



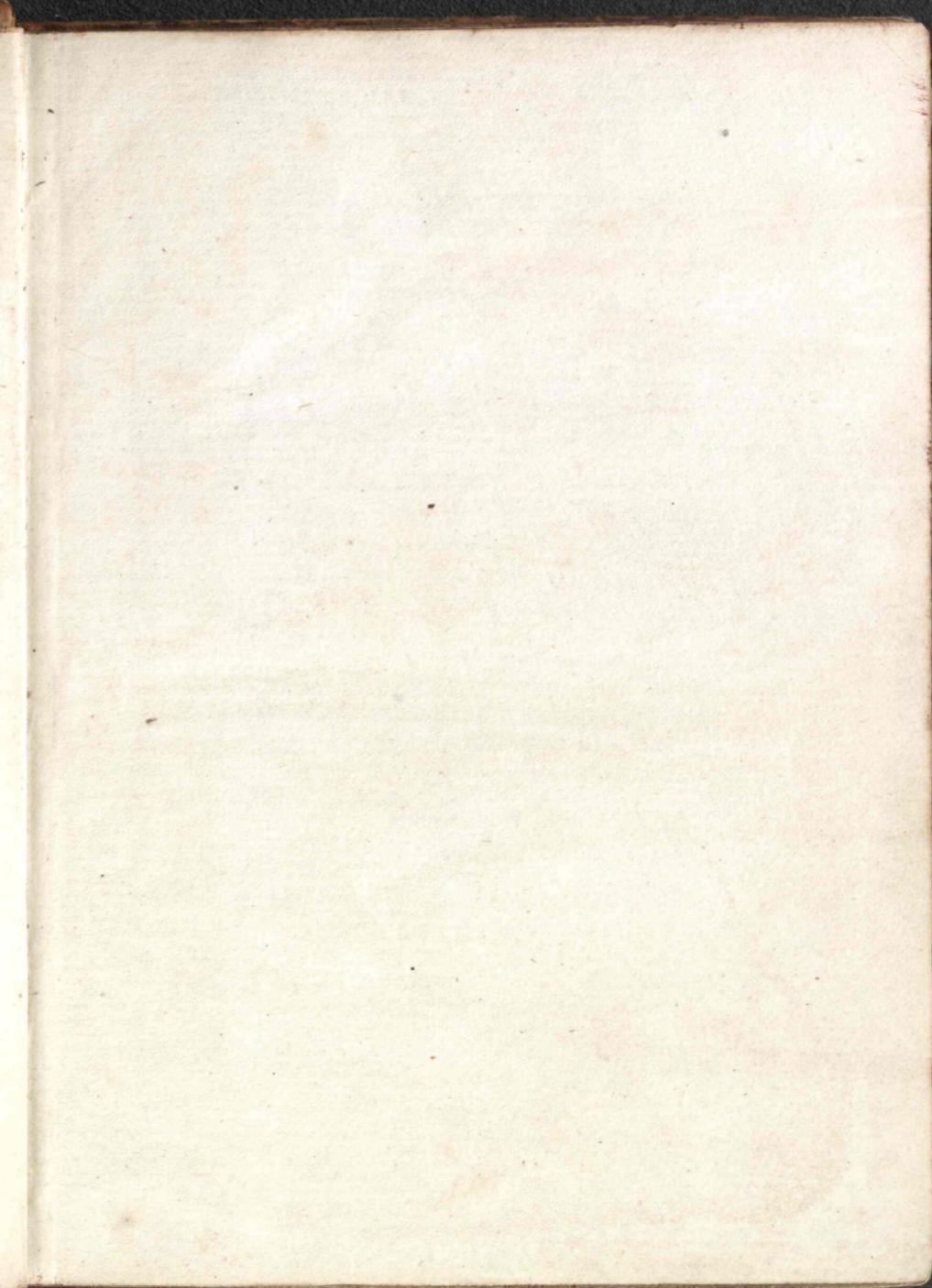


RARE BOOK COLLECTION

*The JOHN J. and HANNA M. McMANUS
and MORRIS N. and CHESLEY V. YOUNG
Collection*



* 425.67 map





fol. 7. 100

The discouerie of witchcraft,

Wherein the lewde dealing of witches
and witchmongers is notablie detected, the
knauerie of coniuorors, the impietie of inchan-
tors, the follie of soothsaiers, the impudent fals-
hood of coufenors, the infidelitie of atheists,
the pestilent practises of Pythonists, the
curiositie of figurecasters, the va-
nitie of dreamers, the begger-
lic art of Alcu-
mystric,

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

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

I. Iohn. 4. 1.

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

THE CHRONICLE

of Wiltshire

... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...

... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...

... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...

... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...

... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...

... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...
... the ... of ...



*To the Honorable, mine especiall good
Lord, Sir Roger Manwood Knight, Lord
cheefe Baron of hir Maiesties Court
of the Eschequer.*



N SOMVCH

as I know that your Lordship is by nature whollie inclined, and in purpose earnestly bent to releue the poore, and that not onlie with hospitalitie and almes, but by diuerse other deuises and waies tending to their comfort, hauing (as it were) fram-

med and set your selfe to the helpe and maintenance of their estate; as appeareth by your charge and trauell in that behalfe. Whereas also you haue a speciall care for the supporting of their right, and redressing of their wrongs, as neither despising their calamitie, nor yet forgetting their complaint, seeking all meanes for their amendement, and for the reformation of their disorders, euen as a verie father to the poore. Finallie, for that I am a poore member of that commonwelth, where your Lordship is a principall person; I thought this my trauell, in the behalfe of the poore, the aged, and the simple, might be

A.ij.

verie

The Epistle.

verie fitlie commended vnto you : for a weake houle requireth a strong staie. In which respect I giue God thanks, that hath raised vp vnto me so mightie a freend for them as your Lordship is, who in our lawes haue such knowledge, in government such discretion, in these causes such experience, and in the commonwealth such authoritie; and neuertheless vouchsafe to descend to the consideration of these base and inferior matters, which minister more care and trouble, than worldlie estimation.

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

Howbeit, it is naturall to vnnaturall people, and peculiar vnto witchmongers, to pursue the poore, to accuse the simple, and to kill the innocent; supplieng in rigor and malice towards others, that which they themselues want in prooffe and discretion, or the other in offense or occasion. But as a cruell hart and an honest mind doo seldome meete and feed together in a dish; so a discreet and mercifull magistrate, and a happie commonwealth cannot be separated asunder. How much then are we bound to God, who hath giuen vs a Queene, that of iustice is not only the very perfect image & paterne; but also of mercie & clemencie (vnder God) the meere fountaine & bodie it selfe? In somuch as they which hunt most after bloud in
these

The Epistle.

these daies, haue least authoritie to shed it. Moreouer, sith I see that in cases where lenitie might be noisome, & punishment wholesome to the commonwealch; there no respect of person can moue you, no authoritie can abash you, no feare, no threts can daunt you in performing the dutie of iustice.

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

And therefore, that which greueth me to the bot-
tome of my hart, is, that these witchmongers cannot be content, to wrest out of Gods hand his almightie power, and keepe it themselues, or leaue it with a witch: but that, when by drift of argument they are made to laie downe the bucklers, they yeeld them vp to the diuell, or at the least praie aid of him, as though the raines of all mens liues and actions were committed into his hand; and that he sat at the sterne, to guide and direct the course of the whole world, imputing vnto him power and abilitie inough to doo as great things, and as strange miracles as euer Christ did.

But the doctors of this supernaturall doctrine saie sometimes, that the witch doth all these things by vertue of hir
A.iiij. charmes;

^a Apoc. 4. 11.
^b Rom. 8.
Acts. 5.
Apoc. 2.
^c Luke. 16.
^d Dan. 2. &
28, & 47.
^e P salm. 72.
& 136.
Ier. 5.
^f Iob. 5. & 36
Sam. 12.
1. Reg. 8.
2. Reg. 3.
Isaic. 5.
Zach. 10.
& 14.
Amos. 4. 7.
^g Iob. 1.
^h Isaic. 42. 8.

The Epistle.

charmes; sometimes that a spirituall, sometimes that a corporall diuell doth accomplish it; sometimes they saie that the diuell doth but make the witch beleue she doth that which he himselfe hath wrought; sometimes that the diuell seemeth to doo that by compulsion, which he doth most willinglie. Finallie, the writers herevpon are so eloquent, and full of varietie; that sometimes they write that the diuell dooth all this by Gods permission onelie; sometimes by his licence, sometimes by his appointment: so as (in effect and truth) not the diuell, but the high and mightie king of kings, and Lord of hosts, euen God himselfe, should this waie be made obedient and seruile to obieie and performe the will & commandement of a malicious old witch, and miraculoullie to answere hir appetite, as well in euerie trifling vanitie, as in most horrible executions; as the reuenger of a doting old womans imagined wrongs, to the destruction of manie innocent children, and as a supporter of hir passions, to the vndoing of manie a poore soule. And I see not, but a witch may as well inchant, when she will; as a lier may lie when he list: and so should we possesse nothing, but by a witches licence and permission.

And now forsooth it is brought to this point, that all diuels, which were woont to be spirituall, may at their pleasure become corporall, and so shew themselues familiarlie to witches and coniuors, and to none other, and by them onlie may be made tame, and kept in a box, &c. So as a malicious old woman may command hir diuell to plague hir neighbor: and he is afflicted in manner and forme as she desireth. But then commeth another witch, and she biddeth hir diuell helpe, and he healeth the same partie. So as they make it a kingdome diuided in it selfe, and therefore I trust it will not long endure, but will shortly be ouerthrowne, according to the words of our Saviour, *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur*, Euerie kingdome

The Epistle.

dome diuided in it selfe shalbe desolate.

And although some saie that the diuell is the witches instrument, to bring hir purposes and practises to passe: yet others saie that he is his instrument, to execute his pleasure in anie thing, and therefore to be executed. But then (me thinks) she should be iniuriouſlie dealt withall, and put to death for anothers offense: for actions are not iudged by instrumentall causes; neither dooth the end and purpose of that which is done, depend vpon the meane instrument. Finallie, if the witch doo it not, why should the witch die for it? But they saie that witches are persuaded, and thinke, that they doo indeed those mischeefs; and haue a will to performe that which the diuell committeth: and that therefore they are worthie to die. By which reason euerie one should be executed, that wisheth euill to his neighbor, &c. But if the will should be punished by man, according to the offense against God, we should be driuen by thousands at once to the slaughterhouse or butcherie. For whosoever loatheth correction shall die. And who should escape execution, if this lothfomnesse (I saie) should extend to death by the ciuill lawes. Also the reward of sinne is death. Howbeit, euerie one that sinneth, is not to be put to death by the magistrate. But (my Lord) it shalbe proued in my booke, and your Lordship shall trie it to be true, as well here at home in your natieue countrie, as also abrode in your seuerall circuits, that (besides them that be *veneficæ*, which are plaine poisoners) there will be found among our witches one lie two sorts; the one sort being such by imputation, as so thought of by others (and these are abused, and not abusers) the other by acceptation, as being willing so to be accompted (and these be meere couſenors.)

Proverb. 5.

Caluine treating of these magicians, calleth them couſenors, saing that they vse their juggling knacks one lie to amase or abuse the people; or else for fame: but he

Instit. lib.
5. ca. 8. sect. 6.
Item vpon
Deut. cap. 18.

A. iij.

might

Lib. de la-
wis, pag. 5.

might rather haue said for gaine. Erastus himselfe, being a principall writer in the behalfe of witches omnipotencie, is forced to confesse, that these Greeke words, *μαγία, μαγικία, φαρμακία*, are most commonlie put for illusion, false packing, coufenage, fraud, knauerie and deceit: and is further driuen to saie, that in ancient time, the learned were not so blockish, as not to see that the promises of magicians and inchanters were false, and nothing else but knauerie, coufenage, and old wiues fables; and yet defendeth he their flieng in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, &c.

But as Erastus disagreeeth herein with himselfe and his freends: so is there no agreement among anie of those writers, but onlie in cruelties, absurdities, and impossibilities. And these (my Lord) that fall into so manifest contradictions, and into such absurd asseuerations, are not of the inferior sort of writers; neither are they all papists, but men of such accompt, as whose names giue more credit to their cause, than their writings. In whose behalfe I am forie, and partlie for reuerence suppresseth their fondest errors and fowlest absurdities; dealing speciallie with them that most contend in crueltie, ^a whose feete are swift to shed blood, striuing (as ^b Iesus the sonne of Sirach saith) and hasting (as ^c Salomon the sonne of Dauid saith) to powre out the blood of the innocent; whose heat against these poore wretches cannot be alliaed with anie other liquor than blood. And therefore I feare that ^d vnder their wings will be found the blood of the foules of the poore, at that daie, when the Lord shall saie; ^e Depart from me ye bloudthirstie men.

And bicause I know your Lordship will take no counsell against innocent blood, but rather suppresseth them that seeke to embrew their hands therein; I haue made choise to open their case vnto you, and to laie their miserable calamitie before your feete: following herein the aduise

- ^a Isaic. 59, 7.
- ^b Rom. 3, 15.
- ^c Eccl. 27, 5.
- ^d Prou. 1, 16.
- ^e Ier. 2, 34.
- ^f Ps. 139, 15.
- Esai. 33, 15.

The Epistle.

aduise of that learned man Brentius, who saith; *Si quis* In epistola ad Io. V. ier. *admonuerit magistratum, ne in miser as illas mulierculas seuiat, eum ego arbitror diuinitus excitatum;* that is, If anie admonish the magistrate not to deale too hardlie with these miserable wretches, that are called witches, I thinke him a good instrument raised vp for this purpose by God himselfe.

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

The Epistle.

and terror to the wicked.

Thus farre I haue beene bold to vse your Lordships patience, being offended with my selfe, that I could not in breuitie vtter such matter as I haue deliuered ample: whereby (I confesse) occasion of tediousnes might be ministred, were it not that your great grauitie ioined with your singular constancie in reading and iudging be means of the contrarie. And I wish euen with all my hart, that I could make people conceiue the substance of my writing, and not to misconstrue anie part of my meaning. Then doubtles would I persuaide my selfe, that the companie of witchmongers, &c: being once decreased, the number also of witches, &c: would soone be diminished. But true be the words of the Poet,

*Et nequaquam poteris fortiter omnia solus,
Namque alijs diuis bello pollere dederunt,
Huic saltandi artem, voce huic cytharæ canendi:
Rursus alij inseruit sagax in pectore magnus
Iupiter ingenium, &c.*

And therefore as doubtfull to preuaile by persuaiding, though I haue reason and common sense on my side; I rest vpon earnest wishing; namelie, to all people an absolute trust in God the creator, and not in creatures, which is to make flesh our arme: that God may haue his due honor, which by the vndutifulnes of manie is turned into dishonor, and lesse cause of offense and error giuen by common receiued euill example. And to your Lordship I wish, as increase of honour, so continuance of good health, and happie daies.

Your Lordships to be commanded
Reginald Scot.

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

Sir, I see among other malefactors
manie poore old women conuented be-
fore you for working of miracles, other
wise called witchcraft, and therefore I
thought you also a meet person to whom
I might comend my booke. And here
I haue occasion to speake of your sincere
administration of iustice, and of your dexteritie, discretion,
charge, and trauell employed in that behalfe, wherof I am ocu-
latus testis. Howbeit I had rather refer the reader to com-
mon fame, and their owne eies and eares to be satisfied; than
to send them to a Stationers shop, where manie times lies are
vendible, and truth contemptible. For I being of your house,
of your name, & of your bloud; my foot being vnder your ta-
ble, my hand in your dish, or rather in your pursse, might bee
thought to flatter you in that, wherein (I knowe) I should
rather offend you than please you. And what need I currie fa-
uour with my most assured friend? And if I should onelie pub-
lish those vertues (though they be manie) which giue me spe-
ciall occasion to exhibit this my trauell vnto you, I should doo
as a painter, that describeth the foot of a notable personage,
and leaueth all the best features in his bodie vntouched.

I therefore (at this time) doo onelie desire you to consider
of my report, concerning the euidence that is commonlie
brought before you against them. See first whether the eui-
dence be not friuolous, & whether the proofs brought against
them be not incredible, consisting of ghesse, presumptions, &
impossibilities contrarie to reason, scripture, and nature. See
also what persons complaine vpon them, whether they be not
of the basest, the vniuest, & most faithles kind of people. Also
may

The Epistle.

may it please you to waie what accusations and crimes they laie to their charge, namelie: She was at my house of late, she would haue had a pot of milke, she departed in a chafe bicause she had it not, she railed, she curssed, she mumbled and whispered, and finallie she said she would be euen with me: and soone after my child, my cow, my sow, or my pullet died, or was strangelic taken. Naie (if it please your VVorship) I haue further prooffe: I was with a wife woman, and she told me I had an ill neighbour, & that she would come to my house yer it were long, and so did she; and that she had a marke aboue hir waste, & so had she: and God forgieue me, my stomach hath gone against hir a great while. Hir mother before hir was counted a witch, she hath beene beaten and scratched by the face till bloud was drawne upon hir, bicause she hath beene suspected, & afterwards some of those persons were said to amend. These are the certeinties that I heare in their euidences.

Note also how easilie they may be brought to confesse that which they neuer did, nor lieth in the power of man to doo: and then see whether I haue cause to write as I doo. Further, if you shall see that infidelitie, poperie, and manie other manifest heresies be backed and shouldered, and their professors animated and hartened, by yeelding to creatures such infinit power as is wrested out of Gods hand, and attributed to witches: fnallie, if you shall perceiue that I haue faithfullie and trulie deliuered and set downe the condition and state of the witch, and also of the witchmonger, and haue confuted by reason and lawe, and by the word of God it selfe, all mine aduersaries obiections and arguments: then let me haue your countenance against them that maliciouslie oppose themselues against me.

My greatest aduersaries are yoong ignorance and old custome. For what follie soeuer tract of time hath fostered, it is
so

The Epistle.

So superstitiouslie pursued of some, as though no error could be acquainted with custome. But if the lawe of nations would ioine with such custome, to the maintenance of ignorance, and to the suppressing of knowledge; the ciuilest cuntry in the world would soone become barbarous, &c. For as knowledge and time discovereth errors, so dooth superstition and ignorance in time breed them. And concerning the opinions of such, as wish that ignorance should rather be maintained, than knowledge busilie searched for, because thereby offense may grow: I answer, that we are commanded by Christ himselfe to search for knowledge: for it is the kings honour (as Salomon saith) to search out a thing.

John. 5.
Prou. 15, 1.

Aristotle said to Alexander, that a mind well furnished was more beautifull than a bodie richlie araid. What can be more odious to man, or offensiue to God, than ignorance: for through ignorance the Iewes did put Christ to death. Which ignorance who soeuer forsaketh, is promised life everlasting: and therefore among Christians it should be abhorred aboue all other things. For euen as when we wrestle in the darke, we tumble in the mire, &c: so when we see not the truth, we wallow in errors. A blind man may seeke long in the rishes yer he find a needle; and as soone is a doubt discussed by ignorance. Finallie, truth is no sooner found out in ignorance, than a sweet sauer in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and giue them no leau to vse it, men were much better be without it than haue it. For it is, as to haue a tallent, and to hide it vnder the earth; or to put a candle vnder a bushell: or as to haue a ship, & to let hir lie alwaies in the docke: which thing how profitable it is, I can saie somewhat by experience.

Acts. 3.
Prouerbs. 9.

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

But hereof I need saie no more, for euerie man seeth that none can be happie who knoweth not what felicitie me aneth. For what auaieth it to haue riches, and not to haue the vse thereof?

42
The Epistle.

there of? Trulie the heathen herein deserued more commen-
dation than manie christians for they spared no paine, no
cost, nor trauell to atteine to knowledge. Pythagoras trauel-
led from Thamus to Aegypt, and afterwards into Crete and
Lacedaemonia: and Plato out of Athens into Italie and Ae-
gypt, and all to find out hidden secrets and knowledge: which
when a man hath, he seemeth to be separated from mortalitie.
For pretious stones, and all other creatures of what value so-
euer, are but counterfeits to this iewel: they are mortall,
corruptible, and inconstant; this is immortall, pure and cer-
teine. VVherfore if I haue searched and found out any good
thing, that ignorance and time hath smothered, the
same I commend vnto you: to whom though I
owe all that I haue, yet am I bold to,
make other partakers with
you in this poore
gift.

Your louing cousen

Reg. Scot.



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

Having found out two such ciuill Ma-
gistrates, as for direction of iudgement, and for or-
dering matters concerning iustice in this common
wealth (in my poore opinion) are verie singular
persons, who (I hope) will accept of my good will,
and examine my booke by their experience, as vn-
to whom the matter therein contained dooth great-
lie appertaine: I haue now againe considered of
two other points: nanelie, diuinitie and philosophie, whereupon the ground-
worke of my booke is laid. Wherein although I know them to be verie suffi-
cientlie informed, yet dooth not the iudgement and censure of those causes so
properlie appertaine to them as vnto you, whose fame therein hath gotten pre-
eminence aboue all others that I know of your callings: and in that respect I
am bold to ioine you with them, being all good neighbours together in this
common wealth, and louing friends vnto me. I doo not present this vnto you,
bicause it is meet for you; but for that you are meet for it (I meane) to iudge
vpon it, to defend it, and if need be to correct it; knowing that you haue lear-
ned of that graue counseller Cato, not to shame or discourtenance any bodie.
For if I thought you as readie, as able, to disgrace me for mine insufficiencie;
I should not haue bene hastie (knowing your learning) to haue written vnto
you: but if I should be abashed to write to you, I should shew my selfe igno-
rant of your courtesie.

I know mine owne weakenesse, which if it haue bene able to mainteine
this argument, the cause is the stronger. Eloquent words may please the eares,
but sufficient matter persuadeth the hart. So as, if I exhibit wholesome drinke
(though it be small) in a treene dish with a faithfull hand, I hope it will be
as well accepted, as strong wine offered in a siluer bowle with a flattering
heart. And surelie it is a point of as great liberalitie to receiue a small thing
thankfullie, as to giue and distribute great and costlie gifts bountifullie: for
there is more supplied with courteous answers t. an with rich rewards. I be ty-
rant

The Epistle.

vant Dionysius was not so bated for his tyrannie, as for his churlish and strange behaviour. Among the poore Israelites sacrifices, God was satisfied with the tenth part of an Ephah of flower, so as it were fine and good. Christ liked well of the poore widowes mite, Lewis of France accepted a rape root of clownish Conan, Cyrus vouchsafed to drinke a cup of cold water out of the hand of poore Sinetes: and so it may please you to accept this simple booke at my hands, which I faithfullie exhibit vnto you, not knowing your opinions to meet with mine, but knowing your learning and iudgement to be able as well to correct me where I speake herein vnskisfullie, as others when they speake hereof maliciouslie.

Some be such dogs as they will barke at my writings, whether I mainteine or refute this argument: as Diogenes snarled both at the Rhodians and at the Lacedaemonians: at the one, because they were braue; at the other, because they were not braue. Homer him selfe could not auoid reprochfull speeches. I am sure that they which neuer studied to learne anie good thing, will studie to find faults hereat. I for my part feare not these wars, nor all the aduersaries I haue; were it not for certeine cowards, who (I knowe) will come behind my backe and bite me.

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

O Maister Archdeacon, is it not pitie, that that which is said to be doone with the almightie power of the most high God, and by our sauiour his onelie sonne Iesus Christ our Lord, should be referred to a baggage old womans nod

The Epistle.

or wish, &c? Good Sir, is it not one manifest kind of Idolatrie, for them that labor and are laden, to come vnto witches to be refreshed? If witches could helpe whom they are said to haue made sicke, I see no reason, but remedie might as well be required at their hands, as a purse demanded of him that hath stolne it. But trulie it is manifold idolatrie, to aske that of a creature, which none can giue but the Creator. The papist hath some colour of scripture to mainteine his idoll of bread, but no Iesuiticall distinction can couer the witchmongers idolatrie in this behalfe. Alas, I am sorie and ashamed to see how manie die, that being said to be bewitched, onelie seeke for magicall cures, whom wholesome diet and good medicines would haue recovered. I dare assure you both, that there would be none of these consening kind of witches, did not witchmongers mainteine them, followe them, and beleene in them and their oracles: whereby indeede all good learning and honest arts are ouerthrowne. For these that most aduance their power, and mainteine the skill of these witches, vnderstand no part thereof: and yet being manie times wise in other matters, are made fooles by the most fooles in the world.

Me thinks these magicall physicians deale in the commonwelth, much like as a certeine kind of Cynicall people doo in the church, whose seuerer sayings are accompted among some such oracles, as may not be doubted of; who instead of learning and authoritie (which they make contemptible) doo feed the people with their owne deuises and imaginations, which they prefer before all other diuinitie: and labouring to erect a church according to their owne fancies, wherein all order is condemned, and onelie their magicall words and curious directions aduanced, they would vtterlie ouerthrowe the true Church. And euen as these inchanting Paracelsians abuse the people, leading them from the true order of physicke to their charmes: so doo these ether (I saie) dissuade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whisper in mens eares to teach them their frierlike traditions. And of this sect the cheefe author at this time is one Browne, a fugitiue, a meet couer for such a cup: as heretofore the Anabaptists, the Arrians, and the Franciscane friers.

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

Thus haue I beene bold to deliuer vnto the world, and to you, those simple

The Epistle.

notes, reasons, and arguments, which I haue deuised or collected out of other authors: which I hope shall be hurtfull to none, but to my selfe great comfort, if it may passe with good liking and acceptation. If it fall out otherwise, I should thinke my paines ill imploied. For trulie, in mine opinion, who soeuer shall performe any thing, or attaine to anie knowledge; or who soeuer should trauell throughout all the nations of the world, or (if it were possible) should peepe into the heauens, the consolation or admiration thereof were nothing pleasant vnto him, vnles he had libertie to impart his knowledge to his friends. Wherein because I haue made speciall choise of you, I hope you will read it, or at the least laie it vp in your studie with your other bookes, among which there is none dedicated to any with more good will. And so long as you haue it, it shall be vnto you (vpon aduerture of my life) a certeine amulet, periapt, circle, charme, &c. to defend you from all inchantments.

Your louing friend

Reg. Scot.





To the Readers.



O you that are wise
& discrete few words
may suffice : for such
a one iudgeth not at
the first sight, nor re-
proueth by heresaie ;
but patientlie heareth,
and thereby increa-
seth in vnderstanding:
which patience bring-
eth forth experience,
whereby true iudge-
ment is directed . I
shall not need there-
fore to make anie fur-

Isai. 11.
Prouer. 1.

ther sute to you, but that it would please you to read my booke, without the preiudice of time, or former conceipt : and hauing obtained this at your hands, I submit my selfe vnto your censure. But to make a solemne sute to you that are parciall readers, desiring you to set aside parcialitie, to take in good part my writing, and with indifferent eies to looke vpon my booke, were labour lost, and time ill imploied. For I should no more preuaile herein, than if a hundred yeares since I should haue intreated your predecessors to belecue, that Robin goodfellowe, that great and ancient bulbegger, had beene but a coufening merchant, and no diuell indeed.

If I should go to a papist, and saie; I praiue you beleue my writings, wherein I will proue all popish darmes, coniurations, exorcismes, benedictions and curses, not onelie to be ridiculous, and of none effect, but also to be impious and contrarie to Gods word : I should as hardlie therein win fauour at their hands, as herein obtaine credit at yours. Neuerthelesse, I doubt not, but to

The Epistle.

vse the matter so, that as well the masse-moonger for his part, as the witch-moonger for his, shall both be ashamed of their professions.

But Robin goodfellowe ceaseth now to be much feared, and poperie is sufficientlie discovered. Neuertheles, witches charms, and coniurors cousegnages are yet thought effectuell. Yea the Gentiles haue espied the fraud of their cousegning oracles, and our cold prophets and indchanters make vs fooles still, to the shame of vs all, but speciallie of papists, who coniure euerie thing, and thereby bring to passe nothing. They saie to their candles; I coniure you to endure for euer: and yet they last not a pater noster while the longer. They coniure water to be wholesome both for bodie and soule: but the bodie (we see) is neuer the better for it, nor the soule anie whit reformed by it. And therefore I meruell, that when they see their owne coniurations confuted and brought to naught, or at the least void of effect, that they (of all other) will yet giue such credit, countenance, and authoritie to the vaine cousegnages of witches and coniurors; as though their charms and coniurations could produce more apparent, certaine, and better effects than their owne.

But my request vnto all you that read my booke shall be no more, but that it would please you to conferre my words with your owne sense and experience, and also with the word of God. If you find your selues resolved and satisfied, or rather reformed and qualified in anie one point or opinion, that heretofore you held contrarie to truth, in a matter hitherto vndecided, and neuer yet looked into; I praie you take that for aduantage: and suspending your iudgement, staie the sentence of condemnation against me, and consider of the rest, at your further leasure. If this may not suffice to persuade you, it cannot preuaile to annoy you: and then, that which is written without offense, may be ouerpasseed without anie greefe.

And although mine assertion, be somewhat differing from the old inueterat opinion, which I confesse hath manie graie heares, whereby mine aduersaries haue gained more authoritie than reason, towards the maintenance of their presumptions and old wiues fables: yet shall it fullie agree with Gods glorie, and with his holic word. And albeit there be hold taken by mine aduersaries

The Epistle.

faries of certeine few words or sentences in the scripture that maketh a shew for them: yet when the whole course thereof maketh against them, and impugne the same, yea and also their owne places rightlie vnderstood doo nothing at all releue them: I trust their glorious title and argument of antiquitie will appeare as stale and corrupt as the apothecaries drugs, or grocers spice, which the longer they be preserued, the worse they are. And till you haue perused my booke, ponder this in your mind, to wit, that *Saga, Thessala, Striges, Lamia* (which words and none other being in vse do properlie signifie our witches) are not once found written in the old or new testament; and that Christ himselfe in his gospell neuer mentioned the name of a witch. And that neither he, nor Moses euer spake anie one word of the witches bargain with the diuell, their haggging, their riding in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, their hurting of children or cattell with words or charmes, their bewitching of butter, cheese, ale, &c: nor yet their transubstantiation; insomuch as the writers herevpon are not ashamed to say, *Mal. malef. par. 2. que. 2.* that it is not absurd to affirme that there were no witches in Iobs time. The reason is, that if there had bene such witches then in being, Iob would haue said he had bene bewitched. But indeed men tooke no heed in those daies to this doctrine of diuels; to wit, to these fables of witchcraft, which Peter saith shall be much regarded and hearkened vnto in the latter daies. *1. Pet. 4. 1.*

Howbeit, how ancient so euer this barbarous conceipt of witches omnipotencie is, truth must not be measured by time: for euerie old opinion is not sound. Veritie is not impaired, how long so euer it be suppressed; but is to be searched out, in how darke a corner so euer it lie hidden: for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be broched too rathe. Finallie, time bewraie the old errors, & discouereth new matters of truth. Danæus himselfe saith, *Danæus in suo prologo.* that this question hitherto hath neuer bene handled; nor the scriptures concerning this matter haue neuer bene expounded. To proue the antiquitie of the cause, to confirme the opinion of the ignorant, to inforce mine aduersaries arguments, to aggravate the punishments, & to accomplish the confusio of these old women, is added the vanitie and wickednes of them, which are called witches, the arrogancie of those which take vpon them to

The Epistle.

worke wonders, the desire that people haue to hearken to such miraculous matters, vnto whome most commonlie an impossibilitie is more credible than a veritie; the ignorance of naturall causes, the ancient and vniuersall hate conceiued against the name of a witch; their ilfaoured faces, their spitefull words, their curses and imprecations, their charmes made in ryme, and their beggerie; the feare of manie foolish folke, the opinion of some that are wise, the want of Robin goodfellowe and the fairies, which were woont to mainteine chat, and the common peoples talke in this behalfe; the authoritie of the inquisitors, the learning, cunning, consent, and estimation of writers herein, the false translations and fond interpretations vsed, speciallie by papists; and manie other like causes. All which toies take such hold vpon mens fancies, as whereby they are lead and entised awaie 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 apparentlie decipher and confute these cauils, and all other their obiections; as euerie witchmoonger shall be abashed, and all good men thereby satisfied. In the meane time, I would wish them to know that if neither the estimation of Gods omnipotencie, nor the tenor of his word, nor the doubtfulness or rather the impossibilitie of the case, nor the small proofes brought against them, nor the rigor executed vpon them, nor the pitie that should be in a christian heart, nor yet their simplicitie, impotencie, or age may suffice to suppress the rage or rigor wherewith they are oppressed; yet the consideration of their sex or kind ought to moue some mitigatiō of their punishment. For if nature (as Plinie reporteth) haue taught a lion not to deale so roughlie with a woman as with a man, bicause she is in bodie the weaker vessell, and in hart more inclined to pitie (which Ieremie in his lamentations seemeth to confirme) what should a man do in this case, for whome a woman was created as an helpe and comfort vnto him? In so much as, euen in the lawe of nature, it is a greater offense to slea a woman than a man: not bicause a man is not the more excellent creature, but bicause a woman is the weaker vessell. And therefore among all modest and honest persons it is thought a shame to offer violence or iniurie to a woman: in which respect Virgil saith,

Lam. Ier. 3.

& 4. cap.

verse. 10.

1. Cor. 11. 9.

Ibid. vers. 7.

Ge. 2. 22. 18.

Arist. lib.

prob. e. m. 2. 2.

The Epistle.

saith, *Nullum memorabile nomen feminea in pœna est.* Vir. Georg.

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

And for so much as the mightie helpe themselues together, and the poore widowes crie, though it reach to heauen, is scarce heard here vpon earth: I thought good (according to my poore abilitie) to make intercession, that some part of common rigor, and some points of hastie iudgement may be aduised vpon. For the world is now at that stay (as Brentius in a most godlie sermon in these words affirmed) that euen as when the heathen persecuted the christians, if anie were accused to beleeue in Christ, the common people cried *Ad leonem*: so now, if anie woman, be she neuer so honest, be accused of witchcraft, they crie *Ad ignem*. What difference is betweene the rash dealing of vnskillfull people, and the graue counsell of more discreet and learned persons, may appeare by a tale of Danæus his owne telling; wherein he opposeth the rashnes of a few townesmen, to the counsell of a whole senate, preferring the follie of the one, before the wisdom of the other.

