yet it is not altogether ſo unclean as the reſt.

*Iaſo Pratenſis de cerebri morbo, 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 lo how I look, being now a very ghoſt conſiſting of skinne 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



lieth ſo heavy upon my breſt, 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 ſmild (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: for by our bleſſed lady, I tell you nothing but that which waking I ſaw with mine eyes, and felt with mine hands. I ſee her when ſhe commeth upon me, and ſtrive to repell her; but I am ſo infeebled that I cannot: and for 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 to have had helpe at his hands; but the devill a whit had I of him; ſaving 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 ſtock, 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 meanes obtain at her hands, that ſhe would leave moleſting me by night; but ſhe keepeth her old cuſtome, determining by theſe filthy meanes 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 acknoledged his diſeaſe, and recovered the ſame.

*The prieſt is opinionative in the error of his fantaſie.*

*The prieſt recovered.*

## CHAP. X.

### *A confutation of all the former follyes 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 *Hyperius* and others write that *Merlin* was, An. 440; ſpecially to excuſe and maintain the knaveries and lecheries of idle prieſts & bawdy monkes, and to cover the ſhame of their lovers and concubines.

*Merlin begotten of Incubus.*

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.

But to use few words herein, I hope you understand that they affirme and say, that *Incubus* is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c. and that he neither doth eat nor drink. Indeed your gran dames maides were wont to set a boll of milke before him and his cousine Robin good-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at mid-night: and you have also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or good-wife of the house, having compassion of his nakednesse, laid any clothes for him, besides his messe of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee. For in that case he saith;

What have we here? Hemiton hamten, here will I never more tread nor stampen.

*Quia humor spermaticus ex (ucco alimentari provenit.*

But to proceed in this consultation. Where there is no meat eaten, there can be no seed which thereof is ingendred: although it be granted, that Robin could both eat and drink, as being a cosening idle frier, or some such rogue, that wanted nothing either belonging to lechery or knavery, &c. Item, where the genitall members want, there can be no lust of the flesh: neither doth nature give any desire of generation, where there is no propagation or succession required. And as spirits cannot be greeved with hunger, so can they not be inflamed with lustes. And if men should live ever, what needed succession or heires? For that is but an ordinance of God, to supply the place, the number, the world, the time, and specially to accomplish his will. But the power of generation

*Ad facultatem generandi tam interna quam externa organa requiruntur.*

Consisteth not onely in members, but chiefly of vitall spirits, and of the heat: which spirits are never in such a body as *Incubus* hath, being but a body assumed, as they themselves say. And yet the most part of writers hereof affirme, that it is a palpable and visible body; though all be phansies and fables that are written hereupon.

## CHAP. XI.

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

What Incubus is, & who be most troubled therewith.

But in truth, this *Incubus* is a bodily disease (as hath been said) although it extend unto the trouble of the mind, which ossome is called the mare, oppressing many in their sleep so sore, as they are not able to call for helpe, or stirre themselves under the burthen of that heavy humor which is ingendred of a thick vapor proceeding from the crudity and rawnesse in the stomach; which ascending up into the head oppresseth the braine, insomuch as many are much infeebled thereby, as being nightly haunted subject therewith. They are most troubled with this disease, that being thereunto, ly right upward; so as, to turne and ly on the one side, is present remedy. Likewise, if any hear the groan ing of the party, speak unto him, so as he wake him, he is presently relieved. Howbeit, there are magicall cures for it; as for example.

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight.
He walkt by day, so did he by night;

Untill



Untill such time as he her found,
He her beat and he her bound,
Untill her troth she to him plight,
She would not come to her that night.

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

Item, hang a stone over the afflicted persons bed, which stone hath naturally such a hole in it, as wherein a string may be put through it, and so be hinged over the diseased or bewitched party: be it man, woman, or horse.

Item, you shall read in M. *Malefic.* that excommunication is very notable, and better than any charme for this purpose. There are also other verses and charmes for this disease devised, which is the common cloak for the ignorance of bad physitians. But *Leonard Fuchsius* in his first book and 31 chapter, doth not onely describe this disease, and the causes of it; but also setteth down very learnedly the cure thereof, to the utter confusion of the witch-mongers solly in this behalfe. *Hyperius* being much bewitched and blinded in this matter of witch-craft, hovering about the interpretation of *Genesis* 6. from whence the opinion of *Incubus* and *Succubus* is extorted, *Viderunt filii Dei filias hominum, quod elegantes essent, acceperunt sibi in uxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant, &c.* seemeth to maintaine upon hear say, that absurd opinion; and yet in the end is driven to conclude thus, to wit: Of the evill spirits *Incubus* and *Succubus* there can be no firme reason or proof brought out of Scriptures, using these very words; *Hæc ut probabilia dicta sunto, quandoquidem scripturarum præsidio hac in causa destituimur.* As if he should say, Take this as spoken probably; to wit, by humane reason, because we are destitute of Scriptures to maintaine the goodnesse of the cause.

*M. malefic. par. 2. qua. 2. cap. 1. col. 2.*

*Leon. Fuchsius de curandi ratione.*

*Tertullian* and *Sulpitius Severus* do interpret *Filios Dei* in that place to be angels, or evill spirits, and to have been enamored with the beauty of those wenches, and finally, begat giants by them. Which is throughly confuted by *Chrysostome, Hom.* 22. in *Gen.* but specially by the circumstance of the text.

*Turtull. in libro de habitu muliebri. Sulp. Sever. in epitome hist. sacr.*

## CHAP. XII.

### *The censure of G. Chaucer upon the knavery of Incubus.*

Now will I (after all this long discourse of abhominable cloked knaveries) here conclude with certaine of G. *Chaucers* verses, who as he useth out the absurdities of popery, so found he the priests knavery in this matter of *Incubus*, and (as the time would suffer him) he derided their folly and falshood in this wise:

*Geffr. Chaucer in the beginning of the wife of Baths tale.*

For now the great charity and prayers
Of limitors and other holy friers,
That searchen every land and every streame
As thicke as motes in the sunne-beame,

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 himselfe,
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.





## The Fift 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 absudities, 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 laboureth to establish this impossible, incredible, and supernaturall, or rather unnaturall doctrine of tranlubstantiation. *I. Bod. lib. 2. de dæmon. cap. 5.*

First, as touching the devill (*Bodin* saith) that he doth most properly and commonly transforme himselfe into a goat, confirming that opinion by the 33. and 34. of *Esay*: where there is no one tittle sounding 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 Darey*, and *Ione Harviller* But I marvell, whether the devill createth himselfe, when he appeareth in the likenes of a man; or whether God createth him, when the devill wisheth it. As for witches, he saith they specially transsubstantiate themselves into wolves, and them whom they bewitch into asses: though else-where he differ somewhat herein from himselfe. But though he affirme, that it may be naturally brought to passe, that a girle 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 woolfe 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 ly *Wierus* doth sufficiently confute. But un-ill you see & read that, consider whether *Peter* could eat raw flesh wr-hout surfetting, 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 abuseth scriptures to prove a lye. *Pudendis tunc primum erumpentibus.* *Io Wier. lib. 6. de mag. ca. 12.*

He accuseth also one of the mightiest princes in christendome, even of late daies, to be one of those kind of witches, so as he could, when he list, turne himselfe to a wolfe, affirming that he was espyed & 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, mendaciorum helua.*

and through out all *Asia*, as marchant strangers have reporteed to him. For *Anno Domini*. 1542, when *Sultan Solimon* 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 season to swim in

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.

Imarvell that they forsake not the devil, who punisheth them so sore; yet is they get not so much at his hands.

Item, that there was one *Bajanus* a Iew, being the sonne of *Simeon*, which could, when he list, turne himselfe into a wolfe; and by that meanes 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 marvellous, that men will not beleeve 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 magicall wolves devoure men, women and children. And yet God saith

Leuit. 26.

to the people, I trowe, and not to the cattle of Israel: If you observe not

Deut. 32.

my commandements, I will send among you the beasts of the field, which shall devoure both you and your cattle. Item, I will send the teeth of beasts upon you. Where is *Bodins* distinction now become? He never saith, I will send witches in the likenesse of wolves, &c. to devoure you or your cattle. 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 *Lucian* and *Apuleius* made canonicall.

Furthermore he saith, that through this art they are so cunning that

Scaus a witch could not be apprehended, and why? I. *Bodin. Mal. malef. Iohn. Bodin. Mal. Malef. Barth. Spin. &c. Malemalef. part. 3.*

man can apprehend them, but when they are a sleep. Item, he named 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 fumme 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 commitered and received much hurt. But at *Argentine* there was wonderfull matter done, by three witches of great wealth, who transforming themselves into three cats, assaulted a faggot-maker: who having hurt them all with a faggot-sticke, was like to have bin put to death. But he was miraculously delivered, and they worthily punished; as the story saith, from whence *Bodin* had it.

An error about Lycanthropia.

After a great many other such beastly fables, he laveyeth against such Physitians, 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*



*Ulysses* his companions: inveying against *Chrysostome*, 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 witchmongers arguments should quaile) 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 dæmonum arte vel potestate in bestialia lineamenta converti posse*: We may not beleeve 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 cattle. 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 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 witchmongers to silence with this one question; to wit, Whether a witch that 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 & anima, cap. 26.*

Ironia.

## CHAP. II.

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

THese Examples and reasons might put us in doubt, that every Asse, 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 imbracing 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 dæmon. cap. 6.*

Gen. 19, 24. & 26. & 27. 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 buſineſſe all the night before, and when a miracle ſhould be wrought, the devil muſt be fain to do it himſelf.

*I. Bod. lib. de dæmon. 2. cap. 20. M. Mal. pa. 1. quæ. 9. 1. Bod. lib. de dæmon. 2. ca. 1.*

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* taketh it. One notable inſtance of a witches cunning in this behalfe touched by *Bodin* in the chapter aforeſaid, I thought good in this place to repeat: he taketh it out of M. Mal. which tale was delivered to *Sprenger* by a knight of the Rhodes, being of the order of S. *Jones* at Jeruſalem and it followeth thus.

*M. mal. part. 2. quæ. 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* (wherein 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 womans houſe, a little way out of the city, and not farre from the ſea-ſide, to ſee whether ſhe had any egs to ſell. Who perceiving him to be a luſtie young fellow, a ſtranger, and far from his countrey (ſo as upon the loſſe 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, whileſt ſhe went to fetch a few egs for him. But ſhe tarryed 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 egs, 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 eate 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 marriners beat him back with a cudgell, ſaying; What a murren lacks the aſſe? Whether the devill will this aſſe? The aſſe or young man, I cannot tell by which name I ſhould teatm 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 remembred the witches words, and the words of his own fellowes 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.

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

*A ſtrange metamorphoſis, of body, but not of mind.*

After three yeares were paſſed over, in a morning betimes he went to towne before his dame; who upon ſome occaſion, of like to make water, ſtayed a little behind. In the meane time being neer to a church; he heard a little ſaccaring bellring to the elevation of a morrow maſſe, and not daring to go into the church, leaſt 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 prieſt doth hold the ſacrament at the elevation. Which prodigious ſight when certaine merchants of *Genua* eſpyed, and with wonder beheld; anon commeth the witch with a cudgell in her hand, beating 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 meanes as both the aſſe and the witch were attached by the judge. And ſhe being examined and ſet upon the rack, confeſſed the whole 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.

*Note the devotion of the aſſe.*

Upon the advantage of this ſtory M. Mal. *Bodin*, and the reſidue of the witchmongers triumph; and ſpecially becauſe *S. Auguſtine* ſubſcribeth thereunto; or at the leaſt to the very like. Which I muſt confeſſe I find too common in his books, inſomuch as I judge them rather to be foiſted in by ſome fond papiſt or witchmonger, than ſo learned a mans 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 and ſo certaine reports. And in that reſpect he juſtifieth the corporall transfigurations of *Ulyſſes* his mates, through the witch-craft of *Circes*: and that fooliſh fable of *Præſtantius* his father, who, he ſaith, did eat provender and hay among other horſes, being himſelfe turned into an horſe. Yea he verifieth 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 faires. And therefore I ſay with *Cardanus* that how much *Auguſtine* ſaith he hath ſeen with his eyes, ſo much I am

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

*At the alps in Arcadia.*

*Card. de. varietum. lib. 15. cap. 80.* *August. Li. 18. de civit. Dei.*

content to beleeve. Howbeit S. *Agustine* concludeth against *Bodin*. For he affirmeth these transsubstantiations to be but fantastical, and that they are not according to the verity; but according to the appearance. And yet I cannot allow of such appearances made by witches, or yet by devills for I find no such power given by God to any creature. And I would wit of S. *Augustine*, where they became, whom *Bodins* transformed wolves devoured But?

*O quam Credula mens hominis, & erecta fabulis aures!*

*Englished by Abraham Fleming.*

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

Generall councels, and the Popes canons, which *Bodin* so regardeth do condemne and pronounce his opinions in this behalfe to be absurd; and the residue of witchmongers, with himselfe in the number, to be worse than infidels. And these are the very words of the canons, which elsse-where I have more largely repeated; Whosoever beleeveth, that any creature can be made or changed into better or worse, or transformed into any other shape, or into any other similitude, by any other than by God himselfe the creator of all things, without all doubt is an infidel and worse than a pagan. And therewithall this reason is rendred, to wit, because they attribute that to a creature, which onely belongeth to God the creator of all things.

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

## CHAP. IV.

### *A summary of the former fable, with a refutation thereof, after due examination of the same.*

COncerning the verity or probability of his enterlude, betwixt *Bodin*, M. Mal. the witch, the asse, the masse, the merchants, the inquisitors, the tormentors, &c. First I wonder at the miracle of transubstantiation; Secondly at the impudency of *Bodin* and *Iames Sprenger*, for affirming so grosse a ly, devised belike by the knight of the *Rhodes*, to make a foole of *Sprenger*, and an asse of *Bodin*; Thirdly, that the asse had no more wit than to kneele downe and hold up his forefeet to a peece of starch or flowre, which neither would, nor could, nor did helpe him, Fourthly, that the masse not reform that which the witch transformed; Fifthly, that the merchants, the inquisitors, and the tormentors, could nor either His shape was severally or jointly do it, but referre the matter to the witches courtesie in the woods: and good pleasure.

where else should it be? *Mal. malef. par. 1. quæ. 2.*

But where was the young mans own shape all these three yeares, where in he was made an asse? It is a certaine and a generall rule, that two substantiall formes cannot be in one subject *simul & semel*, both at once which is confessed by themselves. The forme of the beast occupied some



place in the air, and so I think should the forme of a man do also. For, to bring the body of a man, without feeling, into such a thine airy nature, as that it can neither be seen nor felt, it may well be unlikely, but it is very impossible; for the aire is inconstant, and continueth not in one place: So as this airy creature would soon be carried into another region; as elsse-where I have largely proved. But indeed our bodies are visible, sensitive, and passive, and are indued with many other excellent properties, which all the devills in hell are not able to alter; neither can one haire of our head perish, or fall away, or be transformed, without the speciall providence of God Almighty.

In my discourse of spirits and devils, being the 17. book of this volume

But to proceed unto the probability of this story. What luck was it, that this young fellow of *England*, landing so lately in those parts, and that old woman of *Cyprus*, being both of so base a condition, should both understand one anothers communication; *England* and *Cyprus* being so many hundred miles distant, and their langnages so farre differing? I am sure in these daies: wherein trafficke is more used, and learning in more price; few young or old mariners in this realme can either speake or understand the language spoken at *Salamin* in *Cyprus*, which is a kind of *Greek*; and as few old women there can speake our language. But *Bodin* will say, You heare, that at the inquisitors commandement, and through the tormentors correction, she promised to restore him to his own shape: and so she did, as being thereunto compelled. I answer, that as the whole story is an impious fable; so this assertion is false, and disagreeable to their own doctrine, which maintaineth, that the witch doth nothing but by the permission and leave of God. For if she could do or undo such a thing at her own pleasure, or at the commandement of the inquisitors, or for fear of the tormentors, or for love of the party, or for remorse of conscience: then is it not either by the extraordinary leave, nor yet by the like direction of God; except you will make him a confederate with old witches. I for my part wonder most, how they can turne and tosse a mans body so, and make it smaller and greater, to wit, like a mouse, or like an asse, &c. and the man all this while to feel no paine. And I am not alone in this maze: for *Daneus* a speciall maintainer of their follyes saith, that although *Augustine* and *Apuleius* do write very credible of these matters; yet will he never beleeve, that witches can change men into other formes; as asses, apes, wolves, beares, mice, &c.

*Dan. in dialog. cap. 3.* *August. lib. de civit. Dei. cap. 17. 18.*

## CHAP. V.

### *That the body of a man cannot be turned into the body of a beast by a witch, is proved by strong reasons, scriptures, and authorities.*

BUt was this man an asse all this while? Or was this asse a man? *Bodin* saith (his reason onely reserved) he was truly transubstantiated into an asse; so as there must be no part of a man, but reason remaining in this asse. And yet *Hermes Trismegistus* thinketh he hath good authority and reason to say; *Aliud corpus quam humanum non capere animam humanam; nec meg. in suo Pefas ri. andro.* *Hermet Trif-*

*sus esse in corpus animæ ratione carentis animam rationalem corruere*; that is;
An humane soule cannot receive any other than an humane body, nor ye
can light into a body that wanteth reason of mind. But S. *Iames* saith;
The body without the spirit is dead. And surely, when the soul is de-
Jam.2.26. parted from the body, the life of man is dissolved: and therefore *Pa*
Phili.1.23. wished to be dissolved, when he would have been with Christ. The bo-
dy of man is subject to divers kinds of agues, sicknesses, and infirmitie
whereunto an asses body is not inclined: and mans body must be fed wit
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*Paul* saith, that that very body which is sowne and buried a naturall bod
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tall flesh, and not in the flesh of an asse.

God hath endued every man and every thing with his proper natur
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What a beastly assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made
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temple of the Holy Ghost? Or an asse to be the child of God, and
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1 Cor.6.19. divinely confuteth, who saith, that our bodies are the members of Ch
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shame; especially when he shall understand, that even into these our bodies, which God hath framed after his own likenesse, 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 Psalm.8. verses 5,6,7, angels, yea than himselfe, and crowned him with glory and worship, and 8. 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 foules 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, cœlumque videre*
*Jussit, & erectos ad sydera tollere vultus,*

*The effect of which verses in this;*

The Lord did set mans face so hie,
That he the heavens might behold,
And look up to the starry skie,
To see his wonders manifold.

Now, if a witch or a devill can so alter the shape of a man, as contrarily to make him look down to hell, like a beast; Gods works should not only be defaced and disgraced, but his ordinance should be wonderfully ltered, and thereby confounded.

## CHAP. VI.

### *The witchmongers objections, concerning Nabuchadnezzar answered, and their error concerning Lycanthropia confuted.*

*Malleus 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 oxe, 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 wildernesse, therein exile to lead his life in a beastly sort, among beasts of the field, and foules 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) untill 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 eele by the tale. Dan.4.

I

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## CHAP. VI.

### *The witchmongers objections, concerning Nabuchadnezzar answered, and their error concerning Lycanthropia confuted.*

*Malleus Maleficarum*, *Bodin*, and many other of them that maintain witchcraft, triumph upon the story of *Nabuchadnezzar* as though *Circes* had transformed him with her sorceries into an oxe, 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 wildernesse, therein exile to lead his life in a beastly sort, among beasts of the field, and foules 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) untill 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.

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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 meeter to have place in the *Cabalisticall* 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 Physitians affirme) a disease proceeding partly from melancholy, whereby many suppose themselves to be wolves, or such ravening beasts. For *Lycanthropia* is of the ancient Physitians called *Lupina melancholia*, or *Lupina insania*. 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. Aegin. li. 3. c. 16. Aetius. lib. 6. cap. 11. I. Wier. de præst. dem. lib. 4. cap. 23.

## CHAP. VII.

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

FhOr 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 devil 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 ointemnts or entred into any league with the devil, & by vertue thereof was transported from out of the wildernesse, 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 generall 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 cloathed 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

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

Answered to the former objection.

Mat. 26. 53.

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



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.

Heare 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 truely 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 reall 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.

*I. Calvine in harmon. Evang. in Math 4. & Luk 4.*

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 propheste 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 *Institor* say, that the devill in the likenesse of a falcon caught him up; *Danæus* 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 returne 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 Iob 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: insomuch as there is not the

the name of a witch mentioned in the whole book. But(I pray you)what witchmonger now ſeeing one ſo afflicted as *Job*,would not ſay he were bewitched, as *Job* never ſaith? For firſt there came a meſſenger unto him, and ſaid; Thy oxen were plowing, and thy aſſes were feeding in their
Job 1. 14 places, and the *Sabeans* came violently and took them; yea they have ſlain thy ſervants with the edge of the ſword; but I onely am eſcaped to tell thee. And whileſt he was yet ſpeaking, another came, and ſaid; The fire of God is fallen from the heaven, and hath burnt up thy ſheep and thy ſervants, and devoured them;but I onely am eſcaped to tell thee.
verſe,15. And whileſt he was yet ſpeaking, another came, and ſaid, The *Chaldeans* ſet out their bands, and fell upon thy camels; and have taken them, and have ſlain thy ſervants with the edge of the ſword; but I onely am eſcaped alone to tell thee. And whileſt he was yet ſpeaking, came another,and
verſe.16. ſaid; Thy ſonnes and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their elder brothers houſe, and behold there came a great wind from beyond the wilderneſſe,and ſmote the four cornersof the houſe, which fell upon thy children, and they are dead;and I onely am eſcaped alone to tell thee. Beſides all this, he was ſmitten with biles, from the ſole of his
verſe,17. foot to the crown of his head. If any man in theſe daies called *Job* ſhould
verſe,18. be by the appoinment or hand of God thus handled, as this *Job* was; I
verſe, 19. warrant you that all the old women in the country would be called *Coram*
Ibid.ca. 2. *nobis*: warrants would be ſent out on every ſide, publike and private
verſe,7. inquiry made what old women lately reſorted to *Iobs* houſe, or to any of thoſe places, where theſe misfortunes fell. If any poor old woman had chanced within two or three months to have borrowed a courteſie of ſeaſing, or to have fetcht from thence a pot of milke, or had ſhe required ſome almes, and not obtained it at *Jobs* hand; there had been argument enough to have brought her to confuſion: and to be more certain to have the right witch apprehended, figures muſt have been caſt, the ſive and ſheares muſt have been ſet on worke; yea rather than the witch ſhould eſcape, a conjurer muſt have earned a little money, a circle muſt have been made, and a devill raiſed to tell the truth: mother *Bungy* muſt have been gon unto, and after ſhe had learned her name, whom *Iob* muſt ſuſpected, ſhe would have confirmed the ſuſpicion with atificiall accuſations; in the end, ſome woman or other muſt have been hanged for it.
I.Calvin.in Iob cap. 1.21. But as *Iob* ſaid; *Dominus dedit*: ſo ſaid he not; *Diabolus vel Lamia,ſed Dominus abſtulit*. Which agreeth with the tenor of the text, where it is written, that the devill at every of *Iobs* afflictions deſired God to lay his hand upon him. Inſomuch as *Iob* imputed no part of his calamity unto devils, witches, nor yet unto conjurers, or their inchantments; as we have learned now to do. Neither ſinned he, or did God any wrong when he laid it to his charge: but we diſhonour God greatly, when we attribute either the power or propriety of God the creator unto a creature.
I.Calvin.in Iob.cap.2. Sermon.8. Muſcul.in loc.comm. Idem.ibidem. *Calvine* ſaith; We derogate much from Gods glory and omnipotency when we ſay he doth but give Satan leave to do it: which is (ſaith he) to mocke Gods juſtice; and ſo fond an aſſertion, that if aſſes could ſpeak they would ſpeak more wiſely than ſo. For a temporall judge ſaith not to



the hangman; I give thee leave to hang this offender, but commandeth him to do it. But the maintainers of witches omnipotency, ſay; Do you not ſee how really and palpably the devill tempted and plagued *Iob*? I anſwer firſt, that there is no corporall or viſible devill named nor ſeen in any part of that circumſtance; ſecondly, that it was the hand of God that did it: thirdly, that as there is no community betwixt the perſon of a witch, and the perſon of a devill, ſo was there not any conference or practiſe between them in this caſe.

I.Calvine in his ſermon upon Job. And as touching the communication betwixt God and the devill, behold what *Calvine* ſaith, writing or rather preaching of purpoſe upon that place, whereupon they think they have ſo great advantage; When Satan is ſaid to appear before God, it is not done in ſome place certaine, but the ſcripture ſpeaketh ſo to apply it ſelfe to our rudeneſſe. Certainly the devill in this and ſuch like caſes is an inſtrument to worke Gods will, and not his own; and therefore it is an ignorant and an ungodly ſaying (as *Calvine* judgeth it) to affirme, that God doth but permit and ſuffer the devill: For if Satan were ſo at his own liberty (ſaith he) we ſhould be overwhelmed at a ſudden. And doubtleſſe, if he had power to hurt the body, there were no way to reſiſt; for he would come inviſibly upon us, and knock us on the heads; yea he would watch the beſt and diſpatch them, whileſt they were about ſome wicked act. If they ſay; God commandeth him, no body impugneth them, but that God ſhould give him leave, I ſay with *Calvine*, that the devill is not in ſuch favour with God, as to obtaine any ſuch requeſt at his hands.

I.Calvine in Job.cap. 1. ſermon 5. Mal.malef. pa. 1. queſt. 1. Idem part. 1. queſt. 4. And whereas by our witch mongers opinions and arguments, the witch procureth the devill, and the devill asketh leave of God to plague whom the witch is diſpoſed: there is not (as I have ſaid) any ſuch corporall communication between the devill and a witch, as witch-mongers imagine. Neither is God moved at all at Satans ſute, who hath no ſuch favour or grace with him, as to obtaine any thing at his hands.

But *M.Mal.* and his friends deny, that there were any witches in *Iobs* time: yea the witchm-ongers are content to ſay, that there were none found to exerciſe this art in Chriſts time, from his birth to his dearth, even by the ſpace of thirty three years. If there had been any (ſay they) ſhould have been there ſpoken of. As touching the authority of the book of *Iob*, there is no queſtion but that it is very canonicall and authentike. Howbeit, many writers, both of the Jews and others, are of opinion, that *Moſes* was the author of this book; and that he did ſet it as a looking glaſſe before the people: to the intent the children of *Abraham* (of whoſe race he himſelfe came) might know, that God ſhewed favour to others that were not of the ſame line, and be aſhamed of their wickedneſſe: ſeeing an uncircumciſed Painime had ſo well demeaned himſelfe. Upon which argument *Calvine* (though he had written upon the ſame) ſaith, that forſomuch as it is uncertaine, whether it were *Res geſta* or *Exempli gratia*, we muſt leave it in ſuſpenſe. Nevertheleſſe (ſaith he) let us take that which is out of all doubt; namely, that the holy ghoſt hath indited the book, to the end that the Jews ſhould know that God hath had a people alwaies to ſerve him throughout the world, even of ſuch as were no

Note what is ſaid touching the booke of Job.

Jews, nor segregated from other nations.

Howbeit, I for my part deny not the verity of the story; though in deed I must confesse, that I think there was no such corporall interlude between God, the devill, and Iob, as they imagine: neither any such re all presence and communication as the witch-mongers conceive and maintaine; who are so grosse herein, that they do not onely beleeve but publish for palpable absurdities concerning such reall actions betwixt the devill and man, as a wise man would be ashamed to read, but much more to credit: as that S. *Dunstan* lead the devill about the house by the nose with a pair of pinsors or tongs, and made him rore so lowd, that 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.

In *Legenda aurea.*

## CHAP. IX.

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

But what sorts of witches soever M. Mal. or *Bodin* say there are; *Mal* spake onely of four kinds of impious coseners or witches (whereof one witch-mongers old women which dance with the fairies, &c. are none). The first were *Præstigiatores Pharaonis*, which (as all divines, both Papists brews and others conclude) were but coseners 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. The third are such as use sundry kinds of divinations, and hereunto pertaine these words, *Kasam, Onen, Ob, Idoni*. The fourth is *Habar*, to wit: when magicians, or rather such, as would be reputed cunning therein, mumble certain secret words, wherein is thought to be great efficacy.

1. Præstigiatores Pharaonis.

2. Mecasapha. 3. Kasam. Onen. Obi Idoni 4. Habar.

These are all coseners and abusers of the people in their severall kinds. But because they are all termed of our translators by the name of witches in the Bible: therefore the lies of M. Mal and *Bodin*, and all our old wives tales are applied unto these names, and easily beleeved 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 our 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 *Anthrens Massius*, the most famous *Hebrician* in the world, and had it in such sense and order, as I mean to set down unto you. And yet I give you this note by the way, that witch-craft or inchantment is diversly taken in the scriptures; sometimes for nothing tending to such end as it is commonly thought to do. For 1. *Samuel*, 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 *Galathians* are bewitched, because they were seduced and lead from the true understanding of the Scriptures. 2. Ke. 9. 22. Gal. 3. 1. Math. 2. 1.

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 meer coseners indeed; as appeareth in the second chapter of *Daniel*, where you may see that the king espyed their fetches. Daniel 4. Dan. 2. 8. Acts. 19.

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 faithlesse could work nothing; yet is their practise condemned by the name of conjuration. Sometimes jugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they are called forcerers, that impugne the gospell of Christ, and seduce others with violent perswasions. Sometimes a murtherer with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by the very signification of their names: as *Ehmim*, 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 indifferent to say in the English tongue; She is a witch, or, She is a wise woman. Gen. 4. 18. Exod. 7. 13. &c. Acts 13. Exod. 22. &c. Acts 13. Acts 19. Canticles of Solomon chap. 4. verse 9. Deut. 18. 2. Ierem. 27. Acts 8.

Sometimes observers of dreames, sometimes sooth sayers, sometimes the observers of the flying of fowles, of the meeting of toades, the falling of salt, &c. are called witches. Sometimes he, or she is called a witch, that take upon them either for gaine 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 so are our old women, that are said to have children with their eyes, or Iamps with their lookes, or that pull down the moon out of heaven, or make (a 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.

# *The sixt 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, Acts. 8.*

*Chasaph*, being an Hebrew word, is latined *Veneficium*, and is in English, poisoning, or witch-craft; if you will so have it. The Hebrew sentence written in Exod. 22. is by the 70. interpreters translated thus into Greek φαρμακὸς οὐ ζωογονήσεις which in Latine is, *maleficos (sive) veneficas non retinebitis in vita*, in English, You shall nor suffer any poisoners, or (as it is translated) witches to live. The which sentence *Iosephus* an Hebrew borne; and a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreteth in this wise: Let none of the children of Israel have any poyson that is steadly, or prepared 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 Cornelia* differeth not from this sense, to wit, that he must suffer death; which either maketh, selleth, or hath any poison 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. 2 *Chr.* 33.6. *Esay* 47.9. 12. *Malach.* 3.5. *Ieremy* 27. *Mich.* 5.2. *Nah.* 3.4 *bis*. Howbeit, in all our English translations, *Chasaph* is translated, witch-craft.

*Ioseph. in Iudeorum antiquitat.*

And because I will avoid prolixity and contention both at once, I will admit that *Veneficæ* were such witches, as with their poisons did much hurt among the children of Israel; and I will not deny that there remain such until this day, bewitching men, and making them beleeve, by vertue of words, and certaine ceremonies, they bring to pass such mischiefs, and intoxications, as they indeed accomplish by poison. And this abuse in cosenage of people, together with the taking of God's 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 cosenage; O ye foolish *Galathians* (saith he) who hath bewitched you? to wit, cosened or abused you, making you beleeve a thing which is neither so nor so. Whereby he meaneth not to ask of them, who hath with charmes &c. or with poysons deprived them of their health, life, cattle, or children, &c. but who hath abused or cosened them, to make them beleeve lies. This phrase is also used by Iob. 15. But that we may be throughly 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* which

Gal. 3. 1.

Iob. 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 beleeve 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. Acts 8, 11.

It will be said, the people had reason to beleeve him, because it is written, that he of long time had bewitched them with sorceries But let the bewitched *Galathians* be a warning both to the bewitched *Samaritans*, and to all other that are cosened 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 coseners, 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 resolved or confirmed in his doctrine and gospell. And as for the unfaithfull, they shall have none other miracle shewed unto them, but the signe of *Ionas* the prophet. 1 Reg. 8. 39. Math. 9. 4. 12. 25. 22. Acts 1 24. & 15. 8. Rom. 8. 27. Mark. 2.

And therefore I say, whatsoever they be that with *Simon Magus* take upon them to work such wonders, by sooth-saying, sorcery, or witch-craft, are but liers, deceivers, and coseners, 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. Luk. 6. 17. & 11. & 9. Ioh. 1. & 2. & 6. & 13. Apoc. 2. & 3. Luk 11. 29. Eccl. 34. 5. Eccl. 348. Levi. 19. 31.

## 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 sorcerer, 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 coseners, every one abusing the people in his severall

Esay,42.8. Ps.24.8.10. severall kind; and are accursed 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 sinnes to be purged thereby; as the *Spaniards* think of scourging and whipping themselves. So as God power was imputed to that action, and so forbidden as an idolatrous forcery. What wonders worketh the regarder of times? What other devildealeth 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? Nevertheless, he is here condemned as a practiser of witch-craft; becaus he cosseneth the people, and taketh upon him to be a prophet; impiously referring Gods certaine ordinances to the flittering fethers and uncertain wayes of a bird? The like effects produceth forcery, charming, consultation with spirits, sooth-saying, and consulting with the dead: in every of the which Gods power is obscured, his glory defaced, and his commandement 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. Ose.6. Acts17.25.28. 1Tim.6.13.

And to prove that these sooth-sayers and witches are but lying mates and cosseners; note these words pronounced by God himselfe, even to the selfe same place to the children of Israel. Although the Gentiles suffered 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 cosening mates, deceitfull and undermining merchants, whose abuses I will make known to my people. And that every one may be resolved herein, let the last sentence of this precept be well weighed; to wit, Let none 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, and resting with *Lazarus* in *Abrahams* bosome, do sleepe in Jesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raised, till the heavens be no 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, but 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 percutit, & ipse medetur; Ego occidam & ego vivefaciam.* And in many other places it is written, that God giveth life and being to all. Although *Plato*, with his master *Socrates*, the 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 proverbe *Amicus*



*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 beleeve they do them, and thereby cosen 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 ly and cosen 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 cosenage, &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 councell *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 renounceth 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 murther and witch-craft; and the murther consisting in poison; the witch-craft in cosenage or blaspehmy.

*26 quæ.7. non observ. fall. 1398.act.17. August. de spirit. & 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 witchcraft, 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 poysoning, and more naturally addicted and given thereunto than men: according to the saying of *Quintilian*; *Latrocinium facilius in viro, veneficium in fœmina credam.* From whom *Plinie* differeth nothing in opinion, when he saith, *Scientiam fœminarum in veneficiis prævalere.* To be short, *Augustine, Livie, Valerius, Diodorus*, and many other agree, that women were the first inventers and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the rest of their cunning in what estimation it was had, may appear by these verses of *Horace*, wherein 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, sagas,*
*Nocturnos lemures, portenta q; Thessala rides:*

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 cunning: 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: as *Marmaritin*, whereby spirits might be raised: *Archimedon*, which would make one bewray in his sleep, all the secrets in his heart. *Adincantida*, *Calicia*, *Mevais*, *Chirocineta*, &c. which had all their severall vertues or rather poisons. But all these now are worne out of knowledge: marry in their stead we have hogs-turd and chervil, as the ouely thing whereby our witches work miracles.

Truly this poisoning art called *Veneficium*, of all others is most abhominable; as whereby murthers may be committed, where no suspition may be gathered, nor any resistance can be made; the strong cannot avoid the weak, the wise cannot prevent the foolish, the godly 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, so unevitably, and so incurably, that of all other it hath been thought the most odious kind of murther; according to the saying of *Ovid*.

*Ovid metamo. lib. 1.*

*——————non hospes ab hospite tutus,*
*Non socer à genero, fratrum quoq; gratia rara est:*
*Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti,*
*Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercæ,*
*Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.*

*Englished by Abraham Fleming.*

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 poison 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 right *Veneficus*; to wit both a witch and a murtherer: for he killed the king with poison, and 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 murther, commited by women at *Rome*, where were executed (after due conjunction, 170. women at one time; besides 20. women of that consort, who were poison with that poisoned which they had prepared for others.

*Æneid. 4. lib. 4.*



## CHAP. IIII.

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

Veneficæ in Italy.

ANother practise, not unlike to that mentioned in the former chapter, was done in *Cassalis* at *Salassia* in *Italie*, Anno 1536. where 40. *Veneficæ* or witches being of one confederacy, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, besmeering with an ointment and a pouder, the posts and doors of mens houses; so as thereby whole families were poisoned: and of that stuffe they had prepared above 40. crocks for that purpose. Herewithall they conveied inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and onely sonne of one *Necus* (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 mangers, racks, or else in the hedges about the pastures, where cattel go (through the antipathy of the nature of the wolfe and other cattel) all the beasts that savour the same do not only forbear to eat, but run about as though they were mad, or (as they say) bewitched.

Veneficæ Genua and Millen.

But *Wierus* telleth a notable story of a *Veneficus*, or destroyer of cattel, which I thought meet here to repeat. There was (saith he) in the dukedome of *Wittneberge*, not farre from *Tubing*, a butcher, anno. 1564. 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 bullocks, sheep, swine, &c. and by his bargain of the hides and tallow 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

Of a butcher a right veneficall which.

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

## CHAP. V.

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

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 *Veneficas* severally. But it 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 thing more odious, wicked and dangerous, then any other kinde of murther. 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 the stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of *Ægypt*: so are the same words found repeated in *Levit.* 19.33. polling and shaving of heads and beards is forbidden in *Duet*, 27. which was before prohibited in 21. as it is written in *Exodus* the 20. Thou shalt not steale: and it is repeated in *Leviticus* 19. and in Duet. 5. Murther is generally forbidden in *Exodus*, and likewise in 22. and repeated in *Num.* 35. But the aptest example is, 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.

Levit.19.33.

## CHAP. VI.

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

AS touching this kind of witch-craft, the principall part thereof consisteth in certain confections 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 to some it taketh away life, and that is more common then the other. They be called *Philtra*, or *Pocula amatoria*, or *Venenosa*, *pocula* or *Hippomanes*, which bad and blinde Physitians 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 whom was derived the estimation of that stuffe. And first you shall hear what *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 Æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes,*
*Datq; quod a teneri fronte revellet equi.*
*Non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herbæ,*



*Miſtaq; cum magicis mersa venena ſonis.*
*Phaſius Æſonidem, Circe tenuiſſet Ulyſſem,*
*Si modo ſervari carmine poſſet amor:*
*Nec data profuerint ſallentia philtra puellis,*
*Philtra nocent animis, vimq; furoris habent.*

*Engliſhed by Abraham Fleming.*

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 ma-
gicke charmes 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 maintaind and kept might be
the love of twain in one.
No ſlibberſawees given to maides,
to make them pale and wan,
Will helpe: ſuch ſlibberſawces marre
the minds of maide and man,
And have in them a furious force
of phrenſie now and than.

Philtra, ſlibberſawes to procure love.

*Viderit Æmoniæ ſi qu is mala pabula terra*
*Et magicas artes poſſe juvare putate.*

*Ovib.lib.de remedio amoris.1.*

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

*Ab.Fleming.*

Theſe verſes precedent doſhew, that *Ovid* knew that thoſe beggerly ſorceries 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.*

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

## CHAP. VII.

*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.*

But because there is no hold nor trust to these Poets, who say and [illegible] say, dallying with these causes; so as indeed the wise may perce[illegible] they have them in derision: let us see that other graver authors [illegible] hereof. *Eusebius Cæsariensis* writeth what the poet *Lucretius* was ki[illegible] with one of those lovers poisoned cups. *Hierome* reporteth that one L[illegible] herewith killed her husband, whom she too much hated; and *Lu*[illegible] killed hers, whom she too much loved *Calisthenes* killed *Lucius Luc*[illegible] the Emperour with a love-pot, as *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* [illegible] *Pliny and Iosephus* report, that *Cæsonia* killed her husband *Caligula* [illegible] *rio poculo* with a lovers cup, which was indeed starke poison. Arist[illegible] saith, that all which is beleeved touching the efficacie of these matte[illegible] lies and old wives tales. He that will read more arguments and hist[illegible] concerning these poisons, let him look in I. Wier *de veneficiis*.

*Hierenym in Ruff. Plin. lib. 25. ca. 3. Joseph lib. 11. de Iudeorum antiquit. Aristot. lib. 8. de natura animal cap. 24. Io. Wier. denef. cap. 40.*

Toies to mocke apes.

The toies, which are said to procure love, and are exhibited in [illegible] poison loving cups, are these: the haire growing in the nether[illegible] part of a wolves taile, a wolves yard, a little fish called Remora, the [illegible] of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizzard: the bone of a green frog, the [illegible] thereof being consumed with pismiers or ants; the left bone where[illegible] gendreth (as they say) love; the bone on the right side, hate. Also [illegible] said, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about with [illegible] whereof some will swim, and some will sinke: those that sinke, [illegible] hanged up with a white linnen cloth, ingender love, but if a man [illegible] touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is there[illegible] with young swallowes, whereof one brood or nest being taken and b[illegible] in a crock under the ground, till they be starved up; they that be [illegible] open mouthed, serve to engender love; they whose mouths are shut, [illegible] to procure hate. Besides these, many other follies there be to this pur[illegible] proposed to the simple; as namely, the garments of the dead, can[illegible] that burne before a dead corps, and needles wherewith dead bodies [illegible] sowne or sockt into their sheets: and diverse other things, which [illegible] the reverence of the reader, and in respect of the uncleane speech to [illegible] used in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read *Dioscori*[illegible] or diverse other learned physitians,) you may see at large. In the me[illegible] while, he that desireth to see more experiments concerning this ma[illegible] let him read *Leonardus Vairus de fascino*, now this present year 1[illegible] newly published; wherein (with an incestuous mouth) he affirmeth d[illegible] ly, that Christ and his Apostles were *Venefici*; very fondly prosecuting [illegible] argument, and with as much popish folly as may be; labouring to p[illegible] it lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, &c.

*Dioscorid. de materia medicin.*

*L. Vairus de fascin. lib. 2. caq. 11. prope. finem.*



## CHAP. VIII.

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

*J. bodin.*

Monsieur *Bodin* triumpheth over doctor *Wier* herein, pronouncing a heavy sentence upon him; because he referreth this word to poison. But he reigneth or rather rideth over him, much more for speaking false Greek; affirming that he calleth *Veneficos* φαρμακεύσυς, 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 φαρμακεύεις, whereas he should have said φαρμακεῖς the true accent being omitted, and ἔυ being enterposed, 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; φαρμακεῖς is sometimes put for *Magos* or *Præstigiatores*: *Ergo* in the translation of the *Septuaginta*, it is so to be taken. Wherein he manifesteth his bad 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 unproperly, 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 φαρμακεία, *Veneficium*.

# The seventh book.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Hebrew word Ob, what it signifieth, where it is found, of Pythonisses called ventriloquæ, who they be, and what their practise are, experience and examples thereof shewed.*

THis word *Ob*, is translated Pytho, or *Pythonicus spiritus*, Deut. 18 Isay. 19. 1 Sam. 28. 2 Reg. 23. &c. sometime, though unproperly, *Magus*, as 2 Sam. 33. But *Ob* signifieth most properly a bottle and is used in that place, because the *Pythonists* spake hollow; as in the bottome of their bellies, whereby they are aptly in Latin called *Ventriloqui*: of which sort was *Elizabeth Barton*, the holy maid of *Kent*, &c. These are such as take upon them to give oracles, to tell where things lost are become, and finally to practise all peach others of mischiefs, which they themselves most commonly have brought to passe. whereby many times they overthrow the good fame of honest women, and of such others of their neighbours, with whom they are displeased. For trial hereof, letting passe a hundred coseni that I could recite at this time, I will begin with a true story of a wo practising her diabolical witch craft, and ventrilequie An. 1574. at *Westwell* in *Kent*, within six miles where I dwell, taken and noted by ministers and preachers of Gods word, four substantial yeomen, and t women of good fame and reputation, whose names are after written.

the holy maid of Kent a ventriloqua.