At Orleance on Loyre (saith he) there was a man witch, not only taken

The Epistle.

taken and accused, but also conuicted and condemned for witchcraft, who appealed from thence to the high court of Paris. Which accusation the senate sawe insufficient, and would not allow, but laughed thereat, lightlie regarding it; and in the end sent him home (saith he) as accused of a friuolous matter. And yet for all that, the magistrats of Orleance were so bold with him, as to hang him vp within short time after, for the same or the verie like offense. In which example is to be seene the nature, and as it were the disease of this caule: wherein (I saie) the simpler and vndiscreeter sort are alwaies more hastie & furious in iudgements, than men of better reputation and knowledge. Neuertheles, Eunidius saith, that these three things; to wit, what is to be thought of witches, what their incantations can doo, and whether their punishment should extend to death, are to be well considered. And I would (saith he) they were as well knowne, as they are rashlie beleueed, both of the learned, and vnlearned. And further he saith, that almost all diuines, physicians and lawyers, who should best know these matters, satisfieng themselues with old custome, haue giuen too much credit to these fables, and too rash and vniust sentence of death vpon witches. But when a man pondereth (saith he) that in times past, all that swarued from the church of Rome were iudged heretikes; it is the lesse maruell, though in this matter they be blind and ignorant.

And surelie, if the scripture had beene longer suppressed, more absurd fables would haue sproong vp, and beene beleueed. Which credulitie though it is to be derided with laughter; yet this their crueltie is to be lamented with tears. For (God knoweth) manie of these poore wretches had more need to be releued than chastised; and more meete were a preacher to admonish them, than a gailor to keepe them; and a physician more necessarie to help them, than an executioner or tormentor to hang or burne them. For prooffe and due triall hereof, I will requite Danaus his tale of a manwith (as he termeth him) with another witch of the same sex or gender.

*Lib. 15. cap.
18. de varie-
tasib. rerum.*

Cardanus from the mouth of his owne father reporteth, that one Barnard, a poore seruant, being in wit verie simple and rude; but in his seruice verie necessarie and diligent (and in that respect deerlie beloued of his maister) professing the art of witchcraft, could

The Epistle.

could in no wise be dissuaded from that profession, persuading himselfe that he knew all things, and could bring anie matter to passe; bicause certeine countrie people resorted to him for helpe and counsell, as supposing by his owne talke, that he could doo somewhat. At length he was condemned to be burned: which torment he seemed more willing to suffer, than to loose his estimation in that behalfe. But his maister hauing compassion vpon him, and being himselfe in his princes fauor, perceiuing his conceipt to proceed of melancholic, obtained respite of execution for twentie daies. In which time (saith he) his maister bountifullie fed him with good fat meat, and with foure eggs at a meale, as also with sweet wine: which diet was best for so grosse and weake a bodie. And being recouered so in strength, that the humor was suppressed, he was easilie woone from his absurd and dangerous opinions, and from all his fond imaginations: and confessing his error and follie, from the which before no man could remouue him by anie persuasions, hauing his pardon, he liued long a good member of the church, whome otherwise the crueltie of iudgement should haue cast awaie and destroyed.

This historie is more credible than Sprengers fables, or Bodins bables, which reach not so far to the extolling of witches omnipotencie, as to the derogating of Gods glorie. For if it be true, which they affirme, that our life and death lieth in the hand of a witch; then is it false, that God maketh vs liue or die, or that by him we haue our being, our terme of time appointed, and our daies numbred. But surelie their charmes can no more reach to the hurting or killing of men or women, than their imaginations can extend to the stealing and carrieng awaie of horses & mares. Neither hath God giuen remedies to sicknes or greefes, by words or charmes, but by hearbs and medicines; which he himselfe hath created vpon earth, and giuen men knowledge of the same; that he might be glorified, for that therewith he dooth vouchsafe that the maladies of men and cattell should be cured, &c. And if there be no affliction nor calamitie, but is brought to passe by him, then let vs desie the diuell, renounce all his works, and not so much as once thinke or dreame vpon this supernatural power of witches; neither let vs prosecute them with such despight, whome our sanctie condemneth, and our reason acquiteth: our
euidence

Amos. 3. 6.

Ea. Jer. 3. 38.

Isai. 45. 9.

Rom. 9. 20.

evidence against them consisting in impossibilities, our proofes in vnwritten verities, and our whole proceedings in doubts and difficulties.

Now because I mislike the extreame crueltie vsed against some of these sillie soules (whome a simple aduocate hauing audience and iustice might deliuer out of the hands of the inquisitors themselues) it will be said, that I denie anie punishment at all to be due to anie witch whatsoever. Naie, because I bewraie the follie and impietie of them, which attribute vnto witches the power of God: these witchmongers will report, that I denie there are anie witches at all: and yet behold (saie they) how often is this word [Witch] mentioned in the scriptures? Euen as if an idolater should saie in the behalfe of images and idols, to them which denie their power and godhead, and inueigh against the reuerence doone vnto them; How dare you denie the power of images, seeing their names are so often repeated in the scriptures? But truelie I denie not that there are witches or images: but I detest the idolatrous opinions conceiued of them; referring that to Gods worke and ordinance, which they impute to the power and malice of witches; and attributing that honour to God, which they ascribe to idols. But as for those that in verie deed are either witches or coniuors, let them hardlie suffer such punishment as to their fault is agreeable, and as by the graue iudgement of lawe is prouided.

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

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

The forren authors vsed in this Booke.

A elianus.	Cornelius Agrippa.	Houinius.
Aetius.	Cornelius Nepos.	Hyperius.
Albertus Cranezius.	Cornelius Tacitus.	Iacobus de Chusa Car-
Albertus Magnus.	Cyrillus.	thufianus.
Albumazar.	Danzus.	Iamblichus.
Alcoranum Francisca-	Demetrius.	Iaso Pratenfis.
norum.	Democritus.	Innocentius. 8. Papa.
Alexander Trallianus.	Didymus.	Iohannes Anglicus.
Algerus.	Diodorus Siculus.	Iohannes Baptista Nea-
Ambrosius.	Dionysius Arcopagita.	politianus.
Andradias.	Diocorides.	Iohannes Cassianus.
Andræas Gartnerus.	Diurius.	Iohannes Montiregius.
Andræas Massius.	Dodonæus.	Iohannes Riuius.
Antonius Sabellicus.	Durandus.	Iosephus ben Gorion.
Apollonius Tyanæus.	Empedocles.	Iofias Simlerus.
Appianus.	Ephesus.	Ifidorus.
Apulcius.	Erasmus Roterodamus.	Ifigonus.
Archelaus.	Erasmus Sarcerius.	Iuba.
Argerius Ferrarius.	Eraflus.	Iulius Maternus.
Aristotelès.	Eudoxus.	Iustinus Martyr.
Arnoldus de villa noua.	Eusebius Cæsariensis.	Lactantius.
Artëmidorus.	Fernelius.	Lauauerus.
Athanafius.	Franciscus Petrarcha.	Laurentius Ananias.
Auerroës.	Fuchsius.	Laurentius a villauic-
Auguftinus epifcopus	Galenus.	centio.
Hip.	Garropius.	Leo 11. Pontifex.
Auguftinus Niphus.	Gelasius.	Lex Salicorum.
Auicennas.	Gemma Phryfius.	Lex 12. Tabularum.
Aulus Gellius.	Georgius Pictorius.	Legenda aurea.
Barnardinus de bufis.	Gofridus.	Legenda longa Colo-
Bartholomæus Angli-	Gofchalus Boll.	niæ.
cus.	Gratianus.	Leonardus Vairus.
Berosus Anianus.	Gregorius.	Liuius.
Bodinus.	Grillandus.	Lucanus.
Bordinus.	Guido Bonatus.	Lucretius.
Brentius.	Gulielmus de fancto	Ludouicus Cælius.
Caluinus.	Clodoaldo.	Lutherus.
Camerarius.	Gulielmus Parifienfis.	Macrobius.
Campanus.	Hemingius.	Magna Charta.
Cardanus pater.	Heraclides.	Malleus Maleficarum.
Cardanus filius.	Hermes Trifmegiftus.	Manlius.
Carolus Gallus.	Hieronymus.	Marbacchius.
Caffander.	Hilarius.	Marbodeus Gallus.
Cato.	Hippocrates.	Marfilius Ficinus.
Chryfoftome.	Homerus.	Martinus de Arles.
Cicero.	Horatius.	Mattheolus.
Clemens.	Hoftienfis.	Melancthonus.

Forren and English authors.

Memphradorus.	Pythagoras.	Vegetius.
Michael Andrazas.	Quintilianus.	Vincencius.
Mufculus.	Rabbi Abraham.	Virgilius.
Nauculus.	Rabbi ben Ezra.	Vitellius.
Nicephorus.	Rabbi Dauid Kimhi.	Wierus.
Nicholaus 5. Papa.	Rabbi Iofuah ben Leui.	Xanthus historiogra- phus.
Nider.	Rabbi Ifaach Natar.	
Olaus Gothus.	Rabbi Leui.	¶ <i>Thefe English.</i>
Origenes.	Rabbi Mofes.	
Ouidius.	Rabbi Sedaias Haias.	B Arnabe Googe.
Panormitanus.	Robertus Carocullus.	Beehiue of the Ro- mish church.
Paulus Aegineta.	Rupertus.	Edward Deering.
Paulus Marfus.	Sabinus.	Geffrey Chaucer.
Perfius.	Sadoletus.	Giles Alley.
Petrus de Appona.	Sauanorola.	Gnimelf Maharba.
Petrus Lombardus.	Scotus.	Henric Haward.
Petrus Martyr.	Seneca.	John Bale.
Peucer.	Septuaginta interpre- tes.	John Fox.
Philarchus.	Serapio.	John Malborne.
Philaftrius Brixienfis.	Socrates.	John Record.
Philodorus.	Solinus.	Primer after Yorke vfe.
Philo Iudæus.	Speculum exemplo- rum.	Richard Gallis.
Pirkmairus.	Strabo.	Roger Bacon.
Platina.	Sulpitius Seuerus.	Testament printed at Rhemes.
Plato.	Syncefus.	T. E. a nameles author. 467.
Plinius.	Tatianus.	Thomas Hilles.
Plotinus.	Tertullianus.	Thomas Lupton.
Plutarchus.	Thomas Aquinas.	Thomas Moore Knight.
Polydorus Virgilius.	Themiftius.	Thomas Phacr.
Pomærium fermonum quadragefimalium.	Theodorecus.	T. R. a nameles author. 393.
Pompanatius.	Theodorus Bizantius.	William Lambard.
Pontificale.	Theophrastus.	W. W. a nameles au- thor. 542.
Ponziuibius.	Thucydides.	
Porphyrius.	Tibullus.	
Proclus.	Tremelius.	
Propertius.	Valerius Maximus.	
Pfeilus.	Varro.	
Ptolomeus.		



The

The discouerie of Witchcraft.

I

¶ *The first Booke.*

An impeachment of Witches power in me-
teors and elementarie bodies, tending to the re-
buke of such as attribute too much vnto them.

The first Chapter.



THE Fables of
Witchcraft haue ta-
ken so fast hold and
deepe root in the heart
of man, that fewe or
none can (now adates)
with patience indure
the hand and correcti-
on of God. For if any
aduersitie, græfe, sick-
nesse, losse of children,
cozne, cattell, or liber-
tie happen vnto them;
by & by they exclaime
vppon witches. As

though there were no God in Israel that ordereth all things ac-
cording to his will; punishing both iust and vniust with græfs, Iob. 5.
plagues, and afflictions in maner and foyme as he thinketh god:
but that certeine old women here on earth, called witches,
must needs be the contriuers of all mens calamities, and as
though they themselues were innocents, and had deserued no
such punishments. Insomuch as they sticke not to ride and go
to such, as either are iniurioullie tearmed witches, or else are
willing so to be accounted, seeking at their hands comfort and
remedie in time of their tribulation, contrarie to Gods will and
commandement in that behalfe, who bids vs resort to him in all Math. 11.

C. j.

our

our necessitties.

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

In concione.

But certeinly, it is neither a witch, nor diuell, but a glorious^a God that maketh the thunder. I haue read in the scriptures, that God^b maketh the blustering tempests and whirle winds: and I find that it is^c the Lord that altogether dealeth with them, and that they^d blowe according to his will. But let me see anie of them all^e rebuke and still the sea in time of tempest, as Christ did; or raise the stormie wind, as^f God did with his word; and I will beleue in them. Hath anie witch or coniuers, or anie creature entred into the^g treasures of the snowe; or seene the secret places of the haile, which G^d hath prepared against the daie of trouble, battell, and warre? I for my part also thinke with Iesus Sirach, that at Gods onelie commandement the snowe falleth; and that the wind bloweth according to his will, who onelie maketh all stormes to cease; and^h who (if we keepe his ordinaunces) will send vs raine in due season, and make the land to bring forth hir increase, and the trees of the field to giue their fruit.

But little thinke our witchmongers, that theⁱ Lord commandeth the clouds aboue, or openeth the doores of heauen, as Dauid affirmeth; or that the Lord goeth forth in the tempests and stormes, as the Prophet^k Nahum reporteth: but rather that witches and coniuers are then about their businesse.

The Martionists acknowledged one God the authour of god things, and another the ordeiner of euil: but these make the diuell a whole god, to create things of nothing, to knowe mens cogitations, and to do that which God neuer did; as, to transubstantiate men into beasts, &c. Which thing if diuels could do,

yet

yet followeth it not, that witches haue such power. But if all the diuels in hell were dead, and all the witches in England burnt or hanged; I warrant you we should not faile to haue raine, haile and tempests, as now we haue: according to the appointment and will of God, and according to the constitution of the elements, and the course of the planets, wherein God hath set a perfect and perpetuall order.

I am also well assured, that if all the old women in the world were witches; and all the priests, coniuers: we should not haue a drop of raine, nor a blast of wind the more or the lesse for them. For¹ the Lord hath bound the waters in the clouds, and hath set bounds about the waters, vntill the daie and night come to an end: yea it is God that raiseth the winds and stilleth them: and he saith to the raine and snowe; Be vpon the earth, and it falleth. The^m wind of the Lord, and not the wind of witches, shall destroye the treasures of their pleasant vessels, and dye vp the fountaines; saith Oseas. Let vs also learne and confesse with the Prophet Dauid, that weⁿ our selues are the causes of our afflictions; and not exclaime vpon witches, when we should call vpon God for mercie.

¹Tob. 26, 8.
Iob. 37.
Psalme. 135.
Ier. 10 & 15.

^mOsc. 13.

ⁿPsa. 39, &c.

The Imperiall lawe (saith Brentius) condemneeth them to death that trouble and infect the aire: but I affirme (saith he) that it is neither in the power of witch nor diuell so to doe, but in God onelie. Though (besides Bodin, and all the popish wryters in generall) it please Danaeus, Hyperius, Hemingius, Erastus, &c. to conclude otherwise. The clouds^o are called the pillars of Gods tents, Gods chariots, and his pauillions. And if it be so, what witch or diuell can make maisteries therof? S. Augustine saith, *Non est putandum istis transgressoribus angelis seruire hanc rerum visibilibus materiam, sed soli Deo:* We must not thinke that these visible things are at the commandement of the angels that sell, but are obedient to the onelie God.

In epist. ad
Io. Hierum.

^oExod. 13.
Isai. 66.
Pf. 18, 11, 19.
ⁿAugust. 3. de
san. Trinitie.

Finallie, if witches could accomplish these things; what needed it seeme so strange to the people, when Christ by miracle^p commanded both seas and winds, &c. For it is writtten; Who is this: for both wind and sea obeie him.

^pMar. 4. 41.

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

The second Chapter.

BUt the world is now so bewitched and ouer-run with this fond error, that euen where a man should seeke comfort and counsell, there shall hee be sent (in case of necessitie) from God to the diuell; and from the Physician, to the cosening witch, who will not sticke to take vpon hir, by wordes to heale the lame (which was proper onelie to Christ; and to them whom he assisted with his diuine power) yea, with hir familiar & charmes she will take vpon hir to cure the blind: though in the^a tenth of S. Iohns Gospell it be writtten, that the diuell cannot open the eyes of the blind. And they attaine such credit, as I haue heard (to my grieue) some of the ministerie affirme, that they haue had in their parish at one instant, xvij. or xviii. witches: meaning such as could worke miracles supernaturallie. Whereby they manifested as well their infidelitie and ignorance, in conceiuing Gods word; as their negligence and error in instructing their flocks. For they themselues might vnderstand, and also teach their parishoners, that^b God onelie worketh great wonders; and that it is he which sendeth such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect: according to the saicng of the Prophet Haggai, ^cI smote you with blasting and mildew, and with haile, in all the labours of your hands; and yet you turned not vnto me, saith the Lord. And therefore saith the same Prophet in another place; ^dYou haue sown much, and bring in little. And both in ^eIoel and ^fLeuiticus, the like phrases and proofes are vsed and made. But more shall be said of this hereafter.

S. Paule forse-sawe the blindness and obstinacie, both of these blind shepheards, and also of their scabbed sheepe, when he said ^gThey

^aIoh. 10. 21.

^bPsal. 72. &
136.
Ieremic. 5.

^cHag. 2. 28.

^dIdem. ca. 1

^eIoel. 1.

^fLeuiti. 26.

They will not suffer wholesome doctrine, but having their eares itching, shall get them a heape of teachers after their own lusts; and shall turne their eares from the truth, and shall be giuen to fables. And^b in the latter time some shall depart from the faith, and shall giue heed to spirits of errors, and doctrines of diuels, which speake lies (as witches and coniuers doe) but cast thou awaie such prophane and old wiues fables. In which sense Basil saith; Who so giueth heed to inchanters, hearkeneth to a fabulous and frivolous thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe am not onelic *Ocularis testis*, but haue examined the cause, and am to iustifie the truth of my report: not because I would disgrace the ministers that are godlie, but to confirme my former assertion, that this absurd error is growne into the place, which should be able to expell all such ridiculous folie and impietie.

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

His sonne (being an vngracious boie, and pzentise to one Robert Scotchford clothier, dwelling in that parish of Brenchlie) passed on a daie by hir house; at whome by chance hir little dog barked. Which thing the boie taking in euill part, drew his knife, & pursued him therewith euen to hir doze: whom she rebuked with some such words as the boie disdaind, & yet neuertheless would not be persuaded to depart in a long time. At the last he returned to his maisters house, and within five or sixe daies fell sicke. Then was called to mind the fraie betwixt the dog and the boie: insomuch as the vicar (who thought himselfe so priuileged, as he little mistrusted that God would visit his children with sickness) did so calculate; as he found, partlie through his owne iudgement, and partlie (as he himselfe told

2. Tim. 4.

34.

1. Tim. 4.1

A storie of
Margaret
Simons, a
supposed
witch.

me) by the relation of other witches, that his said sonne was by hir bewitched. Yea, he also told me, that this his sonne (being as it were past all cure) received perfect health at the hands of another witch.

He proceeded yet further against hir, affirming, that alwaies in his parish church, when he desired to read most plainelie, his voice so failed him, as he could scant be heard at all. Which hee could impute, he said, to nothing else, but to hir incantment. When I advertised the poore woman hereof, as being desirous to heare what she could saie for hir selfe; she told me, that in verie deed his voice did much faile him, speciallie when he strained himselfe to speake lowdest. Howbeit, she said that at all times his voice was hoarse and lowe: which thing I perceiued to be true. But sir, said she, you shall vnderstand, that this our vicar is diseased with such a kind of hoarsenesse, as diuers of our neighbors in this parish, not long since, doubted that he had the French pox; & in that respect vtterly refused to communicate with him: vntill such time as (being therinto intoined by M. D. Lewen the Dydinarie) he had brought fro London a certificat, vnder the hands of two physicians, that his hoarsenes proceeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificat he published in the church, in the presence of the whole congregation: and by this meanes hee was cured, or rather excused of the shame of his disease. And this I knowe to be true by the relation of diuers honest men of that parish. And truelie, if one of the Iurie had not bene wiser than the other, she had bene condemned thereupon, and vpon other as ridiculous matters as this. For the name of a witch is so odious, and hir power so feared among the common people, that if the honestest bodie liuing chance to be arraigned ther vpon, she shall hardly escape condemnation.

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that moueth men so commonlie to thinke, and witches themselues to beleeue that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations: and of coofening witches.

The third Chapter.



Die sozt of such as are said to be witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eyed, pale, sowle, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as knowe no religion: in whose drouisie minds the diuell hath gotten a fine seat; so as, what mischæse, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie perswaded the same is done by themselues; imprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination thereof. They are leane and deformed, they being melancholie in their faces, to the horroz of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, diuelish; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits; so firme and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoever shall onelie haue respect to the constancie of their woꝝds vttered, would easilie beleeue they were true indeed.

*Cardan. de
var. rerum.*

These miserable wretches are so odious vnto all their neighbours, and so feared, as few dare offend them, or denie them anie thing they aske: whereby they take vpon them; yea, and sometimes thinke, that they can do such things as are beyond the abilitie of humane nature. These go from house to house, and from doꝛe to doꝛe for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, pottage, or some such reliefe; without the which they could hardlie liue: neither obtaining for their seruice and paines, nor by their art, nor yet at the diuels hands (with whome they are said to make a perfect and visible bargaine) either beautie, monie, promotion, welth, woꝛship, pleasure, honoz, knowledge, learning, or anie other benefit thatsoeuer.

It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their expectation is answered or serued, in those places where they beg or borrowe; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbours reproued. And further, in tract of time the witch waxeth odious and tedious to his neighbours; and they againe are despised and despited of him: so as sometimes she curseth one, and sometimes another; and that from the maister of the house, his wife, children, cattell, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stie. Thus in processe of time they haue all displeas'd him, and she hath wished euill lucke vnto them all; perhaps with curses and imprecations made in foyme. Doubtlesse (at length) some of his neighbours die, or fall sicke; or some of their children are visited with diseases that be them strangelic: as apoplexies, epilepsies, conuulsions, hot feuers, woymes, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches. Hea and their opinions and conceits are confirmed and maintained by vnskilfull physicians: according to the common saying; *Insitiae pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and enchantment is the cloke of ignorance: whereas indeed euill humors, & not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their cattell perish, either by disease or mischance. When they, by whom such aduersities fall, weighing the same that goeth by on this woman (his words, displeasure, and curses meeting so iustlie with their misfortune) doe not onelie conceiue, but also are resolu'd, that all their mishaps are brought to passe by his onelie meanes.

The witch on the other side expecting his neighbours mischances, and seeing things sometimes come to passe according to his wishes, curses, and incantations (so Bodin himselfe confesseth, that not aboue two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a Justice, by due examination of the circumstances is giuen to see his imprecations and desires, and his 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 to passe. Wherein, not onelie she, but the accuser, and also the Justice are foolishly deceiued and abused; as being thorough his confession and other circumstances perswaded (to the iniurie of Gods glorie) that she hath done, or can doe that which

J. Bodin. li. 2.
de demono:
cap. 8.

is

is proper onelste to God himselte.

Another sort of witches there are, which be absolutelie confessers. These take vpon them, either for glozie, fame, or gaine, to doo anie thing, which God or the diuell can doo: either for foretelling of things to come, betwaieng of secrets, curing of maladies, or working of miracles. But of these I will talke moze at large hereafter.

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

The fourth Chapter.



Although it be quite against the haire, and contrarie to the diuels will, contrarie to the witches oth, promise, and homage, and contrarie to all reason, that witches should helpe anie thing that is bewitched; but rather set forward their maisters businesse: yet we read *In malleo maleficarum*, of three sorts of witches; and the same is affirmed by all the writers here vpon, 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 moze beastle than any kind of beasts, sauing wolues: for these vsuallie deuoure and eate yong children and infants of their owne kind. These be they (saith he) that raise haile, tempests, and hurtfull weather; as lightening, thunder, &c. These be they that procure barrennesse in man, woman, and beast. These can throwe children into waters, as they walke with their mothers, and not be seene. These can make horses kicke, till they cast the riders. These can passe from place to place in the aire inuisible. These can so alter the mind of iudges, that they can haue no power to hurt them. These can procure to themselues and to others, taciturnitie and insensibilitie in their torments. These can bring trembling to the hands, and strike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. These can manifest vnto others, things hidden and lost, and foreshew things

Mal. Malef. par. 2. quest. 1. cap. 2.

things to come; and see them as though they were present. These can alter mens minds to inordinate loue or hate. These can kill whom they list with lightening and thunder. These can take away mans courage, and the power of generation. These can make a woman miscarrie in childbirth, and destroye the child in the mothers wombe, without any sensible meanes either inwardlie or outwardlie applied. These can with their looks kill either man or beast.

All these things are avowed by Iames Sprenger and Henrie Institor *In malleo maleficarum*, to be true, & confirmed by Nider, and the inquisitor Cumanus; and also by Danæus, Hyperius, Hemingius, and multiplied by Bodinus, and frater Bartholomæus Spineus. But because I will in no wise abridge the authoritie of their power, you shall haue also the testimonies of manie other graue authorz in this behalfe; as followeth.

* *Ouid. lib. metamorphoson 7.*
Danæus in dialog.
Pselus in operatione dem.
Virg. in Damonone.
Horæ. epod. 5.
Tibul. de fascinas lib. 1. eleg. 2.
Ouid. epist. 4.
Lex. 12. Tabularum.
Mal. Malef. Lucã. de bello ciuili lib. 6.
Vn. clog. 8.
On. eremedio amoris lib. 1.
Hyperius.
Erasmus.
Rich. Gal. in his horrible treatise.
Hemingius.
Bar. Spineus.
Bryan Darcy Confessio Winesfor.
Virgil. Ae-

* And first Ouid affirmeth, that they can raise and suppress lightening and thunder, raïne and haile, clouds and winds, tempests and earthquakes. Others doe write, that they can pull downe the moone and the starres. Some write that with wishting they can send needles into the liuers of their enemies. Some that they can transferre coine in the blade from one place to another. Some, that they can cure diseases supernaturallie, sit in the aire, and dance with diuels. Some write, that they can plaie the part of Succubus, and contract themselues to Incubus; and so yong prophets are vpon them begotten, &c. Some saie they can transubstantiate themselues and others, and take the formes and shapes of asses, wolues, ferrets, colwes, apes, horses, dogs, &c. Some say they can keepe diuels and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats.

They can raise spirits (as others affirme) drie by springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at awger holes, & saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and vnder the tempestuous seas. They can go inuisible, and deprive men of their priuities, and other wise of the act and vse of venerie. They can bring soules out of the graues. They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with looks kill lambes. But in this case a man may saie, that *Miranda canunt*

sed

sed non credenda Poetæ. They can also bzing to passe, that chearne neid. 4.
 as long as you list, your butter will not come; especially, if ei- C. Manlius
 ther the maids haue eaten by the creame; or the goodwife haue astrolog. lib. 1.
 sold the butter befoze in the market. Whereof I haue had some
 triall, although there may be true and naturall causes to hinder
 the common course thereof: as foze example. But a little sope or
 sugar into your chearne of creame, and there will neuer come
 anie butter, chearne as long as you list. But M. Mal. saith, that
 there is not so little a village, where wante women are not that
 bewitch, infect, and kill kine, and dzie by the milke: alledging
 foze the strengthening of that assertion, the saing of the Apostle,
Nunquid Deo cura est de bobus? Doth God take anie care of oren?
Mal. malef. part. 2. quest. 1. cap. 14. 1. Cor. 9, 2.

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

The fift Chapter.

BUt whatsoeuer is reported of
 conceiued of such maner of witchcrafts, I
 dare auow to be false and fabulous (cost-
 nage, dotage, and poisoning excepted;) h
 neither is there any mention made of
 these kind of witches in the Bible. If
 Christ had knowne them, he would not
 haue pretermitted to inuade against their
 presumption, in taking vpon them his office: as, to heale and
 cure diseases; and to woꝝke such miraculous and supernaturall
 things, as whereby he himselfe was speciallie knowne, belieued,
 and published to be God; his actions and cures consisting (in or-
 der and effect) according to the powler by our witchmongers im-
 puted to witches. Howbeit, if there be any in these daies afflic-
 ted in such strange sort, as Christs cures and patients are descri-
 bed in the new testament to haue beene: we flie from trusting
 in God to trusting in witches, who do not onelie in their cose-
 ning art take on them the office of Christ in this behalfe; but vse
 his verie phrase of speech to such idolaters, as com to seeke diuine
 assistance

John. 5. 6.
Mark. 5. 34.

assistance at their hands, saieing; Go thy waies, thy sonne or thy daughter, &c. shall do well, and be whole.

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

To go to
witches, &c.
is idolatric.

In like maner I say, he that attributeth to a witch, such diuine power, as dulie and onelie apperteineth vnto G O D (which all witchmongers do) is in hart a blasphemour, an idolater, and full of grosse impietie, although he neither go nor send to hir for assistance.

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

The sixt Chapter.

If witches could do anie such miraculous things, as these and other which are imputed to them, they might do them againe and againe, at anie time or place, or at anie mans desire: for the diuell is as strong at one time as at another, as busie by daye as by night, and readie enough to do all mischefe, and careth not whom he abuseth. And in so much as it is confessed, by the most part of witchmongers themselues, that he knoweth not the cogitation of mans heart, he should (me thinks) sometimes appere vnto

unto honest and credible persons, in such grosse and cozpozall forme, as it is said he doth unto witches: which you shall neuer heare to be iustificed by one sufficient witness. For the diuell indeed entrench into the mind, and that waie seeketh mans confusion.

The art alwaies presupposeth the power; so as, if they saie they can do this or that, they must shew how and by what meanes they do it; as neither the witches, nor the witchmongers are able to do. For to euerie action is required the facultie and abilitie of the agent or doer; the aptnes of the patient or subiect; and a convenient and possible application. Now the witches are mortall, and their power dependeth vpon the analogie and consonancie of their minds and bodies; but with their minds they can but will and vnderstand; and with their bodies they can do no more, but as the bounds and ends of terrene sense will suffer; and therefore their power extendeth not to do such miracles, as surmounteth their owne sense, and the vnderstanding 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 perceiue there is none effect, if we will credit our owne experientie and sense vnabused, the rules of philosophie, or the word of God. For alas! What an vnapt instrument is a toothles, old, impotent, and vntweldie woman to flie in the aier? Truelie, the diuell little needs such instruments to bring his purposes to passe.

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; speciallie when our neighbours life dependeth vpon our credulitie therein; and when we may see the defect of abilitie, which alwaies is an impediment both to the act, and also to the presumption thereof. And bicause there is nothing possible in lawe, that in nature is impossible; therefore the iudge doth not attend or regard what the accused man saith; or yet would do; but what is proued to haue bene committed, and na-

turallie

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

Why should
nor the di-
uell be as
readie to
helpe a
theefe re-
allie as a
witch?

*L. mulsum.
L. si quis alte-
ri, vel sibi.*

turallie falleth in mans power and will to do. For the lawe saith, that To will a thing impossible, is a signe of a mad man, or of a foole, upon whom no sentence or iudgement taketh hold. Furthermoze, what Iurie will condemne, or what Judge will giue sentence or iudgement against one for killing a man at Berwicke; when they themselues, and manie other saue that man at London, that verie daie, wherein the murther was committed; yea though the partie confesse himselfe guiltie therein, and twentie witnesses depose the same? But in this case also I saie the iudge is not to weigh their testimonie, which is weakened by lawe; and the iudges auzhoritie is to supplie the imperfection of the case, and to mainteine the right and equitie of the same.

Seeing therefore that some other things might naturallie be the occasion and cause of such calamities as witches are supposed to bring; let not vs that professe the Gospell and knowledge of Christ, be bewitched to beleue that they do such things, as are in nature impossible, and in sense and reason incredible. If they saie it is done through the diuels helpe, who can worke miracles; why do not theues bring their business to passe miraculousslie, with whom the diuell is as conuersant as with the other? Such mischæfes 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 awaie, happeneth neuertheless?

An obiection
on answered.

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

The seuenth Chapter.

Surely the naturall power of man or woman cannot be so enlarged, as to do anie thing beyond the power and vertue given and ingrafted by God. But it is the will and mind of man, which is vitiated and depraved by the diuell; neither doth God permit anie moze, than that which the naturall order appointed by him

Miracles
are ceased.

him doth require. Which naturall order is nothing else, but the ordinarie power of God, powored into euerie creature, according to his state and condition. But hereof moze shall be said in the title of witches confessions. Howbeit you shall vnderstand, that few or none are throughtlie perswaded, resolued, or satisfied, that witches can indeed accomplish all these impossibilitie: but some one is bewitched in one point, and some is cosened in another, untill in fine, all these impossibilitie, and manie mo, are by several persons affirmed to be true.

And this I haue also noted, that when anie one is cosened with a cosening toie of witchcraft, and maketh report thereof accordinglie, verifieng a matter most impossible and false as it were vpon his owne knowledge, as being ouertaken with some kind of illusion or other (which illusions are right inchantments) euen the selfe-same man will deride the like lie proceeding out of another mans mouth, as a fabulous matter vnto, thie of credit. It is also to be wondered, how men (that haue seene some part of witches cosenages detected, and see also there in the impossibilitie of their owne presumptions, & the follie and falsehood of the witches confessions) will not suspect, but remaine vnsatisfied, or rather obstinatelie defend the residue of witches supernaturall actions: like as when a juggler hath discovered the slight and illusion of his principall feats, one would fondlie continue to thinke, that his other petie juggling knacks of legerdemaine are done by the helpe of a familiar: and according to the follie of some papists, who seeing and confessing the popes absurd religion, in the erection and maintenance of idolatrie and superstition, speciallie in images, pardons, and reliques of saints, will yet perseuere to thinke, that the rest of his doctrine and trumperie is holie and god.

The opinions of people concerning witchcraft are diuerse and inconstant.

Finally, manie mainteine and erie out for the execution of witches, that particularlie beleue neuer a whit of that which is imputed vnto them; if they be therein pziuatelie dealt withall, and substantiallie opposed and tried in argument.

Causes

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

The eight Chapter.

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



Ardanus writeth, that the cause of such credulitie consisteth in thre points; to wit, in the imagination of the melancholike, in the constancie of them that are corrupt therewith, and in the deceipt of the Judges; who being inquisitors themselues against heretikes and witches, did both accuse and condemne them, having for their labour the spoile of their goods. So as these inquisitors added manie fables herevnto, least they should seeme to haue done iniurie to the poze wretches, in condemning and executing them for none offense. But sithens (saith he) the springing bp of Luthers sect, these priests haue tended more diligentlie vpon the execution of them; bicause more wealth is to be caught from them; insomuch as now they deale so loselie with witches (through distrust of gaines) that all is seene to be malice, follie, or auarice that hath bene practised against them. And whosoever shall search into this cause, or read the these writers herevpon, shall find his woords true.

An obiection
on answer.
red.

It will be objected, that we here in England are not now directed by the popes lawes; and so by consequence our witches not troubled or conuented by the inquisitors *Hæretica prauitatis*. I answer, that in times past here in England, as in other nations, this order of discipline hath bene in force and vse; although now some part of old rigo^r be qualified by two seuerall statutes made in the first of Elizabeth, and xxxiij of Henrie the eighth. Nevertheless the estimation of the omnipotencie of their woords and charmes seemeth in those statutes to be somewhat mainteined, as a matter hitherto generallie received; and not yet so looked into, as that it is refused and decided. But how wiselie so euer the Parliament

ment house hath dealt therin, or how mercifullie soeuer the prince beholdeth the cause; if a poore old woman, supposed to be a witch, be by the ciuill or canon lawe conuented; I doubt, some canon will be found in force, not onelie to giue scope to the tormentor, but also to the hangman, to exercise their offices vpon hir. And most certaine it is, that in what point soeuer anie of these extremities, which I shall rehearse vnto you, be mitigated, it is thorough the godnesse of the Quéenes Maiestie, and hir excellent magistrates placed among vs. For as touching the opinion of our wryters therein in our age; yea in our owne countrie, you shall see it doth not onlie agree with foren crueltie, but surmounteth it farre. If you read a foolish pamphlet dedicated to the lord Darcy, by W. W. 1582. you shall see that he affirmeth, that all those tortures are farre too light, and their rigoꝝ too mild; and that in that respect he impudentlie exclaimeth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when martherers, & such malefactors be so used, which deserue not the hundredth part of their punishments. But if you will see moze folkie and lewdnes compassed in one lewd booke, I commend you to Ri. Ga. a Windfor man; who being a mad man hath wrytten according to his frantike humoꝝ: the reading wherof may satisfie a wise man, how mad all these witchmongers dealings be in this behalfe.

W. W. his
booke printed in
Anno Domini.
1582.

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

The ninth Chapter.



AND bicause it may appeare vnto the woꝝld what trecherous and faithlesse dealing, what extreme and intollerable tyrannie, what grosse and fond absurdities, what vnnaturall & vnciuill discourtesie, what cancred and spitefull malice, what outrageous and barbarous crueltie, what lewd and false packing, what cunning and craftie intercepting, what bald and péeuisher interpretations,

D. s.

pretations,

pretations, what abhominable and diuelish inuentions, and what flat and plaine knauerie is practised against these old women; I will set downe the whole order of the inquisition, to the euerlasting, inercusable, and apparent shame of all witchmongers. Neither will I insert any private or doubtfull dealings of theirs; or such as they can either denie to be vsuall, or iustlie call in question; but such as are published and renewed in all ages, since the commenment of poperie, established by lawes, practised by inquisitozs, priuiledged by princes, commended by doctozs, confirmed by popes, counsels, decrees, and canons; and finally be left of all witchmongers; to wit, by such as attribute to old women, and such like creatures, the power of the Creator. I praye you therefore, though it be tedious & intollerable (as you would be heard in your miserable calamities) so heare with compassion, their accusations, examinations, matters given in evidence, confessions, presumptions, interrogatozies, confutations, cautions, crimes, tortures and condemnations, deuised and practised vsuallie against them.



The second Booke.

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

The first Chapter.



Excommunicat persons, *Mal. Malef. quest. 5. pa. 3. I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 2. de demon.*
 partakers of the salt, infants, wicked seruants, and runnawates are to be admitted to beare witnessse against their dames in this mater of witchcraft; bicause (saith Bodin the champion of witchmongers) none that be honest are able to detect them. Heretikes also and witches shall be receiued to accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finallie, the *Arch. in Cal. le. accusans. in S. l. super. verba.*
 testimonie of all infamous

persons in this case is god and allowed. *I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 1. de demon.* *Mal. malef. quest. 56. pa. 3. & que. 5. part. 3.* *Ibidem.* *Que. 7. aff. 2*
 For, one lewd person (saith Bodin) may be receiued to accuse and condemne a thousand suspected witches. And although by lawe, a capitall enimie may be challenged; yet James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, (from whom Bodin, and all the writers that euer I haue read, doe receiue their light, authorities and arguments) saie (vpon this point of lawe) that The worse friendlesse old woman must proue, that hir capitall enimie would haue killed hir, and that hee hath both assalted & wounded hir; otherwise she pleadeth all in vaine. If the iudge aske hir, whether she haue anie capitall enimies; and she rehearse other, and forget hir accuser; or else answer that he was hir capitall enimie, but now she hopeth he is not so: such a one is neuertheless admitted for a witness. And though by lawe, single witnesses are not admittable; yet if one depose the *D. y.* bath

hath bewitched hir colw; another, hir colw; and the third, hir but-
ter: these saith (saith M. Mal. and Bodin) are no single witnesse;
bicause they agree that she is a witch.

The order of examination of witches
by the inquisitors.

The second Chapter.



Women suspected to be witches,
after their apprehension may not be suffe-
red to go home, or to other places, to seek
suerties: for then (saith Bodin) the people
would be worse willing to accuse them;
for feare least at their returne home, they
would reuenge upon them. In which res-
pect Bodin commendeth much the Scot-
tish custome and order in this behalfe: where (he saith) a hollowe
peece of wood or a chest is placed in the church, into the which anie
bodie may freely cast a little scroll of paper, wherein may be con-
teined the name of the witch, the time, place, and fact, &c. And
the same chest being locked with three severall locks, is opened
euerye fiftenth daie by three inquisitors or officers appointed for
that purpose; which keepe three severall keyes. And thus the ac-
cuser need not be knowne, nor shamed with the reproch of slander
or malice to his poore neighbour.

The Scot-
tish custome
of accusing
a witch.

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

Item, there may alwaies be promised impunitie and fauour
to witches, that confesse and detect others; and for the contrarie,
there may be threatenings and violence practised and vsed.

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

Item, witches must be examined as suddenlie, and as vna-
wares as is possible: the which will so amaze them, that they will
confesse any thing, supposing the diuell hath forsaken them; ther-
as if they should first be committed to prison, the diuell would tem-
per

per with them, and infor me them what to do.

Item, the inquisitor, iudge, 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 witchcraft, to wit, *si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia*: howbeit the lawe forbiddeth it, *Ob sanguinis reuerentiam*.

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

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

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

Item, a witch may not be put in prison alone, least the diuell dissuade hir from confession, through promises of hir indemnitie. For (saith Bodin) some that haue bene in the gaole haue proued to stie awaie, as they were wont to do when they met with Diana and Minerua, &c: and so brake their owne necks against the stone walles.

Item, if anie denie hir owne confession made without forfeiture, she is neuerthelesse by that confession to be condemned, as in anie other crime.

Item, the iudges must seeme to put on a pittifull countenance and to mone them; saing, that It was not they, but the diuell that committed the murther, and that he compelled them to do it; and must make them beleue that they thinke them to be innocents.

Item, if they will confesse nothing but vpon the racke or torture; their apparrell must be changed, and euerie haire in their bodie must be shauen off with a sharpe razor.

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

K. Childeberts
cruell
deuife.

D.ij.

thing.

thing.

P. Grillan-
dur.

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

A sabill
and diue-
lish deuise.

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

Item, there must be subbozned some crackie spie, that may seeme to be a prisoner with hir in the like case; who perhaps may in conference vndermine hir, and so betwzaie and discover hir.

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

Matters of evidence against
witches.

The third Chapter.

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

Item,

Item, if anie come in, or depart out of the chamber or house, the doores being shut; it is an apparent and sufficient euidence to a witches condemnation, without further triall: which thing Bodin neuer saue. If he can shew me that feat, I will subscribe to his follie. For Christ after his resurrection vsed the same: not as a ridiculous toie, that euerie witch might accomplish; but as a speciall miracle, to strengthen the faith of the elect.

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

Item, if anie inchant or bewitch mens beasts, or cozne, or flie in the aire, or make a dog speake, or cut off anie mans members, and vnite them againe to men or childzens bodie; it is sufficient profe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and coniectures are sufficient proofes against witches.

Item, if thre witnesses do but saie, Such a woman is a witch; then is it a clere case that she is to be executed with death. Which matter Bodin saith is not onelic certeine by the canon and ciuill lawes, but by the opinion of pope Innocent, the wisest pope (as he saith) that euer was.

Bar. Spinus,
et I. Bod. de
demon. lib. 2.
cap. 2.

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

Alexander,
L. ubi nume-
rus de testi-
bus.

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

I. Bod. de de-
mon. lib. 2.
cap. 2.

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

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

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

Item, a capitall enemie (if the enimitie be pretended to growe by meanes of witchcraft) may object against a witch; and none

D. iij.

exception

ception is to be had or made against him.

Par. in L. post. legatum. 9. his, de iur. quibus ut indig. Alex. cap. 72. L. 2. & c.

Item, although the proofe of perurie may put backe a witness in all other causes; yet in this, a periured person is a good and lawfull witness.

Item, the prosecutors and aduocats in this case are compelled to be witnesses against their clients, as in none other case they are to be constrained thereunto.

In his foolish pamphlet of the execution of Windfor witches.

Item, none can giue euidence against witches, touching their assemblies, but witches onelie: because (as Bodin saith) none other can do it. Howbeit, Ri. Ga. writeth, that he came to the God spæd, and with his sword and buckler killed the diuell; or at the least he wounded him so sore, that he made him stinke of brimstone.

Item, Bodin saith, that because this is an extraordinary matter; there must here in be extraordinary dealing; and all manner of waies are to be vsed, direct and indirect.

Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.

The fourth Chapter.

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

Is there any probable that such would continue witches?
Idem Ibid.

Ioan. An. ad specular. 115. de iur. conser. part. 2.

L. non alienum eodem.



Some witches confesse (saith Bodin) that are desirous to die; not so glorie, but so despaire: because they are tormented in their life time. But these may not be spared (saith he) although the lawe doth excuse them.

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

Item, if she confesse many things that are false, and one thing that may be true; she is to be taken and executed vpon that confession.

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

Item, an equiuocall or doubtfull answer is taken for a confession against a witch,

Item,

Item, Bodin reporteth, that one confessed that he went out, or rather vpon into the aire, and was transported manie miles to the fairies danse, onelie bicause he would spee vnto that place his wife went to haggling, and how she behaued hir selfe. Where vpon was much a doo among the inquisitozs and lawyers, to discusse whether he should be executed with his wife or no. But it was concluded that he must die, bicause he bewzaied not his wife: the which he forbare to doo, *Propter reuerentian honoris & familiae.*

L. de etat. 5. nihil eodem. &c. I. Bod. de de-mono. lib. 4. cap. 3.

h

Item, if a woman confesse frælie herein, befoze question be made; and yet afterward denie it: she is neuerthelesse to be burned.

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

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.

The fift Chapter.



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

I. Bod. de de-mono. lib. 4. cap. 4.

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

Item, though in other persons, certeine points of their confessions may be thought erroneous, and imputed to error: yet (in witches causes) all ouersights, imperfections, and escapes must be

be adiudged impious and malicious, and tend to hir confusion and condemnation.

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

*I. Bod. de de-
mo lib. 4.
cap. 4.*

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

*L. de crimine
de pœnis.
Panorm. &
Felin. in C.
veniens. 1.
de testib. par-
fic. caus. 154.
Lib. 4. nume-
ro. 12. vsq;
a 18.*

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

Item if a woman, when she is apprehended, erie out, or saie; I am vndone; Shaue my life; I will tell you how the matter standeth, &c: she is there vpon most vehementlie to be suspected and condemned to die.

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

Item, the behauiour, 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 looke a man full in the face.

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

Item, it is a vehement presumption if she cannot weepe, at the time of hir examination: and yet Bodin saith, that a witch may shed three drops out of hir right eye.

Item, it is not onelie a vehement suspition, and presumption, but an euident prooue of a witch, if any man or beast die suddenlie where she hath bene scene latelie; although hir witching stufie be not found or espied.

Item, if any bodie vse familiaritie or companie with a witch conuicted, it is a sufficient presumption against that person to be adiudged a witch.

Item,

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

L.5. de adult. S. gl. & Barr. c. venerabilis de electio. & I. Bod. de de-mono. lib. 4. cap. 4.

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

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

Item, little childzen may be had to the torture at the first dash; but so may it not be done with old women: as is afoze said. *Idem Ibid.*

Item, if she haue anie priuie marke vnder hir arme pokes, vnder hir haire, vnder hir lip, or in hir buttocke, or in hir priuities: it is a presumption sufficient for the iudge to proceed and giue sentence of death vpon hir.

The onlie pitie they shew to a poore woman in this case, is; that though she be accused to haue slaine anie bodie with hir inchantments; yet if she can bring forth the partie aliue, she shall not be put to death. Whereat I maruell, in as much as they can bring the diuell in any bodies likenesse and representation.

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

Cap. ppter ea cum glos. extra. de rest. Panormit in C. vener. col. 2. eodem, &c.

Particular Interogatories vsed by the inquisitors against witches.

The sixt Chapter.



Neede not staie to confute such parciall and horrible dealings, being so apparentlie impious, and full of tyrannie: which except I should haue so manifestlie detected, euen with their owne writings and assertions, few or none would haue beleued. But for breuities sake I will passe ouer the same; supposing that the ci- ting

ting of such absurdities may stand for a sufficient confutation thereof. Now therefore I will proceed to a more particular order and manner of examinations, &c: used by the inquisitors, and allowed for the most part throughout all nations.

*Mal. malef.
super, inter-
rog.*

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

Item, why his two kine giue more milke than his neighbors. And the note before mentioned is here againe set downe, to be speciallie obserued of all men: to wit; that Though a witch can not weepe, yet she may speake with a crieng voice. Which assertion of weeping is false, and contrarie to the saying of Seneca, Cato, and manie others; which affirme, that A woman weepeth when she meaneth most deceit: and therefore saith M. Mal. she must be well looked vnto, otherwise she will put spittle puiilie vpon his cheeks, and seeme to weepe: which rule also Bodin saith is infallible. But alas that teares should be thought sufficient to excuse or condemne in so great a cause, and so weightie a triall!

*Seneca in
tragad.
Mal. malef.
part. 3. quest
15. act. 10.*

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

I am sure that the worst sort of the children of Israel wept bitterly: yea, if there were any witches at all in Israel, they wept. For it is written, that all the children of Israel wept. Finally, if there be any witches in hell, I am sure they weepe: for there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

*Seneca in
tragad.*

But God knoweth, many an honest matrone cannot sometimes in the heauines of his heart shed teares; the which oftentimes are more readie and common with crackie queanes and strumpets, than with sober women. For we read of two kinds of teares in a womans eie, the one of true griefe, the other of deceit. And it is written, that *De discere flere feminam est mendacium*: which argueth, that they lie which saie, that wicked women cannot weepe. But let these tormentors take heed, that the teares in this case which runne downe the widowes cheeks, with their

Ecc. 35, 15.

crie spoken of by Iesus Sirach, be not heard aboute. But to what learned, godlie, and lawfull meanes these poppish inquisitors haue inuented for the triall of true or false teares.

The inquisitors triall of weeping
by coniuration.

The seventh Chapter.

TConiure thee by the amorous
teares, which Iesus Christ our Saviour
shed vpon the crosse for the saluation of the
world; and by the most earnest and bur-
ning teares of his mother the most glozi-
ous virgine Marie, sprinkled vpon his
wounds late in the euening; and by all
the teares, which euerie saint and elect
bessell of God hath powred out here in the world, and from whose
eies he hath wiped awaie all teares; that if thou be without fault,
thou maist powre downe teares aboundantlie; and if thou be
guiltie, that thou weepe in no wise: In the name of the father, of
the sonne, and of the holic ghost; Amen. And note (saith he) that
the more you coniure, the lesse the weepeth.

Triall of
teares.

Mal. Malef.
que. 15. p. 2. 3.

Certaine cautions against witches, and of their tor-
tures to procure confession.

The eight Chapter.

TUt to manifest their further fol-
lies, I will recite some of their cautions;
which are published by the ancient inquisi-
tors, for perpetuall lessons to their succes-
sors: as followeth.

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

Secondlie, the iudge must beware the touch no part of him, spe-
ciallie of his bare; and that he alwaies weare about his necke
coniured salt, palme, herbes, and waie halowed: which (say they)
are not onelie approued to be god by the witches confessions; but
also

Ja. Sprenger.
H. Inquisitor.

also by the vse of the Romish church, which halloiweth them onelie fo: that purpose.

Mal. Malef.
pa. 3. que. 15.

Item, the must come to hir arreigement backward, to wit, with hir taile to the iudges face, who must make manie crosses, at the time of hir approaching to the barre. And least we should condemne that fo: superstition, they p:uent vs with a figure, and tell vs, that the same superstition may not seeme superstitious vnto vs. But this resembleth the persuasion of a theefe, that dissuadeth his sonne from stealing; and neuertheless telleth him that he may picke o: cut a purse, and rob by the high waie.

Prolepsis or
Preoccupati-
o.

One other caution is, that the must be shauen, so as there remaine not one haire about hir: fo: sometimes they keepe secrets fo: taciturnitie, and fo: other purposes also in their haire, in their p:uities, and betweene their skinne and their flesh. Fo: which cause I maruell they fea them not: fo: one of their witches

Mal. Malef.

would not burne, being in the middelt of the flame, as M. Mal. reporteth; vntill a charme w:itten in a litle scroll was espied to be hidden betweene hir skin and flesh, and taken awaie. And this is so grauelie and faithfullie set downe by the inquisito:rs themselues, that one may beleue it if he list, though indeed it be a verie lie. The like lie citeth Bodin, of a witch that could not be strangled by the executioner, do what he could. But it is most true, that the inquisito: Cumanus in one yeare did shauē one and fourtie po:ze women, and burnt them all when he had done.

Ioh. Bod.

Anno. 1485
a knaue in-
quisitor.

Q. 16. de
tempore &
modo inter-
rog.

Another caution is, that at the time and place of tozture, the hallowed things aforesaid, with the seauen wo:ds spoken on the crosse, be hanged about the witches necke; and the length of Christ in waie be knit about hir bare naked bodie, with reliques of saints, &c. All which stufie (saie they) will so wo:ke within and vpon them, as when they are racked and toztured, they can hardly staie o: hold themselues from confession. In which case I doubt not but that pope, which blasphemed Christ, and cursed his mother fo: a peccoke, and cursed God with great despights fo: a peece of porke, with lesse compulsion would haue renounced the trinitie, and haue wo:shipped the diuell vpon his knees.

Blasphemous pope
Julie, of
that name
the third.

Another caution is, that after she hath bene racked, and hath passed ouer all toztures deuised fo: that purpose; and after that she hath bene compelled to drinke holie water, she be conueied
againē

again to the place of torture : and that in the middell of hir tozments, hir accusations be read vnto hir ; and that the witnesses (if they will) be brought face to face vnto hir : and finallye, that she be asked, whether for triall of hir innocencie she will haue iudgement, *Candentis ferri*, which is, To carrie a certeine weight of burning iron in hir bare hand. But that may not (saie they) in anie wise be granted. For both M. Mal. and Bodin also affirme, that manie things may be promised, but nothing need be performed : for whie, they haue autho:ritie to promise, but no committion to performe the same.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. que. 16

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

Another caution is, that after the witch hath confessed the annoyng 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 chiefe cause of all their incredible and impossible confessions : for vpon the racke, when they haue once begunne to lie, they will saie what the tormento: list.

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

Mal. Malef. par. 3. que. 35 act. 11.

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

fance may come in and talke with hir of old matters, and so by cues-droppers be also betrayed; so as there shall be no end of torture before she haue confessed what they will.

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

The ninth Chapter.

1 **T**hey denie God, and all religion.

Answer. Then let them die therefore, or at the least be vsed like infidels, or apostataes.

2 They curse, blaspheme, and prouoke God with all despite.

Answer. Then let them haue the law expressed in Leuit. 24. and Deut. 13. & 17.

3 They giue their faith to the diuell, and they worship and offer sacrifice vnto him.

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

4 They do solemnelie vow and promise all their progenie vnto the diuell.

Ans. This promise procédeth from an vnfound mind, and is not to be regarded; bicause they cannot performe it, neither will it be proued true. Howbeit, if it be done by anie that is sound of mind, let the curse of Ieremie. 32. 36. light vpon them, to wit, the sword, famine and pestilence.

5 They sacrifice their owne children to the diuell before baptisme, holding them by in the aire vnto him, and then thrust a needle in to their bzaines.

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

6 They burne their children when they haue sacrificed them.

Ans. Then let them haue such punishment, as they that offered their children vnto Moloch: Leuit. 20. But these be mere deuises

deuises of witchmongers and inquisitors, that with extreme tortures haue wꝛong such confessions from them; or else with false reports haue beelied them; or by flatterie & faire words and promises haue wꝛon it at their hands, at the length.

They sweare to the diuell to bꝛing as manie into that societie as they can. 7

Anf. This is false, and so pꝛoued elsewhere.

They sweare by the name of the diuell. 8

Anf. I neuer heard anie such oth, neither haue we warrant to kill them that so do sweare; though indeed it be verie lewd and impious.

They vse incestuous adulterie with spirits. 9

Anf. This is a stale ridiculous lie, as is pꝛoued apparentlie hereafter.

They boile infants (after they haue murdered them vnbaptised) vntill their flesh be made potable. 10

Anf. This is vntrue, incredible, and impossible.

They eate the flesh and drinke the blood of men and children or penlie. 11

Anf. Then are they kin to the Anthropophagi and Canibals. But I beléue neuer an honest man in England nor in France, will affirme that he hath séene any of these persons, that are said to be witches, do so; if they shuld, I beléue it would poison them.

They kill men with poison. 12

Anf. Let them be hanged for their labour.

They kill mens cattell. 13

Anf. Then let an action of trespassse be bꝛought against them for so doing.

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

Anf. Then will I woꝛship them as gods; for those be not the woꝛks of man, nor yet of witch: as I haue elsewhere pꝛoued at large.

They vse venerie with a diuell called Incubus, euen when they lie in bed with their husbands, and haue children by them, which become the best witches. 15

Anf. This is the last lie, verie ridiculous, and confuted by me elsewhere.

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

The tenth Chapter.

If more ridiculous or abhominable crimes could haue bene inuented, these poze women (whose chiefe fault is that they are scolds) should haue bene charged with them.

In this libell you doe see is confessed all that witches are charged with; and all that also, which anie witchmonger surmisseth, or in malice imputeth vnto witches power and practise.

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

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

Some of these crimes also laid vnto witches charge, are by me denied, and by them cannot be proued to be true, or committed by any one witch. Other some of these crimes likewise are so absurd, supernaturall, and impossible, that they are derided almost of all men, and as false, fond, and fabulous reports condemned; inasmuch as the very witchmongers themselues are ashamed to heare of them.

If part be vnttrue, why may not the residue be thought false? For all these things are laid to their charge at one instant, euen by the greatest doctozs and patrones of the sect of witchmongers, producing as manie proofs for witches supernaturall and impossible actions, as for the other. So as, if one part of their accusation be false, the other part deserueth no credit. If all be true that is alledged of their doings, why should we beleue in Christ, because of his miracles, when a witch dooth as great wonders as euer

euere 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 euere all sorts of ^{A generall} writers here in (for the most part) the very doctors of the church to ^{error.} the scholemen, protestants and papists, learned and vnlarned, poets and historiographers, Iewes, Christians, or Gentiles agree in these impossible and ridiculous matters. Yea and these writers, out of whome I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authoritie of all writers in this matter. The reason is, because it was neuer throughlie looked into; but euerie fable credited; and the word (Witch) named so often in scripture.

They that haue seene further of the inquisitors orders and cruelties, saie also; that There is no waie in the world for these poore women to escape the inquisitors hands, and so consequentlie burning: but to gild their hands with monie, whereby oftentimes they take pittie vpon them, and deliuer them, as sufficientlie purged. For they haue authoritie to exchange the punishment of the bodie with the punishment of the purse, applying the same to the office of their inquisition: whereby they reape such profit, as a number of these scellie women paie them yarelie pensions, to the end they may not be punished againe.

The onelic way for witches to auoid the inquisitors hands.

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

The eleuenth Chapter.

ornelius Agrippa saith, that while he was in Italie, manie inquisitors in the dutchie of Millen troubled diuers most honest & noble matrones, priuillie wynging much monie from them, vntill their knauerie was detected. Further he saith, that being an aduocate or counsellor in the Commonwelth of Maestricht in Brabant, he had soze contention with an inquisitor, who through vniust

E. ij.

iust

iust accusations drew a poore woman of the countrie into his butcherie, and to an vniuersitie place; not so much to examine hir, as to torment hir. Whom when C. Agrippa had vnderaken to defend, declaring that in the things done, there was no prooffe, no signe or token that could cause hir to be tormented; the inquisitor stoutlie denieng it, said; One thing there is, which is prooffe and matter sufficient: for hir mother was in times past burned for a witch. Now when Agrippa replied, affirming that this article was impertinent, and ought to be refused by the iudge, as being the deed of another; alledging to the inquisitor, reasons and lawe for the same: he replied againe that this was true, because they vsed to sacrifice their children to the diuell, as sone as they were bozne; and also because they vsuallie conceived by spirits transformed into mans shape, and that thereby witchcraft was naturallie ingrassed into this child, as a disease that cometh by inheritance.

A bitter in-
uective a-
gainst a
cruell in-
quisitor.

C. Agrippa replieng against the inquisitors follie & superstitious blindnesse, said; O thou wicked prest! Is this thy diuinitie? Dost thou vse to drawe poore guiltlesse women to the racke by these forged deuises? Dost thou with such sentences iudge others to be heretikes, thou being a moze heretike than either Faustus or Donatus? Wee it as thou saiest, dost thou not frustrate the grace of Gods ordinance; namelie baptisme? Are the woords in baptisme spoken in vaine? Or shall the diuell remaine in the child, or it in the power of the diuell, being there and then consecrated to Christ Jesus, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost? And if thou defend their false opinions, which affirm, that spirits accompanieng with women, can ingender; yet dost thou moze than anie of them, which neuer beleued that anie of those diuels, togither with their stolne seed, do put part of that their seed or nature into the creature. But though indeed we be bozne the children of the diuell and damnation, yet in baptisme, through grace in Christ, sathan is cast out, and we are made new creatures in the Lord, from whence none can be separated by another mans deed. The inquisitor being hereat offended, threatened the aduocate to proceed against him, as a supporter of heretikes or witches; yet neuerthelesse he ceased not to defend the feeble woman, and through the power of the lawe he deliuered hir
from

from the claws of the blodie moonke, who with hir accusers, were condemned in a great summe of monie to the charter of the church of Mentz, and remained infamous after that time almost to all men.

But by the waie you must vnderstand, that this was but a petie inquisitoz, and had not so large a commission as Cumanus, Sprenger, and such other had; nor yet as the Spanish inquisitoz at this daie haue. For these will admit no aduocats now vnto the poze soules, except the tormentoz or hangman may be called an aduocate. You may read the summe of this inquisition in few woords set out by M. John Fox in the Acts and monuments. For witches and heretikes are among the inquisitoz of like reputation; sauing that the extremitie is greater against witches, because through their simplicitie, they may the moze boldlie tyrannize vpon them, and triumph ouer them.

John Fox
in the acts
and monu-
ments.

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

The twelue Chapter.

H that readeth the ecclesiasticall histories, or remembzeth the persecutions in Quene Maries time, shall find, that manie good men haue fallen for feare of persecution, and returned vnto the Lord againe. What maruell then, though a poze woman, such a one as is described else where, & tormented as is declared in these latter leaues, be made to confesse such absurd and false impossibilities; when flesh and bloud is vnable to endure such triall? Or how can she in the middes of such horrible tortures and torments, promise vnto hir selfe constancie; or forbear to confesse anie thing? Or what auaieth it hir, to perseuere in the deniall of such matters, as are laid to hir charge vniuillie; when on the one side there is neuer anie end of hir torments; on the other side,

if she continue in hir assertion, they saie she hath charmes for takturmitie or silence?

Peters apostasie & renouncing of Christ.

Peter the apostle renounced, cursed, and forswore his maister and our Saviour Iesus Christ, for feare of a wenchs manaces; or rather at a question demanded by hir, wherein he was not so circumuented, as these poze witches are, which be not examined by girles, but by cunning inquisitors, who hauing the spoile of their gods, and bringing with them into the place of iudgement minds to maintaine their bloudie purpose, spare no maner of allurements, thretenings, noz torments, untill they haue wyong out of them all that, which either maketh to their owne desire, or serueth to the others destruction.

Peter (I saie) in the presence of his Lord and maister Christ, who had instructed him in true knowledge manie yeares, being forewarned, not passing foure or fiue houres before, and hauing made a reall league and a faithfull promise to the contrarie, without anie other compulsion than (as hath bene said) by a question proposed by a girle, against his conscience, forsooke, thise denied, and abandoned his said maister: and yet he was a man illuminated, and placed in dignitie aloft, and neerer to Christ by manie degrees, than the witch, whose fall could not be so great as Peters; bicause she neuer ascended halfe so manie steps. A passors declination is much moze abhominable than the going astrae of a nie of his sheepe: as an ambastadors conspiracie is moze odious, than the falshood of a common person: or as a capteins treason is moze mischeuous, than a priuate soldiers mutinie. If you saie, Peter repented; I answer that the witch doth so likewise sometimes, and I see not in that case, but mercie may be employed by on hir. If were a mightie temptation to a selie old woman, that a visible diuell (being in shape so vgglie, as Danaus and others saie he is) should assalt hir in maner and forme as is supposed, or rather auowed; spectallie when there is promise made that none shall be tempted aboue their strength. The poze old witch is commonlie vnlearned, vnwarned, and vnprouided of counsell and frendship, void of iudgement and discretion to moderate hir life and communication, hir kind and gender moze weake and fraile than the masculine, and much moze subiect to melancholie; hir bringing by and companie is so base, that nothing is to be
looked

Danaus in
diabz.

1. Cor. 10.

w

9

looked for in his Spectallie of these extraordinarie qualities; his age also is commonlie such, as maketh his decrepitude, which is a disease that moueth them to these follies.

Finallie, Christ did claerlie remit Peter, though his offense were committed both against his diuine and humane person: yea afterwards he did put him in trust to feed his sheepe, and shewed great countenance, friendship and loue. vnto him.

And therefore I see not, but we may shew compassion vpon these poore soules, if they shew themselues sorrowfull for their misconcepts and wicked imaginations.



The third Booke.

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

The first Chapter.



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

The double bargaine of witches with the diuell.

The order of their bargaine or profession is double; the one solemn and publike; the other secret and priuate. That which is called solemn or publike, is where witches come together at certaine assemblies, at the times prefixed, and doe not onelie see the diuell in visible forme; but confer and talke familiarlie with him. In which conference the diuell exhorteth them to obserue their fidelitie vnto him, promising them long life and prosperitie. When the witches assembled, commend a new disciple (whom they call a novice) vnto him: and if the diuell find that yong witch apt and forward in renunciation of christian faith, in despising anie of the seuen sacraments, in treading vpon crosses, in spitting at the time of the eleuation, in breaking their fast on fasting daies, and fasting on sunndaies; then the diuell giueth forth
his

his hand, and the nounce joining hand in hand with him, promise
seth to obserue and keepe all the diuels commandements.

This done, the diuell beginneth to be moze bold with hir, telling
hir plainlie, that all this will not serue his turne ; and therefore
requireth homage at hir hands : yea he also telleth hir , that he
must grant him both hir bodie and soule to be tormented in euer-
lasting fire ; which she yeldeth vnto. Then he chargeh hir, to pro-
cure as manie men, women, and childzen also, as she can, to
enter into this societie . Then he teacheth them to make oint-
ments of the bowels and members of childzen , whereby they
ride in the aire, and accomplish all their desires. So as, if there be
anie childzen unbaptised , or not garded with the signe of the
crosse, or orizons ; then the witches may and doe catch them from
their mothers sides in the night, or out of their crables, or other-
wise kill them with their ceremonies ; and after buriall steale
them out of their graues, and seeh them in a caldron , vntill their
flesh be made potable . Of the thickest whereof they make oint-
ments, whereby they ride in the aire ; but the thinner potion they
put into flaggons , whereof whosoeuer drinketh, obseruing cer-
teine ceremonies, immediatlie becommeth a maister or rather
a mistresse in that practise and facultie.

*Mal. Malef.
de moda
professionis.*

The order of the witches homage done (as it is writ-
ten by lewd inquisitors and peeuish witchmoongers) to
the diuell in person; of their songs and danfes, and name-
lie of La volta, and of other ceremonies, also of their ex-
courfes.

The second Chapter.



Sometimes their homage with
their oth and bargaine is receiued for a
certeine terme of yeares ; sometimes for
euer. Sometimes it consisteth in the de-
niall of the whole faith, sometimes in part.
The first is, when the soule is absolutelie
yelded to the diuell and hell fier : the o-
ther is, when they haue but bargained to
obseru

Homage of
witches to
the diuell.

obserue certaine ceremonies and statutes of the church; as to conceale faults at thurst, 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 blood, sometimes by kissing the diuels bare buttocks; as did a Doctor called Edlin, who as (Bodin saith) was burned for witchcraft.