*Mildred*, the base daughter of *Alice Norrington*, and now servant *William Sponer* of *Westwell* in the county of *Kent*, being of the age of

An Do. 1574. October. 13. seventeen years, was possessed with Satan in the night and day aforesaid. About two of the clock in the afternoone of the same day, there came the same *Sponers* house *Roger Newman* minister of *Westwell*, *John Brainford* minister of *Kinington*, with others, whose names are underwritten, who made their praiers unto God, to assist them in that needfull case; and then commanded Satan in the name of the eternall God, and of his son Jesus Christ, to speak with such a voice as they might understand, and to declare from whence he came. But he would not speak, but roared and cried mighily. And though we did command him many times, in the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in his mighty power to speak; yet he would not: untill he had gone through all his delaies, as roring, crying, striving, and gnashing of teeth; and otherwhile with mowing, and other terrible countenances, and was so strong in the maid, that four men could scarce hold her down. And this continued by the space almost of two hours. So sometimes we charged him earnestly to spake, and againe praying unto GOD that he would assist us, at the last he spake, but very strangely; and that was thus: He comes, he comes: and that oftentimes he repeated; and he goes, he goes. and then we charg

Confer this story with the woman of Endor, 1 Sam. 28. and see whether the same might not be accomplished by this devise



charged him to tell us who sent him. And he said; I lay in her way like a log, and I made her runne like fire, but I could not hurt her. And why so, said we? Because God kept her, said he. When camest thou to her, said we? To night in her bed, said he. Then we charged him as before, to tell what he was, and who sent him, and what his name was. At the first he said, The devil, the devil. Then we charged him as before. Then he rored and cried as before, and spake terrible words; I will kill her, I will kill her; I will teare her in peeces, I will teare her in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt her. He said, I will kill you all. We said, Thou shalt hurt none of us all. Then we charged him as before. Then he said, you will give me no rest. We said, Thou shalt have none here, for thou must have no rest within the servants of God: but tell us in the name of God what thou art, and who sent thee? Then he said he would tear her in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt her. Then he said again he would kill us all. We said again, Thou shalt hurt none of us all, for we are the servants of God. And we charged him as before. And he said again, Will you give me no rest? We said, Thou shalt have none here, neither shalt thou rest in her, for thou hast no right in her, sith Jesus Christ hath redeemed her with his bloud, and she belongeth to him; and therefore tell us thy name and who sent thee? He said his name was Satan. We said, Who sent thee? He said, Old *Alice*, old *Alice*. Which old *Alice*, said we? Old *Alice*, said he. Where dwelleth she, said we? In *Westwell* street, said he. We said, How long hast thou been with her? These twenty years, said he. We asked him where she did keep him? In two bottels, said he. Where be they, said we? In the backside of her house, said he. In what place, said we? Under the wall, said he. Where is the other? In *Kenington*. In what place, said we? In the grounnd, said he. Then we asked him, what she did give him. He said, her will, her will. What did she bid thee do, said we? He said, Kill her maid. Wherefore did she bid thee kill her, said we? Because she did not love her, said he. We said; How long is it ago, since she sent thee to her? More then a year, said he. Where was that, said we? At her masters, said he. Which masters, said we? At her master *Brainfords* at *Kinington*, said he. How oft wert thou there, said we? many times, said he. Where first, said we? In the garden, said he: Where the second time? In the hall: Where the third time? In her bed: Where the fourth time? In the field: Where the fift time? In the court: Where the sixt time? In the water, where I cast her into the mote: Where the seventh time? In her bed. We asked him again, where else? He said, in *Westwell*. Where there, said we? In the vicarige, said he. Where there? In the loft. How camest thou to her, said we? In the likenesse of two birds, said he. Who sent thee to that place, said we? Old *Alice*, said he. What other spirits were with thee there, said we? My servant, said he. What is his name said we? He said, little devill. What is thy name, said we? Satan, said he. What doth old *Alice* call thee, said we? Partner, said he. What doth she give thee, said we? Her will, said he. How many hast thou killed for her, said we? Three, said he. Who are they, said we? A man and his child, said he.

he. What were their names, said we? The childs name was Ed
said he: what more then *Edward*, said we? *Edward Ager*, said he. W
was the mans name, said we? *Richard* said he. What more, said
*Richard Ager*, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said
At Dig at Dig, said he. This *Richard Ager* of Dig, was a Gentlema
fourty pounds land by the year, a very honest man, but would often
he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else h
thou killed for her, said we? *Woltons* wife said he. Where did
dwel? 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
meat, drink, and corn, said he. Where hadst thou it said we? In
house, said he. Name the houses, said we? At *Potmans*, at *Farmes*,
*Millens*, at *Fullers*, and in every house. After this we commanded
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
went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more word
Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maid,
is gone, Lord have mercy upon me, for he would have killed me.
then we kneeled down and gave God thanks with the maiden; pray
that God would keep her from Satans power, and assist her with his
And noting this in a piece of paper, we departed. Satans voice di
fer 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 Tailor.* |
| *John Brainford, vicar of Kenington.* | *Thomas Frenchbornes wife.* |
| *Thomas Tailor.* | *William Spooner.* |
| *Henry Tailors wife.* | *John Frenchborne, and his wife.* |

## CHAP. II.

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

Mat. 24.44. IT 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



be deceived: howbeit, Saint *Paul* saith, they shall be lying and false wonders. Nevertheless 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* escape condemnation and hanging, being arraigned upon this evidence: when a poor woman hath been cast away, upon a cosening oracle or rather a false lie, devised by *Feats* the juggler, through the malicious instigation of some of her adversaries?

But how cunningly soever this last cited certificat be penned, or what shew soever it carrieth of truth and plain dealing, there may be found contained therein matter enough to detect the cosening 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-gobblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided & 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 whome there have gone as 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 cosoners by the name of witches. The ventriloqua of Westwel discovered.

But to make short worke with the confutation of this bastardly queanes enterprise, and cosenage; you shall understand, that upon the fruite of her divinity and miraculous trances, she was convented before M. *Thomas Wotton* of *Boston Mulber be*, a man of great worship and wisdome, 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* esquire, being also a right good and discreet Justice of the same limit, the fraud was found, the cosenage confessed, and she received condigne punishment. The Pythonist of Westwel wel convicted by her own confession.

Neither was her confession wonne, according to the forme of the Spanish inquisition; to wit, through extremity of tortures, nor yet by guile or flattery, nor by presumptions; but through wise and perfect triall of every circumstance the illusion was manifestly disclosed: nor so (I say) as

witches are commonly convinced and condemned; to wit, through malicious 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 triall 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 *Bolton Malherbe*, in the house of the said M. *Wotton*. 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 stuffe concerning the Pythonist of Endor; with a true story of a counterfeit Dutchman.*

1. *Bodin. lib. de dæmon. 3. cap. 2.*

UPon the like tales doth *Bodin* build his doctrine, calling them *Atheists* that will not beleeve him, adding to this kind of witch-craft, the miraculous works of divers maidens, that would spue pins, clowts, &c. as one *Agnes Brigs*, and *Rachel Pinder* of London did, till the miracle were detected, and they set to open penance. Others he citeth of that sort, the which were bound by devils with garters, or some such like stuffe to posts, &c. with knots that could not be undone, which is an *Ægyptians* juggling or cosening feat. And of such foolish lies is all with bawdy tales, his whole book consisteth: wherein I warrant you 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 miracles were imprinted and published at London: anno 1572. with this title before the book, as followeth.

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

UNto this the Major of *Maidston*, with divers of his brethren subbed, chiefly by the perswasion of *Nicasius Vander Sceure*, 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 othersome. 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 reverenced, as they which suspect them, are rather called to their answers, than the others.

## CHAP. IIII.

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

WIth this kind of witch-craft, *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 *Crœsus* his ambassadours in these words, *Si Crœsus arma persis inferat, magnum imperium evertet*; and otherwise thus, *Crœsus Halin penetrans, magnam subvertet opum vim*: or thus, *Crœsus 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 murther 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) though the multitude and common people have been abused herein; since Lawiers, Philosophers, Physitians, Astronomers, divines, Generel councels, and princes have with great negligence and ignorance been deceived and seduced hereby, as swallowing up and de-

The amphibologies of oracles.

The subtilty of our oracles.

vouring 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 form as they supposed: so as the matter of faith was not thereby by them impeached. 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, having heard him preach and expound the Scriptures, all his life time, they shewed themselves not onely ignorant therein, but also to have misconceived thereof. Joh.20.9.
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 had 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 forth and shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might have answered Christ, his remaining unsatisfied might have said; Oh sir, what do you tell me? spirits have no flesh and bones? Why, they can take shapes and forms and so perchance have you done. Which argument all the witch-mongers in the world shall never be able to answer.

Some of them that maintain the creation, the transformation, transsportation, and transubstantiation of witches; object that spirits are not palpable, though visible; and answer the place by me before cited, so as the feeling and not the seeing should satisfie *Thomas*. But he shall well weigh the text and the circumstances thereof, shall perceive the fault of *Thomas* his incredulity was secondly bewraied, and condemned, 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 case if spirits could take shapes at their pleasure. Jesus saith to him (because thou hast seen (and not, because thou hast felt) thou beleevest: John.20.29.
he saith; Blessed are they that beleeve and see not (and not, they that beleeve and feele not.) Whereby he noteth that our corporal eyes discerne 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, will not credit the miracle which was exhibited unto him in most naturall and sensible sort.

Howbeit, *Erastus* saith, and so doth Hyperius, Hemingius, Danæus, *Erast. fol. 62.*
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 angel 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 Luk.24.37.
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 disciples were all deceived, taking Christ to be a spirit, when he walked Mark.16.14.
on the sea. And why might not they be deceived herein, as well as in that Mat.14.26.
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. Matth.20. Matt.16.11.

## 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 truely rehearse out of the Ecclesiastical history, written by Eusebius, wherein you shall see the absurdity of the opinion, the cosenages of these oracles, and the deceived mind or vaine opinion of so great a doctor bewraied and deciphered altogether as followeth. *Euseb lib 7. cap 25.*

Gregory Neocæsariensis in his journy 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 intertainment unto Gregory, and made him good chear. But after Gregory was gone, Apollo waxed dumbe, so as the priest's gaines decaied: 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 pasport 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 discourtesie 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 devill, 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 the 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 cosenages, the answers were never given *Extempore*, or in that day wherein the question was demanded; because forsooth they expected a vision (as they said) to be given the night following, whereby the cosenage might the more easily be wrought. Note the cosenage of oracles.

CHAP. VI.

## CHAP. VI.

*Apollo, who was called Pytho, compared to the Roo of grace: Gregories letter to the devil confuted.*

WHat need many words to confute this fable? For if *Gregory* been an honest man, he would never have willingly permitt that the people should have been further cosened with such alying spirit if he had been halfe so holy as *Eusebius* maketh him, he would not h consented or yeelded to so lewd a requeſt of the prieſt, nor have writ such an impious letter, no not though good might have come there And therefore as well by the impoſſibility and folly conteined therein, of the impiety (whereof I dare excuſe *Gregory*) you may perceive it to aly. Me thinks they which ſtill maintain that the devil made anſwer the idol of *Apollo*, &c. may have ſufficient perſwaſion to revoke their roneous opinions: in that it appeareth in record, that ſuch men were skilful in Augurie, did take upon them to give oracles at Delphos the place of Apollo: of which number Tiſanius the ſonne of Antio was one. But vain is the anſwer of idols. Our Rood of grace, with helpe of little S. Rumbal, was not inferior to the idol of Apollo: for t could not work eternall miracles, but manifeſt the internall thoughts the heart, I beleeve 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 them that have been beholders thereof, you will be ſatisfied herein. yet in the blind time of popery, no man might under pain of dam on, nor without danger of death, ſuſpect the fraud. Nay, what P will yet confeſſe they were idols, though the wiers that made their gogle, the pins that faſtened them to the poſtes to make them ſeem vy, were ſeen and burnt together with the images themſelv the knavery of the prieſts bewraied, and every circumſta thereof detected and manifeſted?

Zach. 10.

*W. Lambert in titulo Boxley.*

## CHAP. VII.

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

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



ſay was done by procuration of ſpirits. But I rather think with Ariſtole, 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 liers, neither need they to go into corners to whiſper &c.

Eſai. 8. 19.

## CHAP. VIII.

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

THe woman of *Endor* is compriſed under this word *Ob*: for ſhe is called Pythoniſſa. It is written in 2 *Sam.* chap. 28. that ſhe raiſed up *Samuel* from death, and the other words of the text are ſtrongly placed, to inforce his very reſurrection. The mind and opinion of Jeſus Syrach 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 ſuppoſede otherwiſe it is neither hereſie nor treaſon to ſay he was deceived.

1 Sam. 28.

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 coſenage practiſed by the witch. For the ſoules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chryſoſtome ſaith; Soules in a certain place expecting judgement, and cannot remove from thence. Neither is it Gods will, that the living ſhould be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approved by the example of Lazarus and Dives: where it appeareth according to Deut. 18. that he will not have the living taught by the dead, but will have us 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, that

Sap. 3. Pſ. 92 & 97. *Chryſoſt. homili. 21. in Math.* Luke 16.

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

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say was done by procuration of spirits. But I rather think with Aristole, 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 liers, neither need they to go into corners to whisper &c.

Esai. 8. 19.

## CHAP. VIII.

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

THe woman of *Endor* is comprised under this word *Ob*: for she is called Pythonissa. It is written in 2 *Sam.* chap. 28. that she raised up *Samuel* from death, and the other words of the text are strongly placed, to inforce his very resurrection. The mind and opinion of Jesus Syrach 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 supposede otherwise it is neither heresie nor treason to say he was deceived.

1 Sam. 28.

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 cosenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chrysostome saith; Soules in a certain place expecting judgement, and cannot remove from thence. Neither is it Gods will, that the living should be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approved by the example of Lazarus and Dives: where it appeareth according to Deut. 18. that he will not have the living taught by the dead, but will have us 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, that

Sap. 3.
Ps. 92 & 97.
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*August lib. qu. vet. et noui testam. quæst. 27. item, part. 2. cap. 26. item. qu. 5. nec mirum ad Simplician. lib. 2. q. 3. ad Dulcitium qu. 6. item. lib. 2. de doct. christ.*

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 witches.

And Peter Martyr, me thinks, saith more to the purpose, in these 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 he forbad it; nor by art, because witches have no power over the godly. 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; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbours wife. But indeed Samuel was directly forbidden to answer Saul before he died: and therefore it was not like that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to do it.

Deut. 18. Exodus. 20.

## 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 dead Samuel, when he would not answer him by living Samuel: and most likely of all, that God would answer him by a devil, that denied to do by a prophet. That he was not brought up *per force*, the whole context of the scripture witnesseth, and proveth; as also our own reason may lead us to understand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect have, or possesse in Abrahams bosome, if they were to be plucked from thence at a witches call and commandement? But so should the devil have power in heaven, where he is unworthy to have any place himselfe, and there for evermeete to command others.

Many other of the fathers are flatly against the raising up of Saul, namely, Tertullian in his book *De anima*. Iustine Martyr *In explicat. qu.* 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, for R. David Kimhi, which is the best writer of all the Rabbins: though never a good of them all. But Bodin, in maintenance thereof, falleth into many absurdities, proving by the small faults that Saul had committed that he was an elect; for the greatest matter, saith he, laid unto his charge, is the reserving of the Amalekits cattell, &c. He was elect, &c confirming his opinion with many ridiculous fables, and with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserve damnation; for Paul would not have the incestuous man punished to sore, but his soul might be saved. Iustine Martyr in another place was not only deceived in the actual raising up of Samuels soul, but affirmed that all the souls of the prophets and just men are subject to the power of witches.

*I. Bod. lib. de dæm. 2. cap. 3. 1. Samu. 28. 1. Cor. 5. Martyr in colloquio cum Triphoon Judæo.*



And yet were the Heathen much more fond herein, who (as *Lactantius* 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 devoure 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 riseth 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 likenesse: from whose opinion (with reverence) I hope I may dissent.

*Lact. lib. 7. cap. 13.*

*Jud. vers. 9.*

## CHAP. X.

### *That neither the devil nor Samuel was raised, but that it was a meer cosenage, according to the guise of our Pithonists.*

AGaine, if the devil appeared, and not Samuel; why is it said in Eccl. 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 devill to expound this place. For it is ridiculous (as Pompanacius saith) to leave manifest things, and such as by naturall reason may be proved, to seek unknown things, which by no likelihood can be conceived, nor tried by any rule of reason. But insomuch 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 cosening 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 forsaketh

*Pompanacius lib. de incant. cap. 2.*

*I.Bod.lib.de dæm.2.cap.3*

saketh, he saith, Augustine, Tertullian, and D.Kimhi himselfe, who say was the devill that was raised up, which, saith Bodin, could not be so that in the same communication between Saul and Samuel, the name 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, and what circumstances are to be considered for the understanding of this story, which is plainly opened from the beginning of the 28.chap.of the 1 Samuel,to the 12.verse.*

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

WHere such a supernatural miracle is wrought, no doubt it is a testimony of truth; as Peter Martyr affirmeth. And in this case should have been a witnesse of lies: for, saith he, a matter 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 whom 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 this place, we must diligently examine the circumstance thereof. It was well

*Isai 42. 1.Sam.28.*

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 before, that he should be overthrowne, and David should have his kingdom; and partly because God before had refused to answer him, either by Samuel when he lived, or by any other prophet, or by Urim or Thummim. And if you desire to see this matter discussed, 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 his 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

*1 Sam.28.7.*

for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by that there dwelt one at Endor. By the way you shall understand, that both Saul and his servants meant such a one as could by her spirit raise up Samuel, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you see they were deceived, though it were true, that she took upon her so to do. To what use then served her familiar spirit, which you conceive she had, because Sauls servants said so? Surely as they were deceived and abused in this so doubtlesse were they in the rest, for to what purpose, I say, should such familiar serve, if not for such intents as they reported, and she undertook? I think you will grant that Sauls men never saw her familiar: for I never heard any yet of credit say, that he was so much in the witches favour as to see her devil; although indeed we read among the popish trumperies

*S. Cicilies familiar.*

that S. Cicilie had an angell to her familiar, and that she could shew him to whom she would, and that she might aske and have what she or he



friend list as appeareth in the lesson read in the popish church on Saint Cicilies day. Well, I perceive the woman of Endors spirit was a counterfeit, and kept belike in her closet at Endor, or in the bottle, with mother Alices devil at Westwel, and are now bewraied and fled together to *Limbo patrum, &c.* And though Saul were bewitched and blinded in the matter; yet doubtlesse a wise man would have perchance espied her knavery. Me thinks Saul was brought to this witch, much after the manner that doctor Barcot was brought to Feats, who sold master Doctor a familiar, 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 jugler, by the name of Hilles a witch or conjurer, everyway a cosener: his qualities and feats were to me and many other well knowne and detected. 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 cosenage reached to the shedding of innocent bloud. 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 proofe 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 she should the 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 processe 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 also Samuels part was plaied: 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 other 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.

*D.Bureot. Feats.*

*1 Sam.28 8.*

*1 Sam. 10. 13.*

*Ibidem.*

*Ibidem.*

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 heaven 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 trumpet (according to the guise of our cosening witches and conjurers) make the matter strange unto Saul, saying, that he came to her in a snare, &c.

1 Sam. 28. 9. But witches seldome make this objection, saying when they mistrust that he which commeth to them will espie their jugling: for otherwise, where the witchmonger is simple and easie to be abused, the witch will be as easie to be intreated, and nothing dangerous of her cunning; as you see this witch was soon perswaded, 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 Iacob*; 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 Israel knoweth us not.

1 Sam. 28. 12. Isa. 63. 15, 16.

## CHAP. XII.

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

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 cosening othswers; but not to see the cosening 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 juglers (which be inferior conjurors) speak certain strange words of course, to lead away the eye from espying the manner of their conveyance, whilest they may induce the mind to conceive and suppose that he dealeth with spirits; saying, *Hay, fortunae furie, nunq; credo, passe, passe, when come you sirra.* 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 plaied 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 cosening, 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?

The manner of the witch of Endors cosening of Saul.

1 Sam. 28. 13.

1 Sam. 28. 21.



well, to the question before propосed by Saul, she answereth and ly- 1 Sam. 28. 14.
hat she saw angels or Gods ascending up out of the earth. Then
ceedeth she with her inchanting phrases and words, of course: so as
reby Saul gathereth and supposeth that she hath raised a man. For o-
erwise his question dependeth not upon any thing before spoken. For
en she hath said; I saw angels ascending, &c. the next word he saith
; What fashion is he of? Which (I say) hangeth not upon her last
xpressed words. And to this she answered not directly, that it was Sa-
uel; but that it was an old man lapped in a mantle: as though she
new not him that was the most notorious man in Israel, that had been
r neighbour by the space of many years, and upon whom (while he
ved) every eye was fixed, and whom also she knew within lesse than a
arter of an hour before: as by whose meanes also she came acquainted
ith Saul. Read the text and see. 1 Sam. 28. 12.

But she describeth his personage, and the apparel which he did usually
eare when he lived: which if they were both buried together, were con-
med and rotten, or devoured with wormes before that time. Belike
had a new mantle made him in heaven: and yet they say Tailors are
anty there; for that their consciences are so large here. In this coun-
ey, men give away their garments when they dy: if Samuel had so done,
could not have borrowed it again: for of likelihood it would have been
orne 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 beleeve that she raised Samuel; what words are used to color the cosenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.*

NOw commeth 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. 1 Sam. 28. 15.
e saith to Saul; Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up? As though Ibidem.
ithout guile or packing it had been Samuel himselfe. Saul answered that
e was in great distresse: for the Philistines made warre upon him. Where-
y the witch, or her confederate priest might easily conjecture that his
art failed, & direct the oracle or prophesie accordingly: especially under-
anding by his present talke, and also by former prophesies and doings
at were past, that God had forsaken him, and that his people were de- 1 Sam. 13. 15.
lining from him. For when *Jonathan* (a little before) overthrew the 1. Sam. 13. 15.
hilistines, being thirty thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen; Saul
ould not assemble above six hundred souldiers.

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

rall means deciphered? And if you note the words well, you shall
ceive the phrase not to come out of a spiritual mouth of a devil; but
a lying corporall tongue of a cosener, that careth neither for God nor
devill: from whence issueth such advice and communication, as groweth
greeth from Satans nature and purpose. For thus (I say) the said
1 Sam 28.16. el speaketh: Wherefore doest thou aske me, seeing the Lord is gone
17. thee, and is thine enemy? Even the Lord hath done unto him as he
1 Sa.15.28. by my hand: for the Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand,
give it to thy neighbour *David*, because thou obeyedst the voice of
Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a devil, but of a cosener,
knew before what Samuel had prophesied concerning Sauls destru
For it is the devils condition, to allure the people unto wickednes
not in this sore to admonish, warne, and rebuke them for evil. An
popish writers confesse, that the devil would have been gone at
naming of God. If it be said, that it was at Gods special comman
and will, that Samuel or the devil should be raised, to propound
monition, to the profit of all posterity: I answer, that then he wo
ther have done it by some of his living prophets, and that Satan ha
been so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the
(I would say Samuel) into the vein of prophecying, and speaket
1 Sam. 28.18. Saul on this wise: The Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine
19. and give it to thy neighbour *David*, because thou obeyedst not the
of the Lord, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon the Amalekites
fore hath the Lord done this unto thee this day. Moreover, the Lor
deliver thee into the hands of the Philistines, and to morrow shalt tho
thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall give the host of Israel int
hands of the Philistines. What could Samuel have said more?

Me thinks the devil would have used another order, encouragi
rather than rebuking him for his evil. The devil is craftier than
such an admonition to all posterities, as should be prejudicia
his kingdome, and also be void of all impiety. But so divine a sen
maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to th
vancement of her gaines. Howbeit, concerning the verity of thi
phesie, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the
were fought 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
they must be in hell. But although every pare of this pro
were false, as that all his sonnes were not slain (*Ishbosheth*
and reigning in Israel two years after Sauls death) and that the battel
not on the morrow, and that wicked Saul, after that he had killed
selfe, was not with good Samuel; yet this witch did give a shrewd
2. Reg. 4. to the sequel. Which whether it were true or false, pertains nod
purpose; and therefore I will omit it. But as touching the opinio
them that say it was the devil, because that such things came to pa
would fain know of them where they learn that devils foreknow th
*Canon.26. quæst.cap.5. nec mirum.* come? If they say, he guesseth onely upon probabilities, the witch m
do the like. But here I may not forget the decrees, which conclude
Samuel appeared not unto Saul; but that the historiographer set fo



mind and Samuels estate, and certain things which were said and seen; Right Ventriloquie.
ing whether they were true or false: and further, that it were a
offence for a man to beleeve the bare words of the story. And if
exposition like you not, I can easily frame my selfe to the opinion of
e of great learning expounding this place, and that with great pro-
bility, in this sort; to wit. that this *Pythonist* being *Ventriloqua*, that
Speaking as it were from the bottom of her belly, did cast her selfe
o a trance, and so abused Saul, answering to Saul in Samuels name, in
counterfeit hollow voice: as the wench of Westwel spake, whose hist-
y I have rehearsed before at large, in page 94. and this is right
*ntriloquie.*

## CHAP. XIV.

*inions 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 *Sadeja* write, that when the woman saw the miracle in-
deed, and more than she looked for, or was wont to do; she be-
n to cry out, that this was a vision indeed, and a true one, not done by
r art, but by the power of God. Which exposition is farre more pro-
ble than our late writers judgements hereupon, and agreeth with the
position of diverse good divines. *Gelasius* saith, it was the very spirit
Samuel: and where he suffered himselfe to be worshipped, it was but
civil salutation and courtesie, and that God did interpose *Samuel*, as he
d *Elias* to the messenger of *Ochosias*, when he sent to *Belzebub* the god
*Acharon*. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are set up
this point: for the papists say, that it cannot be a devil, because Jeho-
h is thrice or five times named in the story. Upon this peece of scrip-
e arguments are daily devised, to prove and maintain the miraculous
tions of witch-craft, and the raising of the dead by conjurations. And
r if it were true, that *Samuel* himselfe were raised, or the devil in his
eneſſe; and that the witch of Endor by her art and cunning did it, &c. it
aketh rather to the disproofe than to the proofe of our witches, which
n neither do that kind of miracle, or any other, in any such place or
mpany, where their jugling and cosenage may be seen and laid open.
nd I challenge them all (even upon the adventure of my life) to shew
ne peece of a miracle, such as Christ did truly, or such as they suppose
is witch did diabolically, be it not with art nor confederacy, whereby
me colour thereof maybe made; neither are there any such visions in these
yes shewed. A bold, discreet, and faithful challenge.

Heretofore God did send his visible angels to men: but now we hear
of such apparitions, neither are they necessary. Indeed it pleased
od heretofore, by the hand of *Moses* and his prophets, and specially by
s son Christ and his Apostles, to worke great miracles, for the establish-
ing

I. Bod. and L. Vairus differ herein.

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 church 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 with, as in their lying legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are known most commonly, and specially of priests, whereof I could cite a thousand. If you read the story of Bell and the Dragon, you shall finde a seeming miracle of some antiquity. If you will see newer devises, read *Turnus*, *Cardanus*, *Balæus*, and specially *Lavaterus*, &c. There have been some * walking spirits in these parts so conjured not long since, as afterwards they little delighted to make any more apparitions.

At Canterbury by Rich. Lee esquire, & others, anno 1573. At Rie by master Gaymor & other, anno 1577.

## CHAP. XV.

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

BUt certainly, some one knave in a white sheet hath cosened and abused mauy thousands that way; specially when Robin goodfellow kept such a coile in the Countrey. But you shall understand, that these bugs specially are spied and feared of sick folke, children, women and cowards, which through weaknesse of minde and body, are soonest with vain dreames and continual fear. The *Scythians*, being a stout warlike nation (as divers writers report) never see any, vaine sights or 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 vizard, having hornes on his head, fire in his mouth, and a taile in his breech, eyes like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a bear, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a Lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we hear one cry Bough: and they have so fraied us with bull-beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, kit with the cansticke, tritons, centaures, dwarfes, giants, impes, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, *Incubus*, Robin good-fellow, the spoorn, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell-waine, the firedrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob-goblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and a thousand other bugs, that we are afraid of our own shadowes: insomuch as we dare never fear the devil, but in a dark night; and then a polled sheepe is 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 by night, but his haire would stand upright. For right grave writers, report that spirits most often and specially take the shape of women appearing, monks, &c. and of beasts, dogs, swine, horses, goats, cats, hares, fowles, as crowes, night owles, and shreek owles; but they delight most in the likenesse of snakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, this wretched and cowardly infidelity, since the preaching of the gospel, is in part forgotten: and doubtlesse, the rest of those illusions will in short

I. *Wier. 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 priestly fraud or guile, so as the spirits of prophesie, and working of miracles, had been inserted into an idoll, as hath been supposed: yet we christians may conceive, that Christs coming was not so fruteless 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 discountenance 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 beleeve 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 conferre the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that are imputed to witches; witches miracles shall appear more common, and nothing inferior unto his.

*Car. de var. rerum. l. Wier. de præst. dæmo. cap. 14. Athanas. de humanitate verbi.*

The true and of miracles. John 2. Act 2. 22. John 5.

## 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 reade in *M. Mal.* and in *Bodin*, that witches can easily do the other: yea, and that which is a great deale more, of water they can make butter. But to avoid all cavils, and least there should appear more matter in Christs miracle, than the others, you shall find in *M. Mal.* that they can change water into wine: and what is it to attribute to a creature, the power and worke of the creator, if this be not? Christ saith, *Opera quæ ego facio nemo potest facere.* Creation of substance was never granted to man nor angel; *Ergo* neither to

An ironical collation. *Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1. cap. 14.* Acts 17. 1 Tim. 6. 13. Col. 1. 16. *Athanas. symbol.*

witch nor devil: for God is the onely giver of life and being, and by him
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 counsener. For *Pytho* himself
whereof *Pythonissa* is derived, was a counterfeit. And the original that
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, Phy
sick, Poetry, and shouting. In heaven he is called *Sol*, in earth Li
*Pater*, in hell *Apollo*. He flourisheth alwayes with perpetual youth, a
therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an o
cle-giver: and the priests that attended thereon at *Delphos* were counsene
and called *Pythonists* of *Pytho*, as Papists of *Papa*; and afterwards all w
men that used that trade, were named *Pythonissa*, as was this woman
*Endor*. But because it concerneth this matter, I will breefly note the
pinions of divers learned men, and certaine other proofes, which I h
in the scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, prophesies and ora

Apollo Pytho uncased.



## *The eight book.*

### 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 overslip.

Psal. 136.4. Psal. 72.18. Psal 88.10. Isay. 42. John 3.2. Ibid. 7.16. *In annotat. in Iohan.* 3.

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 ears 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 extreame 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 shewed onely for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the Gospel marvellous for ever. Why (saith he) do not these (meaning miracle-mongers) appoint some *Siloah* to swim in, whereinto at certaine ordinary recourses of times sicke folke may plunge themselves? Why do they not lie along upon the dead, because *Paul* raised up a dead child [illegible] that meanes? Verily (saith he) James in the miracle to anoint, spake for that time, whiles the church still enjoyed such blessings of God. Item, he saith, that the Lord is present with his in all ages; and so often as need is he helpeth their sicknesses, no lesse than in old time. But he 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 their owne includeth thus; They say such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saies nay. And see how they agree among themselves. *Danæus* saith, that neither witch nor devil can worke miracles. *Giles Alley* saith directly, that

Isa. 45. *Augustin. de verbis Dom. secundum Mat. sermone.* 18.

James 5.14. *I. Calvin. Institute lib.* 4. *ca.* 19. *sect* 18. *Idem. ibid. sect.* 19. Isay. 9. 7. Acts 20.10. *Idem. ibid. nempe* I. *Cal.*

that witches worke miracles. *Calvine* saith, they are all ceased. All witch-
mongers say, they continue. But some affirme, that popish miracles are v
nished and gone away: howbeit witches miracles remaine in full force.
So as S. *Loy* is out of credit for a horseleach, Master T. and mother Bo
gy remaine in estimation for prophets: nay Hobgoblin and Robin good
fellow are contemned among young children, and mother *Alice* and mo
ther *Bungy* are feated among old fooles. The estimation of these cou
nue, because the matter hath not been called in question: the credit
the other decayeth, because the matter hath been looked into. Wher
I say no more, but that S. *Anthonies* blisse will helpe your pig, whe
ever mother *Bungy* doth hurt it with her curse. And therefore we
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 wo
answer me to this supposition; Put case that a woman of credit,
a woman-witch should say unto them, that she is a true prophet of
Lord, and that he revealeth those secret mysteries unto her, whereby
detecteth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and tha
him she worketh miracles, and prophesieth, &c. I think they must e
yeeld, or confesse that miracles are ceased. But such things (saith C
dane) as seeme miraculous, are chiefly done by deceipt, legierdema
or confederacy; or else they may be done, and yet seeme unpossible
else things are said to be done, and never were nor can be done.

Prov.5.1.

*H.Card.de miracul.*

## CHAP. II.

### *The gift of prophesie is ceased.*

Mal.4.5.

THat witches, nor the woman of *Endor*, nor yet her familiar o
vil can tell what is to come, may plainly appear by the words of
prophet, who saith; Shew what things are to come, and we will say
are gods indeed. According to that which *Solomon* saith; who ca
a man what shall happen him under the sun? Marry that can I (saith
witch of *Endor* to *Saul*.) But I will rather beleeve *Paul* and *Peter*; wh
say, that prophesie is the gift of God, and no worldly thing. Th
cousening queane, that taketh upon her to do all things and can do
thing but beguile men: up steppeth also mother *Bungy*, and she can
you where your horse or your asse is bestowed, or any thing that you
lost is become, as Samuel could; and what you have done in all y
age past, as Christ did to the woman of Sichar at *Jacobs* well; yet
what your errand is, before you speak, as Elizeus did.

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

Iohn.4.

Peter Martyr saith, that onely God and man knoweth the heart of m
and therefore, that the devil must be secluded, allodging these place
*Solus Deus est scrutator cordium*, Onely God is the searcher of hearts.
*Nemo scit quæ sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo*, None kn
eth the things of man, but the spirit of man which is within him. So
mon saith, *Tu solus nosti cogitationes hominum*, Thou onely knowest
thoughts of men. And Jeremy saith in the person of God, *Ego D
scrutans corda & renes*, I am God searching hearts and reines. Also
shew saith of Christ, *Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*. And
seeing their thoughts, who in Scripture is called the searcher and kno

P.Martyr: loc.com.9. sect 17.



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 straied, &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 gift of prophesie, wherewith God in times past endued his people, is also ceased, and counterfeits and cousoners 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.

*P.Martyr in loc.com.*

Heb. 1. 8. & 2.

2 Pet. 2. 1.

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 oraclers 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.

Zach. 13. 1

*I.Chrysost. in evang. Iohan. hom. 18. Pet.Blest. epist. 49.*

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 beleeve him, or not think rather that he were a lewd person? See the statutes Elizab. 5. whether there be not laws made against them, condemning their arrogancy and cousenage: so also the canon lawes to the same effect.

*Canon. de malef. & mathemat.*

## 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 ora-
cles; so as spirits and winds rose up out of that soile, and indued those men with

*Thucidid. lib. 2 Cicer. de divin. lib. 2.*

with the gift of prophesie of things to come, though in truth they were all devises to cousen the people, and for the profit of priests, who received the idols answers over night, and delivered them back to the idolaters the next morning: you shall understand, that 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 uncleane spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written; I will cut off thine inchanters 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 combes are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if ever these prophesies 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 exclaming upon him on this wise; *Fili Dei cur venisti nos cruciare ante tempus?* O thou sonne 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 clawes. So as now you see here is no roome left for such guests.

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. Chrysost. de laud. Paul. hom. 4.*

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that have beene as much deceived as your selves in this matter: and yet are driven to confesse, that GOD hath constituted his sonne to beat 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 præparatione 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 defection and ceasing of oracles writeth *Cicero* long before, and that to have happened also before his time. Howbeit, Chrysostome 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 Eccoria (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



there is not one to be seene at this hour; popish cousenages excepted.

But Plutarch saith, that the cause of this defection of oracles, was the devils death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortal, saying they died for very age; and that the divining priests were blown up with a whirle-winde, and sunke 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 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 beleeve it if you list: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserved alive to punish the wicked, and such as impute unto those idols the power of Almighty God.

*Porphyr.* writeth verses in Apollos name, of the death of Apollo cited by I. Bod. *fol. 6.*

## CHAP. IIII.

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

PLutarch saith, that his countrey-man Epotherses 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 Echinadæ, the wind quite ceased, and the ship driving with the tide, was brought at last to Paxe. And whilest some slept and others quaft, and othersome were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddainly a voice was heard calling Thamus; in such sort as every man marvelled. This Thamus was a pilot borne in Ægypt, 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 Epitherses affirmed.) 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 fame 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 Marsus, in his notes upon Ovids Fasti, saith, that this voice was heard

Thamus having little to do, thought to play with his company, whom he might easily overtake with such a jest.

A detection of Thamus his knavery.

heard out of Paxe, that very night that Christ suffered, in the year of Tiberius 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 drink, and some other at play, &c. while the first voice was used. And at the second voice, to wit, when he should deliver his message, he being an old Pilot, knew where some noise was usuall, by meanes of some eccho in the sea, and thought he would (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his devise, if the wether 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 authentike. For many will say that this was a prophane story, and not so canonical as those which are verifyed by the Popes authority: and thus it is written. A woman in her travel sent her Sister to Diana, which was the devil 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 devil 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 devil, pitying the womans case, who revealing his own disability, enabled S. Andrew more. I know some protestants will say, that the devil, to maintain idolatrie, &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 devil, to send her to S. Andrew, who would not faile to serve her turn, &c.

A gentle & a godly devil.

## CHAP. V.

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

*Athanas. de humanit. verbi. fol. 55 & 64.*

THe opinions of the Fathers, that oracles are ceased by the comming of Christ, you shall find in these places following, to wit: Iustinus *In dialogis adversus Iudæos, Athanasius De humanitate verbi, Augustinus De civitate Dei, Eusebius Lib. 7. cap. 6.* Item *lib. 5. cap. 1. 8. Ruffinus Ioan. lib. 10. 12. Plutarch De abolitione oraculorum, Plinie lib. 30. naturalis historiæ.* 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, that whatsoever estimation in times past, the ancient Fathers conceived (by hearesay) of those miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c. they themselves refuse now, not only to bear witnesse of; but also affirm, that even since Christs comming their mouthes 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 conclusions 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 cousoners, witches, and priests were wont to give oracles, and to worke their feats.*

THese cousening oracles, or rather oraclers 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 practise 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 sound unto the simple people. This wood was in Molossus a part of Greece, called Epyrus, and it was named Dodonas oracles There were many oracles in Ægypt; 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 Lœbadia, Trophonius was the chiefe oracle. At Memphis a cow, at Corinth an ox called Mineus, in Arsinoe a crocodile, in Athens a prophet called Amphiaraus, 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 Parnassus hill in Greece. And the defenders of oracles say, that even as rivers oftentimes are diverted to another course; so likewise the spirit, which inspired the cheese prophets, may for a time be silent, and revive againe by revolution.

*Strabo Geog. lib. 16. I. Wier. lib. 1. de præst. dæm. cap. 12.*

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 prophesies saith; it is no marvel, that when the familiars that speak in trunks were repelled from their harbour for feare of discovery, the blocks almighty lost their sense. For these are all gone now, and their knavery espied, gainst prophesies. H. Haw. in his defensative a-

these great doctors suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was the com
ing 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 th
popish church hath made a continuall practise hereof, partly for the
own private profit, lucre, and gaine; and partly to be had in estimation
of the world, and in admiration among the simple. But indeed, me
that have learned Christ, and been conversant in his word, have disc
vered and shaken off the vanity and abomination hereof. But if thos
doctors had lived till this day, they would have said and written, that or
cles had ceased, or rather been driven out of England in the time o
King Henry the eight, and of Queene Elizabeth his daughter; who he
done so much in that behalfe, as at this houre they are not onely all gon
but forgotten here in this English nation, where they swarmed as thic
as they did in Bœotia, or in any other place in the world. But the o
dit they had, depended not upon their desert, but upon the credulity
others. Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this ma
ter, with the opinion and saying of the prophet; Vaine is the answer
idols. For they have eyes and see not, eares and heare not, mouthes
speak not, &c. and let them shew what is to come, and I will say th
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 Andræas Masius reporteth) differeth little in signification from the former word *Ob*; betokening *Vaticinari*, 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 wisdome and judgement, the good gifts and notable blessings of GOD, for the which we ought to be thankful; as also to yeeld 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 wisdome, that we may more and more profit in the true knowledge of the workemanship 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 insue, exhibiting signes of unknowne and future matters to be judged upon, by the order, law, and course of nature proposed unto us by God.

*I.Wier.lib. de præst.dæmon.*

All divinations are not condemnable.

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 devises they deprave and prophane the ancient and commendable observations of our forefathers: as did Colebrasus, who taught, that all mans life was governed by the seven planets; and yet a christian, and condemned for heresie. But let us so farre forth imbrace and allow this philosophie and prophesying, as the word of God giveth us leave, and commendeth the same unto us.

Colebrasus erroneus & impious opinion.

## CHAP. II.

*Proofes by the old and new Testament, that certaine observations of the weather are lawfull.*

Psalm.13. Ieream.54. Gen.1. Ezech 1. Gen.9.

WHen God by his word and wisdome had made the heavens, and placed the starres in the firmament, he said; Let them be for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and years. When he created the rainebowe in the clouds, he said it should be for a signe and token unto us. Which we find true, not onely of the flood past, but also of the shewers to come. And therefore according to Jesus Sirachs advise, let us behold it, and praise him that made it. The prophet David saith; The heavens declare the glory of God, and the earth sheweth his handy worke: day unto day uttereth the same, and night unto night teacheth knowledge. It is also written that by the commandement of the holy one the starres are placed, and continue in their order, and faile not in their watch. It should appeare, that Christ himselfe did not altogether neglect the course and order of the heavens, in that he said; When you see a cloud rise out of the west, streightway you say a shewer cometh: and so it is. And when you see the southwinde blowe, you say it will be hot, and so it cometh to passe. Againe, when it is evening, you say faire weather, for the skie is red: and in the morning you say, to day shall be a tempest, for the skie is red and louring. Wherein as he noteth that these things do truly come to passe, according to ancient observation, and to the rule astronomical: so doth he also by other words following admonish us, that in attending too much to those observations, we neglect not specially to follow our christian vocation.

Ecclus.43. Pf.19.and 50 Ecclus.43. Baruch.3. Luk.12.24. Matt.16.2,3.

The physician is commended unto us, and allowed in the scriptures: but so to put trust in him, as to neglect and distrust God, is severely forbidden and reproved. Surely it is most necessary for us to know and observe divers rules astrological; otherwise we could not with opportunity dispatch our ordinary affaires. And yet Lactantius condemneth and recounteth it among the number of witchcrafts: from whose censure Calvine doth not much varie. The poore husbandman perceiveth that the increase of the moone maketh plants and living creatures fruitful: so as in the full moone they are in best strength, decaying in the wane, and in the conjunction do uttetly wither and fade. Which when by observation, use and practise they have once learned, they distribute their businesse accordingly as their times and seasons to sowe, to plant, to pruine, to let their cattel blood, to cut &c.