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

You must also vnderstand, that after they haue delicatlie banquetted with the diuell and the ladie of the fairies; and haue eaten vpon a fat ore, and emptied a butt of malmesie, and a binne of bread at some noble mans house, in the dead of the night, nothing is missed of all this in the morning. For the ladie Sibylla, Minerua, or Diana with a golden rod striketh the vessell & the binne, and they are fullie replenished againe. Next, she causeth the bullocks bones to be brought and laid together vpon the hide, and lappeth the foure ends thereof together, laing hir golden rod thereon; and then riseth vpon the bullocke againe in his former estate and condition; and yet at their returne home they are like to starue for hunger; as Spineus saith. And this must be an infallible rule, that euerie fornight, or at the least euerie moneth, each witch must kill one child at the least for hir part.

Idem Ibid.

I. Bod. de de-
mon. lib. 2.
cap. 4.

And here some of Monsieur Bodins lies may be inserted, who saith, that at these magicall assemblies, the witches neuer faile to dance; and in their dance they sing these words; Har har, diuell diuell, danse here, danse here, plaie here, plaie here, Sabbath, sabbath. And whiles they sing and danse, euerie one hath a broome in hir hand, and holdeth it vpon aloft. Item he saith, that these night-walking or rather night-dansing witches, brought out of Italic into France, that danse, which is called La volta.

Mal. Malef.

A part of their league is, to scrape off the oile, which is received in extreame follie (unction I should haue said.) But if that be so dangerous, they which socke the cozps had neede to take great care, that they rub not off the oile, which diuers other waies may also be thrust out of the forehead; and then I perceiue all the vertue thereof is gone, and farewell it. But I maruell how they take on to preserve the water powred on them in baptism, which I take to be largelic of as great force as the other; and yet I thinke is commonlie wiped and washed off, within foure and twentie houres after baptism; but this agreeth with the residue

And this is to be noted, that the inquisitors affirme, that during the whole time of the witches exourse, the diuell occupieth the roome and place of the witch, in so perfect a similitude, as his husband in his bed, neither by feeling, speech, nor countenance can discern him from his wife. Yea the wife departeth out of his husbands armes insensible, and leaveth the diuell in his roome visible. Wherein their incredulitie is incredible, who will haue a verie bodie in the feined plaie, and a phantasticall bodie in the true bed: and yet (soz sooth) at the name of Iesus, or at the signe of the crosse, all these bodilie witches (they saie) vanish awaie.

*Grillandus,
de for. 10.
vol. tract.*

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

The third Chapter.

Hitherto, for the most part, are the verie words contained in M. Mal. or Bodin, or rather in both; or else in the new M. Mal. or at the least-wile of some writer or other, that mainteineth the almightie power of witches. But Danæus saith, the diuell oftentimes in the likenes of a sumner, meeteth them at markets and saires, and warneth them to appeere in their assemblies, at a certeine houre in the night, that he may understand whom they haue slaine, and how they haue profited. If they be lame, he saith the diuell deliuereth them a staffe, to conuete them thither inuisible through the aire; and that then they fall a dancing and singing of bawdie songs, wherein he leadeth the danse himselfe. Which danse, and other conferencies being ended, he supplieth their wants of powders and roots to intoricate withall; and giveth to euerie nouice a marke, either with his teeth or with his clawes, and so they kisse the diuels bare buttocks, and depart:

not

*Danæus in
dialog. cap. 44*

*Ide. Ibidem.**Idem in dia-
log. cap. 3.*

not forgetting every daie after wards to offer to him, dogs, cats, hens, or bloud of their owne. And all this doth Danæus report as a troth, and as it were upon his owne knowledge. And yett else where he saith; In these matters they do but dreame, and do not those things indeed, which they confesse through their dis-temperature, growing of their melancholike humoꝝ: and therefore (saith he) these things, which they report of themselves, are but mere illusions.

Pfellus addeth hereunto, that certeine magicall heretikes, to wit; the Eutydhians, assemblie themselves euery god fridate at night; and putting out the candles, do commit incestuous adulterie, the father with the daughter, the sister with the brother, and the sonne with the mother; and the ninth moneth they returne and are deliuered; and cutting their children in peeces, fill their pots with their bloud; then burne they the carcasses, and mingle the ashes therewith, and so preferue the same for magicall purposes. Cardanus writeth (though in mine opinion not verie probable) that these excoꝝses, danfings, &c: had their beginning from certeine heretikes called Dulcini, who deuised those feasts of Bacchus which are named Orgia, whereunto these kind of people openlie assembled; and beginning with riot, ended with this follie. Which feasts being prohibited, they neuertheles hated them secretlie; and when they could not do so, then did they it in cogitation onelie, and euen to this daie (saith he) there remaineth a certeine image or resemblance thereof among our melancholike women.

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

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

The fourth Chapter.



If the league be vnttrue, as are the residue of their confessions, the witchmongers arguments fall to the ground: for all the writers here in hold this bargaine for certeine, god, and granted, and as their onelie maxime. But surely the indentures

indentures, containing those covenants, are sealed with butter; and the labels are but bables. What firme bargaine can be made betwixt a carnall bodie and a spirituall: Let any wise or honest man tell me, that either hath bene a partie, or a witness; and I will beleue him. But by what authoritie, profe, or testimonie; and vpon what ground all this geere standeth, if you read M. Mal. you shall find, to the shame of the reporters (who doe so varie in their tales, and are at such contrarietie:) and to the reproch of the beleeuers of such absurd lies.

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

The nouice or yong disciple goeth to some church, together with the mistresse of that profession, vpon a sundaie morning, before the coniuration of holie water, & there the said nouice renounceth the faith, promiseth obedience in obseruing, or rather omitting of ceremonies in meetings, and such other follies; and finally, that they doe homage to their yong maister the diuell, as they covenanted.

But this is notable in that storie, that this yong witch, doubting that his wifes examination would betraie his knauerie, told the inquisitor; that in truth his wife was guiltie as well as he, but she will neuer, I am sure (quoth he) though she should be burned a thousand times, confesse any of these circumstances.

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

Mal. Mal. ef.
par. 2. que. 7.
cap. 2.

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

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

The fift Chapter.

The maner
of witches
priuate
league with
the duell.



The maner of their priuate league is said to be, when the diuell inuisible, and sometimes visible, in the midst of the people talketh with them priuatelie; promising, that if they will followe his counsell, he will supplie all their necessities, and make all their endeuors prosperous; and so beginneth with small matters: wherevnto they consent priuillie, and come not into the fairies assemblie.

And in this case (mee thinks) the diuell sometimes, in such eternall or corporall shape, should meete with some that would not consent to his motions (except he will saie he knoweth their cogitations) and so should be betwzaied. They also (except they were idiots) would spie him, and forsake him for breach of covenants. But these bargaines, and these assemblies doe all the witzers herevpon mainteine: and Bodin confirmeth them with a hundred and odd lies; among the number whereof I will (for diuerse causes) recite one.

*I. Bod lib. 2.
de demono-
mania. cap. 4.*

There was (saith he) a noble Gentlewoman at Lions, that being in bed with a louer of hers, suddenlie in the night arose vp, and lighted a candle: which when she had done, she toke a box of ointment, wherewith she annointed hir bodie; and after a few words spoken, she was carried awaie. Hir bedfellow seeing the order hereof, lept out of his bed, toke the candle in his hand, and sought for the ladie round-about the chamber, and in euerie corner thereof. But though he could not find hir, yet did he find hir box of ointment: and being desirous to know the vertue thereof, he smeared himselfe therewith, euen as he perceined hir to haue done befoze. And although he were not so superstitious, as to vse any words to helpe him forward in his busines, yet by the vertue of that ointment (saith Bodin) he was immediatlie conuerted to

This agreeth not with their interpretation

to Lorreine, into the assemblie of witches. Which when he sawe, he was abashed, and said; In the name of God, what make I heere? And vpon those words the whole assemblie vanished awaie, and left him there alone stark naked; and so was he faine to returne to Lions. But he had so good a conscience (for you may perceiue by the first part of the historie, he was a verie honest man) that he accused his true louer for a witch, and caused hir to be burned. But as for his adulterie, neither M. Mal. nor Bodin doe once so much as speake in the disparaise thereof.

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 mainteineth, who thinketh he could worke wonders by magicke, and speciallie by his blacke dog. It should seeme he had prettie skill in the art of diuination. For though he wrote before Bodin manie yeare, yet vitereth he these words in his booke *De vanitate scientiarum*: A certaine French protonotarie (saith he) a lewd fellow and a cosener, hath written a certaine fable or miracle done at Lions, &c. What Bodin is, I knowe not, otherwise than by report; but I am certaine this his tale is a fond fable: and Bodin saith it was performed at Lions; and this man (as I vnderstand) by profession is a ciuill lawiier.

tion, that saie, this is onlie done by vertue of the legue; nor yet to them that referre it vnto words: quoth nota.

C. Agrippa, cap. 51.

A disproofe of their assemblies, and of their bargaine.

The sixt Chapter.

That the ioining of hands with the diuell, the kissing of his bare buttocks, and his scratching and biting of them, are absurd lies; euertie one hauing the gift of reason may plainlie perceiue: in so much as it is manifest vnto vs by the word of God, that a spirit hath no flesh, bones, nor sine wes, whereof hands, buttocks, claws, teeth, and lips doe consist. For admit that the constitution of a diuels bodie (as Tarian and other affirme) consisteth in spirituall

Tatianus contra Graecos.

conge

congelattons, as of fier and aire; yet it cannot be perceiued of moztall creatures. What credible witnesse is there bzought at anie time, of this their cozpozall, visibie, and incredible bargaine; sauing the confession of some person diseased both in bodie and mind, wilfullie made, or iniuriouslie constrained: It is meruell that no penitent witch that forsaketh hir trade, confesseth not these things without compulsion. Hee thinketh their couenant made at baptisme with God, befoze god witnessses, sanctified with the word, confirmed with his promises, and established with his sacraments, should be of moze force than that which they make with the diuell, which no bodie seeth or knoweth. For God deceiueh none, with whom he bargaineth; neither doth he mocke or disappoint them, although he danse not among them.

The author
speaketh
vpon due
prooffe and
triall.

Their oth, to procure into their league and fellowship as manie as they can (whereby euerie one witch, as Bodin affirmeth, augmenteth the number of fittie) betwzaieth greatlie their indirect dealing. Hereof I haue made triall, as also of the residue of their cosening deuises; and haue bene with the best, or rather the worst of them, to see what might be gathered out of their counsels; and haue cunninglie treated with them thereabouts: and further, haue sent certeine old persons to indent with them, to be admitted into their societie. But as well by their excuses and delates, as by other circumstances, I haue tried and found all their trade to be mere cosening.

I praise you what bargaine haue they made with the diuell, that with their angrie lokes bee witch lambs, children, &c: Is it not confessed, that it is naturall, though it be a lie? What bargaine maketh the sothsaier, which hath his seuerall kinds of witchcraft and diuination expessed in the scripture: Or is it not granted that they make none? How chanceth it that we heare not of this bargaine in the scriptures:

A confutation of the obiection concerning
witches confessions.

The feuenth Chapter.

It is confessed (saie some by the waie of obiection) euen of these women themselves, that they do these and such other horrible things, as deserueth death, with all extremitie, &c. Wherevnto I answer, that whosoever consideratellie beholdeth their confessions, shall perceiue all to be vaine, idle, false, inconstant, and of no weight; except their contempt and ignorance in religion: which is rather the fault of the negligent pastor, than of the simple woman.

First, if their confession be made by compulsion, of force or authority, or by persuasion, and vnder colour of friendship, it is not to be regarded; because the extremitie of threats and tortures prouokes it; or the qualitie of faire words and allurements constraines it. If it be voluntarie, manie circumstances must be considered, to wit; whether she appeach not hir selfe to ouerthrow hir neighbour, which manie times happeneth through their carkered and malicious melancholike humour: then; whether in that same melancholike mood and frenklike humour, she desire not the abidgment of hir owne daies. Which thing Aristotle saith dooth oftentimes happen vnto persons subiect to melancholike passions: and (as Bodin and Sprenger saie) to these old women called witches, which manie times (as they affirme) refuse to liue; threatening the iudges, that if they may not be burned, they will laye hands vpon themselves, and so make them guiltie of their damnation.

I my selfe haue knowne, that where such a one could not preuaile, to be accepted as a sufficient witnesse against himselfe, he presentlie went and threw himselfe into a pond of water, where he was drowned. But the lawe saith; *Volenti mori non est habenda fides*, that is; His woord is not to be credited that is desirous to

Confession compul-
sorie; as by Hispanicall inquisition: Looke Mal. malef. & Io. Bodin.
Confession persualorie; as by flatterie: Looke Bry. Darcie against Vses. Kempe.
Iohn. Bod.
Mal. Malef.

L. absent. de poenis.
L. 2. cum glof.

*de h̄i, qui ante
sentent. mor-
tui sunt. sibi
necem con-
fiscerent.*

die. Also sometimes (as else where I haue proued) they confesse that whereof they were neuer guiltie; supposing that they did that which they did not, by meanes of certeine circumstances. And as they sometimes confesse impossibilities, as that they lie in the aire, transubstantiate themselues, raise tempests, transfire or remoue cozne, &c: so do they also (I saie) confesse voluntarie, that which no man could proue, and that which no man would ghesse, noz yet beleue, except he were as mad as they; so as they bring death wilfullie vpon themselues: which argueth an vnfound mind.

If they confesse that, which hath bene indeed committed by them, as poisoning, or anie other kind of murder, which falleth into the power of such persons to accomplish; I stand not to defend their cause. Howbeit, I would wish that euen in that case there be not too rash credit giuen, noz too hastie proceedings used against them: but that the causes, properties, and circumstances of euerie thing be duly considered, and diligentlie examined.

*Absurdities
in witches
confessions.*

For you shall vnderstand, that as sometimes they confesse they haue murdered their neighbours with a wish, sometimes with a word, sometimes with a loke, &c: so they confesse, that with the deliuering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they haue killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added therevnto, which naturallie could be noisome or hurtfull.

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

But if this their confession be examined by diuinitie, philosophie, physicke, lawe or conscience, it will be found false and insufficient. First, for that the working of miraclis is ceased. Secondly, no reason can be yeilded for a thing so farre beyond all reason. Thirdlie, no receipt can be of such efficacy, as when the same is touched with a bare hand, from whence the veines haue passage through the bodie vnto the hart, if should not annoie the possessor; and yet reteine vertue and force enough, to pearse through so manie garments and the verie flesh incurrablie, to the place of death in another person. *Cuius argumento* (saith Bodin) *nescio quid respon-*

*I. Bod. de de-
mon. lib. 2.
cap. 8.*

respon-

respondere possit. Fourthly, no lawe will admit such a confession, as yeeldeth vnto impossibilitie, against the which there is neuer any lawe provided; other wise it would not serue a mans turne, to plead and proue that he was at Berwicke that daie, that he is accused to haue done a murther in Canturburie: for it might be said he was conueied to Berwicke, and backe againe by enchantment. Fiftlie, he is not by conscience to be executed, which hath no sound mind no; perfect iudgement. And yet forsooth we read, that one mother Seile did kill one mother Saddocke with a touch on the shoulder, for not keeping promise with hir for an old cloake, to make hir a safegard; and that she was hanged for hir labour.

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

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

The eight Chapter.

ALas! if they were so subtyll, as witchmongers make them to be, they would espye that it were mere follie for them, not onelie to make a bargaine with the diuell to throw their soules into hell fire, but their bodies to the tortures of temporall fire and death, for the accomplishment of nothing that might benefit themselves at all: but they would at the leastwise indent with the diuell, both to enrich them, and also to enoble them; and finally to endue them with all worldlie felicitie and pleasure: which is furthest from them of all other. Hea, if they were sensible, they would saie to the diuell; Whie should I hearken to you, when you will deceiue me? Did you not promise my neighbour mother Dutton to saue and rescue hir; and yet lo she is hanged? Surelie this would appose the diuell verie soze. And it is a wonder, that none, from the beginning of the world, till this daie, hath made this and such like obiections, where to the diuell could neuer

Iohn. Bod.

make answer. But were it not moze madnes for them, to serue the diuell, vnder these conditions; and yet to endure whippings with iron rods at the diuels hands: which (as the witchmongers write) are so set on, that the print of the lashes remaine vpon the witches bodie euer after, euen so long as she hath a date to liue.

But these old women being daunted with authoritie, circumented with guile, constrained by force, compelled by feare, induc- ed by erroz, and deceiued by ignorance, do fall into such rash credulitie, and so are brought vnto these absurd confessions. Whose erroz of mind and blindness of will dependeth vpon the disease and infirmitie of nature: and therefore their actions in that case are the moze to be borne withall; bicause they, being de- stitute of reason, can haue no consent. For, *Delictum sine consensu non potest committi, neque iniuria sine animo iniuriandi*; that is, There can be no sinne without consent, nor iniurie committed without a mind to do wrong. Yet the lawe saith further, that A purpose retained in mind, doth nothing to the priuat or publike hurt of anie man; and much moze that an impossible purpose is unpun- ishable. *Sane mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; A sound mind willet nothing, but that which is possible.

*I. si per erro-
rem iurist.
omni cum
inde.*

*C. sed hoc d.
de publ. &c.*

*Bal. in leg.
&c.*

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

The ninth Chapter.

If anie man aduisedlie marke their words, actions, cogitations, and gestures, he shall perceiue that melancholie abounding in their head, and occupieng their baine, hath deprived or rather depri- ued their iudgements, and all their senses: I meane not of cosening witches, but of poore melancholike women, which are themselues deceiued. For you shall vnderstand, that the force which melancholie hath, and the effects that it worketh in the bodie of a man, or rather of a woman, are almost incredible. For as some of these melancholike persons imagine, they are witches, and

and by witchcraft can worke wonders, and do what they list : so do other, troubled with this disease, imagine manie strange, incredible, and impossible things. Some, that they are monarchs and princes, and that all other men are their subiects: some, that they are brute beasts: some, that they be vyzinals or earthen pots, greatlie fearing to be broken: some, that euerie one that meteth them, will conueie them to the gallowes; and yet in the end hang themselues. One thought, that Atlas, whome the poets feigne to hold vp heauen with his shoulders, would be wearie, and let the skie fall vpon him: another would spend a whole daie vpon a stage, imagining that he both heard and saw interludes, and therewith made himselfe great sport. One Theophilus a physician, other wise sound inough of mind (as it is said) imagined that he heard and sawe musicians continuallie plaieng on instruments, in a certeine place of his house. One Bessus, that had killed his father, was notable detected; by imagining that a swallowe vpraided him therewith: so as he himselfe thereby reuealed the murther.

But the notablest example hereof is, of one that was in great perpleritie, imagining that his nose was as big as a house; in somuch as no friend nor physician could deliuer him from this conceipt, nor yet either ease his griece, or satisfie his fanisie in that behalfe: till at the last, a physician more expert in this humour: than the rest, vfed this deuise following. First, when he was to come in at the chamber doore being wide open, he suddenlie staied and withdrew himselfe; so as he would not in any wise approach nêrer than the doore. The melancholike person musing hereat, asked him the cause why he so demeaned himselfe: Who answered him in this maner: Sir, your nose is so great, that I can hardlie enter into your chamber but I shall touch it, and consequentlie hurt it. Lo (quoth he) this is the man that must doe me good; the residue of my friends flatter me, and would hide mine infirmitie from me. Well (said the physician) I will cure you, but you must be content to indure a little paine in the dressing: which he promised patientlie to susteine, and conceiued certeine hope of his recouerie. Then entred the physician into the chamber, creeping close by the walles, seeming to feare the touching and hurting of his nose. Then did he blindfold him, which

F. iij.

being

Of one that through melancholie was induced to thinke that he had a nose as big as a house, &c.

being done, he caught him by the nose with a paire of pinsores, and threw downe into a tub, which he had placed before his patient, a great quantitie of blood, with manie peeces of bullocks livers, which he had conueied into the chamber, whilst the others eyes were bound by, and then gaue him libertie to see and behold the same. He hauing done thus againe two or thre times, the melancholike humoz was so qualified, that the mans mind being satisfied, his græfe was eased, and his disease cured.

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

Danæus in
dialog. cap. 3.

I. Bapstiff. P.
N. cap. 2.
Card. de
var. rerum.
Wier. de.
prestigijs de-
monum, &c.
Aristotle.

John. Rod.

How, if the fantasie of a melancholike person may be occupied in causes which are both false and impossible; why should an old witch be thought free from such fantasies, who (as the learned philosopher and physicians saie) upon the stopping of their monethlie melancholike flux or issue of blood, in their age must needs increase therein, as (through their weakenesse both of bodie and bzaine) the aptest persons to mixe with such melancholike imaginations: with whome their imaginations remaine, euen when their senses are gone. Which Bodin laboureth to disproue, there in shewing himselfe as god a physician, as else-where a diuine.

But if they may imagine, that they can transforme their owne bodies, which neuertheless remaineth in the former shape: how much more credible is it, that they may falselie suppose they can hurt and infexle other mens bodies; or which is lesse, hinder the coming of butter: &c. But what is it that they will not imagine, and consequentlie confesse that they can do; speciallie being so earnestlie perswaded thereunto, so sozrelie tormented, so craftilie examined, with such promises of fauour, as therby they imagine, that they shall euer after liue in great credit & welth: &c.

If you read the executions done vpon witches, either in times past

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

Ant. Houin.

That voluntarie confessions may be vntrulie made, to the vndoing of the confessors, and of the strange operation of melancholie, proued by a familiar and late example.

The tenth Chapter.



But that it may appere, that euen voluntarie confession (in this case) may be vntrulie made, though it tend to the destruction of the confessor; and that melancholie may moue imaginations to that effect: I will cite a notable instance concerning this matter, the parties themselves being yet aliue, and dwelling in the parish of Sellenge in Kent, and the matter not long sithence in this sort performed.

One Ade Dauie, the wife of Simon Dauie husbandman, being reputed a right honest bodie, and being of good parentage, grew suddenlie (as hir husband informed me, and as it is well knowne in these parts) to be somewhat pensiue and more sad than in times past. Which thing though it grieued him, yet he was loth to make it so appere, as either his wife might be troubled or discontented therewith, or his neighbours informed thereof; least ill husbandrie should be laid to his charge (which in these quarters is much abhorred.) But when she grew from pensiuenes, to some perturbation of mind; so as hir accustomed rest began in the night season to be withdrawne from hir, through sighing and secret lamentation; and that, not without teares, hee could not but demand the cause of hir conceipt and extrao-dina-

A Kentish storie of a late accident.

rie in mourning. But although at that time she couered the same, acknowledging nothing to be amisse with hir: sone after notwithstanding she fell downe befoze him on hir knées, desiring him to forgiue hir, for she had gréuoullie offended (as she said) both God & him. Hir poze husband being abashed at this hir behauiour, comforted hir, as he could; asking hir the cause of hir trouble & græfe: who told him, that she had, contrarie to Gods lawe, & to the offense of all good christians, to the iniurie of him, & speciallie to the losse of hir owne soule, bargained and giuen hir soule to the diuell, to be deliuered vnto him within thort space. Wherevnto hir husband answered, saing; Wife, be of good chere, this thy bargaine 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 déerelie paid for it, euen with his blood, which he shed vpon the crosse; so as the diuell hath no interest in thee. After this, with like submission, teares, and penitence, she said vnto him; Oh husband, I haue yet committed another fault, and done you moze iniurie: for I haue betwitched you and your childezen. Be content (quoth he) by the grace of God, Iesus Christ shall brwitch vs: for none euill can happen to them that feare God.

And (as trulie as the Lord liueth) this was the tenoz of his words vnto me, which I knowe is true, as proceeding from brfeigned lips, and from one that feareth God. Now when the time appoched that the diuell should come, and take possession of the woman, according to his bargaine, he watched and praied earnestlie, and caused his wife to read psalmes and prayers for mercie at Gods hands: and suddenlie about midnigh, there was a great rumbling be lowe vnder his chamber windowe, which amazed them exceedinglie. For they conceiued, that the diuell was be lowe, though he had no power to come vp, because of their feruent prayers.

He that noteth this womans first and second confession, free lie and voluntarilie made, how euerie thing concurred that might serue to adde credit therevnto, and péld matter for hir condemnation, would not thinke, but that if Bodin were forzman of hir inquest, he would crie; Guiltie: & would hasten execution vpon hir; who would haue said as much befoze any iudge in the

Note the christian comfort of the husband to his wife.

Confutation.

the world, if she had bene examined; and haue confessed no lesse, if she had bene arraigned therbyon. But God knoweth, she was innocent of anie these crimes: howbeit she was brought lowe and pressed downe with the weight of this humoz, so as both hir rest and sleepe were taken a waie from hir; & hir fantasies troubled and disquieted with despaire, and such other cogitations as grew by occasion thereof. And yet I beleue, if any mishap had insued to hir husband, or his childzen; few witchmongers would haue iudged other wise, but that she had bewitched them. And she (for hir part) so constantlie perswaded hir selfe to be a witch, that she iudged hir selfe woorthie of death; insomuch as being retained in hir chamber, she sawe not anie one carrieng a faggot to the fier, but she would saie it was to make a fier to burne hir for witcherie. But God knoweth she had bewitched none, neither insued there anie hurt vnto anie, by hir imagination, but vnto hir selfe.

And as for the rumbling, it was by occasion of a sheepe, which was slawed, and hong by the wals, so as a dog came and deuoured it; whereby grew the noise which I befoze mentioned: and she being now recovered, remaineth a right honest woman, far from such impietie, and ashamed of hir imaginations, which she perceiueth to haue growne through melancholie.

A comicall
catastro-
phe.

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

The eleuenth Chapter.



Ut in truth, this melancholike humoz (as the best physicians affirme) is the cause of all their strange, impossible, and incredible confessions: which are so fond, that I wonder how anie man can be abused thereby. Howbeit, these affections, though they appeare in the mind of man, yet are they bred in the bodie, and proceed from this humoz, which is the verie dzegs of blood, nourishing and seeding those places, from whence proceed seares, cogitations,

H. Card. de
var. rerum.
cap. 8.
Io. Wiener
de pres. lib. 6
cap. 8.

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

gitations, superstitions, fastings, labours, and such like. This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some saie) foresight of things to come, and preserveth health, as being cold and drie: it maketh men subiect to leanenesse, and to the quartane ague. They that are vexed therewith, are destroyers of themselves, stout to suffer iniuries, fearefull to offer violence; except the humor be hot. They learne strange tongues with small industrie (as Aristotle and others affirme.)

Io. Bod. con-
tra Io. Wier-
rum.

If our witches phantasies were not corrupted, nor their wills confounded with this humor, they would not so voluntarilie and readilie confesse that which calleth their life in question; whereof they could neuer otherwise be conuicted. I. Bodin with his lawyers phisicke reasoneth contrarie; as though melancholie were furthest of all from those old women, whom we call witches: deriding the most famous and noble phisician Iohn Wier for his opinion in that behalfe. But because I am no phisician, I will set a phisician to him; namelie Erasmus, who hath these words, to wit, that These witches, through their corrupt phantasie abounding with melancholike humors, by reason of their old age, doe dreame and imagine they hurt those things which they neither could nor doe hurt; and so thinke they knowe an art, which they neither haue learned nor yet vnderstand.

But whie should there be more credit giuen to witches, when they saie they haue made a reall bargaine with the diuell, killed a cow, bewitched butter, infebled a child, forespoken his neighbour, &c: than when he confesseth that he transubstantiateth his selfe, maketh it raine or haille, stiech in the aire, goeth intuisible, transferreth cozne in the grasse from one field to another: &c. If you thinke that in the one their confessions be sound, whie should you saie that they are corrupted in the other; the confession of all these things being made at one instant, and affirmed with like constancie, or rather audacitie? But you see the one to be impossible, and therefore you thinke thereby, that their confessions are vaine and false. The other you thinke may be done, and see them confesse it, and therefore you conclude, *non posse ad esse*; as being persuaded it is so, because you thinke it may be so. But I saie, both with the diuines, and philosophers, that that which is imagined of witchcraft, hath no truth of action; or being besides their imagination,

August. lib.
de Trinit. 3.
Idem de ci-
uit. Dei.

gination, the which (fo: the most part) is occupied in false causes. For whosoever desireth to bring to passe an impossible thing, hath a vaine, an idle, and a childish persuasion, bzed by an vnfound mind: fo: *sana mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; The will of a sound mind, is the desire of a possible thing.

*Clemens, recogn. 3.
Iamblichus.
Io. Wierus.
Cardanus.
Pampia, &c.*

A confutation of witches confessions, especiallie concerning their league.

The twelſe Chapter.

WHAT 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 woorthie of death, or else they should not be executed. Whereunto I answer as before, that their confessions are extorted, or else proceed from an vnfound mind.

An objection.
The resolution.

Pea I saie further, that we our selues, which are sound of mind, and yet seeke anie other waie of saluation than Christ Iesus, or bzeake his commandements, or walke not in his steps with a liuelie faith, &c: do not onlie renounce the faith, but God himselſe: and therefore they (in confessing that they forsake God, and imbrace sa: than) 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 owne and others children, the seething of them, and the making of their potion or pottage, and the effects thereof; their good fridates meeting, being the daie of their deliuerance, their incests, with their returne at the end of nine moneths, when commonlie women be neither able to go that iournie, nor to returne, &c: it is so horrible, binnaturall, vnlikelie, and vnpossible; that if I should behold such things with mine eyes, I should rather thinke my selſe dreameing, or onken, or some waie deprivied of my senses; than giue credit to so horrible and filthy matters.

How hath the oile or pottage of a sodden child such vertue, as that a staffe annointed therewith, can carrie folke in the aire? Their potable liquoꝝ, which (they saie) maketh maisters of that facultie,

A forged miracle.

cultie, is it not ridiculous? And is it not, by the opinion of all philosophers, physicians, and diuines, void of such vertue, as is imputed thereunto?

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

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

The xiiij. Chapter.



AND to speake moze generallie of all the impossible actions referred vnto them, as also of their false confessions; I saie, that there is none which acknowledgeth God to be onlie omnipotent, and the onlie worker of all miracles, noz anie othet indued with meane sense, but will denie that the elements are obedient to witches, and at their commandement; o: that they may at their pleasure send raine, haile, tempests, thunder, lightening; when she being but an old doting woman, casteth a flint stone ouer hir left shoulder, towards the west, o: hurleth a little sea sand by into the element, o: wettesth a hwayne spzig in water, and spzin kleth the same in the aire; o: diggeth a pit in the earth, and putting water therein, stirreth it about with hir finger; o: boileth hogs bzistles, o: laiceth sticks acrosse vpon a banke, where neuer a drop of water is; o: burleth sage till it be rotten: all which things are confessed by witches, and affirmed by wryters to be the meanes that witches vse to moue extrao:dinarie tempests and raine, &c.

The waies that witches vse to make raine, &c.

Nider. Mal. Malef. I. Bod. Frier Barth. Heming. D. a. nens. &c.

Mal. Malef. par. 2. que. 1. cap. 12.

We read in *M. Maleficarum*, that a little girle walking abroad with hir father in his land, heard him complain of drought, wisshing fo: raine, &c. Whie father (quoth the child) I can make it raine

oz haile, when and where I list? He asked where she learned it. She said, of hir mother, who so bad hir to tell anie bodie thereof. He asked hir how hir mother taught hir? She answered, that hir mother committed hir to a maister, who would at anie time do anie thing so; hir. Whie then (said he) make it raine but onlie in my field. And so she went to the streame, and threw by water in hir maisters name, and made it raine presentlie. And proceeding further with hir father, she made it haile in another field, at hir fathers request. Herevpon he accused his wife, and caused hir to be burned; and then he new christened his child againe: which circumstance is common among papists and witchmongers. And howsoeuer the first part hereof was proued, there is no doubt but the latter part was thoroughlie executed. If they could indeed bring these things to passe at their pleasure, then might they also be impediments vnto the course of all other naturall things, and ordinaunces appointed by God: as, to cause it to hold by, when it should raine; and to make midnight, of high none; and by those meanes (I saie) the diuine power should become seruite to the will of a witch, so as we could neither eat noz drinke, but by their permission.

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

He thinks Seneca might satiffie these credulous oz rather idolatrous people, that runne a whozehunting, either in bodie oz phantasie, after these witches, beleuing all that is attributed vnto them, to the derogation of Gods glozie. He saith, that the rude people, and our ignorant predecessours did beleue, that raine and showers might be procured and staid by witches charmes and enchantments: of which kind of things that there can nothing be wrought, it is so manifest, that we need not go to anie philosophers schole, to learne the confutation thereof.

But Ieremie, by the word of God, doth vtterlie confound all that which may be deused for the maintenance of that foolish opinion, falseng; Are there any among the gods of the gentiles, that sendeth raine, oz giueth showers from heauen? Art not thou the selfe same our Lord God? We will trust in thee, for thou doest and makest all these things. I may therefore with Brentius boldly saie, that It is neither in the power of witches noz diuels, to accomplish that matter; but in God onelie. For when exhalations are drawne and lifted by from out of the earth, by the power

Iere. 16. 22.

Dij genium demonia,
The gods of the gentiles are diuels.

The natu-
rall gene-
ration of
haile and
raine.

of the sunne, into the middle region of the aire, the coldnes there
of constringeth and thickeneth those vapours; which being be-
come clouds, are dissolued againe by the heate of the sunne, wher-
by raine or haile is ingendred; raine, if by the waie the drops be
not frozen and made haile. These circumstances being conside-
red with the course of the whole scripture, it can neither be in the
power of witch or diuell to procure raine, or faire weather.