*Lactant. contra astrologos. Pencer. de astrol. pag. 383*





## CHAP. III.

*That certaine observations are indifferent, certaine ridiculous, and certaine impious, whence that cunning is derived of Apollo, and of Aruspices.*

I Know not whether to disallow or discommend the curious observation used by our elders, who conjectured upon nativities: so as, if Saturne and Mercurie were oppolite in any brute signe, a man then borne should be dumb or stammer much; whereas it is d yly seene, that children naturally imitate their parents conditions in that behalfe. Also they have noted, that one borne in the spring of the moone, shall be healthy; in that time of the wane, when the moone is utterly decayed, the childe then borne cannot live; and in the conjunction, it cannot long continue.

The ridiculous art of nativity-casting.

But I am sure the opinion of Julius Maternus is most impious, who writeth, that he which is borne when Saturne is in Leone, shall live long, and after his death shall go to heaven presently. And so is this of Albumazar, who saith, that whosoever prayeth to God, when the moone is in Capite draconis, shall be heard, and obtaine his prayer. Furthermore, to play the cold prophet, as to recount it good or bad luck, when salt or wine falleth on the table, or is spilt, &c. or to prognosticate that guests approach to your house, upon the chattering of pies or haggisters, where of there can be yeelded no probable reason, is altogether vanity and superstition: as hereafter shall be more largely shewed. But to make simple people beleeve, that a man or woman can foretel good or evil fortune, is meere witchcraft or consenage: for God is the onely searcher of the heart, and delivereth not his counsel to so lewd reprobates I know divers writers affirme, that witches foretel things, as prompted by a real devil; and that he againe learneth it out of the prophesies written in the scriptures, and by other nimble sleights, wherein he passeth any other creature earthly; and that the same devil, or some of his fellowes runnes or flies as far as Rochester, to mother Bungy: or to Canturbury to M. T. or to Delphos, to Apollo; or to Æsculapius, in Pergamo; or to some other idol or witch, and there by way of oracle answers all questions, through his understanding of the prophesies contained in the old testament, especially in Daniel and Esay: whereby the devil knew of the translation of the monarchie from Babylon to Græcia, &c. But either they have learned this of some oracle or witch; or else I know not where the devil they find it. Marry certaine it is, that herein they shew themselves to be witches and fond diviners: for they find no such thing written in Gods word.

Iulius Maternus his most impious opinion.

*Bodinus. Danæus. Erastus. Hemingius. Mal. malef. Thom. Aquinas &c.*

Of the idoll called Apollo, I have somewhat already spoken in the former title of Ob or Pytho; and some occasion I shall have to speak thereof hereafter: and therefore at this time it shall suffice to tell you, the credit gained thereunto, was by the craft and cunning of the priests, which tended thereupon; who with their counterfeit miracles so bewitched

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 dryed 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 beleeve) be cooped or caged with Mahomets dove, that picked peason out of his eare.

Apollos passions.

## CHAP. IV.

*The predictions of soothsayers and lewd peiests, the prognostications of Astronomers and Physitians allowable, Divine Prophesie holy and good.*

THe cousening tricks of oracling priests and monkes, are and have been specially most abominable. The superstitious observations of senlesse augurers and soothsaiers (contrary to Philosophy, and without authority of scripture) are very ungodly and ridiculous. Howbeit, I reject not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the conjectures or forewarnings of Physitians, nor yet the interpetations of Philosophers; 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 cousenages. For though there be many of them learned and godly, yet lurke there in corners of the same profession, a great number of counterfeits and couseners. I. Bodin putteth this difference between divine prophets and inchantors; to wit, the one saith 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 consener 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.

What prophesies allowable.

*I.B. lib. de dæ. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

## CHAP. V.

*The diversity of true Prophets, of Urim, and of the propheticall use of the twelve precious stones contained therein, of the divine voice called Eccho.*

IT should appear, that even of holy prophets there were divers sorts. For David and Solomon, although in their psalmes and parables 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

Divers degrees of prophesie.



For as often as it is said, that God spake to David or Solomon, it is meant to be done by the prophets. For NATHAN or GAD were the Messengers and Prophets to reveale Gods will to David. And Ahiam the Silonite was sent from God to 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 pacifyed 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.

2 Reg. 2.

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 Urim: so as the priests by the brightnesse of the twelve pretious 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 ἠχὼ, in English the Daughter of speech.

*I Bodin.*

*Ioseph. de antiquit.*

*Iosue filius Levi lib. Pirkeaboth.*

## CHAP. VI.

*Of Prophesies conditionall: whereof the Prophesies 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 to attend to the doctrine of the Apostles, who preached Christ exhibited and crucifyed for our sinnes, his resurrection, ascension, and thereby the redemption of as many as believe, &c.

Prophesies conditionall.

The prophesies in the old testament treat of the contiuance, 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 subject of the prophesies of the old testament.

ruines of the Kingdomes of Juda, Israel, Ægypt, Persia, Græcia, &c. and specially of the comming of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and how he should be borne of a Virgin, and where, of his Tribe, passion, resurrection, &c. These prophesies were published by Gods speciall and peculiar Prophets, endued with his particular and excellent gifts, according to his promise; I will raise them up a Prophet out of the midst of their Brethren, I will put my words in his mouth, &c. Which though it were specially spoken of Christ, yet was it also spoken of those particular prophets, which were placed among them by God to declare his will, which were also figures of Christ the prophet himself. Now if prophesie be an extraordinary gift of God, and a thing peculiar to himself, as without whose special assistance no creature can be a Prophet, or shew what is to come; why should we believe, that those lewd persons can perform by divinations and miracles that which is not in humane but in Divine power to accomplish?

Howbeit when I deny that witches can ride in the aire, and the miraculous circumstance thereof: by and by it is objected to me, that Enoch and Ely were rapt into the heaven bodily; and Abacuck was carryed in the
2 Reg. 2. 13. aire, to feed Daniel: and so falsly oppose a devils or a witches power against the vertue of the HolyGhost. If I peride the Poets opinions, saying, that witches cannot *Cœlo deducere lunam*, fetch the moon from heaven, &c. they tell me that at Joshua's battel the sunne stayed, and at the passion of Christ there was palpable darknesse. If I deny their cunning in the exposition of dreams, advising them to remember Jeremie's counsel, not to follow or credit the expositors of dreams; they hit me in the teeth with Daniel and Joseph: for that the one of them expounded Pharaoh the Persian Kings, the other Nebuchadnezzer the Ægyptian Kings dream.
Eccles. 9. 5. If I say with Solomon, that the dead know nothing, and that the dead know us not, neither are remooveable out of Abrahams bosome, &c. they
1 Sam. 28. produce the story of Samuel: wherein; I say, they set the power of a creature as high as the Creator. If I say, that these witches cannot transsubstantiate themselves, nor others into beasts, &c. they cite the story of Nebuchadnezzer; as though indeed he were made a materiall beast, and that also by witch-craft; and strengthen that their assertion with the fables of Circe and Ulysses his companions, &c.

## CHAP. VII.

*What were the miracles expressed in the old Testament, and what are they in the new testament: and that we are not now to looke for any more miracles.*

Gen. 11. 6. Gen. 21. Dan. 11.

THe miracles expressed in the old Testament were many, but the end of them all was one, though they were divers and differing in shew: as where the sacrifices of Moses, Elias and Solomon, being abundantly wet were burnt with fire from heaven, &c. The variety of tongues at the building of Babylon, Isaacs birth of Sarah being by nature past children, the



the passage through the red sea, Daniels foretelling of the four monarchies, in the fourth whereof he apparently foreshewеth the coming of the Lord. All these, and many other, which are expressed in the old testament, were merciful instructions and notable miracles to strengthen the faith of Gods people in their Messias. If you had gone to Delphos, Apollo would have made you beleeve with his amphibological answers, that he could have foretold you all these things.

A summe of Christs miracles.

The miracles wrought by Christ were the raising up of the dead (which many would impute to the woman of Endor, and also to our witches and conjurors) the restoring of the lame to limbs, the blinde to sight, the dumb to speech, and finally the healing of all diseases; which many beleeve our witches can do; yea, and as they themselves will take it upon them. As for casting out of devils (which was another kind of miracles usual with Christ) witches and conjurors are said to be as good thereat as ever he was: and yet, if you will beleeve Christs words, it cannot be so. For he
Mat. 12 25. faith; Every kingdome divided against it selfe, shall be brought to nought, &c. If Satan cast out Satan, he is divided, &c. and his kingdome shall not endure, &c.

Peters chaines fell off in prison, so did Richard Gallisies fetters at Windsor: marry the prison doores opened not to Richard, as they did to Peter. Helias by special grace obtained raine, our witches can make it raine, when they list, &c. But sithens Christ did these miracles, and many more, and all to confirme his truth, and strengthen our faith, and finally for the conversion of the people (as appeareth in John 6. 7. and 12. insomuch as he vehemently reproved such, as upon the sight of them would not
Luk. 10. 13. beleeve, saying; Wo be to thee Corazin, wo be to thee Bethsaida. If the miracles had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, &c. Let us settle and acquiet our faith in Christ, and beleeving all his wonderous works, let us reject these old wives fables, as lying vanities: whereof you may finde in the golden legend, M. Mal. and specially in Bodin miraculous stuffe, enough to checke all the miracles expressed in the old & new testaments; which are of more credit with many bewitched people, then the true miracles of Christ himselfe. Insomuch as they stand in more awe of the menacies of a witch, then of all the threatnings and curses pronounced by God, and expressed in his word. And thus much touching the word Kasam.

## *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 Kaſam, 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 harken to the expoſitors of dreames, for they come through the multitude of buſineſſe. And therefore thoſe witches, that make men beleeve they can propheſie upon dreames, as knowing the interpretation of them, and either for money or glory abuſe men and women thereby, are meere couſeners, and worthy of great puniſhment: as are ſuch witchmongers, as beleeving them, attribute unto them ſuch divine power as onely belongeth to God; as appeareth in Jeremy the prophet.

Ecclus. 24. Ierem. 27. Eccle. 5.

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

### CHAP. II.

*Of divine, naturall, and caſuall dreames, with their differing cauſes and effects.*

MAcrobius recounteth five differences of images, or rather imaginations exhibited unto them that ſleepe, which for the moſt part do ſignifie ſomewhat in admonition. There be alſo many ſubdiviſions made hereof, which I think 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 Joel, 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 Ægypt, &c. the interpretation whereof are the peculiar gifts of God, which Joſeph the patriarch, and Daniel the prophet had moſt ſpecially.

*Peucer in divinat. ex ſomnijs.*

Ioel 2. Matth. 1. 20. Matth. 2. 13. Gen. 39. & 40. & 41. Dan. 2.

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



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 ſleepeth. Theſe dreams vary, according to the difference of humors & vapors. There are alſo caſual dreams, 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.

Eccles. 5.

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

Engliſhed by Abraham Fleming.

Regard no dreames, for why? the mind
Of that in ſleepe a view 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.*

SYneſius, Themiſtius, Democritus, and others grounding themſelves upon examples that chance hath ſometimes verified, perſwade men that nothing is dreamed in vaine: affirming that the heavenly influencies do bring forth divers formes in corporal matters; and of the ſame influencies, 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 influencies, 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; Avicen to the laſt intelligence that moveth the moone, through the light that lighteneth the fantaſie in ſleepe; Ariſtotle to the phantaſtical ſenſe; Averroës to the imaginative; Albert to the influence of ſuperior bodies.

A diſſonancie in opinions about dreams.

## 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 Cicero *In lib. de divinatione* confuteth the vanity and folly of them that give credit to dreames. And as for the interpreters of dreams, 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 discerne 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. Hemin. in admonitionib. de superstitionib. magicis vitandis.*

Lastly, there are diabolical dreames, which Nicholaus Hemingius divideth into three sorts. The first is, when the devil immediately of himselfe (he meaneth corporally) 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 speciall and peculiar gifts of God, to confirme the truth of the word, and to establish his people in the faith of the Messias, who is now exhibited unto us both in the testament, and also in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ) we are bewitched, and both abuse and offend the majesty of God, and also seduce, delude and cousen all such as by our perswasion, and their own light beleefe, give us credit.

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





## CHAP. V.

*That neither witches, nor any other, can either by words or hearbs, thrust into the mind of a sleeping man, what cogitations or dreams 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 sleepeth, 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 therewithal 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.

Seek for such stuffe in my book of Hartumim.

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, and come (as hath been said) through the multitude of affairs and busines. Those which in these daies are called magical or diabolical dreams, may rather be called melancholical. For out of that black vapor in sleep, through dreams 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.

Dan. 2.

Gen. 11.8. Gen. 37.&. 11. Isa. 11. Dan. 2.

*Aristot. de somnio.*

How

## CHAP. VI.

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

Such would be imbarked in the ship of fools.

How 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 cousening feats: in so much as there is a very formal art thereof devised, with many excellent superstitions 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 kissed 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 dreams: how to procure pleasant dreames: of morning and midnight dreams.*

Note this superstitious dotage.

There must be made upon a hazel wand three crosses, and certaine 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 à malo, Amen. A porta inferni credo videre bona, &c. Expectate Dominum, Requiem æternam.* 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 Iidoni following.

*I. Bap. Neap. in natural mag. lib. 2. cap. 26. fol. 83. & 84.*

You shall find in Johannes Baptista Neapolitanus, divers receipts by hearbs 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 bloud 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.*

It 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 cousened by an old witch, and made not onely to beleeve, 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 witches transportations, I will set downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

Confections or receipts for the miraculous transportation of witches.

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 Persly, Wolfesbane, leaves of the poplar and Soote.

Another receipt to the same purpose.

*Sium, acarum vulgare, pentaphyllon,* yellow water-cresses, common Acorus, Cinquefoile, the blood of a flitter-mouse, *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 soluble and loose. They joyne herewithal either fat, or oyle in stead thereof, that the force of the ointment may the rather pierce inwardly, and so 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, culling, 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 beleeve any thing; so do they receive such impressions and stedfast imaginations into their minds, as even their spirits are altered thereby; not thinking 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.

*Vetulæ, quas a strigis similitudine, striges vocant, quæq; noctu puerulorum sanguinem in cunis cubantium exsorbent.*

Now (saith he) when I considered throughly 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 froted her body with certaine ointments (which action we beheld through a chinke or little hole of the doore) she fell downe through the force those soporiferous or sleepy ointments into a most sound and heavy sleep: so as we did break open the doore, and did beate her exceedingly; but the

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 doting 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.*

BUt if it be true that S. Augustine saith, and many other writers that witches nightwalkings are but phantasies and dreames: then all the reports of their bargaine, 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.

*Barthol. Spinæus, q. de strigib. c. 31.*

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 addresse themselves to their journy. But then I marvel again, that no body else hearth 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 murthers, and receive ointments, rootes, 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 eate up their meate: and the alewife specially is not wearied with them for non-payment of their score; of

*Bar. Spin. qu. 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-house, or some time at some Gentlemans house, there is continuall preparation made monethly 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 dreams, that we are not now to look for such revelations, of some who have dreamt of that which hath come to passe, that dreams prove contrary Nabuchadnezzers rule to know a true Expositor of Dreames.*

IT 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 wisdome: 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 Esay's vision in the 6. of his prophesie: as also that of Ezechiel the 12. Finally, where Jeremie was commanded to hide his girdle in the clift of a rock at the River Euphrates in Babylon; and that after certain daies, it did there putrefy, it must needs be in a dream; for Jeremy was never (or at least wise 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 fullfilled all dreams & prophesies. Howbeit, Bodin holdeth that dreams and visions continue till this day, in as miraculous manner as ever they did.

1 Ki. 3. 5. 15.
1 Kings 9.
Esay 6.
Ezechiel 12.
Jeremy 13.
*I. Bodin. lib. de dæm. 1. cap. 5.*

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 fel 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 couseners, 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 vain thing. 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, Nabuchadnezzer teacheth all men to know a true expositor 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.
Jeremy 23.
Daniel 2.

## *The eleventh Booke.*

### CHAP. I.

*The Hebrew word Nahas 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.*

NAHAS, 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. Insomuch as Marcus Varro, seeing the absurdity thereof, said that these gods were not only idle, but very slovens, that used so to hide their secrets and councels in the guts and bowels of beasts.

The slovenly art of augury.

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 Ægyptians had 666. several sorts and kinds of sacrifices; the Romans had almost as many; the Græcians 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.*

THe 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 witches affirm 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, no

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 a- was there any sacrifice appointed by the law for the releefe of the Israe- gainst purga- lites soules that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt tory. should not 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.*

THe 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 hourely torment him with new deaths; yea they are not ashamed to sweare, that with their carnal hands they teare 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 eate 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.*

AS touching the element of fire, and the superstition thereof about those businesses, you shall understand, that many superstitious people of all nations have received, and reverenced, as the most holy thing among their sacrifices: insomuch (I say) as they have worshipped it among their gods, calling it Orimasda (to wit) holy fire, and divine light. The Greekes called it ἑστίαν, 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

scured 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 commandement and will. And that the Gentiles had some inkling of the godly fathers doings, may diversly appeare. Do not the Muscovits, and Indian prophets at this day, like apes, imitate Esay? Because he went naked certaine years, they forsooth counterfeit madnes, and drink 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 *Kasam*.

The Gymnosophists of India their apish imatation 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. insomnch as there was a decree made there, by the whole senate, that six of the cheefe 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 intrepretors of the gods, or rather betweene the gods and them. No high priest, 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 & portenta ad Hetruscos aruspices (si senatus iusserit) deferunto, Hetruriaq; principes disciplinam discunto. Quibus divis decreverunto, procuranto, isdem fulgura & ostenta pianto, auspicia servanto, 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 commandement 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 alwayes some solicitor, to learne with what gods they have decreed or determined their matters; and let sacrifices be made unto them in times of lightening, or at any strange or supernatural shew. Let all such conjecturing tokens be observed; whatsoever the soothsayer commandeth, let it be religiously obeyed.

Colledges



## CHAP. VI.

### *Colledges of Augurors, their office, their number, the signification of augury, that the practisers of that art were cousoners, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparrell, their superstition.*

ROmulus erected three Colledges 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 erections: like to our Statute of *Mortmaine*. Howbeit, Sylla (contrary to all orders and constitutions before made) increased that number to four and twenty.

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

And though *Augurium* be most properly that divination, which is gathered by birds; yet because this word *Nahas* 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 physiognomy and palmestry, and such like, for the tediousnesse and folly thereof; I will speake a little of such arts, as were above measure regarded of our elders: neither mind I to discover the whole circumstance, but to refute the vanity thereof, and specially of the Professors of them, which are and alwaies have been cousening arts, and in them contained both special and several 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.

A manifest discovery of augurors cousenage.

One matter, to bewray their cousening, is; that they could never worke nor foreshew any thing to the poor or inferior sort of people: for portentous shewes (say they) alwaies concerned great estates. Such matters as touched the baser sort, were inferior causes; which the superstition of the people themselves would not neglect to 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 foreshew 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 foreshewers of somewhat. And therefore first they used to choose a clear day, and faire 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

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 ministery: 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 moneth of August; because then young birds flie about, and are diseased and unperfect, mounting their fethers, and flying out of the countrey: 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 whither 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.*

THese kind of witches, whom we have now in hand, did also prognosticate *good* or bad luck, according to the soundnes or imperfectiō 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 hailed; 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 fight 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 [illegible] had been false; for then the gods smiled.

Observations in the art augurificall.



## 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 interpretors? 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 fellowes promised Pompeie, 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 cousenage, may make a great many jolly fools.

*Plato in Phædro, in Timeo, in lib. de Repubi.*

Wherein the papists are more blameworthy then the heathen.

## CHAP. X.

*The cousening art of sortilege or lotary, practised especially by Ægyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots, of Pythagoras his lot, &c.*

THe counterfeit Ægyptians, which were indeed cousening vagabonds, practising the art called *Sortilegium*, had no small credit among the multitude: howbeit, their divinations were as was their fast and loose, and as the witches cures and 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 counterfeit visions, and as the cousceners knaveries. Hereupon it was said; *Non inveniatur inter vos menabas*, that is, *Sortilegus*, which were like to these Ægyptian cousceners. 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. wherein thy neighbour is not misused, nor God any way offended. But in truth I think, because of the cousenage that so easily may be used herein,

Soritlege or lotshare.

God

God forbad 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, wherein fortune is gathered by the sudden turning unto them: because it is 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.

Levit. 16. Num. 33. & 36. Josu. 14. 1 Chron. 24. & 26. Prover. 18. Jonas 1. Acts 1.

Of Pythagoras lot.

There is a lot also called Pythagoras lot, which (some say) Aristotle beleeved: 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 Cabilestical art, consisting of traditions and unwritten vanities learned without Book, and of the division thereof.*

HEre is also place for the Cabalistical art, consisting of unwritten verities, which the Jewes do beleeve 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 writting, untill the time of Esdras: 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 Hysope, 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 all the miracles that either any of the prophets, or Christ himselfe wrought, were accomplished.

The art Cabalistical divided.

C. Agrippa lib de vanit. scient.

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 scripture; whereby also they take upon them to propheste, 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 allegoricall games, which idle men busied in letters, points, and numbers (which the Hebrew tongue easily suffereth) devise, to delude and couzen the simple and ignorant. And this they call Alphabetary or Arythmantical 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 scrinio 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 substraction, 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.

The blasphemy of the Cabalists.

*In concil. Trident.*

## CHAP. XII.

### *When, how, and in What sort sacrifices were first ordained, and how they were prophaned, and how the Pope corrupteth the sacraments of Christ.*

AT the first God manifested to our father Adam, by the prohibition of the Apple, that he would have man live under a 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 minds of men to this promise, and to be fixed upon their Messias, established figures and ceremonies wherewith to nourish their faith, and confirmed the same with miracles, prohibiting and excluding all mans devises in that behalfe. And upon his promise renewed, he injoyed (I say) and erected a new forme of worship, whereby he

Gen. 2. 17.

Gen. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 15.

Levit. 12 3. &c.

whereof there will be few or none plainly perceived, and they also cou
cards. But as you cast them down sodainly, so must you take them up pre
sently, 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.

TAk 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 awll; 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 peece 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 clos 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 bodies 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 always 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 toward his hand, nimblie turning over the cards, as though you numbred them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw 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. & 234.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XXIX.

*Of fast or loose, how to knit a hard knot upon a handkercher, and to undoe the same with words.*

THe Ægyptians jugling witchcraft or sortilegie 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 one plain loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and with a hand seeming to draw the same very hard, hold fast the body of the said handkercher (neer 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 neer 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.

Fast and 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.*

TAke two little whipcords of two foot long a peece, 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 effectuall binding of those beadstones to the string, and make one

Fast or loose with whipcords and beads.

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 double 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 varietie.

This conveyance must be closely done; *Ergo* it must be no bunglers work.

## 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 obstinately opposed against you) that standing behind a door, you will (by the sound or ringing of the mony) tell him whether he cast crosse or pile; so as when you are gone, and he hath fillipped the monie before the witnesses who are to be cousened, he must say; What is it, if it be crosse; or What ist, 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 ist? 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 cat 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 downe 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 undresseth 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 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 blew hat, &c. and then you may seem to countercharm it, and redeliver it, to his satisfaction.

* As, Drech myroch, and senaroth betu baroch assmaaroth, rounsee, farounsee, hey passe passe, &c. or such like strange words.

*How to tell where a stollen horse is become.*

BY means of confederacie, *Steven Tailor*, and one *Pope* abused divers countrie people. 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 made 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 stollen, 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.

Pope and Tailor confederates.

## 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 alike 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 testor, 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 emptie 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 toad, 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 cousening sleight, the other is a false lie.

You must take heed that when the corn cometh out it cover and hide the leather, &c.

*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 stuffe, as well of liquors as spices, and all by means of another little tun within the same, wherein and whereon 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 beggerlie feats able to beguile the simple, as to make an oat 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 it whole again; the order whereof is this. Take two threds, or small laces, of one foot in length a peece: roll up one of them round, which will be then of the quantitie of a pease, 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 your fingers daintilie, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take up a 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 suspition 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 laft 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 kept all this while betwixt your left finger and thumb. This is not inferiour to any jugglers feat if it be well handled, for if you have legierdemain to bestow the same ball of thred, and to change it from place to place betwixt your other fingers (as may easily be done) then will it seeme very strange.

Mark the manner of this conceit and devise.

That is, neatly and daintily.

A thred cut in many peeces and burned to ashes made whole again.

*To cut a lace asunder in the midst, and to make it whole again.*

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 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 eie or bought, which shall be seen, of your own pattern, let some stander by cut the same asunder

The means discovered.

sunder, and it will be surely thought that the other lace is cut; which with words and frotting, &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 seen to be therein.*

A common juggling knack of that cousenage played among the simple, &c.

AS for pulling laces out of the mouth, it is somewhat a stale jest, whereby jugglers gain mony 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 *Clavius*.

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 deceit, cousenage, 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 *Clavius*, whom though I never saw to exercise the feat, yet am I sure I conceive aright of that invention. He had (they say) a book, 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 book

This knack is sooner learned by demonstrative means, than taught by words of instruction.

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 fourteenth 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 inch 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 answer to the first, directly, in every seventh leaf of the book; so when you have cut the first seven leaves, in such sort as I first described



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 leafe, all the thicknesse of your book.

Now you shall understand, that after the first seven leaves, every seventh leaf in the book 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 thicknesse of the book, the same page with the page precedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture, and so must you passe through the book 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 book, you shall see in each page one colour or picture throughout the book in another row, another colour, &c. To make that matter more plain unto you, let this be the description hereof. Hold the book with your left hand, and (betwixt your fore-finger and thumb of your right hand) slip over the book 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 book is strained, it will fall or slip to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, and open the book, the beholders seeing each leaf to have one colour or picture with so many varieties, all passing continually and directly through the whole book, will suppose that with words you can discolour the leaves at your pleasure. But because perhaps you will hardly conceive hereof by this description, you shall (if you bee disposed) see or buy for a small value the like book, at the shop of *W. Brome* in Pauls churchyard, for your further instruction. * There are certaine feats 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 feats, arithmeticall and geometricall: 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 *Hartumim*) sundry strange experiments reported by *Pliny*, *Albert*, *Joh. Bap. Port. Neap.* and *Thomas Lupton*, whereof some are true, and some false, which being known to *Jannes* and *Jambres*, or else to our jugglers, their occupation is the more magnified, and they thereby more reverenced. * Here is place to discover the particular knaveries of casting of lots, and drawing of cuts (as they term it) whereby many cousenages are wrought: so as I dare not teach the sundry devises thereof, lest the ungodly make a practise of it in the common-wealth, where many things are decided by those means, which being honestly meant may bee lawfully used. But I have said already somewhat hereof 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.

This will seem rare to the beholders.

Where such books may be gotten.

See more hereof in the 11. book of this discovery, in the title *Namea*, cap. 10.

## 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 pullen, and to give it life again.*

TAke 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 oats 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.*

TAke a knife, and contain the same within your two hands, so as no part be seen there of 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 then is possible to be contained therein. Then send 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. * But 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 pocket, &c.

It must be cleanly conveyed in any case.

*To thrust a Bodkin into your head without hurt.*

TAke a bodkin so made, as the hast being hollow, the blade thereof may slip thereinto assoon 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 bloud or wine, making the beholders

The manner and means of this action.



holders think the bloud 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 pocket, 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.*

MAke 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 part being kept asunder with one small bought or crooked piece of iron, of the fashion described hereafter in place convenient. Then thrust your tongue betwixt the foresaid space; to wit, into the bought left in the bodkin blade, thrusting the said bought behind your teeth, and biting the same: and then shall it seem to stick so fast in and through your tongue, that one can hardly pull it out. * Also the very like may be done with a knife so made, and put upon your arme: and the wound will appear the more terrible, if a little bloud be powred thereupon.

A forme or pattern of this bodkin and knife you shall see described if you turne over forward.

*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.*

PUt a piece of lead into one of the neather lids of your eie, 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 eie 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 eie: and so with the end of the said stick, being brought along upon your forehead to the other eie, you may thrust out the piece of lead, which before you had put thereinto; to the admiration of the beholders. * Some eat the lead, and then shove it out of the eie: 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.*

This is easily done, howbeit being cleanly handled it will deceive the sight of the beholders.

TAke 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 without a gap, to be shewed upon the pulling out of the same, and words of inchantment to speak, bloud also to bewray the wound, and nimble conveyance.

*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 will 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 Kingsfield of *London*, at a Bartholomewtide, An. 1582. in the sight of divers that came to view this spectacle.

TO shew a most notable execution by this art, you must cause a boord, a cloth, and a platter to be purposely made, and in each of them holes fit for a bodyes neck. The boord 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; there 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, so big as his neck, through which his head may be conveyed into the midst of the platter; and then sitting or kneeling under the boord, let the head only remain upon the boord 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 nosthrils 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 bloud 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 boord, and his head shall lie in a platter on the other end. * There are other things which might be performed in this action, the more to astonish the beholders, which because they offer long descriptions, I omit; as to put about his neck a little dough kneaded with bullocks bloud, 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.

Necessary observations to astonish the beholders.



*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 boord, to be made according to the fashion of your belly and brest: 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 handsomely trussed 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 oxe or a cow, for that will be too thick. Then thrust, or cause to be thrust into your brest a round bodkin, or the point of a dagger, so far as it may pearse through your gut or bladder: which being pulled out 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 plate. 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.

Of a juggler that failing in the feats of his art lost his life.

But herein see you be circumspect.

*To draw a cord through your nose, mouth or hand, so sensible as is wonderfull 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, the same being put on the nose like a pair of tongs or pinsers; and the cord, 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.

A form or pattern of this bridle you shal see described if you turne over a few leaves.

*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 throughly hereof may not only do all these things, but also may devise 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 passtime, 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, measures cannot afford their neighbours any comfort or commodity, but such as pleaseth their melancholick dispositions say what they list, for this will not only be found among indifferent actions, but such as greatly advance the power and glory of God, discovering their pride and fallhood that runne upon them to work miracles, and to be the mighty power of God, as *Jannes* and *Jambres* and also *Simon Magus* did.

Among what actions juggling is to be counted.

If any man doubt of these things, as whether they be not as strange, to behold as I have reported, or think with *Bodin* that these matters are performed by familiars or devils; let him go into S. *Martins*, and inquire for one *John Cautares* (a French man by birth, in conversation an honest man) and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who getteth not his living hereby, but laboureth for the same with the swear of his browes, and nevertheless hath the best hand and conveyance (I think) of any man that liveth this day.

A matchlesse fellow for legierdemain.

Neither do I speak (as they say) without book herein. For if time, place, and occasion serve, I can shew so much herein, that I am sure *Bodin*, *Spinæus*, and *Vairus*, would swear I were a witch, and had a familiar devill at commandement. But truly my study and travell herein hath only beene 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.

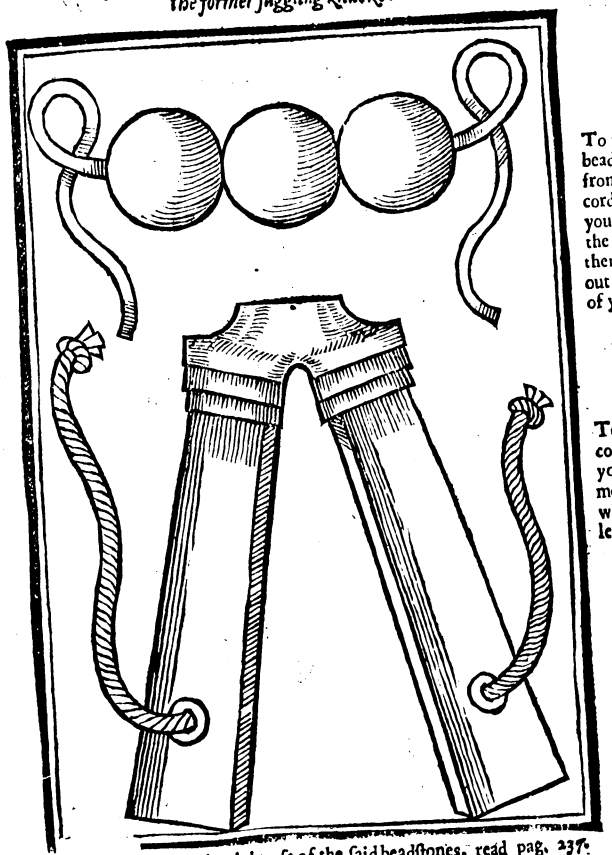
Touching the patternes of diverse juggling instruments.

And because the manner of these juggling conveyances are not easily conceived by discourse of words; I have caused to be set down divers formes of instruments used in this art; which may serve for patternes to them that would throughly see the secrets thereof, and make them for their own private practices, to trie the event of such devices, as in this treatise of legierdemain 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 cousening point of witchcraft, apt for 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 generall controlment through all ages, nations, and people.



*Here follow patterns of certain instruments to be used in the former jugging knacks.*



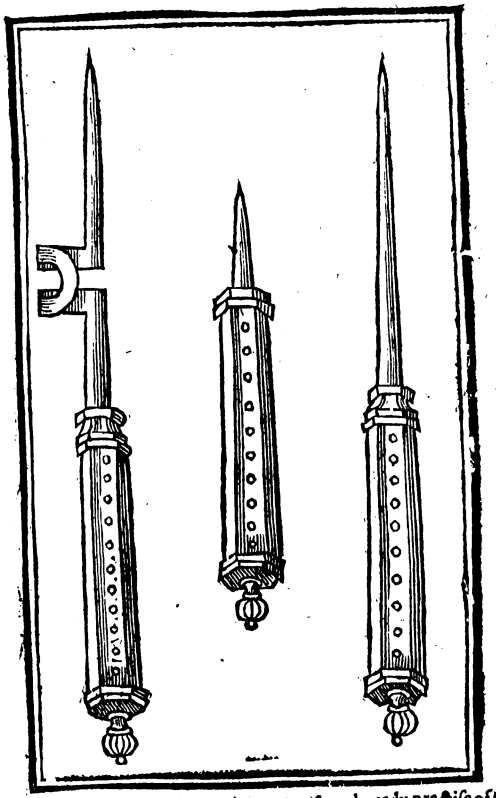
To pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without removing of your hand.

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.*

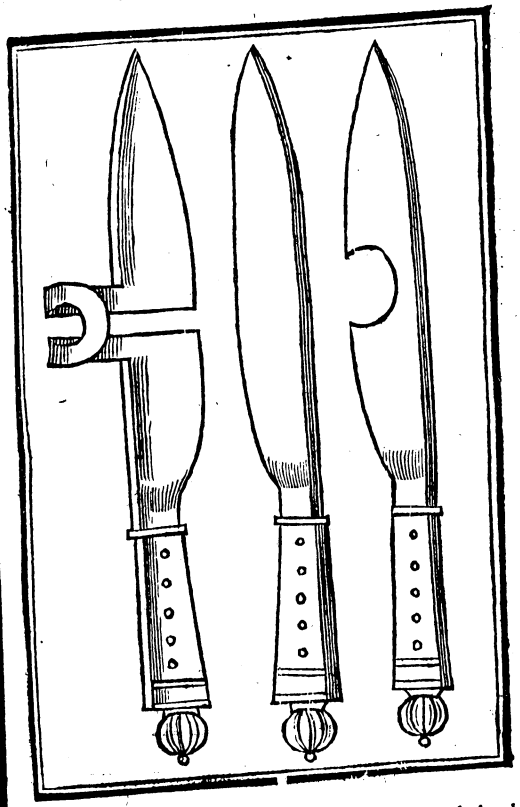


The hithermost is the bodkin with the bowt, the middlemost is the bodkin with the hollow haft; the furthermost is the plain bodkin serving for shew.

TO be instructed and taught in the right use and ready practise of these bodkins, read pag. 244. 245.



To thrust a knife through your arme, and to cut halfe your nose asunder, &c.

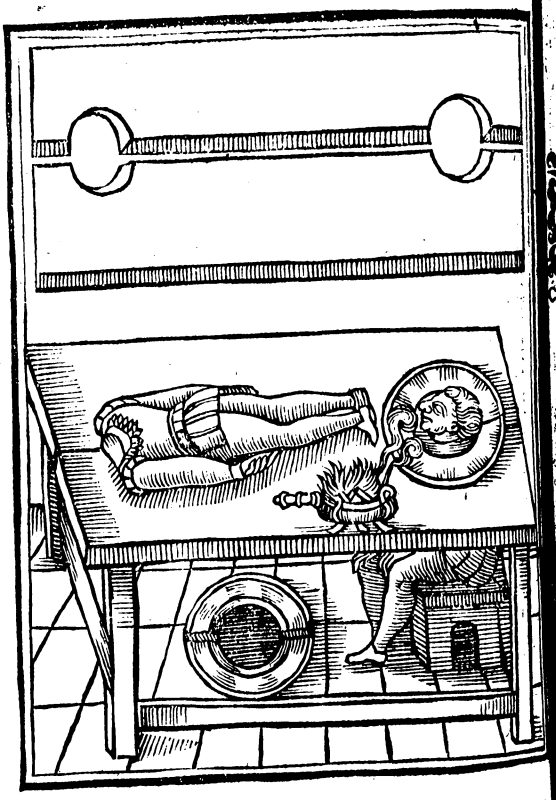


The middlemost knife is to serve for shew; the other two be the knives of device.

TO be ready in the use and perfect in the practice of these knives here portraied, 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 shewed.

WHat order is to be observed for the practising hereof with great admiration, read pag. 246. 247.



# The xiiii. Book.

## *Of the Art of Alchimistry, of their words of Art and devices to blear mens eyes, and to procure credit to their profession.*

## CHAP. I.

HEre I thought it not impertinent to say somewhat of the Art or rather the craft of Alchimistry, otherwise called Multiplication; which *Chaucer*, of all other men, most lively deciphereth. In the bowels hereof doth both witchcraft and conjuration lie hidden, as whereby some couzen others, and some are couzened themselves. For by this mystery (as it is said in the Chanons mans prologue)

Alchymistry a craft, not an art.

*G. Chaucer* in the Chanons mans prologe.

They take upon them to turn upside downe,
All the earth between *Southwark* 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 stuffe 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.

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 confections 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 or expect their conclusions. For what plain man would not beleeve, that they are learned and jolly fellowes, that have in such readinesse so many mysticall termes of art: as (for a taste) their subliming, amalgaming, englutting, imbibing, incorporating, cementing, retrination, determinations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, matters congest and coagulat, ingots, tests, &c. Or who is able to conceive (by reason of the abrupt confusion, contrariety, and multitudes of drugs, simples, and confections) the operation and mystery of their stuffe 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, sal armoniack, verdegrece, borace, holes, gall, arsenick, sal armoniack, brim-

The termes of the art alchymisticall devised of purpose to bring credit to couzenage.

brimstone, salt, paper, burnt bones, unslaked lime, clay, saltpeter, vi-
triall, saltartre, alcalie, sal preparat, clay made with horse dung, man
hair, oile of tartre, allum, glasse, woort, yest, argoll, resagor, gleir of
an eye, powders, ashes, dung, pisse, &c. Then have they waters corro-
sive and lincall, waters of albification, and water, rubifying, &c. Also
oiles, ablusion, and metals fusible. Also their lamps, their urinals, dis-
censories, sublimatories, alembecks, viols, crosslets, cucurbits, stills,
tories, and their furnace of calcination: also their soft and subtle fires,
some of wood, some of coale, composed specially of beech, &c. And
because they will not seem to want any point of cousenage to astonish
the simple, or to move admiration to their enterprises, they have (as
they affirme) four spirits to work withall, whereof the first is orpiment;
the second, quicksilver; the third, sal armoniack; the fourth, brimstone.
Then have they seven celestiall bodies; namely, *Sol*, *Luna*, *Mars*, *Mer-
curie*, *Saturne*, *Jupiter*, and *Venus*; to whom they apply seven terrestriall
bodies; to wit, gold, silver, iron, quicksilver, lead, tinne, and copper,
attributing unto these the operation of the other; specially if the ter-
restriall bodies be qualified, tempered, and wrought in the houre and
day according to the feats of the celestiall bodies: with more like va-
nity.

## CHAP. II.

*The Alchymisters drift, the Chanons yeomans tale, of Alchymists call stones and waters.*

NOw you must understand that the end and drift of all their work,
to attain unto the composition of the philosophers stone, called Alb
and to the stone called Titanus; and to Magnatia, which is a w
made of the four elements, which (they say) the philosophers
sworne neither to discover, nor to write of. And by these they mo
quicksilver, and make it malleable, and to hold touch: hereby also
convert any other metall (but specially copper) into gold. This
ence (forsooth) is the secret of secrets; even as *Salomons* conjura
is said among the conjurors to be so likewise. And thus, when
chance to meet with young men, or simple people, they boast
brag, and say with *Simon Magus*, that they can work miracles,
bring mighty things to passe. In which respect *Chaucer* truly hereof said

Acts 8.

*G. Chaucer* in the Chanons mans tale.

Each man is as wise as Solomon,
When they are together everichone:
But he that seemes wisest, is most fool in preef,
And he that is truest, is a very cheef.
They seem friendly to them that know nought,
But they are fiendly both in word and thought,
Yet many men ride and seek their acquaintance,
Not knowing of their false governance.



He also saith, and experience verifieth his assertion, that they look ill
favouredly, and are alwayes beggerly attired: his words are these:

*Idem. ibid.*

These fellowes look ill favouredly,
And are alwaies tired beggerly,
So as by smelling and thredbare aray,
These folk are known and discerned alway.
But so long as they have a sheet to wrap them in by night,
Or a rag to hang about them in the day light,
They will it spend in this craft,
They cannot stint till nothing be laft.
Here one may learn if he have ought,
To multiply and bring his good to nought.
But if a man ask them privily,
Why they are clothed so unthriftily,
They will round him in the eare and say.
If they espied were, men would them slay,
And all because of this noble science:
Loe thus these folk betraien innocence.

The points or parts of the art Alchymisticall which may be called the mystic or smoky science.

The tale of the chanons yeoman published by *Chaucer*, doth make (by
way of example) a perfect demonstration of the art of Alchymistry or
multiplication: the effect whereof is this. A chanon being an Alchy-
mister or cousener, espied a covetous priest, whose purse he knew to be
well lined, whom he assaulted with flattery and subtill speech, two prin-
cipall points belonging to this art. At the length he borrowed money
of the priest, which is the third part of the Art, without which the pro-
fessors can doe no good, nor indure in good estate. Then he at his day
repayed the money, which is the most difficult point in this art, and a
rare experiment. Finally, to requite the priests courtesie, he promised
into him such instructions, as whereby with expedition he should be-
come infinitely rich, and all through this art of multiplication. And this
is the most common point in this science; for herein they must be skil-
full before they can be famous, or attain to any credit. The priest dis-
liked not his proffer; specially because it tended to his profit, and em-
braced his courtesie. Then the chanon willed him forthwith to send for
three ounces of quicksilver, which he said he would transubstantiate (by
his art) into perfect silver. The priest thought that a man of his pro-
fession could not dissemble, and therefore with great joy and hope accom-
plished his request.

And now (forsooth) goeth this jolly Alchymist about his businesse
and work of multiplication, and causeth the priest to make a fire of coales,
in the bottome whereof he placeth a crosslet; and pretending only to
help the priest to lay the coals handsomely, he foisteth into the middle
ward or lane of coals, a beechen coal, within the which was conveyed an
ingot of perfect silver; which (when the coal was consumed) slipt down
into the crosslet, that was (I say) directly under it. The priest perceived
not the fraud, but received the ingot of silver, and was not a little joy-
full

The Alchymists bait to catch a foole.

full to see such certain successe proceed from his owne handy work wherein could be no fraud (as he surely conceived) and therefore most 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 countrey cousened by an Alchymist.*

I Could cite many Alchymisticall cousenages wrought by Doctor *Incot, Fentes*, and such other; but I will passe them over, and only repeat three experiments of that art; the one practiced 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 overtaken and used in manner and forme following, by a notable cousening varlet, 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 humour 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 tales 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 beleeve that he could multiply, and of one angell make two or three. Which seemed strange to the poor man, insomuch as he became willing enough to see that conclusion: whereby the Alchymister had more hope and comfort to attain his desire, than if his daughter had yeelded 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 legierdemain) 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 Alchymister bad him lay 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. Insomuch 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 to increase this opinion in him, as also to win his further favour: but specially to bring his cunnnig 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 counselled him

Note the cousening conveyance of this alchymisticall 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 Alchymister, 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 Alchymisters purpose thereby performed; he told the yeoman that (untill a certain day and hour limited to returne) either of them might imploy 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 Alchymister (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 fincere 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 abased, and became perfect lead.

*A* notable fool.

*A* cousening devise by running away to save the credit of the art.

*G. Chaucer* in the tale of the Chanons yeoman.

Now who so list to utter his folly,
Let him come forth and learn to multiply;
And every man that hath ought in his cofer,
Let him appear, and waxe a Philosopher,
In learning of his elvish nicelore,
All is in vain, and pardee much more
Is to learn a lewd man this subtelteé,
Fie, speak not thereof it woll not bee:
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none,
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.

## CHAP. IV.

### *A certain King abused by an Alchymist, and of the Kings sole a pretty jest.*

A King cousened 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 exploites 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 councell, 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 fools in the land.

So he caused the Kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of his privy councell. The King seeing him so sawcy and malepert, meant to have had him punished: but some of his councell, 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 sawcily accused the King and his councell of principall folly, answered; Because he saw one foolish knave beguile them all, and to cousen them of so great a masse of money, and finally to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the councell) 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 name, 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 their knavery and deceipts whereupon this art dependeth, whereby the readers may be more delighted in reading, than the practisers 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 cousener satisfied.

A wise foole.

## CHAP. V.

### *A notable story written by* Erasmus *of two Alchymists, also of longation and curtation.*

*Eras. in colloq. de arte Alchymistica.*

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; 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 cousening 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 busied 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 Philosophy, that every mans destiny it not alike; and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whether 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 subtilnesse, 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 Philosophy. *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 bad 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 are 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 inrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

Longation and Curtation in Alchymistry.

*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 upon 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 somewhat dangerous; the other much longer, marry very safe, suite, and 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 cousener circumventeth *Balbine*.

never could get any one to shew me the other that I so earnestly desire. 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 cousening varlot had avoided suspition 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 this 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? Yea said the priest, doubt you not hereof: but I have no fansie to that way, it is so 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. Set 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 wise.

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 mysterie; *Balbine* delivered money to the Alchymister for bellowes, glasses, coales, &c. which should serve for the erection 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 who there so lusty as cousening sir *John*: who indeed this way made a kinde of alchymisticall 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 accompt; casting by arithmetick, how that if one ownce yeelded fifteen, then how much gaines two thousand ownces might yeeld: for so much he determined to employ that way.

When the Alchymist had also consumed this mony, shewing great travell a moneth or twain, in placing the bellowes, the coales, and such other stuffe, and no whit of profit proceeding or comming 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 accesse. There was (saith he) a fault (which I have now found out) in the choyce of the coales, which were of oake, and should have been of beech. One hundreth 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 circumspectly 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 fooles paradise.

*Balbine* was bewitched with desire of gold, &c.

The Alchymist, to cast a good colour upon his knavery, took on like a man moonsick, 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 recompenced 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 annother 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 day escaped him but he said our Lady mattens.

Notable cousenage.

Now our Alchymister having received the offering of money, goeth on his holy pilgrimage, even to the next village, and there consumeth it every 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 cousening 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 *Balbine*'s head to aske him if he had not foreslowed to hear masse, or to say his hours: which if he had done, nothing could prosper under his hand. Without doubt (said the cousener) you have hit the nail of the head. Wretch that I am! I remember once or twice being at a long feast, I omitted to say mine *Ave Mary* after dinner. So so (said *Balbine*) no marvell then that a matter of such importance hath had so ill successe. The Alchymister promised to do penance; to hear twelve masses for two that he had foreslowed; and for every one overslipped, to render and repeat twelve to our Lady.

The Alchymister bringeth *Balbine* into a fooles paradise.

Soone after this, when all our Alchymisters money was spent, and also bis

his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this
vice, as a man wondertully fraied and amazed, piteously crying and
menting his misfortune. Whereat *Balbine* being astonished, desired
know the cause of his complaint. Oh (said the Alchymister) the co
tiers have spied our enterprise; so as I for my part look for nothing
present imprisonment. Whereat *Balbine* was abashed, because it was
fellony to goe about that matter, without speciall licence. But (quoth
Alchymister) I fear not to be put to death, I would it would fall out
marry I fear lest I should be shut up in some castle or tower, and th
shall be forced to tug about this work and broile in this businesse all th
daies of my life.

Here the Alchymister uttereth a notorious point of cousening knavery.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, *Balbine*, becaus
was cunning in the art of Rhetorick, and not altogether ignorant in la
beat his braines in devising how the accusation might be answered, a
the danger avoided. Alas (said the Alchymister) you trouble your
all in vain, for you see the crime is not to be denyed, it is so gene
bruited in court: neither can the fact be defended, because of the ma
fest law published against it. To be short, when many waies were dev
and diverse excuses alledged by *Balbine*, and no sure ground to
on for their security; at length the Alchymister having present want
need of money, framed his speech in this sort; *Sir*, said he to *Balbine*,
use slow counsell, and yet the matter requireth hast. For I think they
comming for me yer this time to hale me away to prison; and I
no remedy but to die valiantly in the cause. In good faith (said *Balb*
I know not what to say to the matter. No more doe I, said the *Alch*
mister, but that I see these courtiers are hungry for money, and so
the readier to be corrupted and framed to silence. And though it be a
matter to give those rakehels still they be satisfied, yet I see no better
sell or advice at this time. No more could *Balbine*, who gave him th
ducats of gold to stop their mouthes, who in an honest cause would
ther have given so many teeth out of his head, then one of those
out of his pouch. This coin had the Alchymister, who for all his
tenses and gay gloses was in no danger, other than for lack of money
leese his leman or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not gi
ver, nor forbear her company, for all the goods that he was able to
were it by never so much indirect dealing and unlawfull means.

Mark how this Alchymister goeth from one degree of cousenage to another.

Well, yet now once againe doth *Balbine* newly furnish the forge, a
er being made before to our Lady to blesse the enterprise, and all
being provided and made ready according to the Alchymisters own
king, and all necessaries largely ministred after his owne likings; a
year being likewise now consumed about this bootlesse business, and
thing brought to passe; there fell out a strange chance, and that by
means ensuing, as you shall hear.

Our Alchimister forsooth used a little extraordinary lewd comp
with a courtiers wife, whiles he was from home, who suspecting
matter, came to the door unlooked for, and called to come in, threat
them that he would break open the doores upon them: Some presen
vice (you see) was now requisite, and there was none other to be



*Artumim.*

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 coun-
tenance that he had heard hereof, though he said nothing. But the Al-
chymister 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
devised to open the matter in manner and forme following.

The mildest and softest nature is commonly soonest abused.

O Lord (saith he before *Balbine*) how infortunately goeth our busi-
nesse 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
but with pure hands. Whereat the Alchymister fell upon hisknees,
beating his brest, and lamentably cryed, saying; Oh master *Balbine*, you
say most truly, it is sinne that hath done us all this displeasure, not your
sinne sir, but mine owne, good master *Balbine*. Neither will I be asha-
med 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 be-
come an adulterer. Howbeit, the money that erst while 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 lesse 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 beleeve to be true, but in respect thereof forgave him,
religiously admonishing him to shew himself thankfull to that pitiful and
blessed Lady.

*En immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles.*

Now once again more is made a new supply of money, and mutuall
promise made to handle this divine matter hence forward purely and ho-
lily. To be short, after a great number of such parts played by the *Al-*
chymister; one of *Balbine*'s acquaintance espied him, that knew him from
his childehood to be but a cousening 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 cou-
sened him. And as for the knave *Alchymister*, 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 asse.
By this discourse *Evasmus* would give us to note, that under the golden
name of *Alchymistry* there lyeth lurking no small calamitie; wherein
there be such severall shifts and suits of rare subtleties and deceipts, as that
not only wealthy men are thereby many times impoverished, and that
with the sweet allurement of this art, through their owne covetousnesse;

Balbine is ashamed that he should be overshot and overseen in a case of flat cousenage.

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 subtleties of the world, and partly through the softnesse and pliableneſſe of their good nature, which cousening 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.

ALbert in his book of Minerals reporteth, that *Avicenna* 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 towers 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 proofe hereof may be the looking glasse. And we see (saith he) that yellow or orrenge colour laid upon red, seemeth to be gold. *Francis Petrarch* treating of the same matter in forme of a dialogue, introduceth a disciple of his, who fansied the foresaid fond profession and 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, whiles 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.

*Franc. Petrarch. lib. de vemed. utr. fort. 1. cap. 10.*

*Goschalcus Boll. ordinis S. Augustin. in suo præceptorio, fol. 244. col. b, c, d. & 1.*

An ancient writer of a religious order, who lived above a thousand years since, discovering the diversities of thefts, after a long enumeration, in Alchymisters, whom he calleth *Falsificantes metallorum & minerarium*, witches and counterfeiters of metals and minerals; and setteth them



them as deep in the degree of theeves, as any of the rest, whose injurious dealings are brought to open arreignment. 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 counterfeit nature. Againe, 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 proportion; 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.

No certain ground in the art Alchymisticall.

The same ancient author concluding against this vain art, saith, that of all christian 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, cousened, princes abused, the rich impoverished, the poor beggered, the multitude made fooles, and yet the craft and craftmasters (oh madneſſe!) credited. Thus farre he. Whereby in few words he discountenanceth 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.

*Idem ibid.*

*Avaritia idolorum cultus.*

## 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 Alchymisticall, partly by reasons, and partly by examples: so that the thing it selfe may no lesse appear to the judiciall eye of the considerers, than

than the bones and sinewes 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) *Spes, & fortuna valete*; Hope and good hap adieu.

Of vain hope.

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, * Cursed or detestable, by the figure *Acyron*, when a word of an unproper signification is cast in a clause as it were a cloud: or by the figure *Antiphrasis*, when a word importeth a 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 milions of mischiefs and miseries: as treasons, thefts, adulteries, manslaughters, trucebreakings, perjuries, cousenages, 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 nothing 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 stuffe, 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.

* *I. Cal. in comment. upon Deut. serm. 127. p. 781. col. 1. number. 40.*

A maxime.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *A continuation of the former matter, with a conclusion of the same.*

*Erasmus in colloq. cui titulus Convivium fabulosum.*

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 delight



light much in such plain clubhutchens. The king oftentimes, by means of his game, used the countrymans house for his refreshing; and as noble men sometimes take pleasure in homely and course things, so the King did not refuse to eat turnips and rape roots in *Conons* cotage. Shortly after King *Lewes* being at his palace, void of troubles and disquietnesse, *Conons* wife will'd him to repair to the court, to shew himself 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 choisew rape roots that she had in store. *Conon* seemed loth, alledging that he should but lose his labour: for princes (saith he) have other matters in hand, than to intend to think of such trifling courtesies. 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 comming to him, reached out his hand, and presented the gift to his Majesty. The King received it with more cheerfulnesse than it was offered, and had 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 had *Canon* 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 crownes should be given him in recompense for his root.

A hungry belly will not be bridled.

A princely largesse.

The report of this bountifulnesse 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 casting 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

*Sic ars deludit artem.*

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 flocking 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 undiscreet and unexpert men. And therefore no marvell though Alchymisters dream and dote after double advantage, faring like *Æsops* dog, who greedily coveting to catch and snatch 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 rakehels, saith very divinely and truly;

*Homer.*

*Odi etenim ceu clauſtra Erebi, quicunque loquuntur*
*Ore aliud, tacitoque aliud ſub pectore 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 cousseners, 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. Perſius, ſatyr. 3.*

*Hos populus videt, multumque toroſa juventus*
*Ingeminat tremulos naſo criſpante cachinnos:*

*Engliſhed by Abraham Fleming.*

All people laugh them now to scorne,
each strong and lusty bloud
Redoubleth quavering laughters loud
with wrinkled nose a good.

So that, if any be so addicted unto the vanity of the art Alchymisticall (as



as every foole will have his fancy) and that (beside so many experimented examples of divers, whose wealth hath vanished like a vapor, whiles they have beene over rash in the practise hereof) this discourse will not move to desist from such extreame dotage, I say to him or them and that aptlie,

*——dicitque facitque quod ipſe*
*Non ſani eſſe hominis non ſanus juret Oreſtes:* *Idem ibid.*

He saith and doth that every thing,
which mad Orestes might
With oath averre became a man
bereft of reason right. *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.

THis 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 *Ariolus*, which is one that also taketh upon him to foretell things to come, and is found *Levit.* 19. 2 *Kings* 23. *Esai.* 19. To be short, the opinion of them that are most skilfull in the 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 cousseners. What will not cousseners 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, elo-

The large signification of the word Iidoni.

eloquence, or nimbleneſſe of hands to accompany their confederacy, or rather knaverie, then (forſooth) they paſſe the degree of witches, and intitle themſelves to the name of conjurors. And theſe deale with no inferiour cauſes: theſe fetch divels out of hell, and angels out of heaven; theſe raiſe up what bodies they liſt, though they were dead, buried, and rotten long before; and fetch ſoules out of heaven or hell with much more expedition than the pope bringeth them out of purgatory. Theſe I ſay (among the ſimple, and where they feare no law nor accuſation) take upon them alſo the raiſing of tempeſts, and earthquakes, and to doe as much as God himſelfe can doe. Theſe are no ſmall fooles, they go not to work with a baggage tode, or a cat, as witches doe; but with a kind of majeſty, and with authority they call up by name, and have at their commandement ſeventy and nine principall and princely divels, who have under them as their miniſters, a great multitude of legions of petty divels; as for example.

*Vide Philaſt. Brix. epiſc. hæreſeon catal. de phitonifſa.*

*Iwierus in Pſeudomonarchia dæmonum.*

## CHAP. II.

*An inventarie of the names, ſhapes, powers, governement, and effects of divels and ſpirits, of their ſeverall ſegnaries and degrees: a ſtrange diſcourſe worth the reading.*

Salomons notes of conjuration. *Bacll.*

THeir firſt and principall king (which is of the power of the eaſt) is called *Bacll*; who when he is conjured up, appeareth with three heads; the firſt, like a tode; the ſecond like a man; the third like a cat. He ſpeaketh with a hoarſe voice, he maketh a man go inviſible, he hath under his obedience and rule ſixty and ſix legions of divels.

*Agares.*

The firſt duke under the power of the eaſt, is named *Agares*, he commeth up mildly in the likenes of a faire old man, riding upon a crocodile, and carrying a hawk on his fiſt; he teacheth preſently all manner of tongues, he fetcheth backe all ſuch as run away, and maketh them run that ſtand ſtill; ſhe overthroweth all dignities ſupernaturall and temporall, hee maketh earthquakes, and is of the order of vertues, having under his regiment thirty one legions.

*Marbas.*

*Marbas, alias Barbas*, is a great preſident, and appeareth in the forme of a mighty lion; but at the commandement of a conjuror commeth up in the likenes of a man, and anſwereth fully as touching any thing which is hidden or ſecret; he bringeth diſeaſes and cureth them, he promoteth wiſdome; and the knowledge of mechanicall arts, or handicrafts; he changeth men into other ſhapes: and under his preſidency or govenment are thirty ſix legions of devils contained.

*Amon.*

*Amon*, or *Aamon*, is a great and mighty marques, and commeth abroad in the likeneſſe of a wolfe, having a ſerpents taile, ſpetting out and breathing



breathing flames of fire; when he putteth on the ſhape of a man, he ſheweth out dogs teeth, and a great head like to a mighty raven; he is the ſtrongeſt prince of all other, and underſtandeth all things paſt and to come, he procureth favour, and reconcileth both friends and foes, and ruleth fourty legions of divels.

*Barbatos.*

*Barbatos*, a great county or earle, and alſo a duke, he appeareth in *Signo ſagittarii ſylveſtris*, with foure kings, which bring companies and great troopes. He underſtandeth the ſinging of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowing of bullocks, and the voice of all living creatures. He detecteth treaſures hidden by magicians and inchanters, and is of the order of vertues, which in part beare rule: he knoweth all things paſt and to come, and reconcileth friends and powers; and governeth thirty legions of divels by his authority.

*Buer.*

*Buer* is a great preſident, and is ſeene in this ſigne; he abſolutely teacheth philoſophy morall and naturall, and alſo logicke, and the vertue of herbes: he giveth the beſt familiars, he can heale all diſeaſes, ſpecially of men, and reigneth over fifty legions.

*Guſoin.*

*Guſoin* is a great duke, and ſtrong, appearing in the forme of a *Xenophilus*, he anſwereth all things, preſent, paſt, and to come, expounding all queſtions. He reconcileth friendſhip, and diſtributeth honours and dignities, and ruleth over fourty legions of divels.

*Botis.*

*Botis*, otherwiſe *Otis*, a great preſident and an earle, he commeth forth in the ſhape of an uglie viper, and if he put on humane ſhape, he ſheweth great teeth, and two hornes, carrying a ſharpe ſword in his hand; he giveth anſwers of things preſent, paſt, and to come, and reconcileth friends and foes, ruling ſixty legions.

*Bathin.*

*Bathin*, ſometimes called *Mathim*, a great duke and a ſtrong, he is ſeene in the ſhape of a very ſtrong man, with a ſerpents taile, ſitting on a pale horſe, underſtanding the vertues of herbs and pretious ſtones, tranſferring men ſuddenly from country to country, and ruleth thirty legions of divels.

*Purſon.*

*Purſon, alias Curſon*, a great king, he commeth forth like a man with a lions face, carrying a moſt cruell viper, and riding on a beare; and before him go alwayes trumpets, he knoweth things hidden, and can tell all things preſent, paſt, and to come; he beraieth treaſure, he can take a body either humane or ajerie, he anſwereth truly of all things earthly and ſecret, of the divinity and creation of the world, and bringeth forth the beſt familiars; and there obey him two and twenty legions of divels, partly of the order of vertues, and partly of the order of thrones.

*Eligor.*

*Eligor, alias Abigor*, is a great duke, and appeareth as a goodly knight, carrying a lance, an enſigne, and a ſcepter; he anſwereth fully of things hidden, and of warres, and how ſouldiers ſhould meete, he knoweth things to come, and procureth the favour of lords and knights, governing ſixty legions of devils.

*Leraie.*

*Leraje, alias Oray*, a great marqueſſe, ſhewing himſelfe in the like-

nesse of a gallant archer, carrying a bowe and a quiver, he is author of all battels, he doth putrifie 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, comming forth in the shape of a lion, and the head of a theefe, he is very familiar with them to whom he maketh himselfe acquainted, till he hath brought them to the gallowes, and ruleth ten legions.

*Morax.*

*Morax, alias Foraji*, a great earle and a president, he is seene like a bull, and if he take unto him a mans face, he maketh men wonderfull cunning in astronomy, and in all the liberall sciences: he giveth good familiars and wife, knowing the power and vertue of hearbs and stones which are precious, and ruleth thirty six legions.

*Ipos.*

*Ipos, alias Ayporos*, 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 Cavberus*, is a valiant marquesse, 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 rhetorick, he procureth the losse of prelacies and dignities, nineteene legions heare and obey him.

*Glasya Labolas.*

*Glasya Labolas, alias Gaacrinolaas*, or *Caassimolar*, is a great president, who commeth 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 thirty 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 commandement.

*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 bat in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out toward the east and south, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand unto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirits; let the conjuror proceed to reading, and by and by he 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,



wine, and the exorcist shall certainly know when he commeth out of his house, with his fellowes, and that the aforesaid *Bileth* will be his helper, his friend, and obedient unto him when he commeth forth. And when he commeth, 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 is [illegible] under the power and dominion of the conjuror, but he that desireth both men and women in dooing love, till the exorcist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the seaventh throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eighty five legions. *Vide Amaimon.*

*Sitri, alias Bitru*, is a great prince, appearing with the face of a 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 hewilingly deteineth secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them luxuriously naked, and there obey him sixty legions. *Sitri* a bawdy devill.

*Paimon* is more obedient to *Lucifer* than other kings are. *Lucifer* is here to be understood he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge: he would needs be like God, and for his arrogancy was throwne out into destruction, of whom it is said; Every pretious stone is thy covering. *Paimon* is constrained by divine vertue to stand before the exorcist where he putteth on the likenesse of a man: he sitteth on a beast called a 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 musicall instruments. At the first he appeareth with a great cry and roring, as in *Circu'o Salomonis*, and in the art is declared. And if this *Paimon* speake sometime that the conjuror understand him not, let him not therefore be dismaied. But when he hath delivered him the first obligation, to observe his desire, he must bid him also answer him distinctly and plainely to the questions he shall aske you, of all philosophy, wisedome, 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 commeth, he will teach you aboundantly. Consecrations also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. He giveth dignities and confirmations; he bindeth them that resist him in his owne chaines, and subjecteth them to the conjuror; he prepareth good familiars, and hath the understanding of all arts. 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 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 *Paimon.* Ezech. 88. Cations for the Exorcist or conjuror.

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 *Phimon* 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.

The fall of *Beliall*.

Some say that the king *Beliall* was created immediatly after *L*[illegible] and therefore they thinke that he was father and seducer of them [illegible] 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 tarrieth in heaven. This *Beliall* is constrained by divine vertue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he againe may give unto the offerers true answers. But he tarrieth not one houre in the truth, except he be constrained by the divine power, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautifull angell, sitting in a 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 wise *Solomon* gathered them together with their legions in a brasen vessell, where were inclosed among all the legions seventy two kings, of whom the cheefe was *Bilath*, the second was *Beliall*, the third *Asmoday*, and above a thousand thousand legions. Without doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my master *Salomon*; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them up so: but I beleeve it was for the pride of this *Beliall*. 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 brasen vessell for pride and arrogancy, and throwne into a deep lake or hole in *Babylon*. For wise *Salamon* did accomplish his workes by the divine power, which never forsooke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshipped not the image *Beliall*; for then he could not have constrained the spirits by divine vertue: for this *Beliall*, with three kings were in the lake. But the *Babylonians* 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 immediately flew the captaine divels, 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 *Iocx.* in his sentences reporteth, and the *Babylonians* did worship and sacrifice thereunto.

*Salomon* gathered all the divels together in a brasen vessel.

The *Babylonians* disappointed of their hope.



*Bune* is a great and a strong duke, he appeareth as a dragon with three heads, the third whereof is like 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 inricheth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise, answereth truly to all demands, and thirty legions obey him. *Bune.*

*Forneus* is a great marquesse, 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. *Forneus.*

*Ronove* a marquesse 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. *Ronove.*

*Berith* is a great and a terrible duke, and hath three names. Of some he is called *Beall*; of the Jewes *Berith*; of Nigromancers *Belfry*: he commeth 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 present, past, and to come. He is compelled to a certain hour, through divine vertue, by a ring of art magick. He is also a lier, he turneth all metals into gold, he adorneth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a clear and subtill voice, and six and twenty legions are under him. *Berith* a golden devill.

*Astaroth* is a great and a strong duke, comming forth in the shape of a foule 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 fourty 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 neare to his face a magicall ring, and that shall defend him. *Astaroth.*

*Foras, alias Forcas* is a great president, and is seen in the form 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. *Foras.*

*Fursur* 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 hoarse 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. *Fursur.*

*Marchosias* is a great marquesse, he sheweth himselfe in the shape of a cruell *Marchosias.*

cruell she wolfe, with a griphens wings, with a serpents taile, and ... ting I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans ... is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions truly, he is faithfull ... all the conjurors businesse; he was of the order of dominations, ... him are thirty legions: he hopeth after 1200. years to returne to ... venth throne, but he is deceived in that hope.

*Malphas.* *Malphas* is a great president, he is seen like a crowe, but being ... with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth ... and high towres wonderfully, and quickly bringeth artificers together ... throweth downe also the enemies edifications, he helpeth to good ... ars, he receiveth sacrifices willingly, but he deceiveth all the sacrifi... there obey him fourty legions.

*Vepar.* *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 ... sse (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shall be rou... and stormy, and shall appear full of ships; he killeth men in three ... with putrefying their wounds, and producing maggots into them... beit, they may be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and ... legions.

*Sabnacke.* *Sabnack, alias Salmack,* is a great marquesse and a strong, he ... forth as an armed souldier with a lions head, sitting on a pale ... doth marvellously change mans forme and favour, he buildeth high ... ers full of weapons, and also castles and cities; he inflicteth men ... dayes with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists ... mandement, he provideth good familiars, and hath dominion over ... legions.

*Sidonay.* *Sidonay, alias Asmoday,* a great King, strong and mighty, he is ... with three heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a ... the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of ... mouth, he hath feet like a goose, he sitteth on an infernall dragon, ... carryeth a launce and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, ... are under the power of *Amaymon.* When the conjuror exerciseth ... 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 ... But so soon as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by ... name, saying; Thou art *Asmoday*; he will not deny it, and by and by ... boweth downe to the ground; he giveth the ring of vertues, he ... lutely teacheth geometry, arithmetick, astronomy, and handicrafts, ... all demands he answereth fully and truly, he maketh a man ... ble, hee sheweth the places where treasure lyeth, and gardeth ... it be among the legions of *Amaymon*, he hath under his power ... two legions.

*Gaap.* *Gaap, alias Tap,* a great president and a prince, he appeareth in ... ridionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of ... foure principall Kings, as mighty as *Bileth.* There were certain ne... mancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings unto him; and ... call him up, they exercised an art, saying that *Solomon* the wise made ... which



which is false: for it was rather *Cham*, the sonne of *Noah*, who after the ... flood began first to invocate wicked spirits. He invocated *Bileth*, and first necroman... made an art in his name, and a book which is known to many mathe... cians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts gi... and much wickednesse wrought by the exorcists, who mingled there... all the holy names of God, the which in that art are every where ex... pressed. Marry there is an Epistle of those names written by *Solomon*, as ... wife *Helias Hierosolymitanus* and *Heliseus*. It is to be noted, that ... any exorcist have the art of *Bileth*, and cannot make him stand before ... him, nor tie him, I may not bewray how and declare the means to con... him, because it is an abomination, and for that I have learned no... thing 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 ... liberall sciences: he maketh love, hatred, insensibility, consecration, and ... consecration of those things that are belonging unto the domination of ... *Amaymon*, and delivereth familiars out of the possession of other conjurors, ... answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, and to come, and ... transferreth men most speedily into other nations, he ruleth sixty six legi... ons, and was of the order of potestates.

*Shax alias Scox,* is a dark and great marquesse, like unto a stork, with a hoarse and subtill voice he doth marvellously take away the sight, hea... ring, and understanding of any man, at the commandement of the con... juror: he taketh away money out of every Kings house, and carrieth it ... back after 1200. years, if he be commanded, he is a horsestealer, he is ... thought to be faithfull in all commandements; and although he promise ... to be obedient to the conjuror in all things; yet is he not so, he is a 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 pro... videth good familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceivers, he hath ... thirty legions. *Shax.*

*Procell* is a great and a strong duke, appearing in the shape of an an... all, but speaketh darkly of things hidden, he teacheth geometry, and all ... the liberall arts, he maketh great noises, and causeth the waters to rore, ... where are none; he warmeth waters, and distempereth bathes at certain ... times, as the exorcist appointeth him, he was of the order of potestates, ... and hath fourty eight legions under his power. *Procell.*

*Furcas* is a Knight and cometh forth in the similitude of a cruell man, ... with a long beard and a hoary head, he sitteth on a pale horse, carrying in ... his hand a sharp weapon, he perfectly teacheth practick philosophy, rhe... torick, logick, astronomy, chiromancy, pyromancy, and their parts: there ... obey him twenty legions. *Furcas*

*Murmur* is a great duke and an earle, 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 ab... solutely, 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. *Murmur*

*Caim* is a great president, taking the form of a thrush, but when he put- *Caim*

teth on mans shape, he answereth in burning ashes, carrying in his hand a most sharp sword, he maketh the best disputers, he giveth men the understanding of all birds, of the lowing of bullocks, and barking of dogs, and also of the sound and noise of waters, he answereth best of things to come; he was of the order of angels, and ruleth thirty legions of devils.

*Raum.* *Raum*, 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 stealeth wonderfully out of the Kings house, and carryeth it whither he is assigned, he destroyeth cities, and hath great despite unto dignities, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends and foes; he was of the order of thrones, and governeth thirty legions.

*Halphas.* *Halphas* is a great earle, and commeth 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 gripe, he killeth men, and drowneth them in the waters, and overturneth ships of war, commanding and ruling both windes and seas. And let the exorcist juror note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willingly consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000. years to returne to the seventh throne, but he is deceived, he hath three legions.

*Vine.* *Vine* is a great king and an earle, he sheweth himself as a lion, riding a black horse, and carryeth a viper in his hand, he gladly buildeth high towres, he throweth down stone walles, and maketh waters rough. At the commandement of the exorcist he answereth of things hidden, of witches, and of things present, past, and to come.

*Bifrons.* *Bifrons* is seen in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the shape of man, he maketh one wonderfull cunning in astrology, absolutely declaring the mansions of the planets, he doth the like in geomet y, 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 horse, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a hoarse voice, discourseth of all liberall sciences; he bringeth also to passe, that the soules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatory (which is called *Purgatorium*, that is, affliction of soules) shall take airy bodyes, and evidently appear and answer to interrogatories at the conjurors commandement; he tarrieth with the exorcist, untill he have accomplished his desire, and hath thirty legions under him.

*Zagan.* *Zagan* is a great King and a president, he commeth abroad like a bull with griphens wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men 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 serpents taile, and carryeth in his right hand two great serpents hissing, he knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectly teacheth the vertues of the starres, he transformeth men, he giveth dignities, prelacies, and confirmations, and also the favour of friends and foes, and hath under him thirty legions. *Orias.*

*Valac* is a great president, and commeth 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. *Valac.*

*Gemory* 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. *Gemory.*

*Decarabia* or *Carabia*, he commeth like a * and knoweth the force of herbes and precious stones, and maketh all birds flie before the exorcist, and to tarry with him, as though they were tame, and that they shall drink and sing, as their manner is, and hath thirty legions. *Decarabia.*

*Amduscias* a great and a strong duke, he cometh forth as an unicorne, when he standeth before his master in humane shape, being commanded, he easily bringeth to passe, that trumpets and all musicall 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. *Amduscias.*

*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 wolfe, 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. *Andras.*

*Andrealphus* 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 likenesse of a bird; and there are under him thirty legions. *Andrealphus.*

*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.* *Ose.*

*Aym* or *Haborim* is a great duke and a strong, he commeth forth with three heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a man having two *, the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper, 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. *Aym.*

*Orobas.* *Orobas* is a great prince, he cometh forth like a horse, but when he putteth on him a mans idol, he talketh of divine vertue, he giveth true answers of things present, past and to come, and of the divinity, and of the creation, he deceiveth none, nor suffereth any to be tempted, he giveth dignities and prelacies, and the favour of friends and foes, and hath xxx over twenty legions.

*Vapula.* *Vapula* is a great duke and a strong, he is seen like a lion with Gryphens wings, he maketh a man subtill and wonderfull in handcrafts, philosophy, and in sciences contained in books, and is ruler of thirty six legions.

*Cimeries.* *Cimeries* is a great marqueſſe and a strong, ruling in the parts of *Africa*; 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 great 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, which is partly of the order of angels, partly of potestates, he hopeth after a thousand two hundreth years to returne to the seventh throne: which is not credible.

*Flauros.* *Flauros* 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, he answereth truly and fully of things present, past, and to come; if he stand in a triangle, he lyeth in all things and deceiveth in other things, and beguileth in other businesses, he gladly talketh of divinity, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by divine vertue, and so are all divels or spirits, to burne and destroy all the conjurors adversaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the conjuror to be tempted, and he hath legions under him.

*Balam.* *Balam* is a great and a terrible king, he commeth 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 perfectly of things present, past, and to come, he maketh man invisible and wise, he governeth fourty legions, and was of the order of dominations.

*Allocer.* *Allocer* is a strong duke and a great, he commeth 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 astronomy, 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, peaceable, &c.

*Vuall.* *Vuall* 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 especiall love of



of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, procuring the love of friends and foes, he was of the order of potestates, and governeth thirty seven legions.

*Haagenti.* *Haagenti* is a great president, appearing like a great bull, having the wings of a griphen, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh a man wise, in every thing, he changeth all metals into gold, and changeth wine and water the one into the other, and commandeth as many legions as *Zagan.*

*Phœnix.* *Phœnix* is a great marqueſſe, appearing like the bird *Phœnix*, having a childs voyce: 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 hundreth yeares, and governeth twenty legions.

*Stolas.* *Stolas* 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 astronomy, absolutely understanding the vertues of herbs and pretious stones; there are under him twenty six legions.

¶ *Note that a legion is 6666. and now by Multiplication coun how many legions due 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 divels may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from doing of hurt.*

A *Maymon* king of the east, *Corson* king of the south, *Zimimar* king of the north, *Goap* king and prince of the west, may be bound from the third houre, till noone, and from the ninth houre till evening. Marquesses may be bound from the ninth houre till compline, and from compline till the end of the day. Dukes may be bound from the first houre till noone, and cleare weather is to be observed. Prelates may be bound in any houre of the day. Knights from day dawning, till sunne rising; or from evensong, till the sunne set. A President may not be bound in any houre of the day, except the king whom he obayeth,

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 edifying of the poore, and the glory of gods holy name: as he himselfe saith.

obayeth, be invocated; nor in the shutting of the evening. Counties or ea[illegible] may be bound at any houre of the day, so it be in the woods or fie[illegible] where men resort not.

## CHAP. IV.

*The forme of adjuring or citing of the spirits aforesaid to arise [illegible] appeare.*

WHen you will have any spirit, you must know his name and o[illegible] you must also fast, and be cleane from all pollution, three or [illegible] dayes before; so will the spirit be the more obedient unto you. [illegible] make a circle, and call up the spirit with great intention, and hol[illegible] a ring in your hand, rehearse in your owne name, and your compa[illegible] (for one must alwayes be with you) this prayer following, and [illegible] spirit shall annoy you, and your purpose shall take effect. And note [illegible] this agreeth with popish charmes and conjurations.

In the name of our Lord Iesus Christ the ✠ father ✠ and the son[illegible] and the Holy ghost ✠ holy trinity and unseparable unity, I call upon [illegible] that thou mayest be my salvation and defense, and the protection of [illegible] hody and soule, and of all my goods through the vertue of thy holy cro[illegible] and through the vertue of thy passion, I beseech thee O Lord Jesus Chr[illegible] by the merits of thy blessed mother S. *Mary*, and of all thy saints, [illegible] thou give me grace and divine power over all the wicked spirits, [illegible] which of them soever I do call by name, they may come by and by [illegible] every coast, and accomplish my wil, that they neither be hurtfull nor [illegible] full unto me, but rather obedient and diligent about me. And through [illegible] vertue streightly commanding them, let them fulfill my commandem[illegible] Amen. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabbaoth, which wilt come to j[illegible] the quicke and the dead, thou which art A and Ω, first and last, Ki[illegible] of kings and Lord of lords, *Ioth, Aglanabrath, El, Abiel, Anathiel*, [illegible] *zim, Sedomel, Grayes, Heli, Messias, Tolimi, Elias, Ischiros, Ath*[illegible] *Imas*. By these thy holy names, and by all other I doe call upon thee, [illegible] beseech thee O Lord Jesus Christ, by thy nativity and baptisme, [illegible] thy crosse and passion, by thine ascension, and by the comming of the H[illegible] ghost, by the bitternes of thy soule when it departed from the body, [illegible] thy five wounds, by the bloud and water which went out of thy body, [illegible] thy vertue, by the sacrament which thou gavest thy disciples the day before [illegible] thou sufferedst, by the holy trinity, and the inseparable unity, by blessed *Mary* thy mother, by thine angels, arch-angels, prophets, patriarchs, [illegible] by all thy saints, and by all the sacraments which are made in thine honour, I doe worship and beseech thee, to accept these prayers, conjurations, [illegible] words of my mouth, which I will use. I require thee O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou give me thy vertue and power over all thine angels (which were throwne downe from heaven to deceive mankind) to draw them to me, to tie and bind them, and also to loose them, to gather them together before me, and to command them to do all that they can, and that by no meanes they contemne my voyce, or the words of my mouth, but

Note what names are attributed unto Christ by the Conjuror in this his exorcising exercise.



but that they obey me and my sayings, and feare me. I beseech thee by thine humanity, mercy and grace, and I require thee *Adony, Amay, Horta, Vegedora, Mital, Hel, Suranat, Ysion, Ysesy*, and by all thy holy names, and by all thine holy he saints and she saints, by all thine angels and archangels, powers, dominations, and vertues, and by that name that *Salomon* did bind the divels, and shut them up, *Elbrach, Ebanher, Agle, Goth, Ioth, Othie, Venoch, Nabrat*, and by all thine holy names which are written in this booke, and by the vertue of them all, that thou enable me to congregate all thy spirits throwne downe from heaven, that they may give me a true answer of all my demands, and that they satisfie all my requests, without the hurt of my body or soule, or any thing else that is mine through our Lord Jesus Christ thy sonne, which liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy ghost, one God world without end.

Oh father omnipotent, oh wise sonne, oh Holy ghost, the searcher of hearts, oh you three in persons, one true Godhead in substance, which didst spare *Adam* and *Eve* in their sinnes, and oh thou sonne, which diedst for their sinnes a most filthy death, sustaining it upon the holy crosse; oh thou most mercifull, when I flie unto thy mercy, and beseech thee by all the means I can, by these thy holy names of thy sonne; to wit, A and Ω, and all other his names, grant me thy vertue and power, that I may be able to cite before me, thy spirits which were thrown downe from heaven, and that they may speake with me, and dispatch by and by without delay, and with a good will, and without the hurt of my body, soule, or goods, &c. as is contained in the book called *Annulus Salomonis*.

Oh great and eternall vertue of the highest, which through disposition, these being called to judgement, *Vaicheon, Stimulamaton, Esphares, Tetragrammaton, Olioram, Cryon, Esytion, Existion, Eriona, Onela, Brasim, Noym, Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabbath, Adonay*. I worship thee, I invocate thee, I imploy thee with all the strength of my mind, that by thee, my present prayers, consecrations, and conjurations be hollowed; and wheresoever wicked spirits are called in the vertue of thy names, they may come together from every coast, and diligently fulfill the will of me the exorcist *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen.

What wonderfull force conjurers do beleeve consisteth in these forged names of Christ.

## CHAP. V.

*A confutation of the manifold vanities conteined in the precedent chapters, specially of commanding of divels.*

HE that can be perswaded that these things are true, or wrought indeed according to the assertion of conseners, or according to the supposition of witchmongers and papists, may soone be brought to beleeve that the moone is made of green cheese. You see in this which is called *Salomons* conjuration, there is a perfect inventary registred of the number of divels, of their names, of their offices, of their personages, of their qualities, of their powers, of their properties, of their kingdomes, of

of their governers, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their [illegible]jection, of their submission, and of the wayes to bind or loose them with a note what wealth, learning, office, commodity, pleasure, [illegible] they can give, and may be forced to yeeld in spight of their hearts, to [illegible] (forsooth) as are cunning in this art: of whom yet was never seen [illegible] rich man, or at least that gained any thing that way; or any unle[illegible] man, that became learned by that meanes; or any happy man [illegible] could with the helpe of this art either deliver himselfe, or his [illegible] from adversity, or adde unto his estate any point of felicity: yet [illegible] men, in all worldly happinesse, must needs exceed all others; if [illegible] things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed. [illegible] if they may learne of *Marbas*, all secrets, and to cure all diseases; an[illegible] *Furcas*, wisdome, and to be cunning in all mechanicall arts; an[illegible] change any mans shape, of *Zepar*: if *Bune* can make them rich and [illegible]quent, if *Beroth* can tell them of all things present, past, and to c[illegible] if *Asmodie* can make them go invisible and shew them all hidden treas[illegible] if *Salmacke* will afflict whom they list, and *Allocer* can procure the [illegible] of any woman; if *Amy* can provide them excellent familiars; if *C*[illegible] can make them understand the voyce of all birds and beasts, and [illegible] and *Bifrons* can make them live long; and finally, if *Orias* could pro[illegible] unto them great friends, and reconcile their enemies, and they in [illegible] end had all these at commandement; should they not live in all worl[illegible] honor and felicity? whereas contrariwise they lead there lives in all obl[illegible]quy, misery, and beggery, and in fine come to the gallowes; as tho[illegible] they had chosen unto themselves the spirit *Valefer*, who they say, b[illegible]eth all them with whom he entereth into familiarity, to no better [illegible] than the gibbet or gallowes. But before I proceed further to the confu[illegible]tion of this stuffe, I will shew other conjurations, devised more lately, [illegible] of more authority; whetein you shall see how fooles are trained to bel[illegible] these absurdities, being wonne by little and little to such credulity. For the author hereof beginneth, as though all the cunning of conjurors were de[illegible]ved and fetcht from the planetary motions, and true course of the [illegible] celestiall bodies, &c.

This is contrary the scripture, which saith that every good gift commeth from the father of light, &c.

A breviary of the inventary of spirits.

The authors further purpose in the detection of conjuring.

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

*The names of the Planets, their characters, together with the twelve signes of the zodiake, their dispositions, aspects, and government, with other observations.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Conjunction | ☌ | ♄ ♃ ♂ ☉ ♀ ☿ ☽. the characters of the Planets. |
| Sextile | ⚹ | *Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercu. Luna.* |
| Quadrat | □ | |
| Trine | △ | *Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercu. Luna.* |
| Opposition | ☍ | |

The twelve signes of the zodiake, their characters and denominations, &c.

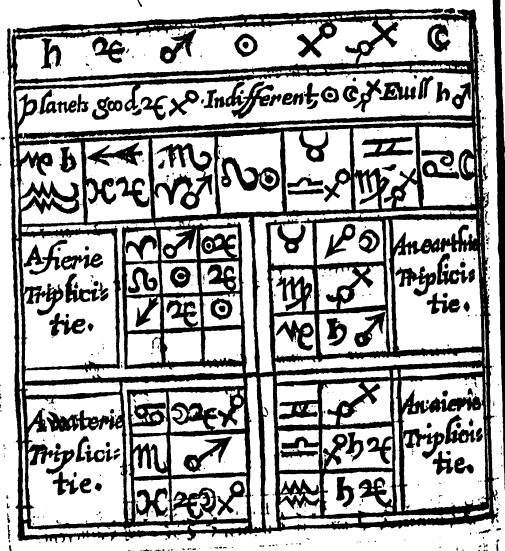
| ♈ | ♉ | ♊ | ♋ | ♌ | ♍ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Aries* | *Taurus* | *Gemini* | *Cancer* | *Leo* | *Virgo* |

| ♎ | ♏ | ♐ | ♑ | ♒ | ♓ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Libra* | *Scorpio* | *Sagittarius* | *Capricornus* | *Aquarius* | *Pisces* |

Their dispositions or inclinations.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ♈ ♋ ♉ ♓ ♐ | Good signes. | ♎ ♏ ♑ ♒ ♊ | Evill signes. | ♒ ♏ ♋ ♓ ♍ | Signes indifferent. |
| ♈ ♎ ♐ | Very good signes. | ♑ ♊ ♌ ♉ | Very evill signes. | | |

## The disposition of the Planets.




## The aspects of the Planets.

The five planetary aspects. Conjunct. Sextil. Trine. Quartil. Opposit.