And where as the storie of Iob in this case is alledged against
me (wherein a witch is not once named) I haue particularlie an-
swered it else-where. And therefore thus much onelie I say here;
that Euen there, where it pleased God (as Caluine saith) to set
downe circumstances for the instruction of our grosse capacities,
which are not able to conceiue of spirituall communication, or
heauenlie affaires; the diuell desireth God to stretch out his hand,
and touch all that Iob hath. And though he seemeth to grant Sa-
thans desire, yet God himselfe sent fire from heauen, &c. Wherby
it is to be gathered, that although God said, He is in thine hand;
it was the Lords hand that punished Iob, and not the hand of
the diuell, who said not, Giue me leaue to plague him; but, Laid
thine hand vpon him. And when Iob continued faithfull notwithstanding
all his afflictions, in his child:en, bodie and goods; the di-
uell is said to come againe to God, and to saie as befoze, to wit;

Iob. 1, 11.

Ib. verse. 16.

Iob. 2, 5.

Mal. Malef.
pa. 1. que. 2.

Now stretch out thine hand, and touch his bones and his
flesh. Which argueth as well that he could not do it,

as that he himselfe did it not befoze. And be it here

remembered, that M. Mal. and the residue of

the witchmongers denie, that there

were any witches in Iobs

time. But see moze

hereof else

where.

What wold ensue, if witches confessions or witchmongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witchcraft, inchantments, &c.

The xiiij. Chapter.



If it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that witchmongers report, or that soles be: leue, we should neuer haue butter in the chearne, nor colu in the clofe, nor coine in the field, nor faire weather abroab, nor health within doores. And 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 liue in securitie? And what needed such preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe? No prince should be able to reigne or liue in the land. For (as Danæus saith) that one Martine a witch killed the emperour of Germanie with witchcraft: so would our witches (if they could) destroie all our magistrates. One old witch might ouerthrowe an armie roiall: and then what needed we any guns, or wild fire, or any other instruments of warre? A witch might supplie all wants, and accomplish a princes will in this behalfe, euen without charge or blondshed of his people.

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

If it be objected, that witches worke by the diuell, and christian princes are not to deale that way; I answer, that few princes disposed to batell would make conscience therein, speciallie such as take vniuersall wars in hand, vsing other helpes, deuises, & engines as vnlawfull and diuelishly as that; in whose campe there is neither the rule of religion or christian order obserued: in so much as rauishments, murders, blasphemies and thefts are there most commonlie and free committed. So that the diuell is more feared, and better serued in their camps, than God almightie.

Mal. Malef.
I. Bodin.
Bar. Spineus,

But admit that souldiers would be scrupulous herein, the pope hath authoritie to dispense therewith; as in like case he hath done,

done, by the testimonie of his owne authoꝝ and friends. Admit also, that throughout all christendome, warres were lustily main- teined, and religion duly obserued in their camps; yet would the Turke and other infidels cut our throtes, or at least one ano- thers throte, with the helpe of their witches; so; they would make no conscience thereof.

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

The xv. Chapter.

Witches in warres.



In the warres between the kings of Denmarke and Sueueland, 1563. the Danes do write, that the king of Sueuc- land caried about with him in his campe, foure old witches, who with their charms so qualified the Danes, as they were there by disabled to annoie their enimies: inso- much as, if they had taken in hand anie enterprise, they were so infabled by those witches, as they could perfoꝛme nothing. And although this could haue no credit at the first, yet in the end, one of these witches was taken prisoner, and confessed the whole matter; so as (saith he) the threds, the line, and the characters were found in the high waie and water plashe.

Eybiting witches.

The Irishmen addid themselues wonderfullie to the credit and practise hereof; insomuch as they affirme, that not onelie their children, but their cattell, are (as they call it) eybitten, when they fall suddentlie sicke, and terme one soꝛt of their witches eybiters; onelie in that respect: yea and they will not sicke to affirme, that they can rime either man or beast to death. Also the West Indians and Muscouits do the like: and the Hunnes (as Grego- rie Turonensis writeth) vsed the helpe of witches in time of war.

Pumher an archer.

I find another storie written in M. Mal. repeated by Bodin; that one souldier called Pumher, daillie through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes thꝛee of the enimies, as they stood pee- ping over the walles of a castell besieged: so as in the end he kil- led them all quite, sauing one. The triall of the archers sinisset

deca

dealing, and a pzoofe thereof expreffed, is; for that he neuer lightly failed when he shot, and for that he killed them by three a daie; and had shot three arrowes into a rood. This was he that shot at a pemie on his sonnnes head, and made readie another arrow, to haue slaine the duke Remgraue that commanded it. And doubtlesse, bicause of his singular dexteritie in shooting, he was reputed a witch, as doing that which others could not do, nor thinke to be in the power of man to do; though indeed no miracle, no witchcraft, no impossibilitie nor difficultie consisted therein.

But this latter storie I can requite with a familiar example. For at Towne Malling in Kent, one of M. Maries iustices, vpon the complaint of many wise men, and a few foolish boies, laid an archer by the heeles; bicause he shot so nere the white at buts. For he was informed and persuaded, that the poze man plaid with a flie, other wise called a diuell or familiar. And bicause he was certified that the archer aforesaid shot better than the common shooting, which he befoze had heard of or seene, he conceived it could not be in Gods name, but by inchantment: whereby this archer (as he supposed by abusing the Quænes liege people) gained some one daie two or three shillings, to the detriment of the common wealth, and to his owne enriching. And therefore the archer was seuerelie punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wise example of iustice; but speciallie to the ouerthrowe of witchcraft. And now againe to our matter.

A skilfull archer punished by an vnskillfull iustice.

Authorities condemning the fantastickal confessions of witches, and how a popish doctor taketh vpon him to disprouue the same.

The xvj. Chapter.



Erteine generall counceils, by their decrees, haue condemned the confessions and erroneous credulitie of witches, to be baine, fantastickal and fabulous. And euen those, which are parcell of their league, ther vpon our witchmongers do so build, to wit; their night walkings and meetings with Herodias, and

the Pagan gods: at which time they should passe so farre in so little a space on cockhorse; their transubstantiation, their eating of children, and their pulling of them from their mothers sides, their entering into mens houses, through chinks and little holes, where a lie can scarce lie wyng out, and the disquieting of the inhabitants, &c: all which are not onelie said by a generall councill to be mere fantasticall, and imaginations in dreames; but so affirmed by the ancient wryters. The woords of the councill are these; It may not be omitted, that certeine wicked women following sathans pꝛouocations, being seduced by the illusion of diuels, beleue 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, vpon certeine beasts, and passe ouer manie countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and do whatsoeuer those fairies or ladies command, &c. And it followeth euen there; Let all ministers therefore in their seuerall cures, preach to Gods people, so as they may knowe all these things to be false, &c. It followeth in the same councill; Therefore, whoso euer beleueth 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 likenes of any, but of the creatoz himselfe, is assuredlie an infidell, and worse than a Pagan.

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

But because the old hammar of Sprenger and Institor, in their old *Malleo maleficarum*, was insufficient to knocke downe this councill; a young beetle-head called Frater Bartholomæus Spineus hath made a new leaden beetle, to beate downe the councill, and to kill these old women. Wherein he counterfeiting

Aefops

Concil. Ac-
quirens. in
decret. 26.
que. 5. can.
episcopi.
August. de
spiritu &
anima cap. 8.
Franc. Pon-
t. in lib. tract.
de lam. nu-
mero 49.
Grillandus
de fort. nu-
mero 6.

In histor.
vel vita san-
cti Germani.

Notus Mal.
Mal. in que.
de frigid.
cap. 21. 22.
23. &c.

Aesops asse, claweth the pope with his heeles : affirming vpon his credit, that the counsell is false and erroneous ; because the doctrine swarveth from the popish church, and is not authentickall but apocryphall ; saing (though vnrulie) that that counsell was not called by the commandement and pleasure of the pope, noz ratified by his authoritie, which (saith he) is sufficient to disanull all counsels. For surelie (saith this srier, which at this instant is a chiefe inquisito;) if the words of this counsell were to be admitted, both I, and all my predecessors had published notozious lies, and committed manie iniurious exccutions ; whereby the popes themselues also might iustlie be detected of erroz, contrarie to the catholike beleefe in that behalfe. Parrie he saith, that although the words and direct sense of this counsell be quite contrarie to truth and his opinion ; yet he will make an exposition thereof, that shall somewhat mitigate the lewdnes of the same ; and this he saith is not onlie allowable to doo, but also meritorious. Marke the mans words, and iudge his meaning.

Bar. Spinens.
Mal. Malef.
cap. 23 in
que de siri-
gib.

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

The xvij. Chapter.



ADM. Maleficarum also saith, that the counsels and doctors were all deceived herein, and alledging authoritie therfore, confuteth that opinion by a notable reason, called *Petitio principij*, or rather, *Ignotum per ignotum*, in this maner : They can put changlings in the place of other children ; Ergo they can transserre and transforme themselues and others, &c : according to their confession in that behalfe. Item he saith, and Bodin iustifieth it, that a preest in Friseland was copozallie transferred into a sarre countrie, as witnessed another preest of Oberdorf his companton, who saw him aloft in the aire : Ergo saith M. Mal. they haue all bene decei

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

ued hitherto, to the great impunitie of horrible witches. Where in he opposeth his follie against God and his church, against the truth, and against all possibilitie. But surelie it is almost incredible, how imagination shall abuse such as are subiect vnto melancholie; so as they shall belæue they see, heare, and doe that, which neuer was nor shall be; as is partlie declared, if you read Galen *De locis affectis*, and may moze plainelie appære also if you read Aristotle *De somnio*.

*August. de
spiritu &
anima.*

*Lib. 1. cap. 7.
de eucharist.*

And thereof S. Augustine saith well, that he is too much a foole and a blockhead, that supposeth those things to be done indeed, and corpozallie, which are by such persons phantasticklie imagined: which phantastickall illusions do as well agré and accoord (as Algerus saith) with magicall deceits, as the veritie accompanieth diuine holinesse.

That the confession of witches is insufficient in ciuill and common lawe to take awaie life. What the sounder diuines, and decrees of councils determine in this case.

The xviiij. Chapter.

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



As what creature being sound in state of mind, would (without compulsion) make such maner of confessions as they do; or would, for a trifle, or nothing, make a perfect bargaine with the diuell for hir soule, to be pælded by vnto his tortures and euerlasting flames, and that within a verie short time; speciallie being though age most commonlie vnlike to liue one whole yeare: The terroꝝ of hell fire must needs be to them diuerslie manifested, and much moze terrible; because of their weaknesse, nature, and kind, than to any other: as it would appære, if a witch were but asked, Whether she would be contented to be hanged one yeare hence, vpon condition hir displeasure might be toꝝked by on hir enimie presentlie. As for thæues, & such other, they thinke not to go to hell fire; but are either persuaded there is no hell, or that their crime deserueth it not, or else that they haue time enough

nough to repent: so as, no doubt, if they were perfectly resolved
 hereof, they would neuer make such adventures. Neither do I
 thinke, that for any summe of monie, they would make so direct
 a bargain to go to hell fire. Now then I conclude, that confessi-
 on in this behalf is insufficient to take awaie the life of any body;
 or to attaine such credit, as to be belieued without further prowe.
 For as Augustine and Isidore, with the rest of the sounder di-
 uines saie, that these prestigious things, which are wrought by
 witches, are fantastickall: so do the sounder decrees of counceils
 and canons agree, that in that case, there is no place for crimi-
 nall action. And the lawe saith, that The confession of such per-
 sons as are illuded, must needs be erroneous, and therefore is not
 to be admitted: for, *Confessio debet tenere verum & possibile*. But these
 things are opposite both to lawe and nature, and therfore it follo-
 weth not; Because these witches confesse so, Ergo it is so. For the
 confession differeth from the act, or from the possibilitie of the
 act. And whatsoeuer is contrarie to nature faileth in his prin-
 ciples, and therefore is naturallie impossible.

The lawe also saith, *In criminalibus regulariter non statuitur soli confessioni rei*. In criminall cases or touching life, we must not abso-
 lutelie stand to the confession of the accused partie: but in these
 matters prooves must be brought more cleare than the light it
 selfe. And in this crime no bodie must be condemned vpon pre-
 sumptions. And where it is objected and vrged, that Since God
 onelie knoweth the thoughts, therefore there is none other waie
 of prowe but by confession: It is answered thus in the lawe, & to
 wit: Their confession in this case containeth an outward act, and
 the same impossible both in lawe and nature, and also vnlikelie to
 be true; and therefore *Quod verisimile non est, attendi non debet*. So
 as, though their confessions may be worthe of punishment, as
 whereby they shew a will to commit such mischefe, yet not wor-
 thie of credit, as that they haue such power. For, *si factum absit,*
solaque opinione laborent, & stultorum genere sunt; If they confesse a fact
 performed but in opinion, they are to be reputed among the num-
 ber of soles. Neither may any man be by lawe condemned for
 criminall causes, vpon presumptions, nor yet by single witness-
 es: neither at the accusation of a capitall enimie, who indeed is
 not to be admitted to giue euidence in this case; though it please

August. de
 ciui. Dei.
 Isidor. lib. 8.
 cap. 9.
 Etymol. 25.
 que. 5. ca. nec
 mirum.
 Pontinibus
 de lanis, vo-
 lum. 10.
 L. error, & L.
 cum post. c. de
 iuris & facti
 ignor. ac in L.
 de fiat. §.
 item de in-
 terrog. actio.
 Per glos. Bal.
 & alios in L.
 l. c. de confes.
 glos. nec. si de
 confes. in 6. §.
 ad leg. Aquil.
 L. Neracius.
 §. fin.
 Ut per Bald.
 & Aug. ff.
 in L. l. c. de
 confes. & c.
 Extra. de
 presump. li-
 teras.
 Per Bald. in
 d. leg. & c.
 Extra. de test.
 cum literis.
 Mal. Malof.
 pa. 3. quest. 5.
 cap. 11.

Mal. malef.
quest. 14.
p. 1.

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

Mal. malef.
quest. 17.

M. Mal. and Bodin to affirme the contrarie. But beyond all equitie, these inquisitors haue shifts and deuises enow, to plague and kill these poore soules: for (they say) their fault is greatest of all others; because of their carnall copulation with the diuell, and therefore they are to be punished as heretikes, foure maner of waies: to wit; with excommunication, deprivation, losse of goods, and also with death.

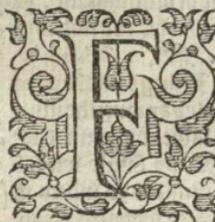
And in dede they find laue, and prouide meanes thereby to mainteine this their bloudie humoz. For it is writen in their popish canons, that As for these kind of heretikes, how much soeuer they repent and returne to the faith, they may not be reteined aliu, or kept in perpetuall prison; but be put to extream death. Yea, M. Mal. writeth, that A witches sinne is the sinne against the Holie-ghost; to wit, irremissible: yea further, that it is greater than the sinne of the angels that fell. In which respect I wonder, that Moses deliuered not three tables to the children of Israell; 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.

But when these witchmongers are conuincid in the obiection concerning their confessions; so as thereby their tyrannicall arguments cannot preuaile, 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 thinke they had some colour to mainteine their malicious furie against them.

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

The xix. Chapter.

1. Idolatrie,
confuted.



First therefore they laie to their charge idolatrie. But alas without all reason: for such are properlie knowne to vs to be idolaters, as doo external worship to idols or strange gods. The furthest point that idolatrie can be stretched vnto, is, that they, which are culpable therein, are such as hope for and seeke saluation at the

the hands of idols, or of anie other than God; or fir their whole mind and loue vpon anie creature; so as the power of God be neglected and contemned thereby. But witches neither seeke nor beleue to haue saluation at the hands of diuels, but by them they are onlie deceiued; the instruments of their phantastie being corrupted, and so infatuated, that they suppose, confesse, and saie they can do that, which is as farre beyond their power and nature to do, as to kill a man at Yorke befoze none, when they haue bene seene at London in that morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters, whose idolatrie is spirituall, and committed onelie in mind, should be punished by death; then should euerie couetous man, or other, that setteth his affection anie wate too much vpon an earthlie creature, be executed, and yet perchance the witch might escape scotfree.

Secondlie, apostasie is laid to their charge, whereby it is inferred, that they are woorthie to die. But apostasie is, where anie of sound iudgement forsake the gospell, learned and well knoatone vnto them; and do not onelie embrace impietie and infidelitie; but opugne and resist the truth erstwhile by them professed. But alas these poze women go not about to defend anie impietie, but after god admonition repent.

2. Apostasie, confuted.

Thirddie, they would haue them executed for seducing the people. But God knoweth they haue small stroze of Rhetorike or art to seduce; except to tell a tale of Robin god-fellowe be to deceiue and seduce. Neither may their age or sex admit that opinion or accusation to be iust: for they themselues are poze seduced soules. I for my part (as else-where I haue said) haue proued this point to be false in most apparent sort.

3. Seducing of the people, confuted.

Fourthlie, as touching the accusation, which all the writers vse herein against them for their carnall copulation with Incubus: the follie of mens credulitie is as much to be wondered at and derided, as the others vaine and impossible confessions. For the diuell is a spirit, and hath neither flesh nor bones, which were to be vsed in the performance of this action. And since he also lacketh all instruments, substance, and seed ingendred of blood; it were follie to staie ouerlong in the consultation of that, which is not in the nature of things. And yet must I saie somewhat herein, because the opinion hereof is so stronglie and vniuersallie receiued,

4. Carnall copulation with Incubus, confuted.

How the
diuell plai-
eth Succu-
bus and In-
cubus.

and the fables hereupon so innumerable; wherby M. Mal. Bodin, Hemingius, Hyperius, Danaeus, Ecactus, and others that take vpon them to write here in, are so abused, or rather seek to abuse others; as I wonder at their fond credulitie in this behalfe. For they affirme vndoubtedlie, that the diuell plaieeth Succubus to the man, and carrieth from him the seed of generation, which he deliuereth as Incubus to the woman, who manie times that waie is gotten with child; which will verie naturallie (they saie) become a witch, and such a one they affirme Merline was.

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

The xx. Chapter.

A perora-
tion to the
readers.

Ut in so much as I am driuen (for the moze manifest bewraing and displaying of this most filthy and horrible error) to skaine my paper with writing thereon certeine of their heallie and bawdie assertions and examples, whereby they confirme this their doctrine (being my selfe both ashamed, and loth once to thinke vpon such filthinesse, although it be to the condemnation thereof) I must intreat you that are the readers hereof, whose chaste eares cannot well endure to heare of such abhominable lecheries, as are gathered out of the bookes of those witchmongers (although doctors of diuinitie, and otherwise of great authoritie and estimation) to turne ouer a few leaues, wherein (I saie) I haue like a growne thrust their bawdie stufte (euen that which I my selfe loath) as into a stinking corner: howbeit, none other wise, I hope, but that the other parts of my writing shall remaine sweet, and this also covered as close as may be.

The fourth Booke.

Of witchmongers opinions concerning euill spirits, how they frame themselues in more excellent fort than God made vs.

The first Chapter.



Ames Sprenger and Henric Mal. malef. Institor, in M. Mal. agreing par. 2. cap. 4. with Bodin, Barth. Spineus, que ff. 1.

Danzus, Erastus, Hemingius, and the rest, do make a bawdie discourse; labouring to prouue by a foolish kind of philosophie, that euill spirits cannot onlie take earthlie forms and shapes of men; but also counterfeit hearing, seeing, &c: and likewise, that they can eate and deuoure meats, and also re-

aine, digest, and quod the same: and finally, vse diuerse kinds of activities, but speciallie excell in the vse and art of veneric. For M. Mal. saith, that The eyes and eares of the mind are farre more subtil than bodilie 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 haue them answer this question. Our minds and soules are spirituall things. If our corporall eares be stoped, what can they heare or conceiue of anie externall wisdom? And truelie, a man of such a constitution of bodie, as they imagine of these spirits, which make themselues, &c: were of farre more excellent substance, &c: than the bodies of them that God made in paradise; and so the diuels workmanship should exceed the handie worke of God the father and creatoꝝ of all things.

a
If his bodilie eies were out, he would see but ill-fauoredlie.

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

The second Chapter.

*Nider in
fornicario.
T.Brabant.
in lib.de a-
pil.*

Heretofore (they saie) Incubus was saine to rauish women against their will, vntill Anno. 1400 : but now since that time witches consent willingly to their desires : in so much as some one witch exerciseth that trade of lecherie with Incubus twentie or thirtie yeares together; as was confessed by fourtie and eight witches burned at Rauenspurge. But what goodlie fellowes Incubus begetteth vpon these witches, is proued by Thomas of Aquine, Bodin, M. Mal. Hyperius, &c.

*In sen. dist. 4.
art. 4.
Gen. 6, 4.*

This is proued first by the diuels cunning, in discerning the difference of the seed which falleth from men. Secondlie, by his vnderstanding of the aptnes of the women for the receipt of such seed. Thirddie by his knowledge of the constellations, which are frendlie to such cozpo:all effects. And lastlie, by the excellent complexion of such as the diuell maketh choice of, to beget such notable personages vpon, as are the causes of the greatnesse and excellencie of the child thus begotten.

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 1
August. de
doctrina
Christ.*

And to proue that such bawdie doings betwixt the diuell and witches is not fained, S. Augustine is alledged, who saith, that All superstitious arts had their beginning of the pestiferous societie betwixt the diuell and man. Wherein he saith truelie; for that in paradise, betwixt the diuell and man, all wickednes was so contriued, that man euer since hath studied wicked arts: yea and the diuell will be sure to be at the middle and at both ends of euerie mischæse. But that the diuell ingendzeth with a woman, in maner and forme as is supposed, and naturallie begetteth the wicked, neither is it true, nor Augustines meaning in this place.

Howbeit M. Mal. proceedeth, affirming that All witches take their

their beginning from such filthy actions, wherein the diuell, in likenes of a prettie wench, lieth prostitute as Succubus to the man, and reseinig his nature and seede, conueict it vnto the witch, to whome he deliuereth it as Incubus. Wherein also is refuted the opinion of them that hold a spirit to be vnpalpable. M. Mal. saith, There can be reindred no infallible rule, though a probable distinction may be set downe, whether Incubus in the act of veneric doe alwaies potvze seed out of his assumed bodie. And this is the distinction; Either she is old and barren, or yong and pregnant. If she be barren, then doth Incubus vse hir without decision of seed; bicause such seed should serue for no purpose. And the diuell avoideth superfluitie as much as he may; and yet for hir pleasure and condemnation together, he goeth to worke with hir. But by the waite, if the diuell were so compendious, what should he need to vse such circumstances, euen in these verie actions, as to make these assemblies, conuenticles, ceremonies, &c. when he hath already bought their bodies; and bargained for their soules? What reason had he, to make them kill so manie infants, by whom he rather loseth than gaineth any thing; bicause they are, so farre as either he or we knowe, in better case than we, of riper yeares by reason of their innocencie? Well, if she be not past children, then stealeth he seed awaie (as hath bene said) from some wicked man being about that lecherous busines, and therewith getteth yong witches vpon the old.

Mal. malef. que. I. par. I.

And note, that they affirme that this businesse is better accomplished with seed thus gathered, than that which is shed in dremes, through superfluitie of humors; bicause that is gathered from the vertue of the seed generatiue. And if it be said that the seed will wax cold by the waite, and so lose his naturall heate, and consequently the vertue; M. Mal. Danæus, and the rest doe answer, that the diuell can so carrie it, as no heate shall go from it, &c.

Mal. malef. que. I. par. I.

Mal. malef. que. I. par. I.

Furthermore, old witches are swozne to procure as manie yong virgins for Incubus as they can, whereby in time they growe to be excellent basvds; but in this case the priest plaineth Incubus. For you shall find, that confession to a priest, and naming this word Benedicite, or iueth Incubus a waie, when Ave Marias, crosses, and all other charmes fail.

Mal. malef. par. I. que. I.

Danæus in dialog. de sortarijs.

Ia. Sprenger in Mal. malef.

Of the diuels visible & inuisible dealing with witches in the waie of lecherie.

The third Chapter.

BUt as touching the diuels visible or inuisible execution of lecherie; it is written, that to such witches, as before haue made a visible legue with the præst, (the diuell I should saie) there is no necessitie that Incubus should appere inuisible: marrie to the standers by hee is for the most part inuisible. For prooue hercof

This was done at Rauen-spurge.

James Sprenger and Institor affirme, that many times witches are seene in the fields, and woods, prostituting themselves vncouered and naked by to the nauill, wagging and mouing their members in euerie part, according to the disposition of one being about that act of concupiscence, and yet nothing seene of the beholders vpon hir; sauing that after such a conuenient time as is required about such a peece of worke, a blacke vapoꝛ, of the length and bignesse of a man, hath bene seene as it were to depart from hir, and to ascend from that place. Neuerthelesse,

Mal. Malef.

many times the husband seeth Incubus making him cuckold, in the likenesse of a man, and sometimes striketh off his head with his sword: but because the bodie is nothing but aire, it closeth together againe: so as, although the godwisse be some times hurt thereby; yet she maketh him beleue he is mad or possessed, & that he doth he knoweth not what. For she hath more pleasure and delight (they say) with Incubus that waie, than with anie mortall man: whereby you may perceiue that spirits are palpable.

(*)

That

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

The fourth Chapter.



They also affirme, that the vertue of generation is impeached by witches, both inwardlie, and outwardlie : for intrinsecallie 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 extrinsecallie, with images, hearbs, &c. And to prouie this true, you shall heare certeine storles out of M. Mal. woꝝ thie to be noted.

A yong priest at Mespurge in the diocesse of Constance was belwitched, so as he had no power to occupie any other oꝝ mo women than one; and to be deliuered out of that thraldom, sought to flie into another countrie, where he might vse that pꝛæstlie occupatton moze frælie. But all in vaine; for euermoze he was brought as far backward by night, as he went soꝝward in the daie befoze; sometimes by land, sometimes in the aire, as though he flew. And if this be not true, I am sure that James Sprenger doth lie.

Mal. Malef. cap. 6. que. 1. pa. 2.

For the further confirmation of our beleefe in Incubus, M. Mal. citeth a storle of a notable matter executed at Rauenspurge, as true and as cleanlie as the rest. A yong man leng with a wench in that towne (saith he) was faine to leaue his instruments of vernerie behind him, by meanes of that prestigious art of witchcraft: so as in that place nothing could be seene oꝝ felt but his plaine bodie. This yong man was willed by another witch, to go to hir whom he suspected, and by faire oꝝ soꝝble meanes to require hir helpe: who some after meeting with hir, intreated hir faire, but that was in vaine; and therefore he caught hir by the throte, and with a towell strangled hir, saing: Kelloze me my tole

This was done at Rauenspurge.

Mal. Malef.

tole, or thou shalt die for it: so as she being swolne and blache in the face, and through his boisterous handling readie to die, said; Let me go, and I will helpe thee. And whilſt he was loſing the towell, ſhe put hir hand into his codpéece, and touched the place; ſaieng; Now haſt thou thy deſire: and euen at that inſtant he felt himſelfe reſtozed.

*Ia. Sprenger.
in Malma-
leſ. par. 2.
queſt. 1.*

Item, a reuerend father, for his life, holineſſe, and knowledge notozious, being a frier of the order and companie of Spire, reſpozed, that a yong man at ſhiſt made lamentable moane vnto him for the like loſſe: but his grauitie ſuffered him not to belæue lightlie any ſuch reports, and therefore made the yong man vntruſte his codpéece point, and ſaue the complaint to be true and juſt. Wherevpon he aduiſed or rather inioined the youth to go to the witch whome he ſuſpected, and with flattering words to intreat hir, to be ſo good vnto him, as to reſtoze him his instrument: which by that meanes he obtained, and ſome after returned to ſhew himſelfe thankfull; and told the holie father of his good ſucceſſe in that behalfe: but he ſo belæued him, as he would needs be *Oculatus reſiſſe*, and made him pull downe his breeches, and ſo was ſatiſfied of the troth and certeintie thereof.

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

Another yong man being in that verie taking, went to a witch for the reſtitution thereof, who brought him to a tree, where ſhe ſhewed him a neſt, and bad him clime by and take it. And being in the top of the tree, he tooke out a mightie great one, and ſhewed the ſame to hir, aſking hir if he might not haue the ſame. ſhe ſaie (quoth ſhe) that is our pariſh prieſts tole, but take anie other which thou wilt. And it is there affirmed, that ſome haue found 20. and ſome 30. of them in one neſt, being there preſerued with prouender, as it were at the racke and manger, with this note, wherein there is no contradiction (for all muſt be true that is writen againſt witches) that If a witch deprive one of his priuities, it is done onlie by preſtigious meanes, ſo as the ſenſes are but illuded. ſhe ſaie by the diuell it is reallie taken awaie, and in like ſort reſtozed. Theſe are no teſtes, for they be written by them that were and are iudges vpon the liues and deaths of thoſe perſons.

Note.

Of bishop Syluanus his leacherie opened and couered againe, how maides hauing yellow haire are most combred with Incubus, how married men are bewitched to vse other mens wiues, and to refuse their owne.

The fift Chapter.



You shall read in the legend, how

In vita Hieronymi.

in the night time Incubus came to a ladies bed side, and made hot loue vnto hir: whereat she being offended, cried out so loud, that companie came and found him vnder hir bed in the likenesse of the holie bishop Syluanus, which holie man was much defamed therebie, vntill at the length this infamie was purged by the confession of a diuell made at S. Ieroms tombe. Oh excellent peece of witchcraft or censuring wrought by Syluanus! Item S. Christine would needes take vnto hir another maides Incubus, and lie in hir roome: and the storie saith, that she was shrewdly accloied. But she was a shrew indeed, that would needes change beds with hir fellow, that was troubled euerie night with Incubus, and deale with him hir selfe. But here the inquisitozs note maie not be forgotten, to wit: that Maides hauing yello w haire are most molested with this spirit. Also it is writen in the Legend, of S. Barnard, that a pretie wench that had had the vse of Incubus his bodie by the space of six or seuen yeares in Aquitania (being beelike wearie of him so; that he waxed old) would needes go to S. Barnard another while. But Incubus told hir, that if she would so forsake him, being so long hir true louer, he would be reuenged vpon hir, &c. But befall what would, she went to S. Barnard, who toke hir his staffe, and bad hir late it in the bed besides hir. And indeed the diuell fearing the bedstaffe, or that S. Barnard late there him selfe, durst not appoch into hir chamber that night: what he did afterwards, I am vncerteine. Harrie you may find other circumstances hereof, and manie other like batwodie lies in the golden Legend. But here againe we maie not forget the in-

Sauit as
holie and
chast as
horses &
mares,

Maides ha-
uing yel-
low haire,

quisitozs

Mal. Malef.
par. 2. que. 2.
cap. 2.

quisito:rs note, to wit; that manie are so bewitched, that they can not vse their owne wiues: but anie other bodies they maie well enough away withall. Which witchcraft is practised among manie bad husbands, for whom it were a good excuse to saie they were bewitched.

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

The sixt Chapter.



The priests saie, that the best cure for a woman thus molested, next to confession, is excommunication. But to procure the dissoluing of bewitched and constrained loue, the partie bewitched must make a takes of the louers shoe. And to enforce a man, how proper so euer he be, to loue an old hag, she giueth vnto him to eate (among other meates) hir owne dong: and this wate one old witch made thre abbats of one house successueltie to die for hir loue, as she hir selfe confessed, by the report of M. Mal. In Gelderland a priest perswaded a sicke woman that she was bewitched; and except he might sing a masse vpon hir bellie, she could not be holpen. Wherevnto she consented, and late naked on the altar whilste he sang masse, to the satisfieng of his lust; but not to the release of hir græfe. Other cures I will speake of in other places moze ciuill. Howbeit, certeine miraculous cures, both full of bawderie and lies, must either haue place here, or none at all.

Of a baw-
dic priest
in Gelder-
land.

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

The seuenth Chapter.



Cassianus writeth, that S. Syren being of bodie verie lecherous, and of mind wonderfull religious, fasted and praied; to the end his bodie might be reduced miraculoullie to chastitie. At length came an angell vnto him by night, and cut out of his flesh certeine kernels, which were the sparkes of concupiscence; so as afterwards he neuer had anie moze motions of the flesh. It is also reported, that the abbat Equicius being naturallie as vnchaste as the other, fell to his beads so deuoutlie for recouerte of honestie, that there came an angell vnto him in an apparition, that seemed to geld him; and after that (forsooth) he was as chaste as though he had had neuer a stone in his breech; and befoze that time being a ruler ouer monkes, he became afterwards a gouernour ouer nunnes. Euen as it is said Helias the holie monke gathered thirtie virgins into a monasterie, ouer whom he ruled and reigned by the space of two yeares, and grew so proud and hot in the codpéece, that he was faine to forsake his holie house, and sūe to a desert, where he fasted and praied two daies, sateng; Lord quench my hot lecherous humors, or kill me. Wherevpon in the night following, there came vnto him thre angels, and demanded of him why he forsooke his charge; but the holie man was ashamed to tell them. Howbeit they asked him further, sateng; Wilt thou returne to these damfels, if we free thee from all concupiscence? Hea(quoeth he) with all my heart. And when they had swozne him solemnelie so to do, they toke him vp, & gelded him; and one of them holding his hands, and another his fete, the third cut out his stones. But the scozie saith it was not so ended, but in a visson. Which I beleue, because within siue daies he returned to his minton, who pittoully mozned for him all this while,

In coll. pag. 177m.

Gregor. lib. 1. dial. 2.

In viis patrum. Heraclides in paradiso.

*Nider in for-
nicatis.*

while, and toyfullie embraced his swaete companie at his re-
turne. The like storie doth Nider write of Thomas, whome two
angels cured of that lecherous disease; by putting about him a
girdle, which they brought downe with them from heauen.

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

The eight Chapter.



Or direct cure to such as are be-
witched in the priuie members, the first
and speciall is confession: then follo in
a row, holic water, and those ceremoni-
all trumperies, Aue Marias, and all ma-
ner of crossings; which are all said to be
wholesome, except the witchcraft be per-
petuall, and in that case the wife maie

haue a diuorse of course.

Aliter.

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

Aliter.

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

Aliter.

Item, to annoint a mans bodie ouer with the gall of a crow.

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

Aliter.

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

Aliter.