☌ Is the best aspect, with good planets, and the worst with evill.
✱ Is a meane aspect in goodnesse or badnesse.
△ Is very good in aspect to good planets, and hurteth not in evill.
□ 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.

Hereafter followeth a table, shewing how the day and the night is divided by houres, and reduced to the regiment of the planets.

The



## The division of the day, and the planetary regiment.

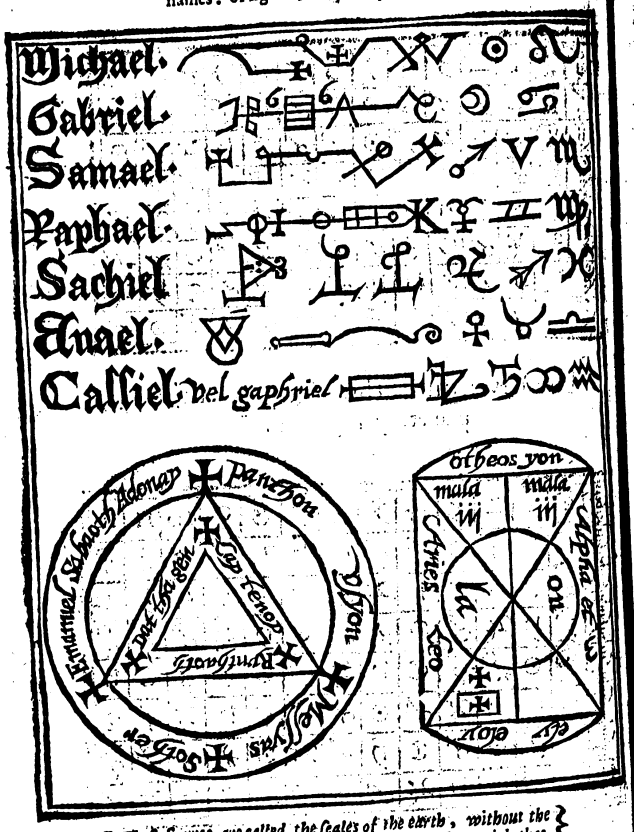
| day | lord | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| day | lord | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ |
| day | lord | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ |
| day | lord | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☍ | ☌ | ☾ |
| day | lord | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ |
| day | lord | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ |
| day | lord | ☍ | ☌ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ |
| day | lord | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ |

## The division of the night, and the planetary regiment.

| night | lord | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| night | lord | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ |
| night | lord | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ |
| night | lord | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ |
| night | lord | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ |
| night | lord | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ |
| night | lord | ♂ | ☉ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♂ | ♃ | ☉ | ☌ | ☾ | ☌ | ☍ |
| night | lord | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ | ☉ | ☌ | ☍ | ☾ | ♄ | ♃ | ♂ |

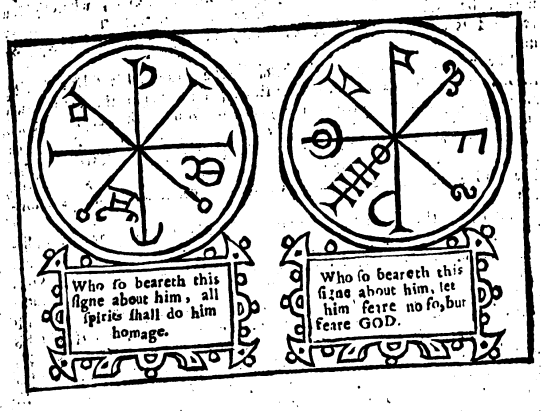
## CHAP. VII.

The characters of the angels of the seven days, with their names: of figures, seales and periapts.




These figures are called the seales of the earth, without the which no spirit will appeare, except thou have them with thee.






## CHAP. VIII.

### An experiment of the dead.

FIrst fast and pray three dayes, and abstaine thee from all filthynesse; go to one that is new buried, such a one as killed himselfe, or destroyed himselfe willfully: or else get thee promise of one that shall be hanged, and let him sweare an oath to thee, after his body is dead, that his spirit shall come to thee, and do thee true service, at thy commandements, in all dayes, houres, and minuts. And let no persons see thy doings, but * thy fellow. And about eleven a clocke in the night, goe to the place where he was buried, and say with a bold faith, and hearty desire, to have the spirit come that thou doest call for, thy fellow having a candle in his left hand, and in his right hand a crystall stone, and say these words following, the master having a hazell wand in his right hand, and these names of God written thereupon, *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Craton* ✠. Then strike three strokes on the ground, and say; Arise N. Arise N. Arise N. I conjure thee spirit N. by the resurrection of our Lord Jesu Christ, that thou do obey to my words, and come unto me this night verily and truly, as thou beleevest to be saved at the day of judgement. And I will sweare to the an oath, by the perill of my soule, that if thou wilt come to me, and appeare to me this night, and shew me true visions in this crystall stone, and fetch me the fairie *Sibylia*, that I may talke with her visibly, and she may come before me, as the conjuration leadeth: and in so doing, I will give thee an

Conjuring for a dead spirit.

*For the conjuror I should say) can do nothing to any purpose without his consederate.

Note that *numerus ternarius*, which is counted mysticall, be observed.

*Ex inferno nulla redemptio,* saith the scripture: Ergo you lye quoth Nota,

almesse deed, and pray for thee *N.* to my Lord God, whereby thou mayest be restored to thy salvation at the resurrection day, to be received as one of the elect of God, to the everlasting glory, Amen.

The master standing at the head of the grave, his fellow having in his hands the candle and the stone, must begin the conjuration as followeth, and the spirit will appeare to you in the crystall stone, in a faire forme of a child of twelve yeares of age. And when he is in, feele the stone, and it will be hot; and feare nothing, for he or she will shew many delusions, to drive you from your work. Feare God, but feare him not. This is to constraine him, as followeth.

Note what these great words may doe.

I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the living God, the true God, and by the holy God, and by their vertues and powers which have created both thee and me, and all the world. I conjure thee *N.* by these holy names of God, *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *Algramay* ✠ *Saday* ✠ *Sabaoth* ✠ *Planbath* ✠ *Panthon* ✠ *Craton* ✠ *Neupnaton* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *Homo* ✠ *Omnipotens* ✠ *Sempiternus* ✠ *Jesus* ✠ *Tetra* ✠ *Unigenitus* ✠ *Salvator* ✠ *Via* ✠ *Vita* ✠ *Manus* ✠ *Fons* ✠ *Origo* ✠ *Filius* ✠. And by their vertues and powers, and by all their names, by the which God gave power to man, both to speak or think; so by their vertues and powers I conjure thee spirit *N.* that now immediately thou doe appeare in this crystall stone visibly to me and to my fellow, without any tarrying or deceipt. I conjure thee *N.* by the excellent name of Jesus Christ A and Ω, the first and the last. For this holy name of Jesus is above all names; for in this name of Jesus every knee doth bow and obey, both of heavenly things, earthly things, and infernall. And every tongue doth confesse that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of the Father: neither is there any other name given to man, whereby he must be saved. Therefore in the name of Jesus of *Nazareth*, and by his nativity, resurrection, and ascension, and by all that appertaineth unto his passion, and by their vertues and powers I conjure thee spirit *N.* that thou doe appeare visible in this crystall stone to me, and to my fellow, without any dissimulation. I conjure thee *N.* by the blood of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, which was shed for us upon the crosse; for all those that * doe beleeve in the vertue of his bloud, shall be saved. I conjure thee *N.* by the vertues and powers of all the royall names and words of the living God of me pronounced, that thou be obedient unto me and to my words rehearsed. If thou refuse this to doe, I by the holy trinity, and by their vertues and powers doe condemne thee thou spirit *N.* into the place where there is no hope of remedy or rest, but everlasting horror of paine there dwelling, and a place where there is pain upon pain, dayly, horribly, and lamentably, this pain to be there augmented as the starres in the heaven, and as the grasse or sand in the sea: except thou spirit *N.* doe appeare to me and to my fellow visibly, immediately in this crystall stone, and in a fair forme and shape of a childe of twelve yeares of age, and that thou alter not thy shape, I charge thee upon pain of everlasting condemnation. I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the golden girdle, which girdeth the loins of our Lord Jesus

* *Dæmones credendo contremiscunt.*

A heavy sentence denounced of the conjuror against the spirit in case of disobedience, contempt, or negligence.



Jesus Christ; so thou spirit *N.* be thou bound into the perpetuall paines of hell fire, for thy disobedience and unreverent regard, that thou hast to the holy names and words, and his precepts. I conjure thee *N.* by the two edged sword, which *Iohn* saw proceed out of the mouth of the Almighty; and so thou spirit *N.* be torne and * cut in peeces with that sword, and to be condemned into everlasting pain, where the fire goeth not out, and where the worm dyeth not. I conjure thee *N.* by the heavens, and by the celestiall city of *Ierusalem*, and by the earth and the sea, and by all things containe in them, and by their vertues and powers; I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the obedience that thou dost owe unto the principall prince. And except thou spirit *N* doe come and appear visibly in this crystall stone in my presence, here immediately as it is aforesaid. Let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadow and darknesse of death, and of eternall condemnation be upon thee spirit *N.* for ever and ever; because thou hast denyed thy faith, thy health, and salvation. For thy great disobedience, thou art worthy to be condemned. Therefore let the divine trinity, thrones, dominions, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim; and all the soules of saints, both of men and women, condemn thee for ever, and be a witnesse against thee at the day of judgement, because of thy disobedience. And let all creatures of our Lord Jesus Christ, say thereunto; *Fiat, fiat, fiat.* Amen.

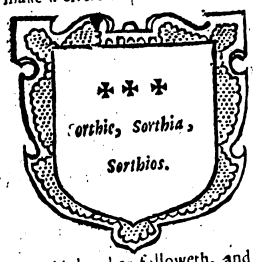
How can that be, when a spirit hath neither flesh, bloud, nor bones?

And when he is appeared in the crystall stone, as is said before, bind him with this bond as followeth; to wit, I conjure thee spirit *N.* that art appeared to me in this crystall stone, to me and to my fellow; I conjure thee by * all the royall words aforesaid, the which did constrain thee to appeare therein, and their vertues; I charge thee by them all, that thou shall not depart out of this crystall stone, untill my will being fulfilled, thou be licenced to depart. I conjure and bind thee spirit *N.* by that omnipotent God, which commanded the angell *S. Michaël*, to drive *Lucifer* out of the heavens with a sword of vengeance, and to fall from joy to paine; and for dread of such paine as he is in, I charge thee spirit *N.* that thou shalt not goe out of the crystall stone; nor yet to alter thy shape at this time, except I command thee otherwise; but to come unto me at all places and in all houres and minutes, when and whersoever I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, or by any conjuration of words that is written in this book, and to shew me and my friends true visions in this crystall stone, of any thing or things that we would see, at any time or times; and also to goe and fetch me the fairy *Sibylla*, that I may talk with her in all kinde of talk, as I shall call her by any conjuration of words contained in this book. I conjure thee spirit *N.* by the great wisdome and divinity of his Godhead, my will to fulfill as is aforesaid; I charge thee upon pain of condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen.

* The conjuror imputeth the appearing of a spirit by constraint unto words quoth Nota,

This done goe to a place fast by, and in a faire parlor or chamber, make a circle with chalk, as hereafter follweth: and make another circle for the fairie *Sibylla* to appeare in foure foot from the circle thou art in, and make no names therein, or cast any holy thing therein; but make

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 crystall stone in his right hand, looking in the stone when the fairie 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 ☽ and in the hour of ☿ the ☉ and the ☽ to be in one of inhabiters signes, as ♉ ♌ ♐ ♓. This bond as followeth, is to cause the spirit in the crystall stone, to fetch unto thee the fairy *Sibylia*. All things fulfilled, begin 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 crystall 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 goe in peace, and also to come again to me quickly, and to bring with thee into that circle appointed, *Sibylia* fairie, that I may talk with her in 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 bloud 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 her this message. Also I conjure thee spirit *N.* by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim 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 fairie *Sibylia*, to appeare in that circle, before I doe read the conjuration in this booke seven times. Thus I charge thee my will to be fulfilled, upon pain of everlasting condemnation: *Fiat, fiat, fiat*; Amen.

And why might not he do it himselfe, as well as madam *Sibylia*?

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brest, rehearse the words therein, and say, ✠ *Sorthie* ✠ *Sorthia* ✠ *Sorthios* ✠ then begin your conjuration as followeth here, and say; I conjure thee *Sibylia*, O gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercy of the Holy Ghost; and by the dreadfull day of doom; and by their vertues and powers; I conjure thee *Sibylia*, O gentle virgin of fairies, and by all the angels of ☿ and their characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of ☿ and ☾ and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters that be in the firmament and by the king and queen of fairies, and their vertues, and by their faith and obedience that thou beareſt unto them. I conjure thee *Sibylia* by the bloud 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

The fairie *Sibylia* conjured to appeare, &c.



Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the unspeakable name of God *Tetragrammaton*. I conjure thee O *Sibylia*; O blessed and beautifull Virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid, I conjure thee *Sibylia* by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the 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 virgin, 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 *Sibylia*, 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, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I conjure thee and binde thee *Sibylia*, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeared, nor yet to alter thy shape; except I give thee licence to depart. I conjure thee *Sibylia* by the bloud that ran out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I conjure thee *Sibylia* to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visibly, as the conjuration of words leadeth, written in this book. I conjure thee *Sibylia*, 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 *Sibylia* to appeare, before the conjuration be read over four times, and that visibly to appeare, as the conjuration leadeth written in this book, 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 *Sibylia* 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 fairie *Sibylia* at her appearing.

If all this will not fetch her up, the divell is a knave.

## CHAP. IX.

### *A license for Sibylia to goe and come by at all times.*

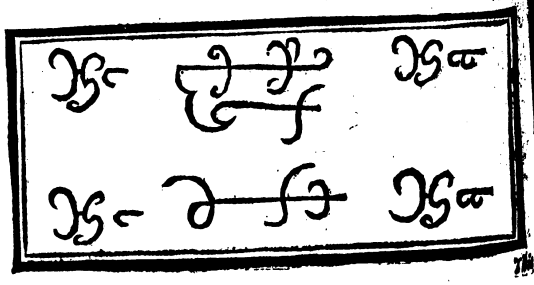
I Conjure thee *Sibylia*, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt have no powers in thy going or comming unto me, imagining any evill in any manner of wayes, in the earth or under the earth, of evill doings, to any person or persons. I conjure and command thee *Sibylia* by all the riall 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, & spirtus sancti.* And the holy ✠ crosse ✠ be between thee and me, or between us and you, and the Lion of *Juda*, 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 bloud ✠ from all perils of body and soul, sleeping or waking: *Fiat, fiat*, Amen.

## CHAP. X.

### *To know of treasure hidden in the earth.*

This would be much practised if it were not a cousening knack.

WRite in paper these characters following, on the saturday, in the hour of ☽, 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 midle of the parlour or chamber. Then take fair clean water, that runneth against the east, and set it upon the fire: and yet thou watheſt thy selfe, say these words, going about the fire three times holding the candle in the right hand ✠ *Panthon* ✠ *Craton* ✠ *Muriton* ✠ *Eiscognaton* ✠ *Sisson* ✠ *Diaton* ✠ *Maton* ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Agarion* ✠ *Tegra* ✠ *Penteſſaron* ✠ *Tendicata* ✠ Then rehearse these names ✠ *Sothie* ✠ *Sorthia* ✠ *Sorthos* ✠ *Milia* ✠ *Achilia* ✠ *Sibylia* ✠ *In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti*; Amen. I conjure you three sisters of fairies, *Milia, Achilia, Sibylia*; by the Father, by the 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, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure you three sisters, by the vertue of all the riall words aforesaid: I charge you that you 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 fairies, Milia, Achilia, and Sibylia.

✱ 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 *Sibylia* I conjure thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the vertue of his flesh and pretious bloud, that he took of our blessed Lady the Virgine, and by all the holy company in heaven I charge thee *Sibylia*, by all the vertues aforesaid, that thou be obedient unto me, in the name of God; that when, and 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 so the third night, untill they doe come; for doubtlesse they will 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 fair women, and all in white clothing; and one of them will put * a ring upon thy finger, wherewith thou shalt goe in-

* Such a ring it was that advanced *Giges* to the kingdom of *Lydia*. *Plato lib. 2. de justo.*

invisible. Then with speed bind them with the bond aforesaid. When thou hast this ring on thy finger, looke in a glasse, and thou shalt not see thy self. And when thou wilt goe invisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and every new ☽ renew it again. For after the first time thou shalt ever have it, and ever begin this work in the new of the ☽ and in the houre of ☿ and the ☽ in ♋ ✶ ♓.

## 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. | ☉ |
| Gabriel. | ☽ |
| Samael. | ♂ |
| Raphael. | ☿ |
| Sachiel. | ♃ |
| Anael. | ♀ |
| Cassiel. | ♄ |

O Ye glorious angels written in this square, be you my coadjutors and helpers in all questions and demands, in all my businesse, and other causes, by him which shall come to judge both the quick and the dead, and the world by fire. *O angeli glorioſi in hac quadra ſcripti, eſtote coadjutores & auxiliatores in omnibus quæſtionibus & interrogationibus, in omnibus negotiis, cæteriſque cauſis per eum qui venturus eſt judicare vivos & mortuos & mundum per ignem.*

* O queen or governesse of the tongue.

Say this prayer fasting, called * *Regina linguæ.*

✠ *Lemae* ✠ *ſolmaac* ✠ *elmay* ✠ *gezagra* ✠ *raamaaſin* ✠ *ezievego* ✠ *miid* ✠ *egziephiaz Ioſamin* ✠ *ſabach* ✠ *ha* ✠ *aem* ✠ *re* ✠ *be* ✠ *eſepha* ✠ *ſephar* ✠ *ye mar* ✠ *ſemoit* ✠ *lemajo* ✠ *pheralon* ✠ *amic* ✠ *phin* ✠ *gergoin* ✠ *leiai* ✠ *Amin* ✠ *amin* ✠.]

In the name of the most pitifullest and and mercifullest God of Israel and of paradise, of heaven and of earth, of the seas and of the infernals, 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 truely 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 wisdome, clear and just; I most heartily desire thy holinesse and clemency, to fulfill, perform and accomplish this my whole work, through thy worthynesse and blessed power: which liveſt and reigneſt ever one God; *Per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum*; Amen.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XII.

### *How to inclose a spirit in a crystall stone.*

THis operation following, is to have a spirit inclosed into a crystall stone or beryll glasse, or into any other like instrument, &c. * First thou in the new of the ☽ being clothed with all new, and fresh and clean aray, and shaven, and that day to fast with bread and water; and being cleane confessed, say the seven Psalmes, and the Letany for the space of two days, with this prayer following.

Observations of cleanlinesse, abstinence, and devotion.

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 wel-beloved N. (although unworthy) may know thy grace and power, against all the deceipts 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 eternall God, which liveſt and reigneſt ever one God through all worlds; Amen.

Thou must doe this five dayes, and the sixt 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 *Malanthon*, with another sword; and *Thamaor*, with another; and *Falaur*, 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 crystall stone in thine hands.

An observation touching the use of the five swords.

O *Sitrael*, *Malantha*, *Thamaor*, *Falaur*, and *Sitrami*, Written in these circles, appointed to this work; I doe conjure, and I doe exorcise you, by the Father, by the Sonne, and by the Holy-Ghost, by him which cast you out of Paradise, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to judge the 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 divels, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Jesus Christ, the sonne of the most highest God, and by the blessed and glorious Virgine *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 widowes, 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 hell, and by all the divels in it, and dwelling about it, and by your vertue and power, and by all whatsoever, and with whatsoever it be, which may constraine 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 come

A weighty charge of conjuration upon the five Kings of the north.

come unto me in great humility, and to appeare in your circles before me visibly, in fair form and shape of mankind kings, and to obey unto me in 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 deepnesse of the Sea, except that you doe obey unto me, in the part of the living Son of God, which liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen.

A penalty for not appearing, &c.

Say this true conjuration five courses, and then shalt thou see come out of the Northpart 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; and that which I will command you to doe, let it be done truely, 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.

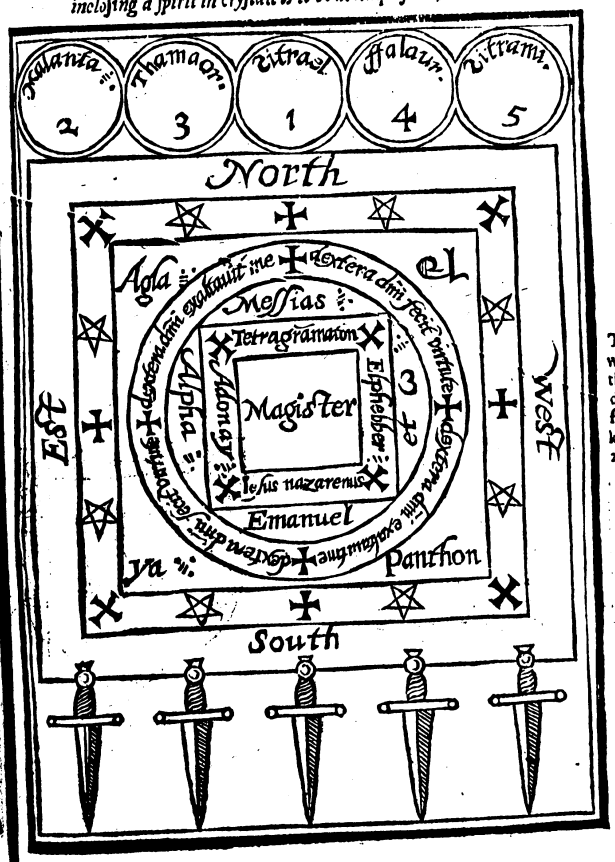
The five spirits of the north: as you shall see in the type expressed in pag. 287. next following.

I conjure, charge, and command you, and every of you *Sirrael, Malthan, Thamaar, Falaur*, and *Sitrami*, you infernall kings, to put into this crystall 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 bloud of the innocent lambe, which redeemed all the world, and by all their virtues and powers I charge you, ye aforesaid kings, that the said spirit may teach, shew and declare unto me, and to my friends, at all houres and minuts, both night and day, the truth 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 crystall between the two circles, and thou shalt see the crystall made black.

Then command them to command the spirit in the crystall, not to depart out of the stone, till thou give him licence, and to fulfill thy will for ever. That done, thou shalt see them goe upon the crystall both to answer your requests, and to tarry 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 crystall, 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 ♋ ♏ or ♓ in the houre of the ☽ or ☿. 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 our 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 crystall is to be accomplished, &c.*

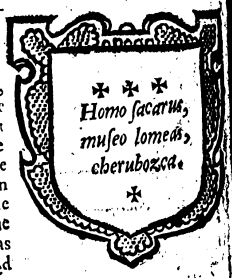



The names written within the five circles doe signifie the five infernall kings: *See pag.* 292, 293, 294.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *An experiment of Bealphares.*

THis 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 aulwer 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 leacherousnesse 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 when the night is come, and when the starres doe shine, and the element faire and clear, he shall bath himselfe and his fellows (if he have any) all together in a quick welspring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white cloathes, and he must have another privy place, and beare him inke and pen, wherewith he shall write this holy name of God Almighty in his right hand ✠ *Agla* ✠ and in his left hand this name ✠ and he must have a dry thong of a lions or of a hart skin, and make thereof a girdle, & write the holy names of God all about and in the end ✠ A & Ω ✠. And upon his brest he must have this present 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 bee 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 ✠ *Agla* ✠ and on the other side of the knifes blade ✠ ✠ And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called *Salomons* 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* ✠ *fugiat procul omne malignum*; *Et per idem signum* ✠ *salvetur quodque benignum*, By the sign of the Crosse ✠ may all evill fly farre away, and by the same signe ✠ may all that is good be preserved; and make suffumigations to thy self, and to thy fellow or fellows, with frankincense, mastike, *lignum aloes*: then put it in wine, and say with good devotion,




* *Memorandum* with what vices the cousenor (the conjuror I should say) must not be polluted; therefore he must be no knave, &c.

The conjurors brest-plate.

*Salomons* circle.



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 east 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 bee found in the book.

Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51 Psalms all over; r else rehearse them by heart; for these are counted necessary, &c.

### *This psalm also following, being the fifty one psalme, must be said three times ever, &c.*

HAve 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 bloudthirsty. 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 clean virgine S. *Mary* queen of heaven, empresse 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 mightifull mercy, blesse us now at this time, for thy blessed passion save us, and keep us all together from all evill; and thy holy angell defend us. Let us pray.

Gaspar, Balthasar, and Melchior, who followed the star, wherein was the image of a little babe bearing a cross; if *Longa legenda Coloniæ* lie nor,

O Lord, King of all Kings, which containest the throne of heavens, and beholdest all deeps, weighest the hils, and shuttest up with thy hand the earth, hear us most meekest God, and grant unto us (being unworthy) according to thy great mercy, to have the verity and vertue of knowledge 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 ✠ *Helie* ✠ *helyon* ✠ *essejere* ✠ *Deus æternus* ✠ *eloy* ✠ *clemens* ✠ *heloye* ✠ *Deus sanctus* ✠ *sabaoth* ✠ *Deus exercituum adonay* ✠ *Deus mirabilis* ✠ *jao* ✠ *verax* ✠ *anepheneton* ✠ *Deus ineffabilis* ✠ *sodoy*

*doy ✠ dominator dominus ✠ on fortissimus ✠ Deus ✠ qui*, the which wouldest be prayed unto of sinners receive (we beseech thee) these sacrifices of praise, and our meek prayers, which we unworthy doe offer unto thy divine majesty. Deliver us, and have mercy upon us, and prevent with thy holy spirit this work, and with thy b'essed help to follow after; that this our work begun of thee, may be ended by thy mighty power, Amen. Then say this anon after ✠ *homo* ✠ *sacarus* ✠ *Musolameus* ✠ *cherubor-ca* ✠ being the figure upon thy brest aforesaid, the girdle about thee, the circle made, blesse the circle with holy water, and sit down in the midst, and read this conjuration as followeth, sitting back to back at the first time.

I exorcise and conjure *Bealphares*, the practiser and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heavens and of earth, and by his vertue and by his unspeakable name *Tetragrammaton*, and by all the holy sacraments, and by the holy majesty and deity of the living God. I conjure and exorcise thee *Bealphares* by the vertue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim; and by their vertues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your master, that you doe come unto us, in faire form of man or woman kinde, bee visibly before this circle; and not terrible by any manner of ways. This * circle being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull goodnesse of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that you doe make answer truly, without craft or deceit, unto all my demands and questions, by the vertue and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

*Which must be environed with a goodly company of grosses.

## CHAP. XIIII.

### *To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to loose him again.*

NOw when he is appeared, bind him with these words which follow. * I conjure thee *Bealphares*, by God the father, by God the son, and by God the Holy Ghost, and by all the holy company in heaven; and by their vertues and powers I charge thee *Bealphares*, that thou shalt not depart out of my sight, nor yet to alter thy bodily shape, that thou art appeared in, nor any power shalt thou have of our bodies or soules, earthly or ghostly, but to be obedient to me, and to the words of my conjuration, that be written in this book. I conjure thee *Bealphares*, by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure and charge, binde and constraine thee *Bealphares*, by all the rialt words aforesaid, and by their vertues that thou be obedient unto me, and to come and appeare visibly unto me, and that in all dayes, houres and minutes, whersoever I be, being called by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, the which words are written in this book. Look ready thou be to appeare unto me, and to give mee good counsell, how to come by treasures hidden in the earth, or in the water, and how to come to dignity

* On sundays, festivall dayes, and holy days, none excepted.



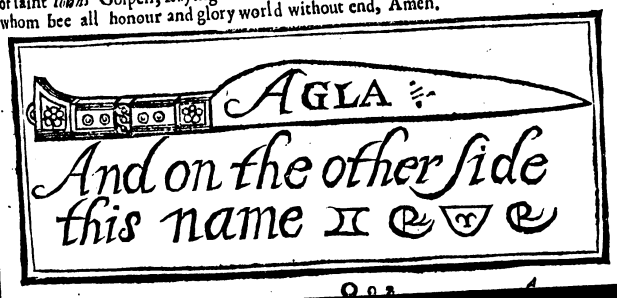
nity and knowledge of all things, that is to say, of the magick art, and of grammar, dialectike, rhetorike, arithmeticke, musick, geomerry, and of astromomy, and in all other things my will quickly to be fulfilled; I charge upon pain of everlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

When he is thus bound, ask him what thing thou wilt, and he will tell thee, and give thee all things that thou wilt request of him, without any sacrifice doing to him, and without forsaking thy God, that is, thy maker. And when the spirit hath fulfilled thy will and intent, give him licenſe to depart as followeth.

He dares do no other being so conjured I trow.

### *A licenſe for the spirit to depart.*

GO unto the place predestinated and appointed for thee; where thy Lord God hath appointed thee, untill I shall call thee again. Be thou ready unto me and to my call, as often as I shall call thee, upon pain of everlasting damnation. And if thou wilt, thou mayst recite, two or three times the last conjuration, untill thou doe come to this tearm, *In throno*, If he will not depart, and then say *In throno*, that thou depart from this place, without hurt or damage of any body, or of any deed to be done; that all creatures may know, that our Lord is of all power, most mightiest, and that there is none other God but he, which is three, and one, living for ever and ever. And the maledi&ction of God the father omnipotent, the son and the holy ghost, descend upon thee, and dwell always with thee, except thou doe depart without damage of us, or of any creature, or any other evill deed to be done; and thou to goe to the place predestinated. And by our Lord Jesus Christ I do else send thee to the great pit of hell, except (I say) that thou depart to the place, whereas thy Lord God hath appointed thee. And see thou be ready to me and to my call, at all times and places, at mine own will and pleasure, day or night, without damage or hurt of me, or of any creature; upon pain of everlasting damnation: *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen, Amen. The peace of Jesus Christ be between us and you; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. *Per crucis hoc ✠ signum &c.* Say *In principio erat verbum, & verbum erat apud Deum*; In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word: and so forward, as followeth in the first chapter of saint *Iohns* Gospell, staying at these words, Full of grace and truth: to whom bee all honour and glory world without end, Amen.




The fashion or form of the conjuring knife, with the names thereon to be graven or written.

*A type or figure of the circle for the master and his fellowes to sit in, shewing how, and after what fashion it should be made.*

THis is the circle for the master to sit in, and his fellow or fellowes, at the first calling, sit back to back, when hee calleth the spirit; and for the fairies make this circle with chalk on the ground, as is said before. This spirit *Bealphares* being once called and found, shall never have power to hurt thee. Call him in the houre of ☿ or ♀ the ☽ increasing.

The



## CHAP. XV.

## The making of the holy water.

EXorciso te creatura salis, per Deum vivum ✠ per Deum ✠ verum ✠ per Deum sanctum ✠ per Deum qui te per Elizæum prophetam in aquam mitti jussit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aquæ, ut efficiaris sal exorcisatus in salutem credentium; ut sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animæ & corporis, & effugiat atque discedat ab eo loco qui aspersus fuerit omnis phantasia & nequitia, vel versutia diabolicæ fraudis, omnisque spiritus, adjuratus per eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem. Amen. Oremus:

*Absque exorcismo sal not fit sanctus.*

It is not convenient to English their 4 following Exorcismes, the name & power of God is so often therein abused to a vaine and ridiculous purpose.

Immensam clementiam tuam, omnipotens æterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, ut hanc creaturam salis, quam in usum generis humani tribuisti, benedicere & sancti ✠ ficare tua pietate digneris, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis & corporis, ut quicquid ex eo tactum fuerit, vel aspersum, careat omni immundicia, omniq; impugnatione spiritualis nequitiæ, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

To the water say also as followeth.

Exorciso te creatura aquæ in nomine ✠ patris ✠ & Jesu Christi filii ejus Domini nostri, & in virtute spiritus ✠ sancti. ✠ ut fias aqua exorcisata, ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimici, & ipsum inimicum eradicare & explantare valeas, cum angelis suis apostatis, per virtutem ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem. Amen. Oremus:

Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quæque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris, & elementa huic multimodis purificationibus præparato, virtutem tuæ benedictionis infunde, ut creatura tua mysteriis tuis serviens, ad abigendos dæmones, morbosque pellendos, divinæ gratiæ sumat effectum, ut quicquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium hæc unda resperserit, careat omni immunditia, liberetur a noxa, non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens, discedant omnes insidiæ latentis inimici, & si quid est, quod aut incolumitati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersione hujus aquæ effugiat, ut salubritas per invocationem sancti tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit impugnationibus defensa, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat, in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Then take the salt in thy hand, and say putting it into the water, making in the manner of a Crosse.

*Oratio ad Deum ut sali exorcisato vires addat.*

*Commixtio salis & aquæ pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen. Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus: *Deus invicte virtutis author, & insuperabilis imperii rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui adversæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis sævitiam superas, qui hostiles nequitias potens expugnas; te Domine trementes & supplices deprecamur ac petimus, ut hanc creaturam salis & aquæ aspicias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuæ rore sancti ✠ fices, ubicunque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio in mundi spiritus abjiciatur, terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur; & præsentia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.*

Then sprinkle upon any thing, and say as followeth.

*Oratio, in quæ dicenda, exorcista sese sacri laticis aspergine debet perrorare.*

*Asperges me Domine hyssopo, & mundabor, lavabis me, & supra nivem dealbabor. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, & supra nivem dealbabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. Et supra nivem dealbabor, aspergesme &c. Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam, & salutare tuum da nobis; exaudi nos Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, & mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de cœlis, qui custodiat, foveat, visitet, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.*

## CHAP. XVI.

### *To make a spirit to appeare in a crystall.*

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 appeare in this crystall 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 bodyes 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 wisdome of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, and by all things that are above the earth, and by



by their vertues, by the ☉ and the ☽ by ♄ ♃ ♂ and ♀ and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the virgins and widowes, and the chast, and by all saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertutes, and by the holy names of God, *Tetragrammaton, El Oxsion, Agla,* and by all the other holy names of God, and by their vertues, by the circumcision, passion, and resurrection of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the heavines 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 appeare in this crystall 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 bodyes 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 tarrying, 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, to shew me true visions in this crystall stone, if there be any treasure hidden in such a place *N* and wherein it lieth, and how many foot from this peece of earth, east, west, north, or south.

For hidden treasure.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *An experiment of the dead.*

First go and get of some person that shalbe put to death, a promise, and sweare 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 sweare this oath unto him. I *N.* do sweare 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 betweene the conjuror and the spirit.

Then let him make his oath to thee as followeth, and let him say after thee, laying his hand upon the booke. * I *N.* do sweare this oath to thee *N.* by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Jesus Christ, and by his pretious bloud which hath redeemed all the world, by the which bloud I do trust to be saved at the generall day of judgment, and by the vertues thereof, I *N.* doe sweare 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 crystall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so soone as my spirit is departed out of my body, straightway to be at your commandements, and that in and at all days, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient unto thee *N.* being called or the e 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 worke the magick art and all other noble sciences, 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 wisedome that is in the divine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by all 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 witnesse, 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 witnesse, that my spirit shal 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 thrise; else to be damned for ever: and thereto say all faithfull soules 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, *Sidrac*, *Misac*, and *Abednago*, 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



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 constraine 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, Amen.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *A bond to binde him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.*

Note the sum of this obligation or bond.

I N. conjure and constraine 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 constraine 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 constraine the spirit of *N.* by these holy names of God ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Saday* ✠ *Sabaoth* ✠ *planabathe* ✠ *panthon* ✠ *craton* ✠ *ocupmaton* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *homo* ✠ *omnipotens* ✠ *sempiternus* ✠ *ysus* ✠ *terra* ✠ *unigenitus* ✠ *salvator* ✠ *via* ✠ *vita* ✠ *manus* ✠ *fons* ✠ *origo* ✠ *filius* ✠ and by their vertues and powers I conjure and constraine 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 constraine thee by the excellent name of Jesus Christ, A and Ω, the first and the last; for this holy name of Jesus is above all names, for unto * it all 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 constraine 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 ♄ 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 thine 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 Satan in tempting Christ Matth. 4. 6.

I conjure and constraine the spirit of *N.* by the bloud of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, the which was shed upon the crosse, for all those that do

do obey unto it, and believe 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 constraine 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 ceasedy, 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 afore rehearsed; else I N. do condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of everlasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat*, Amen.

Note what sore penalties the spirit is injoyned to suffer for disobedience.

Also I conjure thee, and constraine the spirit of N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, 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 constraine the spirit of N. strongly, to have common talke with me, at all times, and in all dayes, nights, houres, and minuts, and to talke in my mother tongue plainely, 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, fiat*, Amen.

Also I conjure and constraine 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.

*There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was worth a golden girdle.

Also I conjure, constraine, 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, fiat*, Amen.

Bugs words.

Also I conjure and constraine 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 the infernalls, and by their vertues and powers, and by all things contained therein, and by their vertues and powers, I conjure and constraine 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.

*Is it possible to be greater than S. Adelberts curse?



ned. Therefore let the divine trinity, angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the generall day of judgement, condemne the spirit of N. for ever and ever, and be a witnesse 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 ♄ to bind or inchant any thing, and in the houre of ♀ for peace and concord, in the houre of ♂ to marre, to destroy, and to make sicke, in the houre of the ☉ to bind tongues and other bonds of men in the houre of ☿ to increase love, joy, and good will, in the houre of ☽ to put away enimity or hatred, to know of theft, in the houre of the ☽ for love, goodwill and concord, ♄ lead ♃ tinne ♂ iron ☉ gold ♀ copper ☿ quicksilver ☽ silver, &c.

These planetary houres must in any case be observed.

## 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 Ω, the first and the last, and by the latter 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 constraine 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 ✠*Tetragrammaton*✠*Adonay*✠*El*✠*Oulsion*✠ *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 *blessed virgin Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by al the joy which she had when she saw her sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers thereof I constraine 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, potestats, vertues, cherubim and seraphim, and by the ☉☽♄♃♂♀☿, and by the twelve signes, and by their vertues and powers, and by al things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by their vertues and powers I constraine 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 bodyes or soules, and truly to imforme 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 tar-

*A popish supplement.

*Belike he had the gift to appeare 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 or no, 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 constraine 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 houres we shall call such a spirit, *N.* to bring unto us these treasures, into such a place *N.* upon paine of everlasting condemnation ✠ Also I constraine thee spirit *N.* by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtues, cherubim & seraphim, that you do shew a true vision in this crystall stone, who did convay 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 eternall condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by the ☉ ☽ ♄ ♃ ♂ ♀ ☿ & 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 houre: and this and all other things to declare plainely, in paine of hell fire; *Fiat,* Amen.

Note that the spirit is tied to obedience under paine of condemnation and hell fire.

*A licence 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 constraine thee spirit N. by the divinity 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 ♄ ♂ ☿ and the ☽ is best to doe all crafts of necromancy, and for to speak 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 ☉ ♃ ♀ is best to doe all experiments of love, and to pur- the doctors: is chase grace, and for to be invisible, and to do any operations whatsoever it by *Clavicul. Sap.* be, for any thing, the ☽ being in a convenient signe. * As when thou la- *Marth. Gregor.* boureſt for theft, see the moon be in an earthy signe, as ♉ ♍ ♑, or of *in homil. Sup. E-* the air, as ♊ ♎ ♒. * And if it be for love, favour or grace, let the ☽ *pi. han. Domini;* be in a signe of the fire, as ♈ ♌ ♐, and for hatred, in a signe of the wa- and others. ter, as ♋ ♏ ♓. For any other experiment, let the ☽ be in ♈. * And if thou findest the ☉ and the ☽ 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, Belimoth, Lymeck,* and say thus: I conjure you up by the names of the angels *Satur* and *Azimor,* that you intend to me in this houre, and send unto a me spirit called *Sagriorit,* that he do fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can understand my words for one or two years, or as long as I will, &c.

## CHAP. XXI.

*A confutation of conjuration, especially of the raising, binding and dismissing of the divell, of going invisible, and other lewd practises.*

THus far have we waded in shewing at large the vanity of necromancers, conjurors, and such as pretend to have reall conference and consultation with spirits and divels: 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, last rehearsed, being of no small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part made by *T. R.* (for so much of his name he bewrayeth) and *John Cokers,* invented and deviced for the augmentation and maintenance of their living, for the edifying of the poore, and for the propagating and inlarging 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 residue

All the former practises briefly confuted.

See the title of the book, with the authors intent, in a marginall note, Page 277.

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, cousenors, lyars, and witchmongers. For these are alwayes learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselves by others abused.

But let us see what appearance of truth or possibility is wrapped within these mysteries, and let us unfold the deceipt. They have made choice of certaine words, whereby they say they can work miracles, &c. And first of all, that they call divels and soules out of hell, (though we find in the Scripture manifest proofs that all passages are stopped concerning the egresse out of hell) so as they may goe thither, but they shall never get out, for *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, out of hell there is no redemption. Well, when they have gotten them up, they shut them in a circle made with chalk, which is so strongly beset and invironed with crosses and names, that they cannot for their lives get out; which is a very probable matter. Then can they bind them and loose them at their pleasures, and make them that have been lyers from the beginning, to tell the truth, yea they can compell them to doe any thing. And the divels are forced to be obedient unto them, and yet cannot be brought to due obedience unto God their creator. This done (I say) they can worke all manner of miracles (saving blew miracles) and this is beleeved of many to be true;

Luk. 6. &c.

An ironicall confutation.

*Tam credula mens hominis, & arrecta fabulis aures.*
So light of beleef is the mind of man,
And attentive to tales his eares now and than.

English ed by *Abraham Fleming.*

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 cousening purposes under those lewd and foolish words, according to that which *Peter* saith; With faigned 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.

2 Per. 2.
Ephes. 5.
Psal. 72 &73.

Sap. 16.
Eccles. 43.

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 shameless assertion to affirm, that white is not, or black is not at all; and yet more impudency to hold that a

To deny the subsistence or naturall being of a thing materiall and visible is impudency.



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 powred thereinto by God the creator of all things.

If they say that the divell covereth them with a cloud or veil, as *M. Mal.* Ezek. 8 & 9. *Bodin*, and many other doe affirm; yet (me thinks) we should either see Ver. 6. & 26. the cover, or the thing covered. And though perchance 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 perswade the * *Ichi Iargui* wise, but that both God and man doth see both them and their knavery servant to *Ga-* in this behalf. I have heard of a fool, who was made beleeve that he should *sper Anastro* goe invisible and naked; while he was well whipped by them, who (as both Spaine he thought) could not see him. Into which tools paradise they say * he ards. *Anno dom.* was brought, that enterprised to kill the prince of *Orenge*. 1582. *March.* 18. after dinner

upon a a sunday this mischeif was done. Read the whole discourse hereof printed at *London* for *Tho. Chard*, and *Will. Brome* booksellers.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *A comparison betweeen popish exorcis 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 hugger mugger secretly. The papists (I say) have officers in this behalfe, which are called exorcists or conjurors, and they look narrowly to other cousenours, 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 cousenage, 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 Chusa*, a great doctor of the Romish church, which serveth to find out the cause of noise and spirituall rumbling in houses, churches, or chappels, and to conjure walking spirits; which evermore is knavery and cousenage in the highest degree. Mark the cousening devise hereof, and confer the impiety with the others.