Item, to pisse through a wedding ring. If you would know
who is hurt in his priuities by witchcraft; and who otherwise is
therein diseased, Hostiensis answereth: but so, as I am altham-
ed to english it; and therefore haue here set downe his expert-
ment in Latine; *Quando virga nullatenus mouetur, & nunquam po-
tuit cognoscere; hoc est signum frigiditatis: sed quando mouetur & erigi-
tur, perficere autem non potest, est signum malefici.*

S. Thomas
Moore,
medicina-
ble receipt,
&c.

But Sir Th. Moore hath such a cure in this matter, as I am
althamed to write, either in Latine or English: for in filthy
bawderie it passeth all the tales that euer I heard. But that is
rather

rather a medicine to procure generation, than the cure of witchcraft, though it serue both turnes.

Item, when ones instrument of venerie is bewitched, certeine characters must be witten in virgin parchment, celebrated and holied by a popish priest; and thereon also must the 141. Psalm be witten, and bound *Ad viri fuscinati coxam.*

Aliter.

h

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

Aliter.

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

The ninth Chapter.



OW being wearied with the rehearsal of so manie lecheries most horrible, and verie filthie and fabulous actions and passions of witches, together with the spirit Incubus, I will end with a true storie taken out of Iason Pratenfis, which though it be rude, yet is it not altogether so vncleane as the rest.

Iaso. Pratenfis de cerebri morbo, ca. 16.

There came (saith he) of late a masse priest vnto me, making pitious moane, and sateng, that if I holpt him not, he should be vndone, and vtterlie ouerthrowne; so great was his infirmitie: for (saith he) I was wont to be faire and fat, and of an excellent complexion; and lo how I loke, being now a verie ghost consisting of skinne and bone, &c. What is the matter (quoth Iason?) I will shew you sir, said the priest. There commeth vnto mee, almost euerie night, a certeine woman, vnknowne vnto me, and lieth so heauie vpon my brest, that I cannot fetch my breath, neither haue anie power to crie, neither do my hands serue me to shoue hir awaie, nor my feete to go from hir. I smiled (quoth Iason) and told him that he was vexed with a disease called In-

A

U. s.

Incubus,

The priest
is opinio-
natiue in
the error of
his phanta-
sie.

cus, or the mare; and the residue was phantasie and baine ima-
gination. Paie (said the priest) it cannot be so: for by our blessed
ladie, I tell you nothing but that with waking I saw with mine
eyes, and felt with mine hands. I see hir when she commeth vpon
me, and strue to repell hir; but I am so infebled that I cannot:
and for remedie I haue runne about from place to place, but no
helpe that I could get. At length I went to an old frier that was
counted an od fellow; and thought to haue had help at his hands,
but the diuell a whit had I of him; sauing that for remedie he wil-
led me to praie to God; whome I am sure I wearied with my te-
dious praiers long befoze. Then went I vnto an old woman
(quoth the priest) who was said to be a cunning witch: and she
willed me, that the next mozning, about the dawning of the daie,
I should pisse, and immediatlie should couer the pissot, or stop it
with my right netherstoccke, and befoze night the witch should
come to visit me. And although (quoth he) the respect of mine or-
ders someth at terriffed me from the execution of hir aduise; yet
my necessities diuerse waies, and speciallie my paines moued
me to make triall of hir woords. And by the masse (quoth the
priest) hir prophesse fell out as sure as a club. For a witch came
to my house, and complained of a græse in hir bladder, and that
she could not pisse. But I could neither by saire nor sowle
meanes obtaine at hir hands, that she would leaue molesting
me by night; but she kēpeeth hir old custome, determining
by these filthie meanes to dispatch me. I could hardlie

The priest
recovered.

(said Iason) reclaime him from this mad humoz;
but by that time he had bene with me thre
or foure times, he began to comfort him-
selfe, and at last perceiuing it, he
acknowledged his diseale,
and recovered the
same.

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

The tenth Chapter.

THus are lecheries covered with the cloke of Incubus and witchcraft, contrarie to nature and veritie: and with these fables is mainteined an opinion, that men haue bene begotten without carnall copulation (as Hyperius and others write that Merlin was, An. 440.) Merlin begotten of Incubus. A speciallic to excuse and mainteine the knaueries and lecheries of idle priests and bawdie monkes; and to couer the shame of their louers and concubines.

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

But to vse few words herein, I hope you vnderstand that they affirme and saie, that Incubus is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c. and that he neither doth eate nor drinke. In dede your grandams maides were wont to set a boll of milke before him and his cousine Robin god-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight: and you haue also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or god-wife of the house, hauing compassion of his nakednes, laid anie clothes for him, besides his melle of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee. For in that case he saith; What haue we here? Hemton hamten, here will I neuer more tread nor stampen.

But to proceed in this confutation, Where there is no meate eaten, there can be no seed which thereof is ingendred; although it be granted, that Robin could both eate and drinke, as being a

Quia humor spermaticus ex succo alimentari pro-couit.

H. iij.

coufening idle ftrier, or some fuch roge, that wanted nothing either belonging to lecherie or knauerie, &c. Item, where the genital members want, there can be no luft of the flefh: neither doth nature giue anye defire of generation, where there is no propagation or fucceffion required. And as fpirits cannot be graued with hunger, fo can they not be inflamed with luftes. And if men fhould liue euer, that needed fucceffion or heires: For that is but an ordinance of God, to fupplie the place, the number, the world, the time, and speciallie to accomplifh his will. But the power of generation confifteth not onlie in members, but chieflye of vitall fpirits, and of the hart: which fpirits are neuer in fuch a bodie as Incubus hath, being but a bodie affumed, as they themfelues faie. And yet the moft part of wryters herein affirme, that it is a palpable and vifible bodie; though all be phanfes and fables that are wrytten here vpon.

Ad facultatem generationis tam interna quam externa organa requiruntur.

That Incubus is a naturall difeafe, with remedies for the fame, befides magicall cures herewithall expreffed.

The eleuenth Chapter.

What Incubus is, & who be moft troubled therewith.

BUt in truth, this Incubus is a bodily difeafe (as hath bene faid) although it extend vnto the trouble of the mind: which of some is called *The mare*, oppreffing manie in their flæpe fo foze, as they are not able to call for helpe, or ftrive themfelues vnder the burthen of that heauie humor, which is ingendred of a thicke vapour proceeding from the cruditie and rawnelle in the ftomach: which ascending vpon into the head oppreffeth the braine, in fo much as manie are much infeebled therewith, as being nightlie haunted therewith. They are moft troubled with this difeafe, that being fubied therewith, lie right vpwart: fo as, to turne and lie on the one fide, is present remedie. Likewise, if anye heare the groaning of the partle, fpeake vnto hym, fo as he wake hym, he is presently releued. Howbeit, there are magicall cures for it, as for example.

S. George,

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,
He walkt by daie, so did he by night:
Vntill such time as he hir found,
He hir beat and he hir bound,
Vntill hir troth she to him plight,
She would not come to hir that night.

Whereas S. George our ladies knight, was named threé times S. George.

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

Item, you shall read in M. Malefic. that excommunication is verte notable, and better than any charme for this purpose. There are also other verses and charmes for this disease deuiled, which is the common cloke for the ignozance of bad physicians. But Leonard Fuchsius in his first booke, and 31. chapter, both not onelie describe this disease, and the causes of it; but also setteth downe verie learnedlie the cure thereof, to the vtter confusion of the witchmongers folkie in this behalfe. Hyperius being much bewitched and blinded in this matter of witchcraft, houering about the interpretation of Genesis 6. from whence the opinion of Incubus and Succubus is extorted, *Viderunt filij Dei filias hominum, quod elegantes essent, acceperunt sibi in uxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant,* &c. seemeth to mainteine vpon heare-saie, that absurd opinion; and yet in the end is driuen to conclude thus, to wit: *¶ Of the euill spirits Incubus and Succubus there can be no firme reason or prooffe brought out of scriptures, vsing these verie words; Hec ut probabilia dicta sunt, quandoquidem scripturarum presidio hac in causa destitimus.* As if he should saie, Take this as spoken probable; to wit, by humane reason, bicause we are destitute of scriptures to mainteine the goodnesse of the cause.

M. malefic. par. 2. que. 2. cap. 1. col. 2.

Leon. Fuchsius de curandi ratione.

Tertullian and Sulpicius Seuerus do interpret *Filios Dei* in that place to be angels, or euill spirits, and to haue bene enamored with the beautie of those wenches; and finallie, begat grants by

Tertull. in libro de habitu muliebris. Sulp. Seuer. in epitome them. hist. sac.

V. ity.

The censure of G. Chaucer, vpon the knauerie
of Incubus.

The twelſe Chapter.



Now will I after all this long dis-
course of abhominable cloked knaueries)
here conclude with certeine of G. Chau-
cers verses, who as he smelt out the absur-
dities of poperie, so found he the priests
knauerie in this matter of Incubus, and
(as the time would suffer him) he derided
their follie and falshood in this wise :

Geoffr. Chau.
in the be-
ginning of
the wife of
Baths tale.

For now the great charitie and praiers
Of limitors and other holie friers,
That searchen euerie land and euerie streame
As thicke as motes in the sunne beame,
Blissing halles, kitchens, chambers & bowers,
Cities, borroghes, castels and hie towers,
Thropes, barnes, shepens, and dairies,
This maketh that there beene now no fairies;
For there as woont to walken was an elfe,
There walketh now the limitor himselfe,
In vndermeales, and in mornings,
And saith his mattens and his holie things
As he goeth in his limitatiowne,
Women may go safelie vp and downe,
In euerie bush, and vnder euerie tree,
There nis none other *Jucubus* but hee, &c.

¶ The

The fift Booke.

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

The first Chapter.



Now that I may with the verie absurdities, contained in their owne authors, and euen in their principall doctozs and last writers, confound them that mainteine the transubstantiations of witches; I will shew you certeine proper stufte, which Bodin (their chiefe champion of this age) hath gathered out of M. Mal. and others, whereby he labour

I. Bod. lib. 2. de demon. cap. 6.

reth to establish this impossible, incredible, and supernaturall, or rather vnnaturall doctrine of transubstantiation.

First, as touching the diuell (Bodin saith) that he doth most properly and commonlie transforme himselfe into a gote, confirming that opinion by the 33. and 34. of Esaie: where there is no one title sounding to anie such purpose. Howbeit, he sometimes alloweth the diuell the shape of a blacke Horse, and as he saith he vsed to appeare to Mawd Cruse, Kate Darey, and Ione Haruiler. But I meruell, whether the diuell createth himselfe, when he appeareth in the likenesse of a man; or whether God createth him, when the diuell wisheth it. As for witches, he saith they spectallie transubstantiate themselues into wolues, and them whom they bewitch into asses: though else, where he differ somewhat herein from

I. Bodin a-busech scripture to prouea lic.

Handwritten notes and signatures in the right margin, including a large initial 'B' and some illegible text.

*Pudendis
tunc primim
erumpenti-
bus.*

from himselfe. But though he affirme, that it may be naturallie brought to passe, that a girle shall become a boie; and that anie female may be turned into the male; yet he saith the same hath no affinitie with Lycanthropia; wherein he saith also, that men are whole transformed, and citeth infinite examples hereof.

*To Vier.
lib. 6. de
mag. ca. 12.*

First, that one Garner in the shape of a wolfe killed a girle of the age of twelue yeares, and did eat by hir armes and legges, and carried the rest home to his wife. Item, that Peter Burget, and Michael Werdon, having turned themselues with an ointment into wolues, killed, and finallie did eate by an infinite number of people. Which lie Wierus doth sufficientlie confute. But untill you see and read that, consider whether Peter could eate rawe flesh without sursetting, speciallie flesh of his owne kind. Item, that there was an arrowe shot into a wolues thigh, who after wards being turned into his former shape of a man, was found in his bed, with the arrowe in his thigh, which the archer that shot it knew verie well. Item, that another being Lycanthropus in the forme of a wolfe, had his wolues feet cut off, and in a moment he became a man without hands or feete.

*I. Bodinus
in endacio-
rum helio.*

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 espied and oftentimes seene to perforce that villanie; because he would be counted the king of all witches. He saith that this transubstantiation is most common in Greece, and through out all Asia, as merchant strangers haue reported to him. For Anno Domini. 1542, when Sultan Solimon reigned, there was such force and multitude of these kind of wolues in Constantinople, that the emperor drave together in one flocke 150. of them, which departed out of the citie in the presence of all the people.

*A warme
season to
swim in.*

*I meruell
that they
forsake not
the diuell,*

To perswade vs the more throughlie hereint, he saith, that in Liouonia, pearelie (about the end of December) a certeine kinawe or diuell warneth all the witches in the countrie to come to a certeine place: if they faile, the diuell commeth and whippeth them with an iron rod; so as the print of his lathes remaine vpon their bodies for ever. The capteine witch leadeth the waie through a great

great pole of water: manie millions of witches swim after. They are no sooner passed through that water, but they are all transformed into wolues, and lie upon and deuoure both men, women, cattell, &c. After twelue daies they returne through the same water, and so receiue humane shape againe.

who puni-
sheth them
so sore: y-
wis they
get not so
much at his
hands.

Item, that there was one Baianus a Iew, being the sonne of Si-
meon, which could, when he list, turne himselfe into a wolfe; and
by that meanes could escape the force and danger of a whole ar-
mie of men. Which thing (saith Bodin) is wonderfull: but yet
(saith he) it is much moze maruelous, that men will not beleeue it.
For manie poets affirme it; yea, and if you loke well into the
matter (saith he) you shall find it easie to doe. Item, he saith, that
as naturall wolues persecute beasts; so doe these magicall
wolues deuoure men, women, and children. And yet God saith
to the people (I trow) and not to the cattell of Israell; If you ob-
serue not my commandements, I will send among you the
beasts of the field, which shall deuoure both you and your cattell.
Item, I will send the teeth of beasts upon you. Where is Bodins
distinction now become? He neuer saith, I will send witches in
the likenesse of wolues, &c. to deuoure you or your cattell. Heuer-
theles, Bodin saith it is a cleare case: for the matter was dispu-
ted upon before pope Leo the seuenth; and by him all these mat-
ters were iudged possible; and at that time (saith he) were the
transformations of Lucian and Apuleius made canonicall.

Leuidi. 16.

Deut. 32.

Furthermoze he saith, that though this art they are so cunning
that no man can apprehend them, but when they are a sleepe. In
tem, he nameth another witch, that (as M. Mal. saith) could not be
caught, because he would transforme himselfe into a mouse, and
runne into euerie little hole, till at length he was killed com-
ming out of the hole of a samme in a windowe: which indeed is
as possible, as a camell to go through a needels eie. Item, he saith,
that diuerse witches at Vernon, turned themselves into cats, and
both committed and received much hurt. But at Argentine there
was a wonderfull matter done, by three witches of great wealth,
who transforming themselves into three cats, assailed a faggot-
maker: who hauing hurt them all with a faggot sticke, was like
to haue bene put to death. But he was miracoulouslie deliuered,
and they worzhilie punished; as the storie saith, from whence

Stafus a
wircb could
not be ap-
prehended,
and why?

I. Bodin.
Mal. malef.

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

Mal. malef.
part. 3.

Bodin

Bodin had it.

An error
about Ly-
canthropia.

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

But least some poets fables might be thought lies (whereby the
witchmongers arguments should quail) he mainteineth for
true the most part of Ouids Metamorphôsis, and the greatest ab-
surdities and impossibilities in all that booke: marie he thinketh
some one tale therein may be fained. If in allie, he confirmeth all
these toies by the storie of Nabûchadnezzar. And bicause (saith he)
Nabûchadnezzar continued seuen yeres in the shape of a beast,
therefoze may witches remaine so long in the forme of a beast;
hauing in all the meane time, the shape, haire, voice, strength,
agilitie, swiftness, food and excrements of beasts, and yet reserue
the minds and soules of women or men. Whobet, S. Augustine
(together to confute or confirme that opinion Iudge you) saith;
*Non est credendum humanum corpus demonum arte vel potestate in bestia-
lia lineamenta conuerti posse: Nec may not beleue that a mans bo-
die may be altered into the lineaments of a beast by the diuels
art or power.*

August. lib. 8
de ciuit. Dei.
cap. 18.
Idem, lib. de
spiritu et a-
nima, cap. 26.

Item, Bodin saith, that the reason whie witches
are most commonlie turned into wolues, is; bicause they vsu-
allie eate childzen, as wolues eate cattell. Item, that the cause
whie other are truelie turned into asses, is; for that such haue
bene desirous to vnderstand the secrets of witches. Whie wit-
ches are turned into cats, he alledgeeth no reason, and therefoze (to
helpe him forth with that paraphrase) I saie, that witches are
curst queanes, and manie times scratch one another, or their
neighbours by the faces; and therefoze perchance are turned

Ironia.

into cats. But I haue put twentie of these witch-
mongers to silence with this one question; to
wit, Whether a witch that can turne a
woman into a cat, &c: can also
turne a cat into a wo-
man?

Absurd

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

The second Chapter.



These Examples and reasons might put vs in doubt, that euerie asse, wolfe, or cat that we see, were a man, a woman, or a child. I maruell that no man bleseth this distinction in the definition of a man. But to what end should one dispute against these creations and recreations; when Bodin walsheth 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 diuines, as write against him in this behalfe: Hea he doth now (contrarie to himselfe elsewhere) affirme, that the diuell cannot alter his forme. And lo, this is his distinction, *Non essentialis forma (id est ratio) sed figura solum permuatnr*: The essentiall forme (to wit, reason) is not changed, but the shape or figure. And thereby he proueth it easie enough to create men or beasts with life, so as they remaine without reason. Howbeit, I thinke it is an easier matter, to turne Bodins reason into the reason of an asse, than his bodie into the shape of a sheepe: which he saith is an easie matter; bicause Lots wife was turned into a stone by the diuell. Whereby he sheweth his grosse ignorance. As though God that commanded Lot vpon paine of death not to looke backe, who also destroyed the citie of Sodom at that instant, had not also turned hir into a salt stone. And as though all this while God had bene the diuels iudge, to go about this businesse all the night before, and when a miracle should be wrought, the diuell must be faine to doo it himselfe.

Item, he affirmeth, that these kind of transfigurations are moze common with them in the west parts of the world, than with vs here in the east. Howbeit, this note is giuen withall; that this is ment of the second persons, and not of the first: to wit, of the bewitched, and not of the witches. For they can trans-

I. Bod. lib. 2.
de mag. demon. cap. 6.

Gen. 19, 24.
& 26, & 27.

I. Bod. lib.
de demon.
2. cap. 20.
M. Mah.
pa. 1. q. 9.

forme

John. Bodin.
lib. de de-
mon. 2. cap. 1.

forme themselves in euery part of the world, whether it be east, west, north, or south. Parrie he saith, that spirits and diuels be men most in the north countries, as Norway, Finland, &c: and in the westerne islands, as in the west India: but among the heathen speciallie, and wherefoener Christ is not preached. And that is true, though not in so folish, grosse, and cozpozall 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 god in this place to repeat: he taketh it out of M. Mal. which tale was deliuered to Sprenger by a knight of the Rhods, being of the order of S. Jones at Ierusalem; and it followeth thus.

M. malefic.
par. 2. que. 2.
cap. 4.

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

The third Chapter.

IT happened in the citie of Salamin, in the kingdome of Cyprus (wherein is a god haven) that a ship loaden with merchandize staid there for a short space. In the meane time many of the souldiers and martiners went to shoare, to prouide fresh victuals. Among which number, a certaine English man, being a sturdie yong fellowe, went to a womans house, a little waie out of the citie, and not farre from the sea side, to see whether she had anie eggs to sell. Who perceiuing him to be a lustie yong fellowe, a stranger, and farre from his countrie (so as vpon the losse of him there would be the lesse misse or inquirie) she considered with hir selfe how to destroe him; and willed him to staid there awhile, while she went to fetch a few eggs for him. But she tarried long, so as the yong man called vnto hir, desiring hir to make haste; for he told hir that the tide would be spent; and by that meanes his ship would be gone, and leaue him behind. Howbeit, after some detracting of time, she brought him a few eggs, willing him to retorne to hir, if his ship were gone when he came. The yong fellowe

What the diuel should the witch meane to make choise of the English man?

ad. lib. 1.
cap. 1.
p. 1.

lo he returned towards his ship: but before he went aboard, hee would needs cate an eg or twaine to satisfie his hunger, and with in short space he became dumb and out of his wits (as he afterwards said.) When he would haue entered into the ship, the mariners beat him backe with a cudgell, saing; What a murrer lacks the asse: Whether the diuell will this asse: The asse or yong man (I cannot tell by which name I should terme him) being many times repelled, and vnderstanding their words that called him asse, considering that he could speake neuer a word, and yet could vnderstand euerie bodie, he thought that he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore, when by no meanes he could get into the boate, but was driuen to tarrie and see his departure; being also beaten from place to place, as an asse: he remembred the witches words, and the words of his owne fellows that called him asse, and returned to the witches house, in whose seruice hee remained by the space of three yeares, doing nothing with his hands all that while, but carried such burthens as she laied on his backe; hauing onelie this comfort, that although he were reputed an asse among strangers and beasts, yet that both this witch, and all other witches knew him to be a man.

After three yeares were passed ouer, in a morning betimes he went to to tone before his dame; who upon some occasion (of like to make water) fraied a little behind. In the meane time being nere to a church, he heard a little saccring bell ring to the eleuation of a mozorthe masse, and not daring to go into the church, least he should haue bene beaten and driuen out with cudgels, in great deuotion he fell dowie in the churchyard, upon the knees of his hinder legs, and did lift his forefet ouer his head; as the priest doth hold the sacrament at the eleuation. Which prodigious sight when cerseine merchants of Genua espied, and with wonder beheld; anon commeth the witch with a cudgell in his hand, beating forth the asse. And because (as it hath bene said) such kinds of witchcrafts are verie vsuall in those parts; the merchants aforesaid made such meanes, as both the asse and the witch were attached by the iudge. And the being examined and set vpon the racke, confessed the whole matter, and promised, that if he might haue libertie to go home, he would restore him to his old shape:

A strange
metamor-
phosis, of
bodie, but
not of mind

to the asse
substanti

to the asse
to the asse
to the asse

Note the
deuotion
of the asse.

to the asse
to the asse
to the asse

shape: and being dismissed, she did accordingly. So as notwithstanding they apprehended him againe, and burned him: and the young man returned into his countrey with a ioyfull and merrie hart.

Upon the aduantage of this storie M. Mal. Bodin, and the residue of the witchmongers triumph; and speciallie because S. Augustine subscribeth thereto; or at the least to the vertie like, which I must confesse I find to common in his books, insomuch as I iudge them rather to be foisted in by some fond papist or witchmonger, than so learned a mans dowings. The best is, that

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

he himselfe is no eie-witnesse to any of those his tales; but speaketh onlie by report; wherein he uttereth these wordes: to wit, that It were a point of great incivilitie, &c: to discredit so manie and so certeine reports. And in that respect he iustificieth the corporall transfigurations of Vlysses his mates, through the witchcraft of Circes: and that foolish fable of Præstantius his father, who (he saith) did eate pꝛouender and hate among other horses, being

At the alps
in Arcadia.

himselfe turned into an horse. Yea he veriifieth the starkest lie that euer was inuented, of the two alewives that vied to transforme all their gheests into horses, and to sell them awaie at markets and faires. And therefore I saie with Cardanus, that how much Augustin saith he hath sēn with his eyes, so much I am content to beleue. Howbeit S. Augustin concludeth against Bodin: For he affirmeth these transubstantiations to be but fantastickall, and that they are not according to the vertie, but according to the appearance. And yet I cannot allow of such appearances made by witches, or yet by diuels: for I find no such power giuen by God to any creature. And I would wit of S. Augustine, where they became, whom Bodin transformed wolues deuoured. But

*Card. de var.
rerum. lib. 15
cap. 80.
August. Lib.
18. de ciui.
Dei.*

ô quam
Credula mens hominis, & erectæ fabulis aures!

God Lord! how light of credit is
the wauering mind of man!

How vnto tales and lies his eares
attentiuē all they can?

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

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

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

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

The fourth Chapter.



Concerning the veritie or probability of this 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: Secondlie at the impudencie of Bodin and James Sprenger, for affirming so grosse a lie, deuised helike by the knight of the Rhodes, to make a soale of Sprenger, and an asse of Bodin: Thirdlie, that the asse had no more wit than to kneele downe and hold by his forefeete to a peece of starch or floure, which neither would, nor could, nor did helpe him: Fourthlie, that the masse could not reforme that which the witch transposed: Fifthlie, that the merchants, the inquisitors, and the tormentors, could not either severallie or iointlie do it, but referre the matter to the witches courtesse and god pleasure.

But where was the yong mans owne shape all these threē yeares, wherein he was made an asse? It is certeine and a generall rule, that two substantiall formes cannot be in one subiect simul & semel, both at once: which is confessed by themselves. The

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

*Mal. malef.
par. 1. que. 2.*

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

Dem. in dialog. cap. 3.

forme of the beast occupied some place in the aire, and so I thinke should the forme of a man do also. For to bring the bodie of a man without feeling, into such a thyn airie nature, as that it can neither be seene nor felt, it may well be vnlikelie, but it is verie impossible: for the aire is inconstant, and continueth not in one place. So as this airie creature would some be carried into another region: as else-where I haue largelie pꝛoued. But indeed our bodie are visible, sensitiue, and passiu, and are indued with manie other excellent pꝛopertie, which all the diuels in hell are not able to alter: neither can one haire of our head perish, or fall auaie, or be transformed, without the speciall pꝛouidence of God almightie.

But to pꝛoced vnto the probabilitie of this stozie. What lucke was it, that this yong fellow of England, landing so latelie in those parts, and that old woman of Cyprus, being both of so base a condition, should both vnderstand one anothers communication; England and Cyprus being so manie hundred miles distant, and their languages so farre differing: I am sure in these dates, wherein trafficke is moze vsed, and learning in moze pꝛice; few yong or old mariners in this realme can either speake or vnderstand the language spoken at Salamin in Cyprus, which is a kind of Greeke; and as few old women there can speake our language. But Bodin will saie; You heare, that at the inquisitoꝝ commandement, and through the toꝛmentoꝝ correction, the pꝛomised to restoze him to his owne shap: and so she did, as being therevnto compelled. I answer, that as the whole stozie is an impious fable; so this assertion is false, and disagreeable to their owne doctrine, which mainteineth, that the witch doth nothing but by the permission and leaue of God. For if she could do or vnderstand such a thing at hir owne pleasure, or at the commandement of the inquisitoꝝ, or for feare of the toꝛmentoꝝ, or for lone of the partie, or for remoꝛse of conscience: then is it not either by the extraordinary leaue, 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 bodie so, and make it smaller and greater, to wit, like a mowse, or like an asse, &c: and the man all this while to feele no paine. And I am not alone in this maze: for Danæus a speciall maintainer of their follics

lies saith, that although Augustine and Apuleius doe write verie credible of these matters; yet will he neuer beleue, that witches can change men into other formes; as asses, apes, wolues, beates, mice, &c.

August. lib. de ciuit. Dei. cap. 17. 18.

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

The fift Chapter.



It was this man an asse all this while? Or was this asse a man? Bodin saith (his reason onelie reserved) he was trulie transubstantiated into an asse; so as there must be no part of a man, but reason remaining in this asse. And yet Hermes Trismegistus thinketh he hath good authoritie and reason to saie; Aliud corpus

Hermes Trismeg in suo Periancho.

quam humanum non capere animam humanam; nec fas esse in corpus anime ratione carentis animam rationalem corruiere; that is; An humane soule cannot receiue anie other than an humane bodie, nor yet canne light into a bodie that wanteth reason of mind. But S. James saith; The bodie without the spirit is dead. And surelie, when the soule is departed from the bodie, the life of man is dissolved: and therefore Paule wished to be dissolved, when he would haue bene with Christ. The bodie of man is subiect to diuers kinds of agues, sicknesses, and infirmities, wherevnto an asses bodie is not inclined: and mans bodie must be fed with bread, &c. and not with hay. Bodins asseheaded man must either eate hate, or nothing: as appeareth in the storie. Mans bodie also is subiect vnto death, and hath his daies numbred. If this fellowe had died in the meane time, as his houre might haue bene come, for anie thing the diuels, the witch, or Bodin knew; I meruell then what would haue become of this asse, or how the witch could haue reformed him to shape, or whether he should haue risen at the daie of iudgement in an asses bodie and shape. For Paule saith, that that

Iam. 2. 26. Phil. 1. 23. I. Cor. 15. 44.



a spirituall bodie. The life of Iesus is made manifest in our moztall flesh, and not in the flesh of an asse.

God hath endued euerie man and euerie thing with his proper nature, substance, forme, qualities, and gifts, and directeth their waies. As for the waies of an asse, he taketh no such care: howbeit, they haue also their properties and substance seuerall to themselves. For there is one flesh (saith Paule) of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, another of birds. And therefore it is absolutelie against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should flie like a bird, or swim like a fish, or creepe like a woorme, or become an asse in shape: insomuch as if God would giue me leaue, I cannot do it; for it were contrarie to his owne order and decree, and to the constitution of anie bodie which he hath made. Yea the spirits themselves haue their lawes and limits prescribed, beyond the which they cannot passe one haire breadth; other wise God should be contrarie to himselfe; which is farre from him. Neither is Gods omnipotencie hereby qualified, but the diuels impotencie manifested, who hath none other power, but that which God from the beginning hath appointed vnto him, consonant to his nature and substance. He may well be restrained from his power and will, but beyond the same he cannot passe, as being Gods minister, no further but in that which he hath from the beginning enabled him to do: which is, that he being a spirit, may with Gods leaue and ordinance vict at and corrupt the spirit and will of man: wherein he is verie diligent.

What a beastlie assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his owne similitude and likeness, should be by a witch turned into a beast? What an impietie is it to affirme, that an asses bodie is the temple of the Holy-ghost? Or an asse to be the child of God, and God to be his father; as it is said of man? Which Paule to the Corinthians so diuinelie confuteth, who saith, that our bodies are the members of Christ. In the which we are to glorifie God: for the bodie is for the Lord, and the Lord is for the bodie. Surelie he meaneth not for an asses bodie, as by this time I hope appeareth: in such wise as Bodin may go hide him for shame; especiallie when he shall vnderstand, that euen into these our bodies, which God hath framed after his owne likeness,

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



ness, he hath also bꝛethed that spirit, which Bodin saith is now remaining within an asses bodie, which God hath so subiected in such seruilitie vnder the soote of man; of whom God is so mindfull, that he hath made him little lower than angels, yea than himselfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship, and made him to haue dominion ouer the woꝝkes of his hands, as hauing put all things vnder his foete, all sheepe and oren, yea wolues, asses, and all other beasts of the field, the foules of the aire, the fishes of the sea, &c. Bodins poet, Ouid, whose Metamorphosis make so much foꝝ him, saith to the ouerthrow of this phantasticall imagination:

Psal. 8.
verses 5, 6,
7, 8.

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

The effect of which verses is this;

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

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

The witchmongers obiections, concerning Nabuchadnezzar answered, and their errour concerning Lycanthropia confuted.

The sixt Chapter.



Alleus Maleficarum, Bodin, and manie other of them that maineine witchcraft, triumph vpon the storie of Nabuchadnezzar; as though Circes had transformed him with hir soꝝceries into an oꝝe, as she did others into swine, &c. I answer, that he was neither in bodie noꝝ shape transformed at all, according

I. ij.

ding

Dan. 4.

ding 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 beastlie government and conditions, thowne out of his kingdome and banished for a time, and giuen to hide himselfe in the wildernesse, there in exile to lead his life in beastlie sort, among beasts of the field, and fowles of the aire (for by the waie I tell you it appeareth by the text, that he was rather turned into the shape of a fowle than of a beast) vntill he reiecting his beastlie conditions, was vpon his repentance and amendment called home, and restored vnto his kingdome. Howbeit, this (by their confession) was neither diuels noz 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 witchmongers haue gained.

Cor. Agrip. de
vanis. scient.
cap. 44.

I am not ignorant that some write, that after the death of Nabuchadnezzar, his sonne Eilumorodath gaue his bodie to the rauens to be deuoured, least afterwards his father should arise from death, who of a beast became a man againe. But this tale is meeter to haue place in the Cabalisticall art, to wit: among vniwritten verities than here. To conclude, I saie that the transformations, which these witchmongers do so raue and rage vpon, is (as all the learned sort of physicians affirme) a disease proceeding partly from melancholie, whereby manie suppose themselves to be wolues, or such rauening beasts. For *Lycanthropia* is of the ancient physicians called *Lupina melancholia*, or *Lupina insania*. I. Wierus declareth verie learnedlie, the cause, the circumstance, and the cure of this disease. I haue written the more herein; bicause hereby great princes and potentates, as well as poore women and innocents, haue bene defamed and

Paul. Aeginet. li. 3. c. 16.
Aetius. lib. 6.
cap. 11.
I. Wier. de
preff. dem.
lib. 4. cap. 23.

accounted among the
number of witches.

A speciall obiection answered concerning transpor-
tations, with the consent of diuerse writers therevpon.

The seuenth Chapter.



DO the maintenance of witches
transportations, they object the wordes
of the Gospell, where the diuell is said to
take by Christ, and to set him on a pinna-
cle of the temple, and on a mountaine,
&c. Which if he had done in maner and
foyme as they suppose, it followeth not
therefore that witches could do the like;
no; yet that the diuell would do it for them at their pleasure; for
they know not their thoughts, neither can otherwise communi-
cate with them. But I answer, that if it were so grosselie to be
vnderstood, as they imagine it, yet should it make nothing to
their purpose. For I hope they will not saie, that Christ had made
anie ointments, or entred into anie league with the diuell, and
by vertue thereof was transported from out of the wilderness,
vnto the top of the temple of Jerusalem; or that the diuell could
haue maisteries ouer his bodie, whose soule he could neuer late
hold vpon; especiallie when he might (with a becke of his finger)
haue called vnto him, and haue had the assistance of manie legi-
ons of angels. Neither (as I thinke) will they presume to make
Christ partaker of the diuels purpose and sinne in that behalfe.
If they saie; This was an action wrought by the speciall prou-
idence of God, and by his appointment, that the scripture might
be fulfilled: then what gaine our witchmongers by this place?
First, for that they maie not produce a particular example to
proue so generall an argument. And againe, if it were by Gods
speciall prouidence and appointment; then why should it not be
done by the hand of God, as it was in the storie of Iob? If it
were Gods speciall purpose and pleasure, that there should be so
extraordinarie a matter brought to passe by the hand of the di-
uell; could not God haue giuen to the wicked angell extraordi-
narie power, and clothed him with extraordinarie shape; where

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

Answer to
the former
obiection.

Mat. 26. 53.

Iob. 1. 11.
Iob. 2. 5.

by he might be made an instrument able to accomplish that matter, as he did to his angell that carried Abacuck to Daniell, and to them that he sent to destroy Sodome? But you shall understand, that this was done in a vision, and not in veritie of action. So as they haue a verie cold pull of this place, which is the speciall peece of scripture alledged of them for their transportation.

*I. Caluine in
harmon. E-
uang. in
Matth. 4. &
Luk. 4.*

Hearc therefore what Caluine saith in his commentarie vpon that place, in these words; The question is, whether Christ were carried aloft indeed, or whether it were but in a vision? Pante affirme verie obstinatlie, that his bodie was trulie and reallie as they saie taken vp: because they thinke it too great an indignitie for Christ to be made subject to Satans illusions. But this obiection is easilie washed awate. For it is no absurditie to grant all this to be wrought through Gods permission, or Christs voluntarie subiection: so long as we yeeld not to thinke that he suffered these temptations inwardlie, that is to saie, in mind or soule. And that which is afterwards set downe by the Euangelist, where the diuell shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glorie of the same, and that to be done (as it is said in Luke) in the twinkling of an eie, doth moze agree with a vision than with a reall action. So farre are the verie words of Caluine. 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 ouerthrow the assertions of them that laie the ground of their transportation and stieing in the aire here vpon.

*Ezec. 3. 12.
and 14.*

He that will saie, that these words; to wit, that Christ was taken vp, &c: can hardlie be applied to a vision, let him turne to the prophesie of Ezechiel, and see the selfe-same words vsed in a vision: sauing that where Christ is said to be taken vp by the diuell, Ezechiel is taken vp, and lifted vp, and carried by the spirit of God, and yet in a vision. But they haue lesse reason that build vpon this sandie rocke, the supernaturall frame of transubstantiation; as almost all our witching writers do. For Sprenger & Institor saie, that the diuell in the likenesse of a falcon caught him vp. Danaus saith, it was in the similitude of a man; others saie, of an angell painted with wings; others, inuisible; Ergo the diuell

Mal. malef.

well can take (saie they) what shape he list. But though some may cauil upon the diuels transfozming of himselfe; yet, that either diuell oꝛ witch can transfozme oꝛ transubstantiat others, there is no tittle noꝛ colour in the scriptures to helpe them. If there were authoritie foꝛ it, and that it were pass all peradventure, lo, what an easie matter it is to resubstantiate an asse into a man. Foꝛ Bodin saith upon the woꝛd of Apuleius, that if the asse eate new roses, anise, oꝛ baie leaues out of spring water, it will presentlie retorne him into a man. Which thing Sprenger saith maie be done, by washing the asse in faire water: yea he sheweth an instance, where, by drinking of water an asse was turned into a man.

*I. Bod. lib. de
dem. 3. cap. 5.*

In Mal. mal.

The witchmongers obiection concerning
the historie of Iob answered.

The eight Chapter.



These witchmongers, foꝛ lacke of better arguments, doe manie times obiect Iob against me; although there be neuer a woꝛd in that storie, which either maketh foꝛ them, oꝛ against me: in so much as there is not the name of a witch mentioned in the whole booke. But (I praie you) what witchmonger now seeing one so afflicted as Iob, would not saie he were bewitched, as Iob neuer saith? ^a Foꝛ first there came a messenger vnto him, and said; Thy oren were plowing, and thy asses were feeding in their places, ^b and the Sabceans came violentlie and toke them; yea they haue slaine thy seruants with the edge of the sword; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. ^c And whilest he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The fier of God is fallen from the heauen, & hath burnt vp thy sheepe and thy seruants, and deuoured them; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. ^d And while he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The Chaldaens set out their bands, and fell vpon thy camels, and haue taken them, and haue slaine thy seruants with the edge of the sword; but I onlie am escaped.

^aIob. 1. 14.

^bverse, 15.

^cverse, 16.

^dverse, 17.

e verſe, 18.

f verſe, 19.

s Ibid. ca. 2.
verſ. 7.

escaped alone to tell thee. ^c And whilst he was yet speaking, came another, and said; Thy sonnes and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their elder brothers house, ^f and behold there came a great wind from beyond the wilderness, and smote the foure corners of the house, which fell vpon thy children, and they are dead; and I onlie am escaped alone to tell thee. ^s Besides all this, he was smitten with bites, from the sole of his fote to the crowne of his head. If anie man in these daies called Iob should be by the appointment or hand of God thus handled, as this Iob was; I warrant you that all the old women in the countrie would be called *Coram nobis*: warrants would be sent out on euerie side, publike and priuate inquirie made what old women lately resorted to Iobs house, or to anie of those places, where these misfortunes fell. If anie poore old woman had chanced within two or three moneths to haue borrowed a curtise of leasing, or to haue fetcht from thence a pot of milke, or had she required some almes, and not obtained it at Iobs hand; there had bene argument enough to haue brought hir to confusion: and to be more certeine to haue the right witch apprehended, figures must haue bene cast, the sive and sheares must haue bene set on woork; yea rather than the witch should escape, a coniuero must haue earned a little monie, a circle must haue bene made, and a diuell raised to tell the truth: mother Bungie must haue been gon vnto, and after she had learned hir name, whom Iob most suspected, she would haue confirmed the suspicion with artificiall accusations: in the end, some woman or other must haue bene hanged for it. But as Iob said; *Dominus dedit*: so said he not; *Diabolus vel Lemia sed Dominus abstulit*. Which agreeth with the tenor of the text, where it is written, that the diuell at euerie of Iobs afflictions desired God to laie his hand vpon him. Inſomuch as Iob imputed no part of his calamitie vnto diuels, witches, noz yet vnto coniueroz, or their inchantments; as we haue learned now to doe. Neither sinned he, or did God any wrong, when he laid it to his charge; but we dishonour God greatlie, when we attribute either the power or proprietie of God the creatoz vnto a creature.

^{*} Caluine saith; We derogate much from Gods glorie and omnipotentie, when we saie he doth but giue sathan leaue to doe it: which is (saith he) to mocke Gods iustice; and so send an assertion,

I. Caluin. in
Iob. cap. 1. 21.* I. Caluin. in
Iob. cap. 2.
Sermon. 8.
Muscul. in
loc. comm.
Idem; ibidem.

tion, that if asses could speake, they would speake moze wiselye than so. For a tempoꝛall iudge saith not to the hangman; I giue thee leaue to hang this offender, but commandeth him to doo it. But the mainteiners of witches omnipotencie, saie; Doo you not see how reallie and palpable the diuell tempted and plagued Job? I answer first, that there is no cozpozall oꝛ visiblie diuell named noꝛ seene in any part of that circumstance; secondlie, that it was the hand of God that did it; thirdlie, that as there is no communitie betwene the person of a witch, and the person of a diuell, so was there not any conference oꝛ practise betwixt them in this case.

And as touching the communication betwixt God and the diuell, behold what Caluine saith, writing oꝛ rather preaching of purpose vpon that place, wher vpon they thinke they haue so great advantage; When sathan is said to appere before God, it is not done in some place certeine, but the scripture speaketh so to applie it selfe to our rudeness. Certainlie the diuell in this and such like cases is an instrument to worke Gods will, and not his owne; and therefore it is an ignozant and an vngodlie saieing (as Caluine iudgeth it) to affirme, that God dooth but permit and suffer the diuell. For if sathan were so at his owne libertie (saith he) we should be ouerwhelmed at a sudden. And doubtlesse, if he had power to hurt the bodie, there were no waie to resist: for he would come inuisiblie vpon vs, and knocke vs on the heads; yea hee would watch the best and dispatch them, whilest they were about some wicked act. If they saie; God commandeth him, no bodie impugneeth them: but that God should giue him leaue, I saie with Caluine, that the diuell is not in such fauour with God, as to obtaine any such request at his hands.

I. Caluine in his sermons. vpon Iob.

And wheras by our witchmongers opinions and arguments, the witch procureth the diuell, and the diuell asketh leaue of God to plague whome the witch is disposed: there is not (as I haue said) any such cozpozall communication betwene the diuell and a witch, as witchmongers imagine. Neither is God moued at all at sathans sute, who hath no such fauour oꝛ grace with him, as to obtaine any thing at his hands.

I. Caluine in Iob. cap. 1. serm. 5.

But M. Mal. and his friends denie, that there were any witches in Iobs time: yea the witchmongers are content to saie, that there

Mal. malef. pa. 1. quest. 1. Idem part. 1. quest. 4.

Note what
is said tou-
ching the
booke of
Iob.

there were none found to exercise this art in Christs time, from his birth to his death, euen by the space of thirtie thre yeares. If there had bene anie (saie they) they should haue bene there spoken of. As touching the authozitie of the booke of Iob, there is no question but that it is verie canonicall and authentike. Howbeit, manie writers, both of the Iewes and others, are of opinion, that Moses was the authoz of this booke; and that he did set it as a looking glasse befoze the people: to the intent the children of Abraham (of whose race he himselve came) might knowe, that God shewed fauour to others that were not of the same line, and be ashamed of their wickednesse: seeing an vncircumcised Heathen had so well demeaned himselve. Upon which argument Caluine (though he had written vpon the same) saith, that Forso much as it is vncerteine, whether it were *Res gesta* or *Exempli gratia*, we must leaue it in suspense. Neuertheles (saith he) let vs take that which is out of all doubt; namelie, that the Holy-ghost hath indited the booke, to the end that the Iewes should knowe that God hath had a people alwaies to serue him throughout the world, euen of such as were no Iewes, nor segregated from other nations.

Howbeit, I for my part denie not the veritie of the storie; though indeed I must confesse, that I thinke there was no such cozpozall enterlude betwene God, the diuell, and Iob, as they imagine: neither anie such reall presence and communication as the witchmongers conceiue and mainteine; who are so grosse herein, that they do not onlie beleue, but publish so palpable absurdities concerning such reall actions betwixt the diuell and man, as a wise man would be ashamed to read, but much moze to credit; as that S. Dunstan lead the diuell about the house by the nose with a paire of pinsoz or tongz, and made him roze so lowd, as the place rung thereof, &c: with a thousand the like fables, without which neither the art of poperie nor of witchcraft could stand. But you may see moze of this matter else-where, where in few words (which I thought good here to omit, least I should seeme to vse to manie repetitions) I answer effectualle to their cauilz about this place.

In legenda
aurea.

What

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

The ninth Chapter.



Ut what sorts of witches so euer M. Mal. or Bodin saie there are; Moses spake onlie of foure kinds of impious confeners or witches (whereof our witchy mongers old women which dance with the fairies, &c. are none.) The first were *Præstigiatores Pharaonis*, which (as all diuines, both Hebrewes and others conclude) were but confeners and iugglers, deceiuing the kings eyes with illusions and sleights; and making false things to appeare as true: which neuertheless our witches cannot do. The second is *Mecafapha*, which is she that desstroyeth with poison. The third are such as vse sundrie kinds of diuinations, and here vnto 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 certeine secret words, wherein is thought to be great efficacie.

1. Præstigiatores Pharaonis.

2. Mecafapha.

3. Kasam. Onen. Ob.

Idoni.

4. Habar.

These are all confeners 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 wifes tales are applied vnto these names, and easilie beleued of the common people, who haue neuer hitherto bene instructed in the vnderstanding of these words. In which respect, I will (by Gods grace) shew you (concerning the signification of them) the opinion of the most learned in our age; speciallie of Iohannes Wierus; who though hee himselfe were singularlie learned in the tongues, yet for his satisfaction and full resolution in the same, he sent for the iudgement of Andreas Massius, the most famous Hebrician in the world, and had it in such sense and order, as I meane to set downe vnto you. And yet I giue you this note by the waie, that witchcraft or enchantment is diuerslie taken in the scriptures; sometimes nothing tending to such end as it is commonlie thought to do. For in

Note.

1. Samuel,

1. Sa. 15, 23.

2. Re. 9, 22.

Gal. 3, 1.

Math. 2, 1.

Daniel. 4.

Dan. 2, 8.

Actes. 19.

Gen. 4, 18.

Exod. 7,

13, &c.

Actes 13.

Exod. 22,

&c.

Actes. 13.

Actes. 19.

Canticles

of Salomon. cap. 4.

verse. 9.

Deut. 18, 2.

Ierem. 27.

Actes. 8.

muell, 15, 23. it is all one with rebellion. Iesabell for hir idolatrous life is called a witch. Also in the new testament, euen S. Paule saith the Galathians are bewitched, bicause they were seduced and lead from the true vnderstanding of the scriptures.

Item sometimes it is taken in god part; as the magicians that came to woꝝship and offer to Christ: and also where Daniell is said to be an inchanter, yea a principall inchanter: which title being giuen him in diuers places of that sozie, he neuer seemeth to refuse oꝝ dislike; but rather intreateth for the pardon and qualification of the rigor towards other inchanters, which were mere couseners indeed: as appeareth in the second chapter of Daniell, where you may see that the king espied their fetches.

Sometimes such are called coniuroꝝ, as being but rogues, and lewd people, would vse the name of Iesus to woꝝke miracles, whereby, though they being faithlesse could woꝝke nothing; yet is their practise condemned by the name of coniuration. Sometimes jugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they are called soꝝcerers, that impugne the gospell of Christ, and seduce others with violent persuasions. Sometimes a murderer with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by the verie signification of their names; as Elppers, which signifyeth a soꝝcerer. Sometimes bicause they studie curious and vaine arts. Sometimes it is taken for wounding oꝝ greūing of the hart. Yea the verie woꝝd *Magus*, which is Latine for a magician, is translated a witch; and yet it was heretofore alwaies taken in the god part. And at this daie it is indifferent to saie in the English tong; *She is a witch*; oꝝ, *She is a wise woman*.

Sometimes obseruers of dreames, sometimes soothsaiers, sometimes the obseruers of the streng of soules, of the meeting of todes, the falling of salt, &c: are called witches. Sometimes he oꝝ she is called a witch, that take vpon them either for gaine oꝝ glorie, to do miracles; and yet can do nothing. Sometimes they are called witches in common speeche, that are old, lame, curst, oꝝ melancholike, as a nickname. But as for our old women, that are said to hurt children with their eyes, oꝝ lambs with their looks, oꝝ that pull downe the mone out of heauen, oꝝ make so foolish a bargain, oꝝ do such homage to the diuell; you shall not read in the bible of any such witches, oꝝ of any such actions imputed to them.

¶ The sixth Booke.

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

The first Chapter.



Chasaph, being an Hebrue word, is Latined *Veneficium*, and is in English, poisoning, or witchcraft; if you will so haue it. The Hebrue sentence written in Exodus, 22. is by the 70. interpretozs translated thus into Greeke, *Πόνητος ἐν ἐπιβόλῃ*, which in Latine is, *Veneficos sine veneficas non retinebitis in vita*, in English, You shall not suffer anie poisoners, or (as it is translated) witches to liue.

The which sentence Iosephus an Hebrue bozne, and a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreteth in this wise: Let none of the children of Israel haue any poison that is deadlie, or prepared to anie hurtfull vse. If anie be apprehended with such stuffe, let him be put to death, and suffer that which he ment to do to them, for whom he prepared it. The Rabbins exposition agree herewithall. *Lex Cornelia* differeth not from this sense, to wit, that he must suffer death, which either maketh, selleth, or hath anie poison, to the intent to kill anie man. This word is found in these places following: Exodus. 22, 18. Deut. 18, 10. 2. Sam. 9, 22. Dan. 2, 2. 2. Chr. 33, 6. Esay. 47, 9, 12. Malach, 3, 5. Ierem. 27, 9. Mid. 5, 2. Nah. 3, 4. bis. *Holwein*, in all our English transla

Ioseph. in Iudeorum antiquitat.

11. 8. 6. A.

translations, *Chafaph* is translated, witchcraft.

- And becauſe I will auoid proliſtitie and contention both at once, I will admit that Veneficæ were ſuch witches, as with their poiſons did much hurt among the childzen of Iſraell; and I will not denie that there remaine ſuch vntill this date, bewitching men, and making them belæue, that by vertue of words, and certeine ceremonies, they bring to paſſe ſuch miſcheeses, and intorications, as they indeed accompliſh by poiſons. And this abuſe in couſenage of people, together with the taking of Gods name in vaine, in manie places of the ſcripture is p̄uoued, eſpecially by the name of witchcraft, euen where no poiſons are. According to the ſenſe which S. Paule vſeth to the Galathians in theſe words, where he ſhetweth plainelie, that the true ſignification of witchcraft is couſenage; *Ye ſolliſh Galathians* (ſaith he) *who hath bewitched you: to wit, couſened or abuſed you, making you belæue a thing which is neither ſo nor ſo. Whereby he meaneth not to aſke of them, who haue with charmes, &c: or with poiſons deſtroyed them of their health, liſe, catſell, or childzen, &c: but who hath abuſed or couſened them, to make them belæue lies.*
- Iob. 15, 12.* This phraſe is alſo vſed by *Iob. 15.* But that we may be thoroughlie reſolued of the true meaning of this phraſe vſed by Paule, *Gal. 3.* let vs examine the deſcription of a notable witch called *Simon Magus*, made by S. Luke; There was (ſaith he) in the citie of *Samaria*, a certeine man called *Simon*, which vſed witchcraft, and bewitched the people of *Samaria*, ſaieng that he himſelf was ſome great man. I demand, in what other thing here do we ſee anie witchcraft, than that he abuſed the people, making them belæue he could worke miracles, whereas in truth he could do no ſuch thing; as manifeſtly may appeare in the 13. and 19. verſes of the ſame chapter: where he wondered at the miracles wrought by the apoſtles, and would haue purchaſed with monie the power of the Holy-ghoſt to worke wonders.
- Act. 8, 11.* It will be ſaid, the people had reaſon to belæue 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 couſened or bewitched through falſe doctrine, or legierdemaïne; leaſt while they attend to ſuch fables and lies, they be brought into ignorance,
- and

and so in time be led with them awaie from God. And finallie, let vs all abandon such witches and couseners, as with Simon Magus set themselues in the place of God, boasting that they can do miracles, expound dreames, foretell things to come, raise the dead, &c: which are the woꝝkes of the Holy-ghost, who onlie sear- cheth the heart and reines, and onelie woꝝketh great wonders, which are now stated and accomplished in Christ, in whome who so stedfastlie beleueth shall not need to be by such meanes resolved or confirmed in his doctrine and gospell. And as for the vnfaithfull, they shall haue none other miracle shewed vnto them, but the signe of Ionas the prophet.

And therefore I saie, whatsoeuer they be that with Simon Magus take vpon them to woꝝke such wonders, by soothsaieng, soꝝcerie, or witchcraft, are but liers, deceiuers, and couseners, according to Syrachs saieing; Soꝝcerie, witchcraft, soothsaieng, and dreames, are but vanitie, and the lawe shall be fulfilled without such lies. God commanded the people, that they should not regard them that wrought with spirits, noꝝ soothsaiers: for the estimation that was attributed vnto them, offended God.

1 Reg. 8, 39.

Math. 9. 4.

12. 25. 22.

Act. 1, 24.

& 15, 8.

Rom. 8, 27.

Mark. 2.

Luk. 6, 17, &

11. & 9.

Ioh. 1. & 2.

& 6. & 13.

Apoc. 2. & 3.

Luk. 11, 29.

Eccl. 3, 4, 5.

Eccl. 3, 4, 8.

Leui. 19, 31.

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 vnto them.

The second Chapter.



The greatest and most common obiection is, that if there were not some, which could woꝝke such miraculous or supernaturall feats, by themselues, or by their diuels, it should not haue bene said; Let none be found among you, that maketh his sonne or his daughter to go through the fier, or that bleth witchcraft, or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the streng of footles, or a soꝝcerer, or a charmer, or that counselleth with spirits, or a soothsaiers, or that asketh counsell of the dead, or (as some translate it)

Deut. 18, 10.

11.

Is. 1.

that

Esay. 42. 8.
Pl. 24. 3. 10.

that raiseth the dead. But as there is no one place in the scripture that saith they can worke miracles, so it shalbe easie to proue, that these were all coufeners, euerie one abusing the people in his seuerall kind; and are accursed of God. Not that they can do all such things indeed, as there is expessed; but for that they take vpon them to be the mightie power of God, and to do that which is the onelie worke of him, seducing the people, and blaspheming the name of God, who will not giue his glorie to anie creature, being himselfe the king of glorie and omnipotencie.

First I aske, what miracle was wrought by their passing through the fier: Trulie it cannot be proued that anie effect followed; but that the people were bewitched, to suppose their finnes to be purged thereby; as the Spaniards thinke of scourging and whipping themselues. So as Gods power was imputed to that action, and so forbidden as an idolatrous sozerie. What wonders worketh the regard of times: What other diuell dealeth he withall, than with the spirit of superstition: Doth he not deceiue himselfe and others, and therefore is worthilie condemned for a witch: What spirit vseth he, which marketh the sieng of fowles: Neuertheles, he is here condemned as a practiser of witchcraft; bicause he coufeneth the people, and taketh vpon him to be a prophet; impioullie referring Gods certeine ordinaances to the siffling fethers and vncerteine waies of a bird: The like effects produceth sozerie, charming, consultation with spirits, sothsafeng, and consulting with the dead: in euerie of the which Gods power is obscured, his glorie defaced, and his commandement infringed.

Deut. 18. 14

And to proue that these sothsafers and witches are but lieng mates and coufeners; note these words pronounced by God himselfe, euen in the selte same place to the children of Israel: Although the Gentiles suffered themselues to be abused, so as they gaue eare to these sozerers, &c: he would not suffer them so, but would raise them a prophet, who should speake the truth. As if he should saie; The other are but lieng and coufening mates, deceitfull and vndermining merchants, whose abuses I will make knowne to my people. And that euerie one maie 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

First you know the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and resting with Lazarus in Abrahams bosome, doe sleepe in Iesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raised, till the heauens be no more: according to this of Dauid; *Wilt thou shew wonders among the dead? Say, the Lord saith, The lining shall not be taught by the dead, but by the living. As for the vnrighteous, they are in hell, where is no redemption; neither is there any passage from heauen to earth, but by God and his angels. As touching the resurrection and restauration of the bodie, read Iohn. 5. and you shall manifestlie see, that it is the onelie worke of the father, who hath giuen the power therof to the sonne, and to none other, &c.* *Dominus percussit, & ipse medetur: Ego occidam, & ego uiuificam.* And in manie other places it is written, that God giueth life and beeing to all. Although Plato, with his maister Socrates, the chiefe pillars of these vanities, say, that one Pamphilus was called by out of hel, who when he cam among the people, told manie incredible tales concerning infernall actions. But herein I take by the prouerbe; *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed maior amica veritas.*

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

In like maner I saie you may see, that by the prohibition of diuinations by augurie, and of soothsayings, &c, who are witches, and can indeed doe nothing but lie and coulen the people, the lawe of God condemneth them not, for that they can worke miracles, but because they saie they can doe that which pertaineth to God, and for coulenage, &c. Concerning other points of witchcraft contained therein, and because some cannot otherwise be satisfied, I will alledge vnder one sentence, the decretals, the mind of S. Augustine, the councill Aurelian, and the determination of

Sap. 3. r.

Luk. 16. 23.

Iob. 14. 12.

Psal. 88. 10.

Deut. 18. 11.

Luk. 16. 29.

31.

Luk. 16. 22.

Ioh. 5. 21.

Ose. 6.

Act. 17. 25.

28.

Tim. 6. 13.

26. que. 7. non

obser. fact.

1398. act. 17.

August. de

spirit. & ani-

Paris, to wit: Who so obserueth, or giueth hād vnto soothsayings, diuinations, witchcraft, &c. or doth giue credit to anie such, he renounceth christianitie, and shalbe counted a pagane, & anemie to God; yea and he erreth both in faith and philosophie. And the reason is therewithall expessed in the canon, to wit; Because hereby is attributed to a creature, that which pertaineth to God onelie and alone. So as, vnder this one sentence (Thou shalt not suffer a poisoner or a witch to liue) is forbidden both murther and witchcraft; the murther consisting in poison; the witchcraft in couenage or blasphemie.

That women haue vsed poisoning in all ages more than men, and of the inconuenience of poisoning.

The third Chapter.



Women in all ages haue bene counted most apt to conceiue witchcraft, and the diuels speciall instruments therein, and the onelie or chiefe practisers thereof: so also it appeareth, that they haue been the first inueners, and the greatest practisers of poisoning, and more naturallie addicted and giuen thereto than men:

according to the sayeng of Quintilian; *Latrocinium facilius in viro, veneficium in femina credam.* From whom Plinie differeth nothing in opinion, when he saith, *Scientiam feminarum in veneficijs praevalere.* To be short, Auguttine, Lioie, Valerius, Diodorus, and manie other agree, that women were the first inueners and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the rest of their cunning, in what estimation it was had, may appeare by these verses of Horace, wherein he doth not onelie declare the vanitie of witchcraft, but also expoundeth the other words, wherewithall we are now in hand.

Plin. lib. 25.
cap. 2.

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portent aq; Thessalarias:*

These

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

Here Horace (you ſee) contemneth as ridiculous, all our wits cunning: marrie herein he comprehendeth not their poiſoning art, which hereby he onelie ſeemed to thinke hurtfull. Pythagoras and Democritus giue vs the names of a great manie magicall hearbs and ſtones, whereof now, both the vertue, and the things themſelues alſo are vnknowne: as Marmaritin, whereby ſpirits might be raiſed: Archimedes, which would make one be wraie in his ſleepe, all the ſecrets in his heart: Adincantida, Callicia, Meuais, Chirocineta, &c: which had all their ſeueral vertues, or rather poiſons. But all theſe now are wome out of knowledge: marrie in their ſteed we haue hogs turd and cheruill, as the onelie thing whereby our witches worke miracles.

Trulie this poiſoning art called *Veneficium*, of all others is moſt abhominable; as whereby murders maie be committed, where no ſuſpicion maie be gathered, nor anie reſiſtance can be made; the ſtrong cannot auoid the weake, the wiſe cannot preuent the ſolliſh, the goodlie cannot be preſerued from the hands of the wicked; children maie hereby kill their parents, the ſeruant the maſter, the wiſſe hir huſband, ſo priuillie, ſo ineuitable, and ſo incurable, that of all other it hath bene thought the moſt odious kind of murder; according to the ſaieng of Ouid:

non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus,

Ouid. meta-
morph. lib. 1.

Non ſocer à genero, fratrum quòq; gratia rara eſt:

Imminet exitio vir coniugis, illa mariti,

Lurida terribiles miſcent aconita nouerca,

Filius ante diem patrios inquirat in annos.

*Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.*

— The traouelling ghest opprest
 Dooth stand in danger of his host,
 the host eke of his ghest :
 The father of his sonne in lawe,
 yea rare is seene to rest
 Twixt brethren loue and amitie,
 and kindnesse void of strife;
 The husband seekes the goodwifes death,
 and his againe the wife.
 Vngentle stepdames grizlie poi-
 son temper and doo giue :
 The sonne too soone dooth aske how long
 his father is to liue.

The monke that poisoned king Iohn, was a right Veneficus;
 to wit, both a witch and a murtherer: for he killed the king with
 poison, and perswaded the people with lies, that he had done a
 god and a meritorious act; and doubtlesse, manie were so
 bewitched, as they thought he did verie well therein. Antonius
 Sabellicus writeth of a horrible poisoning murther, commit-
 ted by women at Rome, where were executed (after due
 conuiction, 170. women at one time; besides
 20. women of that consort, who were
 poisoned with that poison which
 they had prepared
 for others.

*Aeneid. 4.
lib. 4.*

Of diuers poisoning practises, otherwise called veneficia, committed in Italie, Genua, Millen, Wittenberge, also how they were discouered and executed.

The fourth Chapter.



Another practise, not unlike to Veneficia in Italie. that mentioned in the former chapter, was done in Cassalis at Salassia in Italie, Anno 1536. where 40. Veneficia or witches being of one confederacie, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, besmeering with an ointment and a powder, the posts and doores of mens houses; so as thereby whole families were poisoned: and of that stuffe they had prepared about 40. crocks for that purpose. Herewith all they conuicted inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and onelie sonne of one Nefus (as lightlie none died in the house but the maisters and their children) which was much noted; and therewithall that one Androgina haunted the houses, speciallie of them that died: and she being suspected, apprehended, and examined, confessed the fact, conspiracie, and circumstance, as hath bene shewed. The like villanie was afterwards practised at Genua, and execution was done vpon the offenders. At Millen there was another like attempt that toke none effect. This art consisteth as well in poisoning of cattell as of men: and that which is done by poisons vnto cattell, towards their destruction, is as commonlie attributed to witches charms as the other. And I doubt not, but some that would be thought cunning in incantations, and to do miracles, haue expercience in this behalf. For it is written by diuers authoꝝ, that if wolues doing be hidden in the mangers, racks, or else in the hedges about the pastures, where cattell go (through the antipathie of the nature of the wolfe and other cattell) all the beasts that fauour the same do not onlie forbear to eate, but run about as though they were mad, or (as they say) bewitched.

Veneficia in Genua & Millen.

But Wierus telleth a notable storie of a Veneficus, or destroyer

Of a butcher a right veneficall witch.

of cattell, which I thought méete héere to repeat. There was (saith he) in the duke dome of Wittingberge, not farre from Tubing, a butcher, anno 1564. that bargained with the towne for all their hides which were of steruen cattell, called in these parts Morts. He with poison pziuilie killed in great numbers, their bullocks, sheepe, swine, &c: and by his bargaine of the hides and tallowe he grew infinitlie rich. And at last being suspected, was examined, confessed the matter and maner thereof, and was put to death with hot tongs, wherewith his flesh was pulled from his bones. We for our parts would haue killed siue poze women, befoze we would suspect one rich butcher.

A great obiection answered concerning this kind of witchcraft called Veneficium.

The fift Chapter.

IT is obiected, that if Veneficium were comprehended vnder the title of manslaughter, it had béene a vaine repetition, and a disordered course vnder taken by Moses, to set forth a lawe against Veneficas seuerallie. But it might suffice to answer any reasonable christian, that such was the pleasure of the Holie-ghost, to institute a particular article herof, as of a thing moze odious, wicked and dangerous, than any other kind of murder. But he that shall read the lawe of Moses, or the testament of Christ himselfe, shall find this kind of repetition and reiteration of the law most common. For as it is written Exod. 22, 21. Thou shalt not greue no; afflict a stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of Aegypt: so are the same words found repeated in Leuit. 19, 33. Polling and shauing of heads and beards is forbidden in Deut. 27. which was befoze prohibited in 22. It is written in Exodus the 20. Thou shalt not steale: and it is repeated in Leuiticus 19. and in Deut. 5. Further is generallie forbidden in Exod. 20. and likewise in 22. and repeated in Num. 35. But the aptest example is, that magicke is forbidden in thre seuerall places, to wit, once in

Leuit. 19, 33

In what kind of confections that witchcraft, which is
called Venificium, consisteth: of loue cups, and the same
confuted by poets.

The sixt Chapter.



S touching this kind of witch-
craft, the principall part thereof consisteth
in certeine confections prepared by lewd
people to procure loue; which indeed are
more poisons, bereauing some of the be-
nefit of the braine, and so of the sense and
vnderstanding of the mind. And from
some it taketh a swate life, & that is more
common than the other. These be called *Philtre*, or *Pocula amatoria*,
or *Venosa pocula*, or *Hippomanes*, which bad and blind physicians ra-
ther practise, than witches or coniurers, &c. But of what value
these bables are, towards the end why they are prouided, may ap-
peare by the opinions of poets themselues, from whence was de-
riued the estimation of that stuffe. And first you shall heare what
Ouid saith, who wrote of the verie art of loue, and that so cum-
blinglie and feelinglie, that he is reputed the speciall doctor in that
science:

*Fallitur Æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes,
Dátq; quod à teneri fronte reuellit equi.
Non facient vt viuat amor Medeides herba,
Mistàq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis.
Phasias Æsomidem, Circe tenuisset Vlysses,
Si modò seruari carmine posset amor:
Nec data profuerint pallentia philtre puellis,
Philtre nocent animis, vimq; furoris habent.*

*Ouid. lib. 2.
de arte a-
mandi.*

Who

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Who so dooth run to Hæmon arts,
I dub him for a dolt,
And giueth that which he dooth plucke
from forehead of a colt:
Medeas herbs will not procure
that loue shall lasting liue,
Nor steeped poison mixt with ma-
gicke charmes the same can giue.
The witch Medea had full fast
held Iason for hir owne,
So had the grand witch Circe too
Vlyffes, if alone
With charms mainteind & kept might be
the loue of twaine in one.
No slibbersawces giuen to maids,
to make them pale and wan,
Will helpe: such slibbersawces marre
the minds of maid and man,
And haue in them a furious force
of phrensie now and than.

Philtra,
slibber saw-
ces to pro-
cure loue.

Ouid. lib. de
remedio a-
moris. I.

*Viderit Aemonia si quis mala pabula terra,
Et magicas artes posse iuuare putat.*

Ab. Fleming.

If any thinke that euill herbs
in Hæmon land which be,
Or witchcraft able is to helpe,
let him make prooffe and see.

These verses pꝛecedent doe shew, that Ouid knew that those
beggerlic

beggerlie sozceries might rather kill one, or make him starke mad, than do him good towards the atteinment of his pleasure or loue; and therefore he giueth this counsell to them that are amorous in such hot maner, that either they must enioy their loue, or else needs die; saieing:

Sit procul omne nefas, vt ameris amabilis esto:

Farre off be all vnlawfull meanes,
thou amiable bee,

Louing I meane, that she with loue
may quite the loue of thee.