*Iac. de Chusa in lib. de apparitionib. quorundam spirituum.*

First (forsooth) he saith it is expedient to fast three days, and to celebrate a certain number of masses, & to repeat the seven psalms penitential; then 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

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 cresse and a censer with frankincense, and therewithall 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 doctor *D.* or doctor *Burc.* or sir *Feats*, or sir *John*, or sir *Robert*; *Et sic de cæteris 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 confessour (the conjuror I would say) that must have the charge of this conjuration or examination. *And* these forsooth must be the interrogatories, to wit; Whose soule art thou? Wherefore camest thou? What 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 priest? Must he be religious or secular? Wilt thou have any fasts? What? How many? How great? *And* by what persons? *Among* Hospitals, Lepers? Or beggers? What shall be the signe of thy perfect deliverance? Wherefore liest 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.

If there appear no sign at this hour, it must be deferred untill another houre. 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. *Martine*, that the divell did) but sometimes invisible, as only by sound, voice, or noise. Thus farre *Iacobus de Chusa.*

The spirits are not so cunning by day as by night.

* For so they might be bewrayed. For so the cousenage may be best handled.

But because you shall see that these be not empty words, nor slanders, 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.



## CHAP. XXIII.

### *A late experiment or cousening conjuration practised at Orleance by the Franciscan Friers, how it was detected, and the judgement against the authors of that comedy.*

A cousening conjuration.

IN the year of our Lord 1534. at *Orleance* in *France*, the Maiors wife dyed, willing and desiring to be buryed without any pompe or noise, &c. Her husband, who reverenced the memoriall of her, did even as she had willed him. *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; shortely after it chanced, that as he selled 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 misliked 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 Aterbatensis*, both Doctors of Divinity; this *Colimannus* was a great Gonjuror, 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 rumbling, 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 rumble 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 mattens 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 certaine things they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in the vawt, through the which he might heare and understand the voice of 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 what desert 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

* Of this order read noble stuff in a book printed at *Frankeford* under the title of *Alcoran. Franciscanorum.*

Note how the Franciscans cannot conjure without a confederate.

O notorious impudency! with such shamelesse faces to abuse so worshipfull a company.

newlie sprung up: also what he meant by that noise and stirre he kept there; whether it were to have the body now buryed 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 denyed any thing, according as he strake the board twice or thrice together. And when he had thus given them to understand, that the * verie 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 witnesse 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 say their masse. The Bishops substitute judge (whom they called Officiall) understanding that matter, cometh thither, accompanyed 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 vawt, and there to see whether any ghost appeared or not. *Stephanus Aterbatensis* stifflie denyed that to be lawfull, and maruellously 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.

* The confederate spirit was taught that lesson before.

For so might the confederate be found.

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 Pratensis* cardinall and Legat for the Pope throughout *France*. Therefore when they had no exception to alleadge, 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 oftentime examined, and earnestly requested to utter the truth, but would notwithstanding confesse nothing; because he feared that the monks would afterward 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 privileges, but all in vain. For sentence passed upon them, and they were condemned

Au obstinate and wilfull persisting in the denying or not confessing of a fault committed.



condemned to be carryed back again to *Orleance*, and thereto be cast inprison, 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 liberties, their pompe, their wealth, their estimation and knavery by such cousening 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.

A parecbasis or transition of the author to matter further purposed.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Who may be conjurors in the Romish Church besides Priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be used and not used in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to conjure any thing, differences between holy water and conjuration.*

THomas Aquinas saith, that any body, though he be of an inferior or superior order, yea though of none order at all (and as *Gulielmus Durandus glossator Raimundi* affirmeth, a woman, so she blesse not the girdle or the garment, but the person of the bewitched) hath power to exercise the order of an exorcist or conjuror, even as well as any 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 nosters*, *Aves*, and *Credos* said, and crosses made, but they are charmes, they say, and no conjurations. For they say, that such charms are lawfull, because there is no superstition in them, &c. *In 4. dist. 23. sent.*

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 evill 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, not to have one to help the priest to masse; and such like, &c. *Et glos. super. in lo ad coll. 2.*

These popish exorcists doe many times forget their owne rules. For they should not directly in their conjurations call upon the divell (as they doe) with intreaty, but with authority and commandement. *Mendaces debent esse memores, multo magis astuti exorcistæ.*

ther should they have in their charmes and conjurations any unknowne names. Neither should there be (as alwayes there is) any falshood 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. *Steven* 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. Mare. ultim.* Mark. 16.17.

But *Thomas* their chief pillar proveth their conjuring and charmslawfull by S. *Mark* who saith; *Signa eos qui credideruni*; and, *In nomine meo dæmonia 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 as 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.

A trimme consequent.

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 evill spirits, to invocate the name of God every way; by the *Pater noster*, the *Ave*, the nativitie, the passion, the five wounds, the title triumphant, by the seven words spoken on the crosse, by the nailes, &c. and

*Mal. Malef. par. 2. que. 2.* there may be hope reposed in them. Yea, they say, it is lawfull to conjure all things, because the divell may have power in all things. And firth, alwayes the person or thing, wherein the divell is, must be exorcised, and then the divell must be conjured. Also they affirm, that it is as expedient to consecrate and conjure porrage and meat, as water and salt, or such like things.

Rites, ceremonies, and reliques of exorcism in rebaptizing of the possessed or bewitched.

The right order of exorcism in rebaptism of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exsufflation 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 indution 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 steed of a surplise to tie about his bare body a holy candle of the length of Christ, or of the crosse whereupon he dyed, which for mony 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 bloud, that thou mayst be made a conjured man, that every fantasie and wickednesse of diabolicall deceipt 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.* Therefore cursed divell know thy sentence, &c. And this order must alwayes be followed



followed: and finally, there must be diligent search made, in every corner, *Memorandum* 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 one 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 rath in the morning: and the holyer the day is, the better, specially our Lady day. 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 pro- him, and a stoal put about his neck, with *Deus in adiutorum*, and the Lera- viso. nie, 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 shrift, the confessor must learn whether the partie be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endureth this vexation. *Thomas* sheweth *Tho. Aquin.* the difference between holy water and conjuration, saying that holy water *supr. dist. 6.* driveth the divell away from the externall and outward parts; but conjurations from the internall and inward parts; and therefore unto the bewitched party both are to be applyed.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The seven reasons why some are not rid of the divell with all their popish conjurations, why there were no conjurors in the primitive Church, and why the divell is not so 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; fiftly, for the reverence of vertues going out into others; sixtly, for the purgation; seventhly, for the merit of the party bewitched. And lo, 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 unbeleef. Whereupon was said, Oh faithlesse and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you? and where these words are written; And Jesus rebuked him, &c. That is to say, say they, the possessed or bewitched for his sinnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appeareth, that there were not with Christ good & perfect men. For the pillars of the faith; to wit, *Peter*, *James*, and *John* were absent. Neither was there fasting and prayer, without the which that kind of divels could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith may appeare

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Proper proofs of the seven reasons.

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 fift 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 proofe of the sixt 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 baptisme 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 baptisme. 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 conjurors in the primitive church with other subtill 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 talke 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 conjurors. 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. *Bodin*, *Bartholomeus*, *Spineus*, *Sprenger*, and *Institor*, &c. do constantly affirme, that witches are to be punished with more extremity than conjurors; and sometimes 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 timerous or fearefull.

Where a witch cureth by incantation, and the conjuror by conjuration.



so do not conjurors. Now if conjurors make no league by their owne confession, and divels indeed know not our cogitations (as I have sufficiently proved) then would I weet 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 expend the cause, they might be soone resolved; especially 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 conjurours use as solemnely as they: I conjure thee thou creature of water in the name of the fa✠ther, of the so✠nne, 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 hallowing of churches. There must a crosse of ashes be made upon the pavement, from one end of the church to the other, one handfull broad: and one of the priests must write on the one side thereof the Greeke alphaber, 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 eccleſiæ dedicatione.

### ¶ *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 salt [here let the preist looke upon the salt] maist be conjured for the health of all beleevers, and that thou be

*In Missale fol. 1.* The manner of conjuring salt.

be to all that take thee, health both of body and soule: and let all phantasies and wickednesse, or diabolicall craft or deceipt, depart from the place whereon it is sprinkled; as also every uncleane spirit, being conjured by him that judgeth both the quick and the dead by fire. *Resp.* Amen. Then followeth a prayer to be said, without *Dominus vobiscum*; but yet with *Oremus*; as followeth:

¶ *Oremus.*

A prayer to be applyed to the former exorcisme.

Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly desire thy clemency [here let the preist looke upon the salt] that thou wouldest vouchsafe, through thy piety, to ✠bl✠esse and sanc✠tifie this creature of salt, which thou hast given for the use of mankind, that it may be to all that receive it, health of mind and body; so as whatsoever shall be touched thereby, or sprinkled therewith, may be void of all uncleannesse, and all resistance of spirituall iniquity, through our Lord, Amen.

What can be made but a conjuration of these words also, which are written in the canon, or rather in the saccaring of masse? This holy commixtion of the body and bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, let it be made to me, and to all the receivers thereof, health of mind and body, and a wholesome preparative for the deserving & receiving of everlasting life, through our Lord Iesus, Amen.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

### *That popish priests leave nothing unconjured, a forme of exorcisme for incense.*

ALthough the papists have many conjurations, so as neither water, nor fire, nor bread, nor wine, nor wax, nor tallow, nor church, nor churchyard, nor altar, nor altar cloth, nor ashes, nor coales, nor bells, nor bell ropes, nor copes, nor vestments, nor oile, nor salt, nor candle, nor candlestick, nor beds, nor bedstaves, &c; are without their forme of conjuration: yet I will for brevity let all passe, and end here with incense, which they do conjure in this sort ✠. I conjure thee most filthy and horible spirit, and every vision of our enemie, &c: that thou go and depart from out of this creature of frankincense, with all thy deceipt and wickednesse ✠ a: this creature may be sanctified, and in the name of our Lord ✠ Jesus ✠ Christ ✠ that all they that taste, touch, or smell the same, may receive the virtue and assistance of the Holy ghost; so as wherefore ever this incense or frankincense shall remaine, that there thou in no wise be so bold as to approach or once presume or attempt to hurt: but what uncleane spirit so ever thou be, that thou with all thy craft and subtilty avoid and depart, being conjured by the name of God the father almighty, &c. And that wheresoever the fume or smoke thereof shall come, every kind and sort of divels may be driven away, and expelled; as they were at the increase of the liver of fish, which the archangell *Raphael* made, &c.

A conjuration of frankincense set forth in forme.





## CHAP. XXIX.

### *The rules and lawes of popish Exorcists and other conjurors all one, with a confutation of their whole power, how S. Martine conjured the divell.*

THe papists you see, have their certaine generall rules and lawes, as to abstaine from sinne, and to fast, as also otherwise to be cleane from all pollutions, &c: and even so likewise have the other conjurors. Some will say that papists use divine service, and prayers; even so do common conjurors (as you see) even in the same papisticall forme, no whit swarving from theirs in faith and doctrine, nor yet in ungodly and unreasonable kinds of petitions. Me thinks it may be a sufficient argument to overthrow the calling up and miraculous workes of spirits, that it is written; God only knoweth and searcheth the hearts, and only worketh great wonders. The which argument being prosecuted to the end, can never be answered: in so much as that divine power is required in that action.

Papists and conjurors cousening compeers.

1 Sam. 16.7. 1 Reg. 8.39. Jere. 17.10. Psal. 44.21. Psal. 72.18.

And if it be said, that in this conjuration we speake to the spirits, and they heare us, and therefore need not know our thoughts and imaginations: I first aske them whether king *Baell*, or *Amoimon*, which are spirits raigning in the furthest regions of the east (as they say) may heare a conjurors voyce, which calleth for them, being in the extreamest parts of the west, there being such noises interposed, where perhaps also they may be busie, and set to worke on the like affaires. Secondly, whether those spirits be of the same power that God is, who is every where, filling all places, and able to heare all men at one instant, &c. Thirdly, whence commeth the force of such words as raise the dead, and command divels. If sounds do it, then may it be done by a taber and a pipe, or any other instrument that hath no life. If the voyce do it, then may it be done by any beasts or birds. If words, then a parret may do it. If in mans words only, where is the force, in the the first, second, or third syllable? If in syllables, then not in words. If in imaginations, then the divell knoweth our thoughts. But all this stuffe is vaine and fabulous.

It is written; All the generations of the earth were healthfull, and there is no poyson of destruction in them. Why then do they conjure holsome creatures; as salt, water, &c: where no divels are? God looked upon all his works, and saw they were all good. What effect (I pray you) had the 7. sonnes of *Sceva*; which is the great objection of witchmongers? They would needs take upon them to conjure divels out of the possessed. But what brought they to passe? Yet that was in the time, whilest God suffered miracles commonly to be wrought. By that, you may see what conjurors can do.

Sap. 1.14. Eccles. 9. Gen. 1. Act. 19.

Where is such a promise to conjurors or witches, as is made in the Gos- pell to the faithfull? where it is written; In my name they shall cast



Mark. 16. 17.

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, *b* 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 the tokens of soothsayers and maketh the conjecturers fooles, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot witches.

*a* Isa 43.11.
*b* verse. 13. cap. 44. ver 7. verse 25. Isai. 46.10. cap 47. verse 12, 13, &c. Luke 11.20. Matt. 12.28. Acts, 8.49.

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 soone 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 beleeve it) and then I will subscribe unto them. But if they which repose such certainety in the actions of witches and conjurors, would diligently note their deceit, and how the scope whereat they shoote 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 cousenage. For they are abused, as are many beholders of jugglers, which suppose they do miraculously, that which is done by sleight and subtilty.

Mony is the marke whereat all witches and conjurors do aime.

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: It



It is written that *S. Martine* thrust his fingers into ones mouth that had a divell within him, and used to bite folk; and then did bid him devoure them if he could. And because the divell could not get out at his mouth, being stopt with *S. Martins* fingers, he was fain to run out at his fundament. O stinking lye!

*S. Martins* conjuration: *In die sancti Martini, lect. 1.*

## CHAP. XXX.

*That it is a shame for papists to beleeve 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 cousenages 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 them) they adjure the water, &c. to heal, not onely the soules infirmitie, but also every malady, hurt, or ach of the body; and doe also command the candles, with the force of all their authority and power, and by the effect of all their holy words, not to consume: and yet neither soul nor body any thing recover, nor the candles last one minute the longer: with what face can they defend the others miraculous workes, as though the witches and conjurors actions were more effectuall than their owne? *Hippocrates* being but a heathen, and not having the perfect knowledge of God, could see and perceive their cousenage 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 magicall 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 papists 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 himself. For the divell indeed most earnestly busieth himselfe to seduce the godly: as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and just accompt of them, as of his own already. But let us goe forward in our refutation.

* To wit, *Vincent Dominica in albis, in octa. pasch. sermone 25. Durand. de exorcist.*

## CHAP. XXXI.

*How conjurors have beguiled witches, what bookes they carry about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Joseph.*

THus you see that conjurors are no small fooles. For whereas witches being 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 conjurors (I say) have gotten them offices in the church of *Rome*, whereby they have obtained authority and great estimation. And further to adde credit to that art, these conjurors 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 bookes that they say *Abraham*, *Aaron* and *Salomon* made. Item they have books of *Zachary*, *Paul*, *Honorius*, *Cyprian*, *Jerome*, *Jeremy*, *Albert*, and *Thomas*: also of the angels, *Raziel*, *Razael*, and *Raphael*; and doubtless these were such books as were said to have been burnt in the lesser *Asia*. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be & are skilfull and learned in these arts; to wit, *ars Almadell*, *ars Notoria*, *ars Bulaphiæ*, *ars Arthephii*, *ars Pomena*, *ars Revelationis*, *&c.* Yea, these conjurors in corners stick not (with *Justine*) to report and affirm, that *Joseph* 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*, *Lisimachus*, 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 *Danæus* affirmeth it doth) is untrue; for their furtheſt fetches that I can comprehend, are but to fetch a pot of milk, &c. from their neighbours house, half a mile distant from them.

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 sortiariis.*





## 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.*

SUrely *Nero* proved all these magicall arts to be vain and fabulous lies, and nothing but cousenage and knavery. He was a notable prince, having gifts of nature enough to have conceived such matters, treasure enough to have imployed in the search thereof, he made no conscience thereto, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would have given halfe 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 cousenage and legierdemaine. At length he met with one *Tiridates*, the great magician, who having with him all his companions, and fellow magicians, witches, conjurors, and cousenors, invited *Nero* to certaine magicall bankets and exercises. Which when *Nero* required to learne, Emperor *Nero* he (to hide his cousenage) answered that he would not, nor could not teach him, though he would have given him his kingdome. The matter of his refusall (I say) was, least *Nero* should espy the cousening devises thereof. Which when *Nero* conceived, and saw the same, and all the residue 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 the practises thereof, as *Pliny* and others doe report. It is marvell that any man can be so much abused, as to suppose that Satan may be commanded, compelled, or tyed by the power of man; as though the Divell would yeeld to man, beyond nature; that will not yeeld to God his creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they confesse) good angels as well as bad; I would know 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 (forsooth) 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 occulta philosophia*. Howbeit afterwards in his wiser age, he recanteth his opinions, and lamenteth his follies in that behalfe, and discovereth 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 *Jannes* and *Jambres*, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vain toies for a shew. *Carolus Gallus* also saith; I have tried oftentimes, by the witches and conjurors themselves, that their arts, (especially those which doe consist of charmes, impossibilities, con-

*Nero* made laws against conjurors and conjurations.

*C. Agrip. lib. de vanitat. scient.*

conjurations, and witchcrafts, whereof they were wont to boast) to be meer 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 Iudæorum antiquitatibus, cap.* 22. rehearseth soberly this story following; which *Polydore Virgil*, and many other repeat verbatim, in this wise, and seem to credit the fable, whereof there is scant 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 mankinde; which is effectuall against divels. He made also inchantments wherewith diseases are driven away; and left divers manners of conjurations written, where-n o the divels 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 *Eleazar*, that in the presence of *Vespasian* and his sonnes, and the rest of the souldiers, 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 divell out at his nose; so as down fell the man, and then *Eleazar* conjured the divell 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 then *Eleazar* being willing to shew the standers by his cunning, and the wonderfull efficacy of his art, did set not far from thence, a pot or basen full of water, and commanded the divell that went out of the man, that by the overthrowing thereof, he would give a signe to the beholders, that he had utterly forsaken and left the man. Which thing being done, none there doubted how great *Salomons* knowledge and wisdome was. Wherein a juggling knack was produced, to confirm a cogging cast of knavery or cousenage.

*Probatum est* upon a patient before witnesse; *Ergo* no lie.

Another story of *Salomons* conjuration I finde cited in the first lesson, read in the church of *Rome* upon *S. Margarets* day, far more ridiculous than this. Also *Peter Lombard* master of the Sentences, and *Gratian* the brother, the compiler of the golden decrees: and *Durandus* in his *Rationale divinorum*, doe all soberly affirm *Salomons* cunning in this behalfe, and specially this tale; to wit, that *Salomon* inclosed certain thousand divels

*Lib. 4. dist. 14. Decret. aureum dist. 21. Rub. de exorcist.*



vels 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 divels, &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 parcell of their divine service. Look in lessons of the day of S. *Margaret* the virgine, and you shall finde these words verbatim; which I the rather recite, because it serveth me for divers turns; to wit, for *Salomons* conjurations, for the tale of the brazen vessell, and for the popes conjurations, which extended both to faith and doctrine, and to shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefully is stained with lies and fables.

*Lect. 5. & 6.*

## CHAP. XXXIV.

### *Lessons read in all Churches, where the Pope hath authority, on S. Margarets day translated into English word for word.*

HOly *Margaret* required of God, that shee might have a conflict face to face with her secret enemy the divell; and rising from prayer, she saw a terrible dragon, that would have devoured her, but she made the sign of the crosse, and the dragon burst in the midst.

*Lect. in die sanctissimæ Marg. vir. 5.*

Afterwards, she saw another man sitting like a Niger, having his hands bound fast to his knees, she taking him by the hair of the head, threw him to the ground, and set her foot on his head; and her prayers being made, a light shined from heaven into the prison where she was, and the crosse of Christ was seen in heaven, with a dove sitting thereon, who said; blessed art thou O *Margaret*, the gates of Paradise attend thy comming. Then she giving thanks to God, said to the divell, Declare to me thy name. The divell said; Take away thy foot from my head, that I may be able to speak, and tell thee: which being done, the divell said, I am *Veltis*, one of them whom *Salomon* shut in the brazen vessell, and the *Babylonians* comming, and supposing there had been gold therein, brake the vessell, 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.

*Lect. 6.*

Look in the word *Fidoni*, pag. 270.

Grant therefore O father, that whosoever writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or maketh memoriall 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 ministreth 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.

*For the priests profit, I warrant you. 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 *Margaret* the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted unto thee; therefore

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; Except 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 tedious, I thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable story, depending upon the matter precedent, 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 stuffe 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* triumph was, began to consider with 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 visible form! I would then surely in like manner overthrow him, and would fight with him till I had the victory. And therefore about the twelf houre he went out of the towne, 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 visible 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, to gather certaine hearbs which grew there, who was dumb born. And when shee came into the place, and saw the young man among the hearbs on his knees, she was afraid and waxed pale, and going back, she rored in such sort, as her voice could not be understood, and with her head and signs made threatning signes unto him. The young man seeing such an ill-favoured foul queen, that was for age decrepit and full of wrinckles, 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 carryed in her hand, he thought surely she had been no woman, but a divell appearing unto him in the shape of a woman, and thought 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 visible fight, whom thou hast often overcome in invisible temptations.

*Kacoxelia.*

*Mutuall error by means of sudden sight.*

And as he spake these words, he caught her by the hair, and drew her about, beating her sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his heeles, and sometimes with the hook so long, and wounded her so sore, that



*Isidori.*

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 vile prison. S. *Vincent* by vertue of his holinesse understanding all this matter, caused the body that seemed dead, to bee brought unto him, and thereupon (according to his manner) he laid his hand upon 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 made stand the priest, neither could in words confesse her sins. Notwithstanding, S. *Vincent* bad the priest hear her confession, affirming that she should very distinctly speake all 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 *Catalonia* 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 ministred unto her, and at length she commended her selfe to God; and in the presence of all that came to see that miracle, she spake as long as shee 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 *Speculo exemplorum*, and repeated also by *Robert Caracul.* bishop of *Aginate*, and many others, and preached publikely in the church of *Rome*.

*Dist. 8. exempl. 17. ferm. 59. ca. 20.*

*Secundum Bordinum Corrigens. Quæst. Matth. tract. 1. fol. 77.*

## 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, fooliish, 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 curteously done of her, to pull away her foot at his desire. He could not speak so long as she stood on his head, and yet he said; 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 crosse so far off. For heaven is higher than the Sun; and the sun, when it is nearest to us, is 3966000. 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: for the divels 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 beleeve 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 Christs 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. *Katherine*, 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 shameing 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 the other.

*Psellus de operatione dæmonum.*

## CHAP. XXXVII.

### *A pleasant miracle wrought by a popish Priest.*

*In speculo exemplorum, dist. 6. ex lib. exemplorum, Cæsarii, exempl. 69.*

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 men; 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 divell, by him, whom I carry in my hands, that thou exercise not these great visions and phantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the priest in a rage threw the body of our Lord, with the pix into the river, and by and by, so soon as the sacrament touched the element, the phantasie gave place to the verity; and they being proved and made false, did sink like 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 pensive, passing away the whole night in teares and mourning: in the morning he found the pix with the sacrament upon the altar.

*Memorandum* it is confessed in popery that true miracles cannot be joined with false doctrine; *Ergo* neither papist, witch, nor conjuror can work miracles.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XXXVIII.

### *The former miracle confuted, with a strange story of S. Lucy.*

HOw glad Sr *John* was now it were folly for me to say. How would he have plagued the divell, that threw his God in the river to be drowned? But if other had had no more power to destroy the *waldenses* with sword and fire, than this priest had to drown them with his conjuring box and cousening 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 cousenage both in the doing and telling thereof. * You shall read in the lesson on saint *Lucies* day, that she being condemned, could not be removed from the place with a teem of Oxen, neither could any fire burn her, in somuch as one was faine to cut off her head with a sword, and yet she could speak afterwards as long as she list. And this passeth all other miracles, except it be that which *Bodin* and *M. Mal.* recite out of *Nider*, of a witch that could not be burned, till a scroll was taken away from where she hid it, betwixt her skin and flesh.

* *Lect. in die sanctæ Luci 7. & 8*

## 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 timerous and afraid of spirits, and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their own shadows, & (as *Aristotle* saith) see themselves sometime as it were in a glasse. And some through weakness 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 monkes and priests have abused and bewitched the world with counterfeit visions; which proceeded through idleness, and restraint of marriage, whereby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore devised such means to compasse and obtaine their loves. And the simple people being then so superstitious, would never seem to mistrust, that such holy men would make them cuckholds, but forsooke their beds in that case, and gave room to the clergy. 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 glasses through art

Against the counterfeit visions of popish priests, and other cousening devices.

art perspective. Many hearkening into false reports, conceive and beleeve that which is nothing so. Many give credit to that which they read in authors. But how many stories, and bookes are writen 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 bodyes? In so much as it was in the time of popery a usuall matter, to desire sicke people in their death beds, to appeare to them after their death, and to reveale their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulus herein, &c. Therefore no marvell, 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, & appearances 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, councels, and popes, which (they say) cannot erre, have confirmed the walking, appearing, and raising of soules. But where find they in the scriptures any such doctrine? And who certified them, that those appearances were true? Truly all they cannot bring to passe, that the lies which have beene spread abroad herein, should now beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seale, and sweare thereunto never so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who heareth their noyses? Who seeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such moane for trentals, where by to be eased of the paines in purgatory? Are they all gone into *Italy*, because masses are growne deere here in *England*? Marke well this illusion, and see how contrary it is unto the word of God. Consider how all papists beleeve this illusion to be true, and how all protestants are driven to say it is & was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that wandered to have buriall for their bodies? For many of those walking soules were about their bustnes. Do you not thinke, that the papists shew not themselves Godly divines, to preach and teach the people such doctrine, and to insert into their divine service such fables as are read in the Romish church, all scripture giving place thereto for the time? You shall see in the lessons read there upon S. *Stevens* day, that *Gamaliel Nichodemus* [illegible] man and *Abdias* bissonne, with his friend S. *Steven*, appeared to a certain priest, called Sir *Lucian*, requesting him to remove their bodies, and to bury them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of their death, untill then, being in the raigne of *Honorius* the emperor, to wit, foure hundred yeares buried in the field of *Gamaliel*) who in that respect said to Sir *Lucian*; *Non mei solummodo causa solicitus sum, sed potius pro illis qui mecum sunt*; that is, I am not only carefull for my selfe, but chiefely for those my friends that are with me. Whereby the whole course 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 compasse and

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 foreslowed it so long. Now therefore let us not suffer our selves to be abused any longer, either with conjuring priests, or melancholicall witches; but be thankfull to God that hath delivered us from such blindnesse and error.

## CHAP. XL.

*Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfeit visions grow to be credited, of popish appearances, of pope Boniface.*

*Cardanus* speaking of noises, among other things, saith thus; A noise is heard in your house; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among dishes; it may be a 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 beene by meere and ranke knavery. And wheresoever you shall heare, that there is in the night season such rumbling and fearefull noises, be you well assured that it is flat knavery, performed by some that seemeth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And hereof there is a very art, which for some respects I will not discover. The divell seeketh dayly 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 couseners, these conjurors 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 cousenages; and that the tales of the popes recited by *Bruno* and *Platina* of their magicall devices, were but plaine cousenages and knaveries, may appeare by the history of *Bonifacius* the eight, who used this kinde of inchantment, to get away the popedome from his predecessor *Cœlestinus*. He counterfeitted a voyce through a cane reed, as though it had come from heaven, persvading him to yeeld uphis authority of popeship, and to institute therein one *Bonifacius*, a worthy man: otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therefore the foole yeelded it up accordingly, to the said *Bonifacius*, *An.* 1264. of whom it was said; He came in like a fox, lived like a woolfe, and died like a dog.

*H. Card. lib de var. rer. 15. c. 92.*

Pope *Celestinus* cousened of his popedome by pope *Boniface*.

There be innumerable examples of such visions, which when they are not detected, 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.

Visions Distinguished.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Of the noise or sound of eccho, 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 comming late to a rivers side, not knowing where to passe over, cried out alowd for some body to shew him the foord: who hearing an eccho to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the 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 divell 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. 18.*

*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 yeare 1569. though indeed a meere 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 cousening conjurors, 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 skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in the vessell and houshold stuffe, in oblations and sacrifices; the cleanlines whereof they say, doth dispose men to the contemplation of heavenly things. They cite these words of *Esay* 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 conceits ridiculously. For uncleanlinesse (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chaseth away cleane spirits.



spirits. Hereunto belongeth the art of *Almadel*, the art of *Paule*, 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 popish 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 fooles, their cousening of the simple, their scope and drift for money doth bewray all their art to be counterfeit cousenage. And the more throughly to satisfie you herein, I thought good in this place to insert a letter, upon occasion sent unto me, by one which at this present time lieth as a prisoner condemned for this 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 forbeare to commend as I ought. The person truly that wrote this letter seemeth unto me a good body, well reformed, and penitent, not 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.

Appendents unto the supposed divine art of Theurgie.

### The coppy 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.

*MAster R. Scot, according to your request, I have drawne out certaine abuses worth the noting, touching the work you have in hand; things which I my selfe have seen within these xxvi. yeares, among those which which were counted famous and skilfull in those 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 great credit: in 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 releeve 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 thereefore to signifie unto you, and I speake it in the presence of God, that among all those famous and noted practisers, that I have beene conversant withall these xxvi. yeares, I could never see any matter of truth to be done in those wicked sciences, but onely meere cousenings 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 years, to my great losse and hindrance, and could never*

Marke the sum and scope of this letter.

never at any time see any one truth, or sparkle of truth therein. Yet 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 wicked studies and practises, being made an [illegible] maining a spectacle for all others to receive warning by. The Lord grant I may be the last (I speake it from my heart) and I wish it, not only in my native country, but also through the whole face of the earth, specially 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 divine of Oxonford, three hundred yeares 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 Sussex, 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 throughly discussed, and all their illusions and cousenages deciphered at large. Thus craving pardon at your hands for that I promised you, being very fearefull, doubtfull, and loth to set my hand or name under any thing that may be offensive to the world, or hurtfull to my selfe, considering my case, except I had the better warrant from my L. of Leicester, who is my very good Lord, and by whom next under God (her Majestie onely excepted) I have beene preserved; and therefore loth to do any thing that may offend his Lordships eares. And so I leave your worships to the Lords keeping, who bring you & al your actions to good end and purpose, to Gods glory, and to the profit of all Christians. From the Bench this 8. of March, 1582. Your worships poore and desolate friend and servant, T.E.

Sr. John Malbornes booke detecting the devises of conjuration, &c.

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of *Slangham*, and procured his best friends, men of great worship and credit, to deale with him, that I might borrow it for a time. But such is his folly and superstition, that although he confessed he had it; yet he would not lend it: albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire, would have given his word for the restitution of the same safe and sound.

The author his conclusion.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, whatsoever heretofore have gone for currant, touching all these fallible arts, whereof hitherto I have written in ample sort, be now counted counterfeit, and therefore not to be allowed, no not by common sense, much lesse by reason, which should sift such cloaked and pretended practises, turning them out of their rags and patched clowts, that they may appeare discovered, and shew themselves in their nakednesse. Which will be the end of every secret intent, privy purpose, hidden practise, and close devise, have they never such shrowds and shelters for the time: and be they with never so much cautelousnesse and subtill circumspection clouded and shadowed, yet will they at length be manifestly detected by the light, according to that old rimed verse:

Quicquid



Andreas] Gartnerus Mariemontanus. Eng by Ab. Fle.

*Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne revelat:*

What thing soever snow doth hide,
Heat of the sunne doth make it spide.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Nazarite, who never told untruth, but who is the substance and groundworke of truth it selfe, saying; *Nihil est tam occultum quod non sit detegendum*, Nothing is so secret, but it shall be knowne and revealed.

Matt. 10. 26. Mark 4. 22. Luke 8. 17. and 12. 2.

# The xvj. Booke.

## CHAP. I.

### *A conclusion, in manner of an epilogue, repeating many of the former absurdities of witchmongers conceipts, confutations thereof, and of the authority of* James Sprenger *and* Henry Institor *inquisitors and compilers of* M. Mal.

Hitherto you have had delivered unto you, that which I have conceived and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principall parts 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; scratching out of *M. Mal.* the substance of all their arguments: so as their authors being disapproved, they must coine new stuffe, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wives tales, whereof this art of witchcraft is contrived. But you must know that *James Sprenger*, and *Henry Institor*, whom I have had occasion to alledge many times were copartners in the composition 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 *Collen*, &c. to call before them, to emprison, to condemne, and to execute witches; and finally to seaze and confiscate their goods.

The compilers or makers of the booke called a Mallet to braine witches

These

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 suppresse 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 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 discerne and perceive.

No marvell that they were so opinionative herein, for God gave them over into strong delusions.

## CHAP. II.

*By what means the common people have been made beleeve in the miraculous workes of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.*

THe common people have been so assotted and bewitched, with whatsoever poets have faigned of witchcraft, either in earnest, in jest, or else in derision; and with whatsoever lowd liers and cousseners 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 masse priest had informed them; and finally with whatsoever they have swallowed up through tract of time, or through their owne timerous nature or ignorant conceipt, concerning these matters of hags and witches: as they have so setled 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 *Te Deum*.

The definition or description of witchcraft.

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 cousening 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

The formall cause.



and strange, that to this day there hath never been any credible witnesse thereof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull, a probable matter to children, fools, melancholick persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes evill, as when thereby man or beast, grasse, trees, or corn, &c. are hurt; sometimes good, as whereby sick folks are healed, theeves 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.

The finall cause.

The materiall cause.

## 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 cousened.*

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 cousseners, 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 compendious reasons following.

A necessary sequel.

First, in that the Turks 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 bee bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doe any thing, 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.

*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 cousened and abused the whole realm, in so much as there came to her, witchmongers 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 *Rochester*, and reputed among all men for the chief ringleader of all other witches) by good proof is found to be a meer cousener; confessing in her death bed freely, without compulsion or inforcement, that her cunning consisted only in deluding & deceiving the people: saving that shee had (towards the maintenance of her credit in that cousening trade) some sight in physick and surgery, and the assistance of a friend of hers,

*Bungies* confession that all witches are cousseners.

called *Heron*, a professor thereof. And this I know, partly of mine owne knowledge, and partly by the testimony of her husband, and others of credit, to whom (I say) in her death bed, and at sundry other times she protested these things; and also that she never had indeed any materiall spirit or divell (as the voice went) nor yet knew how to work any supernaturall matter, as she in her life time made men beleeve 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 yet on his death bed he confessed, that he knew nothing more then any other, but by sleight and devices, without the assistance of any divell or spirit, saving the spirit of cousenage: and this did he (I say) protest before many of great honesty, credit, and wisdome, who can witnesse the same, and also gave him good commendations for his godly and honest end.

Again, who will maintaine, that common witchcrafts are not cousenages, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had stolne credit not only from all the common people, but from men of great wisdome and authority, are discovered to be beggerly sleights of cousening varlots? Which otherwise might and would have remained a perpetuall objection against me. Were there not * three images of late years found in a dunghill, 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 devises, although they should indeed be practised against them. But no doubt, if such bables could have brought those matters of mischiefe to passe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papists; we should long since have been deprived of the most excellent jewell and comfort that we enjoy in this world. Howbeit, I confesse, that the fear, conceipt, and doubt of such mischievous pretenses 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 traiterous heart to the Queen, and a presumption against God.

*I. Bodin* in the preface before his book of *Dæmonomania* reporteth this by a conjuring priest late curat of *Islington*: he also sheweth to what end; read the place you that understand Latine.

Note this devise of the waxen images found of late neer *London*.

But to return to the discovery of the foresaid knavery and witchcraft. So it was that one old cousener wanting mony, devised or rather practised (for it is a stale devise) to supply his want, by promising a young Gentleman, whose humor he thought would that way be well served, that for 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 yeelding 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



hands of a friend of his. Finally, this cunning man made the three puppets of wax, &c. leaving nothing undone that appertained to the cousenage, untill he had buried them, as you have heard. But I omit to tell what 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, now through tract of time hath those his felicities powdered with doubt and despaire. For in stead of atchieving his love he would gladly have obtained his mony. But because he could by no means get either the one of the other (his money being in huckesters handling, and his sure in no better forwardnesse) hee revealed the whole matter, hoping by that means to recover his money; which he neither can yet get again, nor hath payed it where he borrowed. But till triall was had of his simplicity, or rather folly herein, he received some trouble himselfe, hereabouts though now dismissed.

## CHAP. IIII.

*Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no Scriptures but canonicall, of a divell that could speak no Latine, a proof that witchcraft is flat cousenage.*

HEre I may aptly insert another miracle of importance, that happened within the compasse of a childes remembrance, which may induce any reasonable body to conceive, that these supernaturall actions are but fables and cousenages. There was one, whom for some respects I name not, that was taken blind, deaf, and dumb; so as no Physitian could help him. That man (forsooth) though he was (as is said) both blind, dumb and deaf, yet could hee read any canonicall 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 canonicall scriptures, he read the same as authentick; wherein his knavery was bewrayed. Another had a divell, that answered men to all questions, Mary her divell could understand no Latine, and so was shee (and by such meanes all the rest may be) bewrayed. Indeed our witching writers say, that certaine divels speake onely the language of that countrey where they are resiant, as French, or English, &c. A strange miracle, if it were true. There the hypocrite was overmatcht for all his dissembled gravity.

Furthermore in my conceipt, nothing proveth more apparently that witchcraft is cousenage, and that witches instruments are but ridiculous bables, and altogether void of effect; than when learned and godly Divines in their serious writings, produce experiments as wrought by witches, and by divels at witches commandements: which they expound by miracles, although indeed meer trifles. Whereof they conceive amisse, being overtaken with credulity.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the divination by the sive and sheers, and by the book and key. Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clock, of certain jugling knacks, manifold reasons for the overthrow of witches and conjurors, and their cousenages, of the divels transformations, of* Ferrum candens, *&c.*

*Heming. in lib. de superst. magicis.*

TO passe over all the fables, which are vouched by the popish doctors, you shall heare the words of *N. Hemingius*, whose zeal and learning otherwise I might justly commend: howbeit I am sorry and ashamed to see his ignorance and folly in this behalf. Neither would I have bewrayed it, but that he himself, among other absurdities concerning the maintenance of witches omnipotency, hath published it to his great discredit. Popish priests (saith he) as the *Chaldeans* used the divination by sive and sheeres for the detection of theft, doe practise with a psalter and a key fastened upon the 49. psalme, to discover a theef, 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 theef thou diddest 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 theef. 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 sive and the sheers, that down fals the book and key, sive and sheeres, upstarts the theef, and away runneth the divell laughing, &c.

The greatest clarkes are not the wisest men.

But alas, *Hemingius* is deceived, as not perceiving the conceipt, or rather the deceipt thereof. For where he supposeth 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, sive and sheeres, being shaped 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) turn and fall down. Which experience being known to the witch or conjurer, she or hee doe form and frame their prophesie accordingly; as whosoever maketh proofe thereof shall manifestly perceive it. By this artifice, or experience, you shall know what it is a clock, if you hold 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 couseners say, and others beleeve they do. As when they lay a medicine for the ague. &c. to a childs wrists, they also pron[illegible] vertue whereof (they say)

A naturall reason of the former knack.



the child is healed; whereas indeed the medicine only doth the feat. And this is also a silly jugglers knack, 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 conjurings, and have written 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 triall, to prove witchcraft and conjuration to be cousenage?

*C. Agripp. in lib. de vanit. scient. & in epistola ante librum de occulta philosophia.*

*Plin. lib. natural. hist. 30. ca. 1. Pet. Mart. in locis communibus.*

Also, when the miracles imputed unto them, exceed in quantity, quality and number, all 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 beleeve 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 necessary occasion (if at least wise 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 fain to say, that witches wrought not in that art, all those thirty three yeeres that *Christ* lived, and that there were none in *Jobs* time, and that the cousening oracles are now ceased; who seeth not that they are witlesse, and madde fooles that maintaine it? When all the mischiefs are accomplished by poysons and naturall means, which they affirm to be brought to passe by words, it manifesteth to the world their cousenage. 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 controversie; to wit, execution of witches, is grounded upon a false translation; namely, You shall not suffer a witch to live (which is in Latine *Veneficam non vetinebitis 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 be trusted, or well accompted 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 wonderfull things, as these witches and conjurors by the invocation of divels and wicked spirits undertake, and are paid to doe; what man that knoweth and honoureth God will be so infatuate

Note that during all Christs time upon earth, which was 33. yeares, witches were put to silence, &c.

fatuate as to beleeve these lies, and so prefer the power of witches and divels before the godly induced with Gods holy spirit? When many printed bookes are published, even with authority, in confirmation of such miracles wrought by those cosseners, for the detection of witchcrafts and in fine all is not onely found false, and to have been accomplished by consenage, but that there hath been therein a set purpose to defame honest matrones, as to make them be thought to be witches: why should we beleeve *Bodin*, *M. Mal.* &c. in their cousening tales and fables? When they say that witches can flie in the air, and come in at a little coane, or a hole in a glasse window, and steal away sucking children, and hurt their mothers; and yet when they are brought into prison, they cannot escape out of the grate, which is far bigger: who will not condemne such accusations or confessions to be frivolous, &c? When (if their assertions were true) concerning the divels usuall taking of shapes, and walking, talking, conferring, hurting, and all manner of dealing with mortall creatures, one halfe, or all the whole world might be inhabited by divels, every poore mans house might be hired over his head by a divell, he might take the shape and favour of an honest woman, and play the witch; or of an honest man and play the theef, and so bring them both, or whom he list to the gallows: who seeth not the vanity of such assertions? For then the divell might in the likenesse of an honest man commit any criminall offense; as *Lavater* in his nineteenth chapter *De spectris*, reporteth of a grave wise magistrate in the territory of *Tigurie*, who affirmed, that as hee and his servant went through certain pastures, he espyed in the morning, the divell in likenesse of one whom he knew very well, wickedly dealing with a mare. Upon the sight whereof he immediately went to that fellowes house, and certainly learned there, that the same person went not out of his chamber that day. And if he had not wisely bolted out the matter, the good honest man (saith he) had surely beene cast into prison, and put on the rack, &c.

But Christs argument was undoubted; *Ergo, &c.*

I marvell for what purpose that magistrate went to that fellows house.

The like story we read of one *Cunegunda*, wife to *Henry* the second emperor of that name, in whose chamber the divell (in the likenesse of a youngman, with whom she was suspected to be too familiar in Court) was often seen coming in and out. Howbeit, she was purged by the tryall *Candentis ferri*, and proved innocent; for she went upon glowing iron unhurt, &c. And yet *Salomon* saith; May a man carry fire in his bosome, and his clothes not be burned? Or can a man goe upon coals, and his feet not scorched? And thus might the divell get him up into every pulpit, and spread heresies, as I doubt not, but he doth in the mouth of wicked preachers, though not so grossely as is imagined and reported by the papists and witchmongers. And because it shall not be said that I belie them, I will cite a story credibly reported by their cheefest doctours; namely *Iames Sprenger*, & *Henry Institor*, who say as followeth, even word for word.

*Albertus Crantzius in lib. 4. metropolis. cap. 4.*

Prov. 6.

*Mal. malef. par. 2. que. 1. cap. 9.*





## CHAP. VI.

*How the divell preached good doctrine in the shape of a priest, how he was discovered, and that it is a shame (after confutation of the greater witchcrafts) for any man to give credit to the lesser points thereof.*

ON a time the divell went up into a pulpit, and there made a very catholick sermon: but a holy priest comming to the good speed, by his holinesse perceived that it was the devill. So he gave good ear unto him, but could finde no fault with his doctrine. And therefore so soon as the sermon was done, he called the divell unto him, demanding the cause of his sincere preaching; who answered: Behold I speak the truth, knowing that while men be hearers of the word, and not followers, God is the more offended, and my kingdome the more inlarged. And this was the strangest device (I think) that ever any divell used: for the apostles themselves could have done no more. Againe, when with all their familiars, their ointments, &c. whereby they ride invisibly, nor with all their charmes, they can neither convey themselves from the hands of such as lay wait for them; nor can get out of prison, that otherwise can goe in and out at a mouse hole; nor finally can save themselves from the gallowes, that can transubstantiate their owne and others bodies into flies or fleas, &c. who seeth not, that either they lye, or are belyed in their miracles; when they are said to transfer their neighbours corne into their owne ground, and yet are perpetual beggers, and cannot inrich themselves, either with money or otherwise: who is so foolish as to remain longer in doubt of their supernaturall power? When never any yet from the beginning of the world till this day, hath openly shewed any other trick, conceipt, or cunning point of witchcraft, than legierdemaine or cousenage: who will tarry any longer for further tryall? when both the common law and also the injunctions doe condemne prophesying, and likewise false miracles, and such as beleeve them in these dayes: who will not be afraid to give credit to those knaveries? When hereby they make the divell to be a god that heareth the prayers, and understandeth the mindes of men: who wil not be ashamed, being a christian, to be so abused by them? When they that doe write most frankly of these matters, except lying *Sprenger* and *Institor*, have never seen any thing herein; insomuch as the most credible proof that *Bodin* bringeth of his wonderfull tales of witchcraft, is the report of his host at an alehouse where he baited: who will give further ear unto these incredible fables? When in all the new testament, we are not warned of these bodily appearances of divels, as we are of his other subtilties, &c. who will be afraid of their bugs? When no such bargains mentioned in the scriptures, why should we beleeve so incredible and impossible covenants, being the ground of all witchmongers religion, without the which they have no probability in the rest of their foolish assertions? When as, if any honest mans conscience be appealed unto, he must confesse he never saw tryall of such witchcraft

He should rather have asked who gave him orders and licence to preach.

*John Bodin.*

Yet many that bear the shew of honest men are very credulous herein:

craft or conjuration to take effect, as is now so certainly affirmed: what conscience can condemne poor soules that are accused wrongfully, or believe them that take upon them impiously to doe or work those impossible things? When the whole course of the scripture is utterly repugnant to these impossible opinions, saving a few sentences, which nevertheless rightly understood, relieve them nothing at all: who will be seduced by their fond arguments? When as now that men have spied the knavery of oracles, and such pelfe, and that there is not one oracle in the world remaining; who cannot perceive that all the residue heretofore of these devises, have been cousenages, knaveries, and lies? When the power of God is so impudently transferred to a base creature, what good christian can abide to yeeld unto such miracles wrought by fooles? When the old women accused of witchcraft, are utterly insensible, and unable to say for themselves; and much lesse to bring such matters to passe, as they are accused of: who will not lament to see the extremity used against them? When the foolisher sort of people are alwaies most mistrustfull of hurt by witchcraft, and the simplest and dotingest people mistrusted to doe the hurt: what wise man will not conceive all to be but folly? When it were an easie matter for the divel, if he can do as they affirme, to give them great store of money, and make them rich, and doth it not; being a thing which would procure him more disciples than any other thing in the world; the wise must needs condemne the divel of folly, and the witches of peevishnesse, that take such paines, and give their soules to the divel to be tormented in hell fire, and their bodies to the hangman to be trussed on the gallowes, for nichels in a bag.

Witches are commonly very beggers.

## CHAP. VII.

### *A conclusion against witchcraft, in manner and forme of an Induction.*

A general conclusion against them whom the subject of this book concerneth.

BY this time all Kentishmen know (a few fooles excepted) that Robin goodfellow is a knave. All wisemen understand that witches miraculous enterprises, being contrary to nature, probability and reason, are void of truth or possibility. All protestants perceive, that popish charmes, conjurations, execrations, and benedictions are not effectual, but toies and devices only to keep the people blinde, and to enrich the clergy. All christians see, that to confesse witches can do as they say, were to attribute to a creature the power of the Creator. All children wel brought up conceive and spie, or at the least are taught, that juglers miracles doe consist of legerdemain and confederacy. The very heathen people are driven to confesse, that there can be no such conference between a spirituall divel and a corporal witch, as is supposed; for no doubt, all the heathen would then have every one his familiar divel; for they would make no conscience to acquaint themselves with a divel that are not acquainted with God.

I have dealt, and conferred with many (marry I must confesse papists for



for the most part) that maintain every point of these absurdities. And surely I allow better of their judgements, than of others, unto whom some part of these cousenages are discovered and seen; and yet concerning the residue, they remain as wise as they were before; specially being satisfied in the highest and greatest parts of conjuring and cousening; to wit, in popery, and yet will be abused with beggerly jugling, and witchcraft.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of naturall witchcraft or fascination.*

BUt because I am loth to oppose my selfe against all the writers herein, or altogether to discredit their stories, or wholly to deface their reports, touching the effects of fascination or witchcraft; I wil now set downe certain parts thereof, which although I my self cannot admit, without some doubts, difficulties and exceptions, yet wil I give free liberty to others to beleeve them, if they list; for that they do not directly oppugne my purpose.

Many great and grave authors write, and many fond writers also affirme, that there are certain families in *Aphrica*, which with their voices bewitch whatsoever they praise. Insomuch as, if they commend either plant, corne, infant, horse, or any other beasts, the same presently withereth, decayeth and dyeth. This mystery of witchcraft is not unknowne or neglected of our witchmongers, and superstitious fooles here in *Europe*. But to shew you examples neer home here in *England*, as though our voice had the like operation; you shall not hear a butcher or horsecourser cheapen a bullock or a jade, but if he buy him not, he saith, God save him; if he do forget it, and the horse or bullock chance to die, the fault is imputed to the chapman. Certainly the sentence is godly, if it doe proceed from a faithful and a godly mind; but if it be spoken as a superstitious charme, by those words and syllables to compound with the fascination and misadventure of unfortunate words, the phrase is wicked and superstitious, though there were farre greater shew of godlinesse than appeareth therein.

*Isigonus.* *Memphradorus.* *Solon, &c.* *Vairus.* *J. Bodinus.* *Mal. malef.*

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of inchanting or bewitching eyes.*

MAny writers agree with *Virgil* and *Theocritus* in the effect of witching eyes, affirming that in *Scythia* there are women called *Bithiæ*, having two bals or rather blacks in the apple of their eyes. And as *Didimus* reporteth, some have in the one eye two such bals, and in the other the image of a horse. These (forsooth) with their angry looks do bewitch upon the rage and hurt not only young lambs, but young children. There be other that

With the like property were the old Illyrians people indued: if we wil credit the words of Sabinus grounded upon the report of Aul. Gell.

retain such venome 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.

*I. B. ap. Neapol. in lib. de naturali magia.*

This fascination (saith *John Baptista Porta Neapolitanus*) though it begin by touching or breathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the 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 bloud, yeeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapours springing from the purer bloud 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 sore 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 bloud: 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 woolf taketh away the voice of such as they suddenly meet withall and behold.

*This is held of some for truth.*

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 or conveyance of the spirits, from the eies 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 bloud about the heart of the other: which bloud disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched party, infeebleth the rest of his body, and maketh him sick; the contagion whereof so long continueth, as the distempered bloud hath force in the members. And because the infection is of bloud, the feaver or sickenesse will be continuall; whereas if it were of choler, or flegme, it would be intermittent or alterable.

*Non est in speculo res quæ speculatur in illo.*



## CHAP. X.

### *Of naturall witchcraft for love, &c.*

But as there is fascination and witchcraft by malicious and angry eies unto displeasure; so are there witching aspects, tending contrariwise to love, or at the least, to the procuring of good will and liking. For if the fascination or witchcraft be brought to passe or provoked by the desire, by the wishing and coveting of any beautifull shape or favour, the venome is strained through the eyes, though it be from a far, and the imagination of a beautiful forme resteth in the heart of the lover, and kindleth the fire wherewith it is afflicted. And because the most delicate, sweet, and tender bloud of the beloved doth there wander, his countenance is there represented shining in his owne bloud, and cannot there be quiet; and is so haled from thence, that the bloud of him that is wounded, reboundeth and slippeth into the wounder, according to the saying of *Lucretius* the poet to the like purpose and meaning in these verses;

*Nescio quis oculus teneros mihi fascinat agnos*, saith *Virgil*; and thus Englished by *Abraham Fleming*.

I wote not I
What witching eye
Doth ule to haut a
My tender lams
Sucking their dams
And them inchant.

*Idque petit corpus, mens unde est saucia amore,*
*Namque omnes plerunque cadunt in vulnus, & illam*
*Emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimur ictu;*
*Et si cominus est, os tum rubor occupat humor:*

Englished by *Abraham Fleming*.

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 bloud doth flee
From whence with stroke we striken bee,
If hard at hand, and near in place,
Then ruddie colour fils the face.

Thus much may seem sufficient touching this matter of natural magick; whereunto though much more may be annexed, yet for the avoiding of rediousnesse, and for speedier passage to that which remaineth; I will break off this present treatise. And now somewhat shal be said concerning divels and spirits in the discourse following.

# 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. lib. de var. rer. 16. cap. 93.*

The Platonists and Stoicks.

The Epicureans and Peripateticks.

*Summum bonum* cannot consist in the happinesse of the body or minde.

Moral temperance.

Moral prudence.

THere 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 wel or die wel, 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 præmii, 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 missed 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 denyed 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 witnesse 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 overthrown? And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should have no need of



of such circumspection. The justice whereof they speake, serveth but to keepe them from ravine, theft, and violence: and yet none of them all are so just but that the very best and uprightest of them fall into great infirmities, both doing and suffering much wrong and injury. And what is their fortitude but to arme them to endure misery griefe, danger, & death 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.

Morall justice.

Morall fortitude.

Rom. 2.

## CHAP. II.

*Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to the disproofe of some writers hereupon.*

The question about spirits doubtfull and difficult.

IFor 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 *Sadduces* 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 *Psellus, Nider, Sprenger, Cumanus, Bodin, Michael, Andreas, Ianus, Matchæus, Laurentius Ananias, Iamblichus, &c:* who with many others write so ridiculously in these matters, as if they were babes fraied with bugges; some affirming that the soules of the dead become spirits, the good to be angels, the bad to be divels; some that spirits or divels are onely in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some that divels are of such gender as they list themselves; some, that they had no beginning, nor shall have ending, as the *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 begat another; some, that they were created of the least part of the masse, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances betweene God and man, and that of them some are terrestriall, some celestiall, some watery, some airy, some firy, some starry, 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

*Plotinus.*

The Greeks.

*Laur. Ananias.*

The Manichees

*Plutarch.*

*Psellus.*

*Mal. malef.*

*Avicen*, and the Cabalists.

The Thalmudists.

*Psellus &c.*

The Platonists.

The Papists.

*Colossians*

*Colossians*, in the Seminaries testament printed at *Rhemes*, you shall manifestly see, though as contrary to the word of God as blacke to white, as apppeareth in the *Apocalypse*, where the angell expreslly forbad *John* to worship him.

Apoc. 19.10. ibid.22.8.9.

Againe, some say that they are meane betwixt terrestiall and celestiall bodies, communicating part of each nature; and that although they be eternall, yet that they are moved with affections: and as there are birds in the aire, fishes in the water, and wormes in the earth, so in the fourth element, which is the fire, is the habitation of spirits and divels. And lest we should thinke them idle, they say they have charge over men, and government in all countries and nations. Some say that they are onely imaginations in the mind of man. *Tertullian* saith they are birds, and fly faster then any fowle of the aire. Some say that divels are not, but when they are sent; and therefore are called evill angels. Some thinke that the divell sendeth his angels abroad, and he himselfe maketh his continuall abode in hell, his mansion place.

The Sadducees.

*Psellus de operatione damonum, cap.8.*

## CHAP. III.

### *The opinion of Psellus touching spirits, of their severall orders, and a confutation of his errors therein.*

*Psellus* being of authority in the church of *Rome*, and not impugnable by any catholike, being also instructed in these supernaturall or rather diabolicall matters by a monke called *Marcus*, who had been familiarly conversant a long time, as he said, with a certaine divell, reporteth upon the same divels owne word, which must needs understand best the state of this question, that the bodyes of angels and divels consist not now of all one element, though perhaps it were otherwise before the fall of *Lucifer*; and that the bodyes of spirits and divels can feele and be felt, do hurt and be hurt: in so much as they lament when they are stricken; and being put to the fire are burnt, and yet that they themselves burne continually, in such sort as they leave ashes behind them in places where they have beene; as manifest tryall thereof hath been (if he say truly) in the borders of *Italy*. He also saith upon like credit and assurance, that divels and spirits do avoid and shed from out of their bodyes, such seed or nature, as whereby certaine vermine are ingendered; and that they are nourished with food, as we are, saving that they receive it not into their mouthes, but sucke it up into their bodies, in such sort as sponges soke up water. Also he saith they have names, shapes, and dwelling places, as indeed they have, though not in temporall and corporall sort.

Such are spirits walking in white sheetes, &c.

*Psellus, ibid. cap.9.*

*Idem.cap.10.*

*Idem ibid. cap.11.*

Furthermore, he saith, that there are six princiall kind of divels, Oh heathenish, nay oh papistiall folly! which are not only corporall, but temporall and worldly. The first sort consist of fire, wandering in the region neere to the moone, but have



have no power to go into the moone. The second sort consisting of aire, have their habitation more low and neere unto us: these (saith he) are proud and great boasters, very wise and deceitfull, and when they come downe are seene with streames of fire at their taile. He saith that these are commonly conjured up to make images laugh, and lamps burne of their owne accord; and that in *Assyria* they use much to prophesie in a bason of water. Which kinde of incantation is usuall among our conjurors: but it is here commonly performed in a pitcher or pot of water; or else in a viall of glasse filled with water, wherein they say at the first a little sound is heard without a voice, which is a token of the divels comming. Anon the water seemeth to be troubled, and then there are heard small voyces, wherewith they give their answers, speaking so softly as no man can well heare them: because (saith *Cardane*) they would not be argued or rebuked of lies. But this I have else-where more largely described and confuted. The third sort of divels *Psellus* saith are earthly; the fourth watery, or of the sea; the fift under the earth; the sixt sort are *Lucifugi*, that is, such as delight in darkenes, and are scant indued with sense, and so dull, as they can scarse be moved with charmes or conjurations.

The opinions of all papists.

A cousening knavery.

*M.Card.lib.de. var.rer. 10. cap.93.*

The same man saith, that some divels are worse than other, but yet that they all hate God, and are enemies to man. But the worser moity of divels are *Aquei*, *Subterranei*, and *Lucifugi*; that is, watery, under the earth, and shunners of light: because (saith he) these hurt not the soules of men, but destroy mens bodies like mad and ravening beasts, molesting both the inward and outward parts thereof. *Aquei* are they that raise tempests, and drowne seafaring men, and do all other mischiefes on the water. *Subterranei* and *Lucifugi* enter into the bowels of men, and torment them that they possesse with the phrensie, and the falling evill. They also assault them that are miners or pioners, which use to worke in deepe and darke holes under the earth. Such divels as are earthy and aiery, he saith enter by subtilty into the minds of men, to deceive them, provoking men to absurd and unlawfull affections.

Divels of diverse natures, and their operations.

But herein his philosophy is very unprobable, for if the divell be earthy, he must needs be palpable; if he be palpable, he must needs kill them into whose bodies he entereth. Item, if he be of [illegible] created, then must he also be visible and untransformable in that [illegible] Gods creation cannot be annihilated by the creature. So as, though it were granted, that they might adde to their substance matter and forme, &c. yet it is most certaine, that they cannot diminish or alter the substance whereof they consist, as not to be (when they list) spirituall, or to relinquish and leave earth, water, fire, aire, or this and that element where of they are created. But howsoever they imagine of water, aire, or fire, I am sure earth must always be visible and palpable, yea, and aire must alwayes be invisible, and fire must be hot, add water must be moist. And of these three latter bodies, specially of water and aire, no forme nor shape can be exhibited to mortall eys naturally, or by the power of any creature.

The former opinion confuted.

## CHAP. IIII.

*More absurd assertions of* Psellus *and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein.*

*Psellus lib. de operat. dæm. cap. 12.* If this were spoken of the tentations, &c. of satan, it were tolerable. 1. Cor. 12.

MOreover, the same author saith that spirits whisper in our minds, and yet not speaking so lowd, as our eares may heare them: but in such sort as our soules speake together when they are dissolved; making an example by lowd speaking a farre off, & a comparison of soft whispering neere hand, so as the divell entreth so neere to the mind as the eare need not heare him; and that every part of a divell or spirit seeth, heareth, and speaketh, &c. But herein I will beleeve *Paul* better then *Psellus*, or his monke, or the monks divell. For *Paul* saith; if the whole body were an eye, where were hearing? If the whole body where hearing, where were smelling, &c. Whereby you may see what accord is betwixt Gods word and witchmongers.

*Psellus ibid. cap. 13.* If a babe of two yeares old throw stones from Pawles steeple, they will do hurt, &c. Howbeit I think the spirit of tentation to be that divel; & therefore Christ biddeth us watch and pray, lest we be tempted, &c. *Psel. in operat. dæm. cap. 14.* *Idem. cap. 17.*

The papists proceed in this matter, and say, that these spirits use great knavery and unspeakeable bawdery in the breach and middle parts of man and woman, by tickling, and by other lecherous devices; so that they fall jumpe in judgement and opinion, though very erroniously, with the foresaid *Psellus*, of whose doctrine also this is a parcell, to wit, that these divels hurt not cattell for the hate they beare unto them, but for love of their naturall and temperate heate and moisture, being brought up in deepe, dry and cold places; marry they hate the heate of the sun and the fire, because that kind of heate drieth too fast. They throwe downe stones upon men, but the blowes thereof doe no harme to them whom they hit; because they are not cast with any force: for saith he the divels have little and small strength, so as these stones do nothing but fray and terrifie men, as scarecrowes do birds out of the corne fields. But when these divels enter into the pores, then do they raise wonderfull tumults in the body and mind of man. And if it be a subterrene divell, he doth writhe and bow the possessed, and speaketh by him, using the spirits of the patient as his instrument. But he saith, that when *Lucifugus* possesseth a man; [illegible]th him dumbe, and as it were dead: and these be they that are cast out (saith he) only by fasting and prayer.

The same *Psellus*, with his mates *Bodin* and the penners of *M. Mal.* and others, do find fault with the physitians that affirm such infirmities to be curable with diet, and not by inchantments; saying, that physitians do only attend upon the body, and that which is perceiveable by outward sense; and that as touching this kind of divine philosophy, they have no skill at all: And to make divels and spirits seeme yet more corporall and terrene, he saith that certaine divels are belonging to certaine countries, and speake the languages of the same countries, and none others; some the *Assyrian*, some the *Chaldæan*, and some the *Persian* tongue, and that they feele stripes, and feare hurt, and specially the dint of the sword (in



(in which respect conjurors have swords with them in their circles, to terrifie them) and that they change shapes, even as sodainly as men doe change colour with blushing, fear, anger, and other moods of the mind. He saith yet further, that there be brute beasts among them, and yet divels, and subject to any kind of death; insomuch as they are so foolish, as they may be compared to flies, fleas, and wormes, who have no respect to any thing but their food, not regarding or remembring the hole from out of whence they came last. Marry divels compounded of earth, cannot often transform themselves, but abide in some one shape, such as they best like, and most delight in; to wit, in the shape of birds or women; and therefore the Greeks call them *Neidas*, *Nereidas*, and *Dreidas*, in the feminine gender; which *Dreidæ* inhabited, (as some write) the Islands beside *Scotland* called *Druidæ*, which by that means had their denomination and name. Other divels that dwell in dryer places transforme themselves into the masculine kind. Finally *Psellus* saith they know our thoughts, and can prophesie of things to come. His definition is, that they are perpetuall mindes in a passible body. Beast-like divels.

To verify these toies he saith, that he himself saw in a certain night a man brought up by *Aletus Libus* into a mountain, and that hee took an hearb, and spat thrice into his mouth, and annointed his eyes with a certain ointment, so as thereby he saw great troops of divels, and perceived a crow to flie into his mouth; and since that houre he could prophesie at all times, saving on Good-friday, and Easter-sunday. If the end of this tale were true, it might not only have satisfied the Greek-church, in keeping the day of Easter, together with the church of *Rome*; but might also have made the pope (that now is) content with our Christmas and Easter day, and not to have gathered the minutes together, and reformed it so, as to shew how falsly he and his predecessors (whom they say could not erre) hath observed it hitherto. And truly this, and the dansing of the sun on Easter day morning sufficiently or rather miraculously proveth that computation, which the pope now beginneth to doubt of, and to call in question. But *Psellus* saw nothing himself. Probable and likely stuffe.

## CHAP. V.

*The opinion of* Fascius Cardanus *touching spirits, and of his familiar divell.*

*Fascius Cardanus* had (as he himself and his son *Hierome Cardanus* report) a familiar divell, consisting of the fiery element, who, so long as he used conjuration, did give true answers to all his demands; but when he burned up his book of conjurations, though he resorted still unto him, yet did he make false answers continually. He held him bound twenty and eight years, and loose five years. And during the time that he was bound, he told him that there were many divels or spirits. He came not alwayes alone, but sometimes some of his fellows with him. He rather a- *Fasc. Card. operat. de dæmon.*

greed with *Psellus* then with *Plato*: for he said they were begotten, but not 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 he peared very young, he thought they lived two or three hundred years; they said that their soules and ours also died with their bodies. They have schooles and universities among them: but he conceived not that any were so dull headed, as *Psellus* maketh them. But they are very quick in credit, that beleeve such fables, which indeed is the ground-worke 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 *Rush*, *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 likenesse; but that evill 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 purse 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 importunatenesse.

What kind of sacrifices each spirit liketh best.

The other sort of divels and defiled soules are so conversant on earth, that they doe much hurt unto earthly bodies, specially in leachery. Gods and angels (say they) because they want all materiall and grosse substance, desire most the pure sacrifice of the minde. The grosser and more terrene sticall spirits desire the grosser sacrifices; as beasts and cattell. They in the middle or mean region delight to have frankincense, and such meane stuffe offered unto them: and therefore (say they) it is necessary to sacrifice unto them, all manner of things, so the same be slaine and dye not of their own accord; for such they abhor. Some say that spirits fear 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 complaine of them to the gods, or say that you will do any impossibility, or such things as they cannot understand; they are so timerous, 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 dissuade and prohibit, not only in *Socrates* his own cases, spirit. because *Socrates* (that would not lye) said so; and partly because that vell or familiar divell did ever dissuade 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 *Dæmonii viri*, otherwise, couseners. 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 wisdome; some Saturniall, always using dissuasion 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 souls 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 proposeth 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 *Idææ*, which give all things to all men; the third are the soules of heavenly bodies which are mortall; the fourth are angels; the fift archangels; the sixt are divels, who are ministers to infernall powers, as angels are to supernall; the seventh are half Gods; the eight are principalities; the ninth are princes. From which division *Dionysius* doth not much swarve, saving 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 fift vertues, the sixt powers, the seventh principalities, the eight archangels, the ninth and inferiour sort hee calleth angels. Howbeit, some of these (in my thinking) Ephes. 6. ase evill spirits; or else *Paul* gave us evill counsell, when he willed us to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spirituall wickednesse.

*Dionysius in cœlest. hierarch. cap. 9.*

But *Dionysius* in that place goeth further, impropriating to every country, and almost to every person of any accompt, a peculiar angell; as to *Jewry*, he assigneth *Michael*; to *Adam*, *Razael*; to *Abraham*, *Zekiel*; to *Isaack*, *Raphael*; to *Jacob*, *Peliel*; to *Moses*, *Metraton*, &c. But in these discourses be either followed his owne imaginations and conceipts, or else the corruptions of that age. Nevertheless, I had rather confute him by M. *Calvine*, and my kinsman M. *Doering*, than by my selfe, or mine

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 rapt into the third heaven, and reporteth no such matters. But if you read M. *Deering* upon the first chapter to the *Hebrews*, you shall see this matter notably 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 *Michael*, *Gabriel*, &c. are given to them (saith *Calvine*) according to the capacity of our weakenesse. 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.

*I. Calv. lib. instit. 1. c. 14.*

*Edw. Deering* in lect upon the Hebrews reading, 6. Mal 3. 1.

## 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 Schoolmens opinions of the creation of angels.*

THe witchmongers, which are most commonly bastard divines, doe fondly gather and falsly 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: so 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 not 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 deprivation of King *Nebuchadnezzar*, who exalting himself in pride (as it 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*.

Isai. 14.

But forsooth, because these great clerks would be thought methodicall, and to have crept out of wisdomes bosome, who rather crawled out of folies 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 terræ*; that is, the rottennesse of the earth. The *Cabalists* with whom *Avicen* seemeth to agree, say that one of these begat another

The opinion of the Thalmudists.

others



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 starres were made. *Laurence Ananias* saith, they were made the first day, and could not be made the fourth day, because it is written; *Quando fecerunt sidera, laudaverunt me angeli*: When the starres were made the angels praised me; so as (saith he) they were made under the names of the heavens.

*Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1*

*Creavit cœlum, & 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 honestie, affirm that the greater part fell with *Lucifer*; but the better opinion is (saith *Laurentius 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.

*Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.*

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of the contention between the Greek and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselves herein, a conflict 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 schoolmen 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 lesse 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 extentus & protegens posui te in monte sancto 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 *Cacodæmones* were they that rebelled against *Jove*; I mean they of *Plato* his sect, himself also holding the same opinion. Our schoolmen differ much in the cause of *Lucifers* fall. For some say it was for speaking these words, *Ponam 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

*Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.*

say,

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 utterly refused it. *Scotus* and his disciples say that it was, because he rebellyously claimed equall 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 wonderfull 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 fellowes out of the doores.

*Laur. 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 battel 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 battel 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 battel 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 tarried 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 it stood with Gods justice, to give them three warnings; so as at the third warning *Lucifer* fel down like lead (for so are the words) to the bottome of hell; the rest were left in the air, to tempt man. The *Sadduces* 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.

*Instans, viz. punctum temp. nempe indivi duum Nunc.*

*Euseb. in eccles. histor.*

*Monsieur Bodin, M. Mal.* and many other papists gather upon the seventh 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 nothing 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 ministration and service God useth; and in that respect are called angels. I say yet again with-

*Ioannes Cassianus in confessione theolog. tripart.*



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 greatnesse and the manner of their message; which (I say) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

*I. 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 trifle; 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 nitidante, 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 onely 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 himself great wrong: as may appear by so many fiery chariots shewed by *Elizæus* 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 vilenesse 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 accomptable 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. I. 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.*

WEE 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 down into hell, reserving them in everlasting chains under darkenesse, unto the judgement of the great day. But many divines say, that they find not any where, that God made divels of them, or that they became the princes of the world, or else of the aire; but rather prisoners. Howbeit, divers doctors affirme, that this *Lucifer*, notwithstanding his fal hath greater power than any of the angels in heaven: marry they say that there be certain other divels of the inferiour sort of angels, which were then thrust out for smaller faults, and therefore are tormented with little paines, besides eternal damnation; and these (say they) can doe little hurt. They affirme also, that they only use certain jugling knacks, delighting thereby to make men laugh, as they travel by the high waies; but other (say they) are much more churlish. For proof hereof they alledge the eighth of *Matthew*, where he would none otherwise be satisfied but by exchange, from the annoying of one man, to the destruction of a whole herd of swine. The *Rabbines*, and namely *Rabbie Abraham*, writing upon the second of Genesis, doe say, that God made the fairies, bugs, *Incubus*, Robin good fellow, and other familiar or domestical spirits and divels on the friday; and being prevented with the evening of the sabbath, finished them not, but left them unperfect; and therefore, that ever since they use to flie the holinesse of the sabbath, seeking dark holes in mountains and woods, wherein they hide themselves til the end of the sabbath, and then come abroad to trouble and molest men.

*Mal.malef. par. 2.qua.1.cap. 2.3.*
*Mal.malef. par.2. cap.1. quæst.2.*

*Mich. And. Lavr. Anan. Mal.malef. &c. Author. lib. Zeor hammor in Gen.2.*

But as these opinions are ridiculous and fondly collected; so if we have only respect to the bare word, or rather to the letter, where spirits or divels are spoken of in the scriptures, we shal run into as dangerous absurdities as these are. For some are so carnally minded, that a spirit is no sooner spoken of, but immediately they think of a black man with cloven feet, a pair of hornes, a tail, clawes, and eies as broad as a bason, &c. But surely the divel were not so wise in his generation, as I take him to be, if he would terrifie men with such ugly shapes, though he could doe it at his pleasure. For by that means men should have good occasion and opportunity to flie from him, and to run to God for succour; as the manner is of all them that are terrified, though perchance they thought not upon God a long time before. But in truth we never have so much cause to be afraid of the divel, as when he flatteringly insinuateth himself into our hearts, to satisfie, please, and serve our humours, enticing us to prosecute our owne appetites and pleasures, without any of these eternal terrours. I would weete of these men where they doe finde in the scriptures, that some divels be spiritual, and some corporal; or how these earthy or watery divels enter into the minde of man, *Augustine* saith, and divers others affirme, that satan or the divel while we feed, allureth us with gluttony: he thrusteth lust into our generation; and sloth into our exercise; into our conversation, envie; into our traffick, avarice; into our correction, wrath; into our government, pride; he putteth into our hearts evil cogitations; into our mouthes, lies, &c. When we wake, he moveth us to evill works; when we sleep, to evil and filthy dreames; he provoketh the merry to loosnesse, and the sad to despair.

The grosse dulnesse of many at the hearing of a spirit named.

*Aug. in ser. 4. Greg. 29. sup. Job. Leo pont. ser. 8, Nativit.*

CHAP.



## CHAP. XII.

### *That the divels assaults are spirituall and not temporall, and how grossely some understand those parts of the scripture.*

UPon that, which hitherto hath been said, you see that the assaults of satan are spiritual, and not temporal; in which respect *Paul* willeth us not to provide a corselet of steel to defend us from his clawes; but biddeth us put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the invasions of the divell. For we wrestle not against flesh and bloud; but against principalities, powers, and spirituall wickednesse. And therefore he adviseth us to be sober and watch; for the divel goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. He meaneth not with carnal teeth; for it followeth thus, Whom resist ye stedfastly in faith. And again he saith, That which is spiritual only discerneth spirituall things; for no carnal man can discerne the things of the spirit. Why then should we think that a divel, which is a spirit, can be knowne, or made tame and familiar unto a natural man; or contrary to nature, can be by a witch made corporal, being by God ordained to a spiritual proportion?

Eph.6.11,12. 2 Tim.2.8,9. Idem.ibid. 1 Cor.2.14.

The cause of this grosse conceipt is, that we hearken more diligently to old wives, and rather give credit to their fables, than to the word of God; imagining by the tales they tell us, that the divel is such a bugbegger, as I have before described. For whatsoever is proposed in scripture to us by parable, or spoken figuratively or significatively, or framed to our grosse capacities, &c. is by them so considered and expounded, as though the bare letter, or rather their grosse imaginations thereupon were to be preferred before the true sense and meaning of the word. For I dare say, that when these blockheads read *Jothams* parable in the ninth of Judges to the men of *Sichem*, to wit, that the trees went out to annoint a king over them, saying to the olive tree, Reigne thou over us; who answered and said, Should I leave my fatnesse, &c. they imagine that the wooden trees walked, and spake with a mans voice: or else, that some spirit entred into the trees, and answered as is imagined they did in the idols and oracles of *Apollo*, and such like; who indeed have eyes, and see not; ears and hear not; mouthes, and speak not, &c.

Judg.9.7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

## CHAP. XIII.

*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. Matth.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 wisdome and understanding, shal finde, that spirits, as well good as bad, are in the scriptures diversly taken; yea they shal well perceive, that the divel is no horned beast. For *a* sometimes in the scriptures, spirits and divels 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 divel, as *Judas* in the sixt 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 shal rest upon him; The spirit of counsel and strength; The spirit of wisdome 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 given, by the spirit, the word of wisdome; to another, the word of knowledge by the same spirit, to another, the gift of healing; to another, the gift of faith by the same spirit; to another, the gift of prophesie; to another, the operation of great works; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, the diversity of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues: and all these things worketh one and the self same spirit. Thus farre the words of *Paul*. And finally, *Esay* saith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of errour. And in another place, The Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slumber.

As for the spirits of divination spoken of in the scripture, they are such as was in the woman of *Endor*, the *Philippian* woman, the wench of *Westwell*, and the holy maid of *Kent*; who were indued with spirits or gifts of divination, whereby they could make shift to gain money, and abuse the people by sleights and crafty inventions. But these are possessed of borrowed spirits, as it is written in the book of Wisdome; and spirits of meer cousenage and deceipt, as I have sufficiently proved elsewhere. I deny not therefore that there are spirits and divels, of such substance as hath pleased God to create them. But in what place soever it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or divel 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 *Sichem*, we are to



understand, that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bulbegger. Also where it is said; If the spirit of jealousie come upon him. it is as much to say as; If he be moved with a jealous minde: and not that a corporal divel assaulteth him. It is said in the Gospel; There was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmity 18. years, who was bowed together, &c. 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 sickneſſe or disease of body that troubled her; for Christs own words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some say was the cause thereof. Num.5.14. Luk.13.11.

There were seven divels cast out of *Mary Magdalen*. Which is not so grossely understood by the learned, as that there were in her just seven corporal divels, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seven divels, 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 divels, recounteth the seven deadly sins only. Others allow neither of these expositions; because they suppose that the efficacy of Christs 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 processe of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physitian. But I say that Christs 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 blinde 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, out of whom (I say) he cast divels, and miraculously conformed them to become good Christians, which before were dissolute livers; to whom he said, Go your wayes and sin no more. Mark.16.9. Luk.4.36. Luk.7.21. John 8.11.

## 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 physitians 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 otherwise could be cured, that his sons glory, and his peoples faith might the more plainly appear; as namely, leprosie, lunacy, and blindnesse; as it is apparent in the Gospel, where it is said, that the man was not stricken with blindnesse for his owne sinnes, nor for any offence of his ancestors; but Luk.8.14. Levit.14.7,8. Luk.7.17.4. John 9.

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 lunatick or phrentick; which diseale in these dayes is said to proceed of melancholy. But if every one that now is lunatick, 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 truely, 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 reall divel, that possesseth them, remaineth. Entreth 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.

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 selfesame houre. According to that which is said in the 12. of Mat.15.28. *Matthew*; There was brought unto Christ one possessed of a divel, which was both blinde and dumbe, and he healed him: so as, he that was blind and Mat. 12,22. 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 lunatick, were said sometimes to be possessed of divels.

## CHAP. XV.

### *Of the possessed with divels.*

*Mal.malef. quæst.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 possesse 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 conveniency 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 *David's* veins: whereby we may see how absurd the imaginations and devices

* A maxime in philosophy, as the sun *in aridis & siccis.*



vices of men are, when they speak according to their owne fancies, without warrant of the word of God. But me thinks it is very absurd that *Josephus* affirmeth; to wit, that the divel should be thrust out of any man by vertue of a root. And as vain it is, that *Ælianus* writeth of the magicall herb *Cynospastus*, otherwise called *Aglaphotis*; which is all one with *Salomons* root named *Baaras*, as having force to drive out any divel from a man possessed. *Ioseph.de antiquitat. Jud. item de bello Iud. lib.7.c.35.*

## CHAP. XVI.

### *That we being not throughly informed of the nature of divels and spirits, must satisfie our selves with that which is delivered us in the Scriptures touching the same, how this word divell is to be understood both in the singular and plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the divell, of tame spirits, of* Ahab.

THe nature 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 beleeve 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 spirituall, though for the help of our capacities they are there sometime more grossely and corporally expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indeed they are. Num.27.16.

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 1 Reg.18: verse 23. the Lord, and said; I will goe entise him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said; I will goe and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his verse 4. prophets. Then he said; Goe forth, thou shalt prevaile, &c.

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 spirituall things, than by such corporall demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted, that one spirit, and not many or diverse, did possesse all the false prophets at once. Even as in another place, many thousand Luke 8.27,28. divels are said to possesse one man; and yet it is also said even in the self Mark.5.9. same place, that the same man was possessed only with one divell. For Luk.8. 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, *I.Cal.lib.instit.* Where satan or the divell is named in the singular number, thereby is *lib.1 cap 14.* meant that power of wickednesse, that standeth against the kingdome of *sect.14.* 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.

On the other side, it is as plainly set down in the scripture, that some are

Numb. 11. Ibid.ver.25. Acts 16. 2 Reg.2. Judg.3.10. *a* Iudg.11.39. *b* Ibid.14.6. *c* Ibid.14.6. *d* Numb.24.2. *e* 1 Sam.16.13. *f* 1 Sam.18.14. *g* Ezek.11.5. *h* 2 Chron.14. *i* 1 Chro.12 18 *k* Numb.14. *l* Dan.5.11. Iob.3.34. Eccles.8.

are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the divell. Yea sometimes we read, that one good spirit was put into a great number of persons; and again, that divers spirits rested in and upon one man: and yet no reall 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 *Elisha* intreated *Elia*, that when he departed, his spirit might double upon him. We read also that the spirit of the Lord came upon *a Othniel*, upon *b Gideon*, *c Jeptha*, *d Samson*, *e Balaam*, *f Saul*, *g David*, *h Ezekiel*, upon *i Zacbary*, *k Amasay*; yea it is written, that *Caleb* had another spirit than all the Israelites beside; and in another place it is said, that *l Dani.l* 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 alwayes thereby meant and presupposed. Howbeit I must confesse, that Christ had the spirit of God without measure, as it is written in the Evangelist *Iohn*. 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 falsly 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 extreamly contend and vary.*

SOme hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume and take unto them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list; of which mind all papists, and some protestants are, being more grosse than another sort, which hold that such bodies are made to their hands. Howbeit, these doe varie in the elements, wherewith these spirituall bodies are composed. For (as I have said) some affirm 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 organicall 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 either 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.

For every naturall motion is either circular or elementary.



## 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 bee 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 hurteth by night; and *Cheleb* is he that hurteth 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*, wherein is written, Thou makest darkenesse, 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 blindnesse! 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 commandement in all sacrifices; abusing the Scriptures, which 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. *I. Bod. lib. de dem. 3. ca. 4.* Exod.12.29. Psal.104.20. *I. Bod. lib. de dem. 3. ca. 5.* Levit.1.

## CHAP. XIX.

*That such divels as are mentioned in the scriptures, have in their names, their nature and qualities expressed, with instances thereof.*

Such divels are mentioned in the Scriptures by name, have in their names their nature and qualities expressed, being for the most part the idols of certaine nations idolatrously erected, in stead, or rather in spight of God. For *Beelzebub*, which signifieth the lord of the flies, because he taketh every simple thing in his web, was an idol or oracle erected at *Ekron*, to whom *Ahaziah* sent to know whether he should recover his disease: as though there had been no God in Israel. This divell *Beelzebub* was among the Jews reputed the principall divell. The *Grecians* called him *Pluto*, the *Latines*, *Sumanus*, *quasi summum deorum manium*, the chief ghost or spirit of the dead whom they supposed to walk by night: although they absurdly beleeved also that the soul died with the body. So as they did put a difference betwen the ghost of a man and the soul of a man: and so doe our papists; howbeit, none otherwise but that the soul is a ghost, when it walketh on the earth, after the dissolution of the body, or appeareth to any man, either out of heaven, hell, or purgatory, and not otherwise. *a Nisroch* signifieth a delicate tentation, and was worshipped by *Sennacharib* in *Assyria*. *b Tarcat* is in English, fettered, and was the divell or idoll of the *Hevites*. *c Beelphegor*, otherwise called *Priapus*, the gaping or naked, god was worshipped among the *Moabites*. *d Adramelech*, that is, the cloke or power of the king, was an idoll at *Sepharvais*, which was a city of the *Assyrians*. *e Chamos*, that is feeling, or departing, was worshipped among the *Moabites*. *f Dagon*, that is, corn or grief, was the idoll of the *Philistines*. *g Astarte*, that is, a fold or flock, is the name of a shee idoll at *Sydonia*, whom *Salomon* worshipped; some think it was *Venus*. *h Melchom*, that is, a king, was an idoll or divell, which the sons of *Ammon* worshipped.

2 Reg.13.

Mat.10. & 12. Mark.3. Luk.11.

*a* 2 Reg.19. *b* 2 Reg.17. *c* Ose.9.11. Numb.25. Deut.3.& 4. Josu.22. *d* 2 Reg.17. *e* Numb.21. 1 Reg.11. 2 Reg.23. *f* Judg.16. 1 Mac.10. *g* 1 Reg.11. 2 Reg.23. *h* 2 Reg.23. 1 Chron.20. Jerem.49. *Ioseph.lib. de antiquit. Iudæor.6.cap.* 14. 1 Sam.7. 2 Reg.23.

Sometimes also we find in the scriptures, that divels and spirits take their names of wicked men, or of the houses or states of abominable persons: as *Astaroth*, which (as *Josephus* saith) was the idoll of the *Philistines*, whom the *Jews* took from them at *Salomons* commandment, and was also worshipped of *Salomon*. Which though it signifie riches, flocks, &c. yet it was once a city belonging to *Og* the king of *Basan*, where they say the giants dwelt. In these respects *Astaroth* is one of the speciall divels named in *Salomons* conjuration, & greatly imployed by the conjurors. I have sufficiently proved in these quotations, that these idols are *Dii gentium*, the gods of the Gentiles; and then the prophet *David* may satisfie you, that they are divels, who saith *Dii gentium dæmonia sunt*, The gods of the gentiles are divels. What a divell was the rood of grace to be thought, but such a one as before is mentioned and described, who took his name of his curteous and gracious behaviour towards his worshippers, or rather those that offered unto

Psal.96.



unto him? The idolatrous knavery whereof being now bewrayed, it is among the godly reputed a divell rather than a god; and so are diverse others of the same stamp.

## CHAP. XX.

*Diverse names of the divell, whereby his nature and disposition is manifested.*

It hath also pleased God to inform our weak capacities, as it were by similitudes and examples, or rather by comparisons, to understand what manner of thing the divell is, by the very names appropriated and attributed unto him in the scriptures; wherein sometimes he is called by one name, sometimes by another, by metaphors according to his conditions. *a Elephas* is called in *Job*, *Behemoth*, which is, *Bruta*; whereby the greatnesse and brutishnesse of the divell is figured. *Leviathan* is not much different from *Elephas*; whereby the divels great subtilty and power is shewed unto us. *b Mammon* is the covetous desire of mony, wherewith the divell overcometh the reprobate. *c Dæmon* signifieth one, that is cunning or crafty. *Cacodæmon* is perversly knowing. All those which in ancient times were worshipped as Gods, were so called. *d Diabolus* is *Calumniator*, an accuser, or a slenderer. *Satan* is *Adversarius*, an adversary, that troubleth and molesteth. *e Abaddon* a destroyer. *f Legio*, because they are many. *g* Prince of the air. *h* Prince of the world. *i* A king of the sons of pride. *k* A roaring lion. *l* An homicide or manslayer, a lyer, and the father of lies. *m* The author of sin. *n* A spirit. Yea sometimes he is called the spirit of the Lord, as the executioner and minister of his displeasure, &c. Sometimes, the *o* spirit of fornication, &c. And many other like epithets or additions are given him for his name. He is also called *p* the angell of the Lord. *q* The cruell angell of Satan. The *r* angell of hell. The *t* great dragon, for his pride and force. The *u* red dragon, for his bloudinesse. A serpent. An *y* owl, a *z* kite, a satyr, a crow, a pellican, a hedghog, a griph, a stork, &c.

*a* Ioh 40. Job 3. Isai. 27. *b* Matth. 6. Matth.4.&c. Marc.16. James 2. *d* Matth.4. John 8. Apoc.12. *e* Apoc.9. *f* Mark.5. Luk.8. *g* Ephes.2. *h* John 8.12. 14.16. *i* Job 41. *k* 1 Pet.5. *l* 1 John 8. *m* 1 John 3. *n* Act.16. *o* Ose.4. *p* Psal.34. 1 Chron.21. *q* Prov.17. *r* 2 Cor.12. *s* Apoc.9. *t* Apoc.12. *u* Job 41. *x* Gen.3. *y* Apoc.12. *z* Isai.27. Isai.13.24.

## CHAP. XXI.

*That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are divels, their divers names, and in what affaires their labours and authorities are imployed, wherein also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discovered.*

And for so much as the idols of the Gentiles are called divels, and are among the unlearned confounded and intermedled with the divels that are named in the Scriptures; I thought it convenient here to give you a note of them, to whom the Gentiles gave names, according to the offices unto them assigned. *Penates* are the domesticall gods, or rather divels

Psalm 96.

*Juno* and *Minerva*.

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 crosse wayes and cities. *Larvæ* 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.

Cousening gods or knaves.

*Virunculi 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 genialis* are the gods that every man did sacrifice unto at the day of their birth.

*Terra, aqua, aer, ignis, sol & Luna.*

*Tetrici* be they that make folk afraid, and have such ugly shape, which many of our Divines doe call *Subterranei*. *Cobali* are they that follow men, and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, juggling, and such like toies. *Virunculi* are dwarfs about three handfuls long, and doe no hurt; but seem to dig in minerals, and to be very busie, and yet doe nothing. *Guteli* or *Trulli* are spirits (they say) in the likenesse of women, shewing great kindnesse to all men; and hereof it is that we call light women, trulls. *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 goe as many tales upon this *Hudgin*, in some parts of *Germany*, as there did in *England* of *Robin Good-fellow*.

*Hudgin* of *Germany*, and *Rush* of *England*.

But this *Hudgin* was so called, because he alwayes ware a cap or a hood; and therefore I think it was *Robin Hood*. Fryar *Rush* 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 *Rush* his story, or else to *John Wierus*, *De præstigiis dæmonum*.

*Wier. lib. de præst. dæm. 1. cap. 23.*

There were also *Familiares dæmones*, which we call familiars: such as *Socrates* and *Cæsar* were said to have; and such as *Feats* sold to Doctor *Burcot*. *Quintus Sertorius* had *Diana* her self for his familiar; and *Numa Pompilius* had *Aegeria*; but neither the one nor the other of all these could be preserved by their familiars from being destroyed with untimely death. *Simon Samareus* 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 *Albæ mulieres*, and *Albæ 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 *Calesuce*, 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 in



in *America*, called *Agnan*, beareth sway in that country. In *Gime* one *Grigrie* is accounted the great divell, and keepeth the woods; these have Bawdy priests called *Charoibes*, which professe after they have lien by the space of in *Gimnie*. one houre prostrate upon a wench of twelve yeares old, and all that while (say they) he calleth upon a divell called *Horiculsira*, and then commeth fourth and uttereth his professie. For the true succeeding 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 divels; and such as they take to themselves are more ridiculous than the names that are given by others, which have more leasure to devise them. In little bookes containing the cousening 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 Irish word (*Ob*) lib. 7. cap 3.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *Of the* Romans *chiefe gods called Dii selecti, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.*

THere were among the *Romans* twenty idolatrous gods, which were called *Dii selecti sive electi*, chosen gods; whereof twelve were male, and eight female, whose names do thus follow: *Ianus*, *Saturnus*, *Jupiter*, *Genius*, *Mercurius*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Vulcanus*, *Neptunus*, *Sol*, *Orcus* and *Vibar*, which were all he gods: *Tellus*, *Ceres*, *Iuno*, *Minerva*, *Luna*, *Diana*, *Venus* and *Vesta*, were all she gods. 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 *Iupiter Elicius*. They had *Cantius*, to whom they prayed for wise children, who was more apt for this purpose than *Minerva* that issued out of *Iupiters* 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 alwayes touched the child therewith before she or any other layed hand thereon.

A good god and goddesse for women.

If the child were well borne, they sacrificed therunto, although the mother miscaried: but if the child were in any part unperfect, or dead, &c. they used to 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 crying in youth portended ill fortune in age. *Cuninus*, otherwise *Cunius*, was he that preserved (as they thought) their children from misfortune in the cradle. *Ruminus* was to keepe their dugs from corruption. *Volumnus* and his wife *Volumna* were gods, the one for yong men, the other for

The names of offices.

maids that desired marriage: for such as prayed devoutly unto them, should soone be marryed. *Agrestis* was the god of the fields, and to him they prayed for fertility. *Bellus* was the god of warre and warriers, and to him also was *Victoria*, to whom the greatest temple in *Rome* was built. *Hominus* was he that had charge about inkeepers, that they should well intreat pilgrimes. *Berecynthia* was the mother of all the gods. *Aesculanus* was to discover their mines of gold and silver, and to him they prayed for good successe in that behalfe. *Aesculapius* was to cure the sicke, whose father was *Apollo*, and served to keepe weeds out of the corne. *Sigacia* was to make seeds to grow. *Flora* preserved the vines from frosts and blasts. *Sylvanus* was to preserve them that walked in gardens. *Bacchus* was for drunkards. *Pavor* for cowherds; *Meretrix* for whores, to whose honour there was a temple built in *Rome*, in the middest of forty and foure streets, which were all inhabited with common harlots. Finally *Cloacina, Latina, alias Clotina*, was goddesse of the stoole, the jakes, and the privy, to whom as to every of the rest, there was a peculiar temple edified: besides that notable temple called *Panthon*, wherein all the gods were placed together; so as every man and woman, according to their follyes and devotions, might go thither and worship what gods they list.

A very homely charge.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### *Of diverse gods in diverse countres.*

THe *Aegyptians* were yet more foolish in this behalfe than the *Romans* (I meane the heathenish *Romans* that then were, and not the popish *Romans* that now are, for no nation approcheth neere to these in any kind of idolatry.) The *Aegyptians* worshipped *Anubis* in the likenesse of a dog, because he loved dogs and hunting. Yea they worshipped all living creatures, as namely of beasts, a bullocke, a dog, and a cat; of flying fowles, Ibis (which is a bird with a long bill, naturally devouring up venemous things and noisome serpents) and a sparrowhawke; of fishes they had two gods; to wit, *Lepidotus piscis*, and *Oxyrinchus*. The *Saitans* and *Thebans* had to their god a sheepe. In the city *Lycopolis* they worshipped a woolfe; in *Herimpolis*, the *Cynocephalus*; the *Leopolitans*, a lion; in *Letopolis*, a fish in *Nilus* called *Latus*. In the city *Cynopolis* they worshipped *Anubis*. At *Babylon*, besides *Memphis*, they made an onion their god; the *Thebans* an eagle; the *Mendesians*, a goate; the *Persians*, a fire called *Orimasda*; the *Arabians*, *Bacchus*, *Venus*, and *Diasaren*; the *Boetians*, *Amphyaraus*; the *Aphricans*, *Mopsus*; the *Scythians*, *Minerva*; the *Naucratits*, *Serapis*, which is a serpent; *Astartes* (being as *Cicero* writeth the fourth *Venus*, who was she, as others affirme, whom *Solomon* worshipped at his concubines request) was the goddesse of the *Assyrians*. At *Noricum* being a part of *Bavaria*, they worship *Tibilenus*; the *Moores* worship *Iuba*; the *Macedonians*, *Gabirus*; the *Poenians*, *Vranius*; at *Samos Iuno* was their god; at *Paphos*, *Venus*; at *Lemnos*, *Vulcane*; at *Naxos*, *Liberus*; at *Lampsacke*, *Priapus* with the great genitals; who was set up at *Hellespont* to be adored. In the ile *Diomedea*, *Diomedes*; at *Delphos*, *Apollo*; at *Ephesus*, *Diana* was worshipped. And because they would play small game rather than sit out, they had *Acharus Cyrenaicus*, to keepe them from flies and fleblowes; *Hercules Canopius*, to keepe them from fleas; *Apollo Parnopetus*, to keepe their cheeses from being mouseaten. The *Grecks* were the first, that I can learne to have assigned to the gods their principall kingdomes and offices: as *Iupiter* to rule in heaven, *Pluto* in hell, *Neptune* in the sea, &c. To these they joyned, as assistants, divers commissioners; as to *Iupiter*, *Saturne*, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercurie*, *and Minerva*: to *Neptune*, *Nereus*, *&c.* *Tutilina* was only a mediatrix to *Iupiter*, not to destroy corne with thunder or tempests, before whom they usually lighted candles in the temple, to appease the sane, according to popish custome in these days. But I may not repeate them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by good record, as *Varro* and others report, to the number of 30. thousand, and upward. Whereby the reasonable reader may judge their superstitious blindnesse.

Beasts, birds, vermine, fishes, herbs and other trumpery worshipped as gods.

Inperiall gods and their assistants.

The number of gods among the gentiles.



## CHAP. XXIIII.

### *Of popish provinciall gods, a comparison betweene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation every popish god is.*

NOw if I thought I could make an end in any reasonable time, I would begin with our antichristian gods, otherwise called popish idols, which are as ranke divels as *Dii gentium*, Gods of the Gentiles, spoken of in the psalmes: or as *Dii montium*, Gods of the Mountaines, set forth and rehearsed in the first booke of the kings; or as *Dii terrarum* or *Dii populorum*, Gods of the Earth or of People, mentioned in the second of the *Chronicles* 32. and in the first of the *Chronicles* 16. or as *Dii terrae*, Gods of the earth, in *Judges* 3. or as *Dii filiorum Seir*, Gods of the sonnes of Seir in the second of the *Chronicles* 25. or as *Dii alieni*, strange Gods, which are so often mentioned in the scriptures.

1.Reg.20. 2.Chr.32. 1.Chr.16. Iudg.3. 2 Chr.33. 2.Reg.23,&c.

Surely, there were in the popish church more of these in number, more in common, more private, more publike, more for lewd purposes, and more for no purpose, than among all the heathen, either heretofore, or at this present time: for I dare undertake, that for every heathen idoll I might produce twenty out of the popish church. For there were proper idols of every nation: as S *George* on horsebacke for *England* (excepting whom there is said to be no more horsemen in heaven save only S. *Martine*) S. *Andrew* for *Burgundie* and *Scotland*, S. *Michael* for *France*, S. *Iames* for *Spaine*, S. *Patrike* for *Ireland*, S. *David* for *Wales*, S. Peter for *Rome*, and some part of Italy. Had not every city in all the popes dominions his severall patron? As *Paule* for *London*, *Denis* for *Paris*, *Ambrose* for *Millen*, *Loven* for *Gaunt*, *Romball* for *Mackline*, S. *Marke* lion for *Venice*, the three magitian kings for *Cullen*, and so of other.

Popish gods of nations.

Yea,

Parish gods or popish idols.

Yea, had they not for every small towne, and every village and parish (the names whereof I am not at leisure to repeat) a severall Idoll? As S. *Sepulchre*, for one; S. *Bride*, for another; S. All hallowes, All saints, and our Lady for all at once: which I thought meeter to rehearse, than a bedroll of such a number as are in that predicament. Had they not bee idols and shee idols, some for men, some for women; some for beasts, some for fowles, &c. Do you not think that S. *Martin* might be opposed to *Bacchus*? If S. *Martine* be too weak we have S. *Urbane*, S. *Clement*, and many other to assist him. Was *Venus* and *Meretrix* an advocate for whores among the Gentiles? Behold, there were in the Romish church to encounter with them, S. *Aphra*, S. *Aphrodite*, and S. *Maudline*. But insomuch as long *Meg* was as very a whore as the best of them, she had wrong that she was not also canonized, and put in as good credit as they: for she was a gentlewoman born; whereunto the pope hath great respect in canonizing of his saints. For (as I have said) he canonizeth the rich for saints, and burneth the poor for witches. But I doubt not, *Magdalen*, and many other godly women are very saints in heaven, and should have been so, though the pope had never canonized them; but he doth them wrong, to make them the patronesses of harlots and strong strumpets.

See the golden Legend for the life of S. *Bridget*.

He saints and she saints of the old stamp with their peculiar vertues touching the curing of diseases.

Was there such a traitor among all the heathen idols, as S. *Thomas Becket*? Or such a whore as S. *Bridget*? I warrant you S. *Hugh* was as good a huntsman as *Anubis*. Was *Vulcane* the protector of the heathen smithes? Yea forsooth, and S. *Euloge* was patron for ours. Our painters had *Luke*, our weavers had *Steven*, our millers had *Arnold*, our tailors had *Goodman*, our sowters had *Crispine*, our potters had S. *Gore* with a divell on his shoulder and a pot in his hand. Was there a better horseleech among the gods of the Gentiles than S. *Loy*? Or a better sowgelder than S. *Anthony*? Or a better toothdrawer than S. *Apolline*? I believe that *Apollo Parnopeius* was no better a ratcatcher than S. *Gertrude*, who hath the popes patent and commendation therefore. The *Thebans* had not a better shepherd than S. *Wendeline*, nor a better Gissard to keep their geese than *Gallus*. But for physick and surgery, our idols exceed them all. For S. *John*, and S. *Valentine* excelled at the falling evill. S. *Roch* was good at the plague, S. *Petronill* at the ague. As for S. *Margaret*, she pulled *Lucina* for a midwife, and yet was but a maid; in which respect S. *Margarite* is joyned with her in commission.

For mad men, and such as are possessed with divels, S. *Romane* was excellent, and fryer *Ruffine* was also prettily skilful in that art. For botches and biles, *Cosmus* and *Damian*; S. *Clare* for the eyes, S. *Apolline* for teeth, S. *Job* for the * pox. And for sore breasts S. *Agatha* was as good as *Ruminus*. Whosoever served *Servatius* well, should be sure to lose nothing: if *Servatius* failed in his office, S. *Vinden* could supply the matter with his cunning; for he could cause all things that were lost to be restored again. But here lay a straw for a while, and I will shew you the names of some, which exceed these very far, and might have been canonized for archsaints; all the other saints or idols being in comparison of them but bunglers, and benchwhistlers. And with your leave, when all other saints had given over the matter, and the saints utterly forsaken of their servitors, they repaired to these that I shal name unto you, with the good consent of the pope, who is the sautor, or rather the patrone of all the saints, divels, and idols living or dead, and of all the gods save one. And whereas none other saint could cure above one disease, in so much as it was idolatry, folly I should have said, to goe to *Job* for any other malady than the pox; nothing commeth amisse to these. For they are good at any thing, and never a whit nice of their cunning: yea greater matters are said to be in one of their powers, than is in all the other saints. And these are they: S. mother *Bungie*, S. mother *Paine*, S. *Feats*, S. mother *Still*, S. mother *Dutton*, S. *Kyrtell*, S. *Ursula Kempe*, S. mother *Newman*, S. doctor *Heron*, S. *Rosimund* a good old father, and diverse more that deserve to be registred in the popes kalendar, or rather the divels rubrick.

New saints.

* For the French pox or the common kind of pox, or both? This would be known.



## CHAP. XXV.

### *A comparison between the heathen and the papists, touching their excuses for idolatry.*

AND because I know, that the papists will say, that their idols are saints, and no such divels as the gods of the Gentiles were: you may tell them, that not only their saints, but the very images of them were called *Divi*. Which though it signifie gods, and so by consequence idols or friends: yet put but an (ll) thereunto, and it is *Divill* in English. But they will say also that I do them wrong to gibe at them, because they were holy men and holy women. I grant some of them were so, and further from allowance of the popish idolatry employed upon them, than grieved with the derision used against that abuse. Yea even as silver and gold are made idols unto them that love them too well, and seek too much for them: so are these holy men and women made idols by them that worship them, and attribute unto them such honour, as to god only appertaineth.

*Divos vocant Grammatici eos qui ex hominibus dii facti sunt.*

The heathen gods were for the most part good men, and profitable members to the commonwealth wherein they lived, and deserved fame, &c. in which respect they made gods of them when they were dead; as they made divels of such emperours and philosophers as they hated, or as had deserved ill among them. And is it not even so, and worse, in the common wealth and church of popery? Doth not the pope excommunicate, curse, and condemne for hereticks, and drive to the bottomlesse pit of hell, proclaiming to the very divels, all those that either write, speak, or think, contrary to his idolatrous doctrine? *Cicero*, when he derided the heathen gods, and inveyed against them that yeelded such servile honour unto them, knew the persons, unto whom such abuse was committed, had well deserved as civill citizens; and that good fame was due unto them, and not divine estimation. Yea the infidels that honoured those gods, as hoping to receive benefits for their devotion employed that way, knew and conceived that the statues and images, before whom with such reverence they

*Cic. de natur. deorum.*

they powred forth their prayers, were stocks and stones, and only pictures of those persons whom they resembled: yea they also knew, that the parties themselves were creatures, and could not doe so much as the papists and witchmongers think the Roode of grace, or mother *Bungie* 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 councell 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 councels. Neither doe any of them admit so grosse idolatry, as the councell 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 remain (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 reverenced among papists.

The Idolatrous councell 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 offendor; 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 judiciall seat ready prepared and furnished, where the judge, to wit, Jesus Christ, sate, who took up his mother 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 shal read.



other 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 injoined to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope to take the paines to do according to this decree, 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 buttons.

## 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 courtesie 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 beleeve this and such like fables: yea, to discredit such stuffe, is thought among the papists flat heresie. And though we that are protestants will not beleeve these toies, being so apparently popish: yet we credit and report other appearances, and assuming of bodies by souls 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 cosenage: but we can credit, imprint, and publish for a true possession or history, the knavery used by a cousening varlot at *Maidstone*; and many other such as that was. We think soules and spirits may come out of heaven or hell, and assume bodies, beleeving 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 equall, and in number farre exceed the other.

Our B. ladies favour.

*Greg. 4. dialog. cap. 51. Alex. and. lib. 5. cap. 23. & lib. 2. cap. 9. &c. Greg. lib. 4. dialog. cap. 40. idem cap. 55.* and in other places elsewhere innumerable.

We think that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fathered upon *Luther*; to wit, that he knew the divell, and was very conversant with him, and had eaten many bushels of salt and made jolly good cheere with him; and that he was confuted in a disputation with a reall divell about *thes.* 151.

about the abolishing of private masse. Neither do we beleeve this report, that the divell in the likenesse of a tall man, was present at a sermon openly made by *Carolostadius*; 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 beleeve *Platina* and others, when they tell us of the appearances of pope *Benedict* the eight, and also the ninth; how the one rode upon a black horse in the wildernesse, 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 bears skinne, and an asses head on his shoulders, &c. himselfe saying that he appeared in such sort as he lived. And diverse such stuffe rehearsed by *Platina*.

*Alex. ab Alexand. lib. 4. genealog. dierum. cap. 19. Plutarch. oratione ad Apollonium. Item. Basilienſ. in epiſt. Platina de vitis pontificum. Nauclerus. 2. generat. 35.*

Now because S. *Ambrose* writeth, that S. *Anne* appeared to *Constance* the daughter of *Constantine*, and to her parents, watching at her sepulchre: and because *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* say, that the *Pontamian* virgine, *Origens* disciple, appeared to S. *Basil*, and put a crown upon his head, in token 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 beleeve 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 beleeve some few lies, the papists beleeve 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, not to be carryed away with every vain blast of doctrine; but let us cast away these prophane and 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 self 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.

*Ambr. ſer. 90. de paſſione Agn. Euſeb. lib. eccleſ. hiſt. 5. Nicepb. lib. 5. cap. 7. Hieronym. in vita Pau. Theodor. lib. hiſt. 5. ca. 24. Athan. in vita Antho.*

* *Melanct. in Calendar. Manlii. 23. April. Marbach. lib. de miracul. adverſus Inſ. Johannes Rivius de veter. ſuperſtit. Athan. lib. 99. quæ. 11. Auguſt. de cura pro mortu. ca. 13. Luk. 16.*



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*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 cousenages; 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 souls 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 thought good to give you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this behalf.

*Matth. 17. Luk 9. Johan. Laur. lib. de natur. demon.*

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 souls should not be perfectly happy. They say that you may know the good souls from the bad very easily. For a damned soul hath a very heavy and sowre 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 souls also may come up out of hell at their pleasure; although *Abraham* made *Dives* beleeve the contrary. They affirme that damned souls walk oftenest: next unto them the souls of purgatory; and most seldome the souls of saints. Also they say that in the old law souls 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 souls (saith *Michael Andr.*) is a most excellent argument for the proof of purgatory; for (saith he) those souls 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; whereby the goodnesse of the masse is also ratified and confirmed.

*Mich. Andr. theſ. 222. &c. Idem theſ. 235. & 136. Idem theſ. 226. Th. Aq. 1 pa. quæ 89. ar. 8. Gregor. in dial. 4. Mich. And. theſ. 313. 316. 317. Idem theſ. 346. Leo. ſerm. de ſ. junius 10.*

These heavenly or purgatory souls (say they) appear most commonly to them that are born upon ember daies, and they also walk most usually on those ember daaes; 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 soules appear oftenest 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 oftenest seen by them that are ready to dye; as *Trasilla* saw pope *Felix*; *Ursine*, *Peter* and *Paul*; *Galla* *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 at

*Gelaſ. in epiſtola ad epiſc. Mich. Andr. theſ. 345. Greg. dial. 4. cap. 1. 12. 14. Galla Mich. And. theſ. 347. Greg. dial. 4. cap. 11.*

at all; as *Ursine* saw Peter and *Paul*, and yet many at that instant being present could not see any such sight, but thought it a lie; as I doe. *Michael Andræas* confesseth, that papists see more visions than protestants; he saith also, that a good soul can take none other shape than of a man; marry a damned soul may and doth take the shape of a black moor, or of a beast, 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 relicks of saints; in the number whereof are holiwater, holy bread, *Agnus Dei*, &c. For *Andrew* saith, that notwithstanding *Julian* was an Apostate, and a betrayer of a christian religion; yet at an extremity, with the only sign of the crosse, he drave away from him many such evill spirits; whereby also (he saith) the greatest diseases and sicknesses are cured, and the sorest dangers avoided.

*Mich. And. thes.* 347.
*Mich. And. thes.* 341.
*Ide. thes.* 388.
*Ide. thes.* 411.
*Mal. malef.* I. 2nd. &c.
*Mich. And. thes.* 412.
*Idem, thes.* 414.

## CHAP. XXIX.

### *A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced Eve.*

THey that contend so earnestly for the divels assuming of bodies and visible shapes, 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 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. 14, 15.
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 mankinde, whose heel or flesh in his members the divell 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 subtill than all the beasts of the field. It likewise signifieth such as be evill speakers, such as have slandering tongues, also hereticks, &c. They have sharpned their tongues like serpents. It doth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of Christ: as *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wilderneſſe, 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 subtill 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 equivocall, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the good and sometimes in the evill part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceipt: me thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the 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 Christs comming. He saith also with like commendation speaking hereof, and writing upon this place) that *Moses* doth accommodate and fitten for the understanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there delivereth; forbearing once to rehearse the name of 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 supplyed, with the secret light of his spirit, whatsoever wanted in plainnesse and clearnesse of externall words.

Gen. 3. 1.
Psal. 139. 4.
Num. 8. & 9.
John 3. 14.
Mar. 23. 33.
Mat. 10. 16.
*1. Cal. in Genes. cap.* 3. 1.
*Idem ibid.*
*Idem ib'd.*
*Idem, ibid.*

If it be said, according to experience, that certain other beasts are farre more subtill than the serpent; they answer, that it is not absurd to confesse, 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,

Mat. 10. 16.

were before their transgression; but, Be wise as serpents are. I would learn what impiety, absurdity, or offense it is to hold, that *Moses*, under the person of poysonin g serpent or snake, describeth the divell that poysoned *Eve* with his deceipfull 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 description 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 letter; 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.

Isai. 30. 6. Mat. 3. 12, 13. Luk. 3. &c. Gen. 3.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### *Of the curse rehearsed* Gen. 3. *and that place rightly expounded, John Calvines opinion of the divell.*

THe curse rehearsed by God in tha 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 comprehend it, or is needfull for us to know, that understand not 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 divell should have entered into the snake, in manner and form as they suppose; 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 family of love, and such other heretiques, as would reduce the whole Bible into allegories: yet (me thinks) the creeping there is rather metaphorically or significately spoken, than literally; even by that figure, which is there prosecuted to the end. Wherein the divell is resembled to an odious creature, who as he creepeth upon us to annoy our bodies; so doth the divell 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) obtaine power to doe the like. For we may not imagine such a materiall tragedy, as there is described, for the ease of our feeble and weak capacities.

Family of love. *I. Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14. sect. 18*

For whensoever we find in the scriptures, that the divell is called god, the prince of the world, a strong armed man, to whom is given the power of the air; a roaring lion, a serpent, &c. the Holy Ghost moved us thereby, to beware of the most subtill, strong and mighty enemy, and to make preparation, and arm our selves with faith against so terrible an adversary. And this is the opinion and counsell of *Calvine*, that we seeing our own weaknesse, and his force manifested in such termes, may beware the divell, and may flie to God for spirituall aid and comfort. And as for his corporall assaults, or his attempts upon our bodies, his night walkings, 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 flie 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 *Sadduces* 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 *Augustine*, that these matters are above my reach and capacity; and yet so farre as Gods word teacheth me, I will not sticke 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.

*I. Cal. lib. inst. 1. cap. 14. sect. 13.*

*Aug. de cura pro mort. &c.*



## CHAP. XXXII.

### *Mine own opinion and resolution of the nature of spirits, and of the divell, with his properties.*

BVt to use few words in a long matter, and plain termes in a doubtful case, this is mine opinion concerning this present argument. First, that divels are spirits and no bodies. For (as *Peter Martyr* saith) spirits and bodies are by antithesis opposed one to another; so as a 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 *b* one were many legions, the sense whereof I have already declared according to *Calvins* 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 imployed by God to necessary and good purpooses. For in places where it is written, that *d* all the creatures of God are good: and again, when God, in the creation of the world, *e* saw all that he had made was good; the divell is not comprehended within those words of commendation. For it is written that he was a *f* murtherer from the beginning and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him; but when he speaketh a lye, he speaketh of his own as being a lyer, and the father of lies, and (as *John* saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was he in the creation (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 created 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 himself, reckoning up principalities, powers, &c. addeth, Every name is named in this world, or in the world to come. A cleer sentence (saith he) of *Pauls* modesty, inconfessing a holy ignorance of the state

*P. Mart. in loc. com. 9. sect. 14.*
*a* 1 Sam. 22. Luk. 8. John 8. Ephes. 6.
*b* 2 Tim. 2. 1 Pet. 5. Coloss. 1. v. 16. 1 Cor. 10. Matth. 8. & 10. Luke 4.
*c* Sap. 1. Apocal. 4.
*d* 1 Tim. 4. 4.
*e* Gen. 1.
*f* Gen. 8. 44. 1 Joh. 3. 8.

*Edw. Deering*, in his reading upon Heb. 1. 1154. 16. reading the 6.

Ephes. 6. 12. Col. 2. 16. Matth. 25.

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 mine 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 assigned unto him, as peculiarly as he hath given to us our substance without power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that a spirit can make a body, more than a body can make a spirit: the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Nevertheless; I learn that their nature is prone to all mischiefe: for as the very signification of an enemy and an accuser is wrapped up in Satan and *Diabolus*; so doth Christ himself declare him to be in the thirteenth of *Matthew*. And therefore 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 tormentor 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 not 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*, whereby 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 swallow down the divell, rather then 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 soul and spirituall devouring, as very novices in religion may judge.

1 Pet. 5. *Idem. ibid.* Mat. 25. 41.

*Mal. malef. par.* 1. *que.* 5.

The etymon of the word *Diabolus.*

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions concerning corporall divels.*

NOw, how *Bridle Darcies* he spirits and she spirits, Titty and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and Robin, &c. his white spirits and black spirits, gray spirits and red spirits, divell tode and divell lambe, divell 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 may be required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions; where, though the tale be told only of the accusers part, without any other answer of theirs than their adversary, yet doth it seemeth to be performed with some kind of authority, I will say no 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 dare warrant nothing is left out that may serve to their condemnation: whether the witnesses be not single, of what credit, sex and age they be, namely lewd, miserable, and envious poor people; most of them

The book of *W. W.* published.



speak to any purpose being old women, and children of the age of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 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 once at *S. Osees* in the county of *Essex*, being a whole parish (though of no great quantity) I will say the lesse: trusting that by this time there remain not many in that parish. If any be yet behind, I doubt not but *Bridle Darcie* 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 *Abingdon*. 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 uttered in it; I am ashamed to report; and therefore being but a two pence book, I had rather desire you to buy it, and so to peruse it, than to fill my book with such beastly stuffe.

At *S. Osees* 17. or 18. witches condemned at once.

## 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.*

TOuching the manifold signification of this word [Spirit] I have elsewhere in this brief discourse told you my minde; which is a word nothing differing in Heb. from breath or wind. For all these words following; to wit, *Spiritus, Ventus, Flatus, Halitus*, are indifferently use by the Holy Ghost, and called by this Hebrew word רוח in the sacred scripture, For further proof whereof I cite unto you the words of *Isay*; For his spirit (or breath) is as a river that overfloweth up to the neck, &c. in which place the prophet describeth the comming of God in heat and indignation into judgment; &c. I cite also unto you the words of *Zaccharie*; These are the four spirits of the heaven, &c. Likewise in *Genesis*; And the spirit of God moved upon the waters. Moreover, I cite unto you the words of Christ; The spirit (or wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said places infinite more might be added out of holy writ, tending all to this purpose; namely, to give us this for a note, that all the sayings above cited with many more that I could alleadge, where mention is made of spirit, the Hebrew text useth no word but one; to wit, רוח which signifieth (as I said) *Spiritum, ventum, flatum, halitum*; which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

Isai. 30. 28. Zach. 6. 5. Gen. 1. 2. John 3. 8.

But before I enter upon the very point of my purpose, it shall not bee amisse, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certaine Schoole divine; who distinguisheth and divideth this word [Spirit] into six significations; saying that it is sometimes taken for the air, sometimes for

*Eras. Sarcer. in dictio Scholast. doctr. lit. S.*

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 flando*, 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 angelicall: some doe not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incompleat or unperfect as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certaine subtill or very fine substance necessarily disposing and tending unto life. There be moreover spirits naturall, which are a kind of subtill and very fine substances, disposing and tending unto equall complexions of bodies. Again there be spirits animall, which are certain subtill 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 soul. 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.

*Erasm. Sar. in lib. loc. & lit. prædictis.*

Now to the spirit of spirits, I mean the principall and holy spirit of God, which one defineth or rather describeth to be the third person in trinity 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 witnes 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.

*Laurent. a Villavicentio in phrasib. s. script. lit. S. pag. 176.*

Rom. 8. 15. 2 Cor. 6. 5.

Jesus Christ, for that he received not the spirit by measure, but in fulnes, doth call it his spirit, saying; When the comforter shall come, whom I will send, even the holy spirit, he shall testifie 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, maketh strong, softeneth, and maketh fruitfull with all godlinesse and vertues the mindes of men, which otherwise would be unclean, comfortlesse, hard, dry, and barren of all goodnes; whereupon the prophet *Isay* saith; I will powre water upon the thirsty, and flouds upon the dry ground, &c.

John. 15. 26.

Isai. 44.

Where-



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 flouds; as in the 12. 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 setteth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeal to preser 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?* Are 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 receive the holy spirit.

John. 7. 38. John. 4. 14.

Jer. 23. 29.

Moreover, this spirit is called annointing, or ointment, because that as in old time priests and kings were by annointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and serviceable for the same; even so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training up of the 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 gladnes and rejoysing; whereof it is said in the book of Psalmes; God even thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of joy and gladnes, &c. And by this goodly and comfortable name of oil in the Scriptures is the mercy of God oftentimes expressed, because the nature of that doth agree with the property and quality of this. For as oil doth flote and swim above all other liquors, so the mercy of God doth surpas and overreach all his works, and the same doth most of al disclose it self to miserable man.

1 John 2. 20.

Psal. 44.

*Cyrill. in Evang. Ioh. lib. 3. cap. 14.*

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 insantations, divinations, augury, judiciall astrology, nativity casting, alcumystery, conjuration, lostiare, 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 tryed by the fervent heat of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth upon them, driven away with a violent whirlewind; such is the perfecti-

Exod. 8.

perfection, integrity, and effectuall operation of this spirit, whose working as it is manifold, so it is marvellous, and therefore may and is called the spirit of spirits.

The holy spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and unclean.

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 errour and blindnesse, to the spirit of servitude and compunction, which bireth, gnaweth, and whetteth their hearts with a deadly hate of the gospell; in so much as it grieveth their minds and irketh their eares 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 perverseneſſe and frowardneſſe, into the spirit of giddineſſe, lying, drowzineſſe, and dulneſſe; 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 blindneſſe and amazedneſſe of mind, and thou shalt grope at high noon as a blinde man useth to grope, &c.

Isai. 29.10.
Isai. 19.14.
Ro. 1. 21, 23.
Deut. 28. 28, 29.

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, with 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 addict 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 discerne between the nature of spirits, and not swarve in judgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindneſſe and error doth seduce them; so that it is no marvell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadowes for substances, fansies 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 divelish devices of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vain practices, whereof (I suppose) this my book to be a sufficient discovery.

A question.
An answer.
A great likelihood no doubt.

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 doubtfulneſſe they are discussable 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,

Judgement distinguished.



evident, and such as doe no leſſe apparently shew themselves than an inflammation of bloud 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 to gather, 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 savouring heavenly divinity have tumbled into worse than philosophicall barbarisme, and these be such as of writers are called *Pneumatomachi*, a sect so injurious to the holy spirit of God, that contemning 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 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 syllogistimes call charmes. And first I will set downe some of their paralogisms or false arguments; and upon the neck of them infer fit confutations grounded upon sound reason and certain truth.

*) *Iosias Simlerus li. 4. ca. 5. adversus veteres & novos Antitrinitarios, &c.*

Their first argument is knit up in this manner. The holy spirit is no where expresselly 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 fift of the Acts. Again, the consequent is false. For although he were not expresselly 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 commeth into this world; so likewise it is not to be denyed, that the spirit is God, although the scripture doth not expresselly and simply note it; sithence it ascribeth equall things thereunto; as the properties of God, the works of God, the service due to God, and that it 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.

1. Objection. The scripture doth never call the holy spirit God.

* The 1. answer. A refutation of the antecedent, &c.

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 giveth thereunto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are usuall prayers of the church commonly called the Collects, whereof some are made to the Father, some to the Sonne, but none to the holy spirit; yet

2. Objection. *Hilarie* doth not call the spirit God, neither is he so named in the common Collects.

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 ion did erewhiles joine themselves to those that were sound of judgement. There is also in the ecclesiasticall history a little book which they gave *Liberius* a bishop of *Rome*, wherein to 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, &c.* 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 eternall trinity, and in the power of the divine Majesty to worship the unity; we beseech thee that through the stedfastnesse of this faith, we may evermore be defended from all adversity, which livest and reignest one God world without end. Now because that in this collect, where the trinity is expressely 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.

* 1. The answer. *Hilarius lib. 12. de Triade.*

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. sanctæ Trinit.*

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.

3. Objection. The spirit is not to be prayed unto but the father only.

* Whereto 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

* 3. Answer. The consequent is denied.



& 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 himself 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.

4. Objection. Amos saith that the spirit was created.

* 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 beginne 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 expounderh 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 propher) he that formeth 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 *Santes* a right skilfull man in the Hebrew tongue translateth this place of the prophet. But admit this place were written of the holy spirit, and were not appliable either to the wind or to the Lords incarnation: yet doth it 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; *Eusebius* 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. Answer. Spirit in this place signifieth wind.

To create is not him to be made that was not.

*Euseb. Cæsariens. lib. 3. adversus Marcemull*

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 betoken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, sithence by the same he hath shewed and declared his Christ unto all men. Neither was it a thing of late beginning under the sonne; but it was before all beginning, and was then sent, when the apostles were gathered together, when a sound like thunder came from heaven, as it had been the comming of a mighty wind: 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. The 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 two in one new man; that is, that he might join, couple, or gather together, &c.

5. Objection. All things were made by the son, *Ergo* the spirit was also made by him.

Furthermore, the *Pneumatomachi* by these testimonies insuing endeavour to proye 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: Out 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. Out 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. Answer. Universal propositions or speeches are to be restrained.

* Whereto I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that same universall proposition is restrained by *John* himself to 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; than 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 himself; for otherwise both the angels, and to whomsoever else it shall please the sonne 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 unequall 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.

* Whereto 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 excluded, but creatures or false gods are to be excluded, and whatsoever else is without or beside the essence and being of God. Reasons to prove and confirme this interpretation I 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 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 woman standing in the midst. And yet it is not to be supposed that a multitude of people was not present, and the disciples of Christ likewise; but the word *Solus*, alone, is referred to the womans accusers, who withdrew themselves 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 a shipboard unto his disciples. Many phrases of like speeches like unto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures, and in authors both Greek and Latine, whereby we understand, that neither universall 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; out of other 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.



7. Objection. The spirit prayeth for us.

They do yet further object, that it is not convenient or fit for God after the manner of suters to humble and cast downe himself; but the holy spirit doth so, praying and intreating for us with unspeakable groans; *Rom.* 8. *Ergo* the holy spirit is not God.

7. Answer. The spirit doth many times also in the scriptures is that action or deed attributed unto God, provoke us to which we being stirred up and moved by him doe bring to passe. So it is prayed, said of God unto *Abraham*; Now I know that thou featest God: and yet 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.

* Whereunto I answer that the holy spirit doth pray and intreat, insomuch 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, provoke us to which we being stirred up and moved by him doe bring to passe. So it is prayed, said of God unto *Abraham*; Now I know that thou featest God: and yet 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.

8. Objection. The spirit is inferior and lesser than the father and the sonne.

Howbeit they goe further, and frame this reason, Whosoever is sent, he is inferior and lesser than he of whom he is sent, and furthermore he is of a comprehensible substance, because he passeth by local motion from place to place; but the holy spirit is sent of 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.

* Whereto

8. Answer. How the spirit is sent.

* Whereto 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, sith 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 himself, the father, and also the Son. The Father revealeth himself 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 himself unto men with the son and the spirit and be powerfull in them, and therefore is said to send. The sonne doth assent unto the will of the Father, and will that to bee 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 himself.

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 anothers admonishment: but he speaketh not of himselfe, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expresselly testifieth, *John* 16. *Ergo* he is unperfect, and whatsoever he hath it is by partaking, and consequently he is not God.

* The 9. answer. *Cyrill. lib.* 13. *thesaur. cap.* 3.

* Whereto 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.

10. Objection.

Lastly they argue thus; Every thing 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; or 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.



* Whereto I answer, that the division or distribution is unperfect; 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 proceeding: That same holy spirit (saith he) which proceedeth from the Father: Which place *Nazianzen* doth thus interpret. The spirit, because he proceedeth from thence, is not a creature; and because he is nor begotten, he is not the son; but because he is the mean of begotten and unbegotten, he shall be God, &c.

* To Answer. The spirit proceedeth.

And thus having avoided all these cavils of the **Pneumatomachi*, a sect of heretiques too too injurious to the holy spirit, insomuch as they seeke the Arrians, what they can, to rob and pull from him the right of his divinity; I will admonish all christians to take heed of their pestilent opinions, the poison whereof though to them that be 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 overthrown 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 sanctificatinn, and that they so 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 *Theomachi*, as of swine, delighting more in the durty drasse of their devices than in the fair fountaine water of Gods word; yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance than the old philosophers, who though they savoured 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 or 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 *Nazianzen* witnesseth) τὸν τοῦ παντὸς νοῦν 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 sustaineth all, and he is derived from the holy fountaine, giving breath and life unto all, and evermore remaineth continuall, plentifull, and unemptyed.

*Sus magis in cœno gaudet quam fonte sereno.*

The heathenish philosophers acknowledged the holy spirit. *Cyrill. lib.* 1. *contra Iulianum.*

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 *Theut*, the *Persians* *Marsilius Ficinus in arg. in Cratyl. Plat.* call him *Syre*, the *Jewes* expresse his unspeakable as well as they can by the

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 universally 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 remembred, 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 doltish in divine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essentiall and working power of the divinity 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 soveraign and unbegotten God, and injagined certain differences of degrees, and (as *Cyrill* saith) did Arrinize 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 squeized 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 meanes can be slacked, quenched, or avoided. For there is nothing more unnaturall, nothing more monstrous, then 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 poeticall fiction of the gyants, who were termed *Anguipedes*, Snakefooted; which as *Ioachimus Camerarius* expoundeth of wicked counsellours, to whose filthy perswasions tyrants doe trust as unto their feet; and *James Sadolet* interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting over much unto their own wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisdome, 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 *Iovis fulmen*, wherewith they were slain, assure these that there is due to all such, as dare in the fickleneſse of their fancies arrear themselves against the holy spirit; of whom sith 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 inlightning 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.

*Ovid. lib. metamorph. 1. fab. 5. de gigantib. cæterum obsident.*

*Jacob. Sadol. in lib. de laud. philosoph. inscrip. Phedrus.*



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 precinct of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent father 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 universall presence; not corporally and palpably; but effectually, mightily, mystically, divinely, &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 inrich 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.

*Peter Mart. in loc. com. part. 2. cap. 18. sect. 33. pag. 628.*

John 14. 26.

John 16. 14. & 14. 16.

FINIS.

# The ſumme of every chapter contained in the ſixteene books of this diſcovery, with the diſcourſe of divels and ſpirits annexed thereunto.

## The firſt Booke.


AN impeachment of witches power in meteors and elementary bodies, tending to the rebuke of ſuch as attribute too much unto them. Pag. 1.

The inconvenience growing by mens credulity herein, with a reproofe of ſome churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceived opinion of witches omnipotency, and a familiar example thereof. pag. 3.

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifeſt declaration of the cauſe that moveth men ſo commonly to thinke, & witches themſelves ſo beleeve that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations: and of couſening witches. pag. 5.

What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papiſts, and poets. pag. 6.

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. pag. 8.

A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by invincible reaſons and authorities, with diſſuaſions from ſuch fond credulity. pag. 9.

What meanes the name of witches becommeth ſo famous, and how diverſly people be opinioned concerning them and their actions. pa. 10.

Cauſes that move as well witches themſelves as others to thinke that they can work impoſſibilities, with anſwers to certaine objections: where alſo their puniſhment by law is touched. pag. 11.

A concluſion of the firſt book, wherein is foriſhewed the tyrannicall cruelty of witchmongers and inquiſitors, with a requeſt to the reader to peruſe the ſame. pag. 12.


## The ſecond Booke.


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. Pag. 13.

The order of examination of witches by the inquiſitors ibid.

Matters of evidence againſt witches. pag. 15.

Confeſſions of witches, whereby they are condemned. pag. 16.

Preſumptions, whereby witches are condemned. pag. 17.

Particular interrogatories uſed by the inquiſitors againſt witches. pa. 18.

The inquiſitors triall of weeping by conjuration. pag. 19.

Certaine cautions againſt witches, and of their tortures to procure confeſſion. pag. 20.

The 15. crimes laid to the charge of witches, by witchmongers, ſpecially by Bodin, in Demonomania. 22.

A confutation of the former ſurmiſed crimes patched together by Bodin, and the only way to eſcape the inquiſitors hands. pag 23.

The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading

for a poore woman accused of witchcraft, and how he convinced the inquisitors. pag.24.
What the feare of death and feeling of torments may force one to do, and that it is no marvell though witches condemne themselves by their owne confessions so tyrannically extorted. pag.33.

The third Book.

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