Englisht by
Abraham
Fleming.

It is proued by more credible writers, that loue cups rather ingender death through venome, than loue by art: and with what toies they destroie cattell, and procure loue.

The seuenth Chapter.



Ut bicause there is no hold nor trust to these poets, who saie and vnfaie, dalleng with these causes; so as indeed the wise may perceiue they haue them in derision: let vs see what other grauer authors speake hereof. Eusebius Casariensis writeth, that the poet Lucretius was killed with one of those louers poisoned cups. Hierome reporteth that one Liuia here with killed hir husband, whome she too much hated; and Lucilla killed hers, whome she too much loued. Calisthenes killed Lucius Lucullus the emperor with a loue pot, as Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos saie. Plinie & Iosephus report, that Caesonia killed hir husband Caligula *Amatorio poculo* with a louers cup, which was indeed starke poison. Aristotle saith, that all which is beleued touching the efficacie of these matters, is lies and old wiues tales. He that will read more arguments and hisozies concerning these poisons, let him looke in I. Wier *De Veneficijs*.

Hieronym.
in Russ.
Plin. lib. 25.
cap. 3. Ioseph
lib. 11. de In-
deorum anti-
quis.
Aristot. lib.
8. de natura
animal.
cap. 24.
Io. Wier.
de venef.
cap. 40.

The

Toies to
mocke
apes.

h

The toies, which are said to procure loue, and are exhibited in their poison loking cups, are these: the haire growing in the neathermost part of a wolues taile, a wolues paw, a little fish called Remora, the bzaire of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizzard: the bone of a greene frog, the flesh thereof being consumed with pissners or ants; the left bone whereof ingendereth (as they saie) loue; the bone on the right side, hate. Also it is said, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about with ants, whereof some will swim, and some will sinke: those that sinke, being hanged vp in a white linnen cloth, ingender loue, but if a man be touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is thereof, with yong swalowes, whereof one by:od or nest being taken and buried in a crocke vnder the ground, till they be starued vp; they that be found open mouthed, serue to engender loue; they whose mouthes are shut, serue to procure hate. Besides these, manie other follies there be to this purpose proposed to the simple; as namelie, the garments of the dead, candels that burne befoze a dead cozps, and needels therewith dead bodies are sowne or soekt into their sheetes: and diuerse other things, which for the reuerence of the reader, and in respect of the vncleane speach to be vsed in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read Dioscorides, or diuerse other learned physicians) you maie see at large. In the meane while, he that desireth to see more experiments concerning this matter, let him read Leonardus Vairus de fascino,

Dioscorid. de
materia me-
dicina.

L. Vairus de
fascin. lib. 2.
cap. 11. prope
finem.

now this present yeare 1583. newlie published; wherein (with an incestuous mouth) he affirmeth directlie, that Christ and his apostles were *Venefici*; verie fondlie prosecuting that argument, and with as much popish follie as may be; labouring to proue it lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, &c.

Iohn Bodin triumphing against Iohn Wier is overtaken with false Greeke & false interpretation thereof.

The eight Chapter.

Monsieur Bodin triumpheth ouer ^{1. Bodin.} doctor Wier herein, pronouncing a heauie sentence vpon him; because he referreth this word to poison. But he reigneth or rather rideth ouer him, much more for speaking false Greeke; affirming that he calleth Veneficos *φαρμακένους*, which is as true as the rest of his reports and fables of witches miracles contained in his booke of diuellish deuises. For in truth he hath no such word, but saith they are called *φαρμακένους*, whereas he should haue said *φαρμακείς*, the true accent being omitted, and *eu* being interposed, which should haue bene left out. Which is nothing to the substance of the matter, but must needs be the Printers fault.

But Bodin reasoneth in this wise, *φαρμακείς* is sometimes put for Magos or Præstigiatores: Ergo in the translation of the Septuaginta, it is so to be taken. Wherein he manifesteth his bad Logicke, more than the others ill Greeke. For it is well knowne to the learned in this tongue, that the vsuall and proper signification of this word, with all his deriuations and compounds doe signifie Veneficos, Poisoners by medicine. Which when it is most vsuall and proper, why should the translators take it in a signification lesse vsuall, and nothing proper. Thus therefore he reasoneth and concludeth with his new found Logicke, and old fond Greeke; Sometimes it signifieth so, though vnproperly, or rather metaphoricallie; Ergo in that place it is so to be taken, when another sifter word might haue bene vsed. Which argument being vaine, agreeth well with his other vaine actions. The Septuaginta had bene verie destitute of words, if no proper word could haue bene found for this purpose. But where they haue occasion to speake of witchcraft in their translations, they vse Magician, Maggagian, &c: and therefore belike they see some difference betwixt them and the other, and knewe some cause that moued them to vse the word *φαρμακεία*, Veneficium.

¶ *The seventh Booke.*

Of the Hebrue word *Ob*, what it signifieth where it is found, of *Pythouisses* called *Ventriloqua*, who they be, and what their practises are, experience and examples thereof shewed.

The first Chapter.



This word *Ob*, is translated *Pytho*, or *Pythonicus spiritus*: *Deutre.* 18. *Isaic.* 19. 1. *Sam.* 28. 2. *Reg.* 23. & some time, though *vnproperlie*, *Magnus* as 2. *Sam.* 33. But *Ob* signifieth most *properlie* a bottle, and is vsed in this place, bicause the *Pythouists* spake hollowe; as in the bottome of their bellies, wheremy they are aptlie in *Latine* called *Ventriloqui*: of which sort was *Elizabeth*

The holie
maid of
Kent a ven-
triloqua.

Barton, the holie maid of *Kent*, &c. These are such as take vpon them to giue oracles, to tell where things lost are become, and so callie to appeach others of mischeifs, which they themselues most commonlie haue brought to passe: wheremy many times they ouerthrowe the god same of honest women, and of such others of their neighbors, with whom they are displeased. For triall heremy of, letting passe a hundred couenages that I could recite at this time, I will begin with a true storie of a wench, practising hir diabolicall witchcraft, and ventriloquie An. 1574. at Westwell in *Kent*, within six miles where I dwell, taken and noted by two ministers and preachers of Gods word, foure substantiall yeomen, and three women of god same & reputation, whose names are after written.

Mildred

Mildred, the base daughter of Alice Norrington, and now servant to William Sponer of Westwell in the countie of Kent, being of the age of seuentie peares, was possessed with sathan in the night and daie aforesaid. About two of the clocke in the afternoon of the same day, there came to the same Sponers house Roger Newinan minister of Westwell, Iohn Brainford minister of Kenington, with others, whose names are undertwitten, who made their praiers vnto God, to assist them in that needfull case; and then commanded sathan in the name of the eternall God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, to speake with such a voice as they might vnderstand, and to declare from whence he came. But he would not speake, but rozed and cried mightilie. And though we did command him manie times, in the name of God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, and in his mightie power to speake; yet he would not: vntill he had gon through all his delaires, as rozing, crieng, struiuing, and gnathing of teeth; and othertwhile with mouing, and other terrible countenances, and was so strong in the maid, that foure men could scarce hold hir downe. And this continued by the space almost of two houres. So sometimes we charged him earnestlie to speake; and againe praieing vnto God that he would assist vs, at the last he spake, but verie strangelie; and that was thus; He comes, he comes: and that oftentimes he repeated; and He goes, he goes. And then we charged him to tell vs who sent him. And he said; I late in hir wate like a log, and I made hir runne like fier, but I could not hurt hir. And whie so, said we? Bicause God kept hir, said he. When camest thou to hir, said we? Do night in hir bed, said he. When we charged him as befoze, to tell what he was, and who sent him, and what his name was. At the first he said, The diuell, the diuell. Then we charged him as befoze. Then he rozed and cried as befoze, and spake terrible words; I will kill hir, I will kill hir; I will teare hir in peeces, I will teare hir in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt hir. He said, I will kill you all. We said, Thou shalt hurt none of vs all. Then we charged him as befoze. Then he said, You will giue me no rest. We said, Thou shalt haue none here, for thou must haue no rest within the seruants of God: but tell vs in the name of God what thou art, and who sent thee. Then he said he would teare hir in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt hir. Then he

An. Domi.
1574
Octob. 13.

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

he said againe he would kill vs all. We said againe, Thou shalt
 hurt none of vs all, for we are the seruants of God. And we char-
 ged him as before. And he said againe, Will you giue me no rest?
 We said, Thou shalt haue none here, neither shalt thou rest in hir,
 for thou hast no right in hir, sith Iesus Christ hath redeemed hir
 with his blood, and she belongeth to him; and therefore tell vs
 thy name, and who sent thee? He said his name was sathan.
 We said, Who sent thee? He said, Old Alice, old Alice. Which old
 Alice, said we? Old Alice, said he. Where dwelleth she, said we?
 In Westwell streete, said he. We said, How long hast thou bene
 with hir? These twentie yeares, said he. We asked him where she
 did keepe him? In two bottels, said he. Where be they, said we?
 In the backside of hir house, said he. In what place, said we?
 Under the wall, said he. Where is the other? In Kenning-
 ton. In what place, said we? In the ground, said he. Then
 we asked him, what she did giue him. He said, hir will, hir will.
 What did she bid thee do, said we? He said, Kill hir maid.
 Wherefore did she bid thee kill hir, said we? Because she did not
 loue hir, said he. We said; How long is it ago, since she sent thee
 to hir? More than a yeare, said he. Where was that, said we?
 At hir masters, said he. Which masters, said we? At hir master
 Brainfords at Kennington, said he. How oft wert thou there, said
 we? Manie times, said he. Where first, said we? In the garden,
 said he: Where the second time? In the hall: Where the third
 time? In hir bed: Where the fourth time? In the field: Where
 the fift time? In the court: Where the sixt time? In the water,
 where I cast hir into the mote: Where the seuenth time? In hir
 bed. We asked him againe, where else? He said; in Westwell.
 Where there, said we? In the vicarige, said he. Where there? In
 the loft. How camest thou to hir, said we? In the likeness 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 ser-
 uant, said he. What is his name said we? He said, little diuell.
 What is thy name, said we? Sathan, said he. What doth old Alice
 call thee, said we? Partener, said he. What doth she giue thee, said
 we? Hir will, said he. How manie hast thou killed for hir, said we?
 Three, said he. Who are they, said we? A man and his child, said
 he. What were their names, said we? The childs name was
 Edward

Edward, said he: what more than Edward, said we: Edward Ager, said he. What was the mans name, said we: Richard said he. What more, said we: Richard Ager, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said we: At Dig at Dig, said he. This Richard Ager of Dig, was a Gentleman of xl. pounds land by the yeare, a verie honest man, but would often saie he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else hast thou killed for hir, said we: Woltons wife said he. Where did she dwell: In Westwell said he. What else hast thou done for hir said we: What she would haue me, said he. What is that said we: To fetch hir meat, drink, and coine, said he. Where hadst thou it, said we: In euerie house, said he. Name the houses, said we: At Petmans, at Farnes, at Millens, at Fullers, and in euerie houle. After this we commanded sathan in the name of Iesus Christ to depart from hir, and neuer to trouble hir anie more, nor anie man else. Then he said he would go, he would go: but he went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more words. Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maid, He is gone, Lord haue mercie vpon me, for he would haue killed me. And then we knæled downe and gaue God thanks with the maiden; praieing that God would keepe hir from sathans power, and assist hir with his grace. And noting this in a peece of paper, we departed. Sathans voice did differ much from the maids voice, and all that he spake, was in his owne name. Subscribed thus:

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

Roger Newman, vic-
car of Westwell.
Iohn Brainford, vic-
car of Kennington.
Thomas Tailor.
Henrie Tailors wife.

Iohn Tailor.
Thomas French-
borns wife.
William Spooner.
Iohn Frenchborne,
and his wife.

How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whome she was examined; and that all hir diabolicall speach was but ventriloquie and plaine coufenage, which is prooued by hir owne confession.

The second Chapter.

Mat. 24, 44.

1. The. 2, 9.

It is written, that in the latter daies there shall be shewed strange illusions, &c: in so much as (if it were possible) the verie elect shall be deceiued: howbeit, S. Paule saith, they shall be lieng and false wonders. Neuertheless, this sentence, and such like, haue bene often laid in my dith, and are vjged by diuerse writers, to approue the miraculous working of witches, whereof I will treat moze largelie in another place. Howbeit, by the waie I must confesse, that I take that sentence to be spoken of Antichrist, to wit: the pope, who miraculoustie, contrarie to nature, philosophie, and all diuinitie, being of birth and calling base, in learning grosse; in valure, beautie, or actiuitie most commonlie a verie lubber, hath placed himselfe in the most loftie and delicate seate, putting almost all christian princes heads, not onelie vnder his girde, but vnder his fote, &c.

Surelie, the tragedie of this Pythonist is not inferiour to a thousand stozies, which will hardlie be blotted out of the memorie and credit either of the common people, or else of the learned. How hardlie will this stozie suffer discredit, hauing testimonie of such authoritie? How could mother Alice escape condemnation and hanging, being arraigned vpon this euidence; when a poore woman hath bene cast away, vpon a coufening oracle, or rather a false lie, deuised by Feats the juggler, through the malicious instigation of some of hir aduersaries?

The ventriloqua of Westwell discovered.

But how cunninglie soeuer this last cited certificat be penned, or what shew soeuer it carrieth of truth and plaine dealing, there may be found contained therein matter enough to detect the coufening knauerie therof. And yet diuerse haue bene deceiued therewith, and can hardlie be removed from the credit

dit thereof, and without great disbaire cannot endure to heare the reproofe thereof. And know you this by the waie, that heretofore Robin godfellow, and Hob goblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided and contemned, and as plainlie perceiued, as the illusion and knauerie of Robin godfellow. And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits, with their transfiguration, &c: haue no reason to denie Robin godfellow, vpon whom there hath gone as manie and as credible tales, as vpon witches; sauing that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits by the name of Robin godfellow, as they haue termed diuinoz, witchsaiers, poisoners, and couleners by the name of witches.

But to make short worke with the confutation of this barbarlie queanes enterprize, & coulenage; you shall vnderstand, that vpon the bzute of hir diuinitie and miraculous tranfes, she was conuenced befoze M^r. Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, a man of great worthip and wisdom, and for deciding and ordering of matters in this commonwealth, of rare and singular dexteritie; through whose discret handling of the matter, with the assistance & aid of M^r. George Darrell squire, being also a right god and discret Justice of the same limit, the fraud was found, the cosenage confessed, and she receiued condigne punishment. Neither was hir confession wone, according to the forme of the Spanish inquisition; to wit, through extremitie of tortures, nor yet by guile or flatterie, nor by presumptions; but through wise and perfect triall of euerie circumstance the illusion was manifestlie disclosed: not so (I say) as witches are commonlie conuincd and condemned; to wit, through malicious accusations, by ghesles, presumptions, and extorted confessions, contrarie to sense and possibilitie, and so: such actions as they can shew no triall nor example befoze the wise, either by direct or indirect means; but after due triall she shewed hir seats, illusions, and tranfes, with the residue of all hir miraculous worzis, in the presence of diuers gentlemen and gentlewomen of great worthip and credit, at Bocton Malherbe, in the house of the aforesaid M^r. Wotton. Now compare this wench with the witch of Endor, & you shall see that both the coulenages may be done by one art.

The Pytho-
nist of west-
well con-
ucted by
hir owne
confession.

Bodins stufte concerning the Pythonist of Endor,
with a true storie of a counterfeit Dutchman.

The third Chapter.

*J. Bodin. Lib.
de demon. 3.
cap. 2.*



Vpon the like tales dooth Bodin
build his doctrine, calling them Atheists
that will not beleue him, adding to this
kind of witchcraft, the miraculous woorks
of diuerse maidens, that would spue pins,
clowts, &c: as one Agnes Briggs, and Ra-
chell Pinder of London do, till the mira-
cles were detected, and they set to open
penance. Others he citheth of that sort, the which were bound by
diuels with garters, or some such like stufte to posts, &c: with
knots that could not be vndone, which is an Aegyptians iuggling
or coufening feat. And of such foolish lies ioined with bawbie
tales, his whole booke consisteth; wherein I warrant you there
are no fewer than two hundreth fables, and as manie impossi-
bilities. And as these two wenches, with the maiden of West-
well, were detected of coufening; so likewise a Dutchman at
Maidstone long after he had accomplished such knaueries, to the
assonishment of a great number of good men, was reuealed to
be a coufening knaue; although his miracles were imprinted
and published at London; anno 1572. with this title befoze the
booke, as followeth.

¶ A verie wonderfull and strange mi-
racle of God, shewed vpon a Dutchman of the age of
23. yeares, which was possessed of ten di-
uels, and was by Gods mightie prouidence dis-
possessed of them againe, the 27.

of Ianuarie last past, 1572.

Vnto this the Mayor of Maidstone, with di-
uerse of his brethren subscribed, chieftie by the perswasion
of

of Nicasius Vander Schuere, the minister of the Dutch church there, Iohn Stikelbow, whome (as it is there said) God made the instrument to cast out the diuels, and foure other credible persons of the Dutch church. The histozie is so strange, & so cunningly perfozmed, that had not his knauerie afterwards brought him into suspicion, he should haue gone awaie vnsuspected of this fraud. A great manie other such miracles haue bene latelie printed, whereof diuerse haue bene bewraied: all the residue doubtles, if triall had bene made, would haue bene found like vnto these. But some are moze finelie handled than othersome. Some haue moze aduantage by the simplicitie of the audience, some by the maiestie and countenance of the confederates; as namelie, that censuring of the holie maid of Kent. Some escape bitterlie vnsuspected, some are pzenented by death; so as that waie their examination is vntaken. Some are weakelie examined: but the most part are so reuerenced, as they which suspect them, are rather called to their answers, than the others.

Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythonist, and how men of all sorts haue been deceiued, and that euen the apostles haue mistaken the nature of spirits, with an vnanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.

The fourth Chapter.



With this kind of witchcraft, Apollo and his oracles abused and censured the whole world: which idoll was so famous, that I need not stand long in the description thereof. The princes and monarchs of the earth reposed no small confidence therein: the pzeests, which liued there vpon, were so cunning, as they also ouertoke almost all the godlie and learned men of that age, partlie with their doubtfull answers; as that which was made vnto Pyrrhus, in these words, *Atio te Acacida Romanos vincere posse*, and to Craesus his ambassadours in these words, *Si Craesus arma Persi in-*
ferat, magnum imperium euertat; and otherwise thus, *Craesus Halin*
penetrans,

The amphibologies of oracles.

The subtil-
tie of ora-
cles.

penetrans, magnam subuertet opion vim: or thus, *Croesus perdet Helin,*
transgressus plurima regna, &c. partlie through confederacie, where
by they knew mens errands per they came, and partlie by cur-
ning, as promising victorie vpon the sacrificing of some person
of such account, as victorie should rather be neglected, than the
murther accomplished. And if it were, yet should there be such
conditions annexed thereto, as alwaies remained vnto them
a starting hole, and matter enough to cauill vpon; as that the
partie sacrificed must be a virgin, no bassard, &c. Furthermoze,
of two things onelic proposed, and where yea or naie onelic doth
answer the question, it is an euen laie, that an idiot shall conie-
cture right. So as, if things fell out contrarie, the fault was al-
waies in the interpretor, and not in the oracle or the prophet. But
what meruell (I saie) though the multitude and common people
haue bene abused herein; since lawiers, philosophers, physicians,
astronomers, diuines, generall counsels, and princes haue with
great negligence and ignorance ben deceiued and seduced here-
by, as swallowing vp and deuouring an inueterate opinion, re-
ceiued of their elders, without due examination of the circum-
stances:

Howbeit, the godlie and learned fathers (as it appereth) haue
alwaies had a speciall care and respect, that they attributed not
vnto God such diuclish deuises; but referred them to him, who
indeed is the inuenter and authoz thereof, though not the personall
executioner, in maner and forme as they supposed: so as the mat-
ter of faith was not thereby by them impeached. But who can as-
sure himselfe not to be deceiued in matters concerning spirits,
when the apostles themselues were so far from knowing them,
as euen after the resurrection of Christ, hauing heard him preach
and expound the scriptures, all his life time, they shewed them-
selues not onelic ignorant therein, but also to haue misconceiued
thereof: Did not the apostle Thomas thinke that Christ himsel-
fe had bene a spirit; vntill Christ told him plainelie, that a spirit
was no such creature, as had flesh and bones, the which (he said)
Thomas might see to be in him: And so; the further certifieng
and satisfieng of his mind, he commended vnto him his hands to
be seene, and his sides to be felt. Thomas, if the answer be true
that some make herevnto, to wit: that spirits take formes and
shapes

Iohn. 20. 9.

shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might haue answered Christ, and remaining vnsatisfied might haue said; Oh sir, what do you tell me that spirits haue no flesh and bones? Why they can take shapes and formes, and so perchance haue you done. Which argument all the witchmongers in the world shall neuer be able to answer.

Some of them that maineine the creation, the transformation, the transportation, and transubstantiation of witches, obiect that spirits are not palpable, though visible, and answer the place by me before cited: so as the feeling and not the seeing should satisfie Thomas. But he that shall well weigh the text and the circumstances thereof, shall perceiue, that the fault of Thomas his incredulitie was secondlie bewailed, and condemned, in that he would not trust his owne eies, nor the view taken by his fellow apostles, who might haue bene thought to credulous in this case, if spirits could take shapes at their pleasure. Iesus saith to him; Bicause thou hast seene (and not, bicause thou hast felt) thou beleeuest. Item he saith; Blessed are they that beleeue and see not (and not, they that beleeue and seele not). Whereby he noteth that our corporall eies may discern betwixt a spirit and a naturall bodie; reproving him, bicause he so much relied vpon his externall senses, in cases where faith should haue preuailed; & here, in a matter of faith reuealed in the word, would not credit the miracle which was exhibited vnto him in most naturall and sensible sort.

Iohn. 20, 29

1. 11. 1. 11. 1. 11.

72. 9.

Howbeit, Erasmus saith, and so doth Hyperius, Hemingius, Danaus, M. Mal. Bodin, &c. that euill spirits eate, drinke, and keepe companie with men, and that they can take palpable formes of bodies, producing examples thereof, to wit: *Spectrum Germanicum seu Augustanum*, and the angell whose feet Lot walshed; as though bicause God can indue his messengers with bodies at his pleasure, therefore the diuell and euerie spirit can do the like. How the eleuen apostles were in this case deceived, appeareth in Luke. 24. and in Mark. 16. as also in Matth. 14. where the apostles and disciples were all deceived, taking Christ to be a spirit, when he walked on the sea. And why might they not be deceived herein, as well as in that they thought Christ had spoken of a tempoꝛall kingdome, when he preached of the kingdome of hea-

Erast. fol. 62.

Luk. 24, 37.

Mark. 16, 14

Mat. 14, 26.

Matth. 20.

A. liij.

uen?

uen: Which thing they also much misconceiued; as liketowse
 Max. 16, 11. when he did bid them beware of the leuen of the Pharises, they
 vnderstood that he spake of materiall bread.

Why Apollo was called Pytho whereof those wic-
 ches were called Pythonists: Gregorie his letter to the
 diuell.

The fift Chapter.



Euseb. lib. 7.
 cap. 25.

Ut to returne to our oracle of
 Apollo at Delphos, who was called Py-
 tho, for that Apollo slue a serpent so cal-
 led, whereof the Pythonists take their
 name: I praeie you consider well of this
 tale, which I will trulie rehearse out of
 the ecclesiasticall historie, twritten by Eu-
 sebius, wherein you shall see the absurdit-
 tie of the opinion, the couenage of these oracles, and the decei-
 ued mind or vaine opinion of so great a doctoꝝ bewraied and de-
 ciphered altogether as followeth.

Gregorie Neocæsariensis in his iornie and wate to passe ouer
 the Alpes, came to the temple of Apollo: where Apollos priest li-
 uing richlie vpon the reuenues and benefit proceeding from that
 idoll, did giue great intertainment vnto Gregorie, and made
 him god cheare. But after Gregorie was gone, Apollo wared
 dumbe, so as the priests gaines decayed: for the idoll growing
 into contempt, the pilgrimage ceased. The spirit taking con-
 passion vpon the priests case, and vpon his greefe of mind in this
 behalfe, appeared vnto him, and told him flatlie, that his late
 ghest Gregorie was the cause of all his miserie. For (saith the di-
 uell) he hath banished me, so that I cannot returne without a spe-
 ciall licence or passport from him. It was no need to bid the priest
 make hast, for immediatlie he toke post horses, and galloped
 after Gregorie, till at length he ouertoke him, and then expos-
 tulated with him for this discourtesie profered in recompense of his
 god cheare; and said, that if he would not be so good vnto him, as
 to write his letter to the diuell in his behalfe, he should be vtterlie
 vndone.

undone. To be short, his importunitie was such, that he obtained Gregoric his letter to the diuell, who wrote vnto him in manner and forme following, word for word: *Permisto tibi redire in locum tuum, & agere quae consueuisti*; which is in English; I am content thou returne into thy place, and doe as thou wast wont. Immediately vpon the receipt of this letter, the idoll spake as before. And here is to be noted, that as well in this, as in the execution of all their other ozacles and couenages, the answers were neuer giuen *Ex tempore*, or in that daie wherein the question was demanded, because forsooth they expected a vision (as they said) to be giuen the night following, whereby the couenage might the more easilie be wrought.

Note the couenage of ozacles

Apollo, who was called Pytho, compared to the Rod of grace: Gregories letter to the diuell confuted.

The sixt Chapter.



What need manie words to confute this fable: For if Gregoric had bene an honest man, he would neuer haue willingly permitted, that the people should haue bene further censured with such a lieng spirit: or if he had bene halfe so honest as Eusebius maketh him, he would not haue consented or yielded to so lewd a request of the priest, nor haue written such an impious letter, no not though god might haue come thereof. And therefore as well by the impossibilitie and follie contained therein, as of the impietie (whereof I dare excuse Gregoric) you maie perceiue it to be a lie. We think they which still mainteine that the diuell made answer in the idoll of Apollo, &c: maie haue sufficient persuasion to reuoke their erroneous opinions: in that it appeareth in record, that such men as were skilfull in augurie, did take vpon them to giue ozacles at Delphos, in the place of Apollo: of which number Tifanius the sonne of Antiochus was one. But vaine is the answer of idolls. Our Rod of grace, with the helpe of little S. Rumball, was not inferiour to the idoll of Apollo: for these could not

Zach. 10.

not

W. Lamberts
in his Booke
ley.

not onlie worke eternall miracles, but manifest the internall thoughts of the art, I beleue with moze liuelie shew, both of humanitie and also of diuinitie, than the other. As if you read Lamberts booke of the perambulation of Kent, it shall partlie appeare. But if you talke with them that haue bene beholders thereof, you will be satisfied herein. And yet in the blind time of poperie, no man might (vnder paine of damnation) nor without danger of death, suspect the fraud. Fate, what papists will yet confesse they were idols, though the wiers that made their eyes gogle, the pins that fastened them to the postes to make them seeme heauie, were seene and burnt together with the images themselves, the knauerie of the priests betwraied, and euerie circumstance thereof detected and manifested:

How diuerse great clarkes and good authors haue benee abused in this matter of spirits through false reports, and by meanes of their credulitie haue published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle and the scriptures.

The seuenth Chapter.

PLutarch, Liiue, and Valerius Maximus, with manie other graue authozs, being abused with false reports, write that in times past beasts spake, and that images could haue spoken and wept, and did let fall drops of blood, yea and could walk from place to place: which they saie was done by procuracion of spirits. But I rather thinke with Aristotle, that it was brought to passe *Hominum & sacerdotum deceptionibus*, to wit: by the couensening art of craftie knaues and priests. And therefore let vs follow Esaias aduise, who saith; When they shall saie vnto you, Enquire of them that haue a spirit of diuination, and at the soothsaiers, which whisper and mumble in your eares to deceiue you, &c: enquire at your owne God, &c. And so let vs do. And here you see they are such as runne into corners, and couensn the people with lies, &c. For if they could do as they saie, they could not aptlie be called liers, neither

Esai. 8, 19.

neither need they to go into corners to whisper, &c.

Of the witch of Endor, and whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel truelie, or by deceit: the opinion of some diuines herevpon.

The eight Chapter.

The woman of Endor is comprised under this word Ob: for she is called Pythouissa. It is written in 2. Sam. cap. 28. that she raised vp Samuel from death, and the other words of the text are strongly placed, to inforce his verie resurrection. The mind and opinion of Iesus Christ each euentlie appeareth to be, that Samuel in person was raised out from his graue, as if you read Eccl. 46. 19, 20. you shall plainly perceiue. Howbeit he disputeth not there, whether the storie be true or false, but onlie citeth certaine verses of the 1. booke of Samuel cap. 28. simplicie, according to the letter, perswading maners and the imitation of our vertuous predecessors, and repeating the examples of diuerse excellent men; namelie of Samuel: euen as the text it selfe vngeth the matter, according to the deceived mind and imagination of Saule, and his seruants. And therefore in truth, Sirach spake there according to the opinion of Saule, which so supposed, otherwise it is neither heresie nor treason to saie he was deceived.

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it aduisedly, shall see that Samuel was not raised from the dead; but that it was an illusion or countenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chrysostome saith; Soules are in a certaine place expecting iudgement, and cannot remoue from thence. Neither is it Gods will, that the liuing should be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approued by the example of Lazarus and Diues: where it appeareth according to Deut. 18. that he will not haue the liuing taught by the dead, but will haue vs sticke to his word, wherein his will and testament is declared. In died

Lyra

Sap. 3.
Pl. 92. & 97.
Chrysost. homilia. 21. in
Matth.

Luke. 16.

Lyra and Dionysius incline greatlie to the letter : And Lyra saith, that as when Balaam would haue raised a diuell, God interposed himselfe: so did he in this case bying vp Samuell, when the witch would haue raised hir diuell. 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 iudgement and opinion (without contradiction of the church) that Samuell was not raised. For he saith directlie, that Samuell himselfe was not called vp. And indeed, if he were raised, it was either willinglie, or perforce: if it were willinglie, his sinne had bene equall with the witches.

August. lib. que. vet. es noui testam. quest. 27. Item, part. 2. cap. 26. Item, que. 5. nec mirum ad Simplician. lib. 2. 93. ad Dulcimum. que. 6. Item. lib. 2. de doct. christi. Deut. 18, Exodus. 10.

And Peter Martyr (me thinks) saith more to the purpose, in these words, to wit: This must haue bene done by Gods god will, or perforce of art magicke: it could not be done by his god will, because he forbade it; nor by art, because witches haue no power ouer the goodlie. Where it is answered by some, that the commandment was onlie to prohibit the Iewes to aske counsell of the dead, and so no fault in Samuell to giue counsell. We may as well excuse our neighbours wife, for consenting to our filthy desires, because it is onlie witten in the decalog; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbours wife. But indeed Samuell was directlie forbidden to answer Saule before he died: and therefore it was not likelie that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to do it.

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

The ninth Chapter.



There more, it is not likelie that God would answer Saule by dead Samuell, when he would not answer him by liuing Samuell: and most vnlikelie of all, that God would answer him by a diuell, that denied to do it by a prophet. That he was not brought vp perforce, the whole course of the scripture witnesseth, and proueth;

prooeth; as also our owne reason may giue vs to vnderstand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect enjoy or possesse in Abrahams bosome, if they were to be plucked from thence at a witches call and commandement? But so should the diuell haue power in heauen, where he is vnworthie to haue anie place himselfe, and therefore binmete to command others.

Spanie other of the fathers are flatlie against the raising vp of Samuell: namelie, Tertullian in his booke *De anima*, Iustine Martyr *In explicatione, que. 25.* Rabanus *In epistolis ad Bonas. Abar.* Origen *In historia de Bileamo, &c.* Some other do te excēdinglie herein, as namelie Bodin, and all the papists in generall: also Rabbi Sedias Haais, & also all the Hebrewes, sauing R. David Kimhi, which is the best writer of all the Rabbins: though neuer a god of them all.

But Bodin, in maintenance therof, falleth into manie absurdities, prouing by the small faults that Saule had committed, that he was an elect: for the greatest matter (saith he) laid vnto his charge, is the referuing of the Amalekites cattell, &c. He was an elect, &c: confirming his opinion with manie ridiculous fables, & with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserue

*I. Bod. lib. de
dam. 2. cap. 3.*

damnation; for Paule would not haue the incessuous man punished to soze, that his soule might be saued. Iustine Martyr in another place was not onlie deceiued in the actual raising vp of Samuels soule, but affirmed that all the soules of the prophets and iust men are subiect to the power of witches. And yet were the

I. Samu. 28.

I. Cor. 5.

Heathen much moze fond herein, who (as Lactantius affirmeth) boasted that they could call vp the soules of the dead, and yet did thinke that their soules died with their bodies. Whereby is to be seene, how alwaies the world hath bene abused in the matters of witchcraft & consuration. The Necromancers affirme, that the spirit of anie man may be called by, or recalled (as they terme it) befoze one yeare be past after their departure from the bodie. Which C. Agrippa in his booke *De occulta philosophia* saith,

*I. Martyr in
colloquio
cum Tripho-
ne Iudæo.*

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

may be done by certeine naturall forces and bonds. And therefoze corpses in times past were accompanied and watched with lights, sprinkled with holie water, perfumed with incense, and purged with praier all the while they were aboue ground: otherwise the serpent (as the Quailers of the Hebrewes saie) would deuoure them, as the koe appointed to him by God: Gen. 3. alled-

ging

ging also this place; We shall not all sleepe, but we shall be chaunged, because manie shall remaine for perpetuall meate to the serpent: whereupon riseth the contention betwene Istm and Michaell, concerning the bodie of Moses; wherein scripture is alleged. I confesse that Augustine, and the residue of the doctors, that denie the raising of Samuell, conclude, that the diuell was fetcht by in his likeness: from whose opinions (with reuerence) I hope I may dissent.

That neither the diuell nor Samuell was raised, but that it was a meere couenage, according to the guile of our Pythonists.

The tenth Chapter.



Aaine, if the diuell appeared, and not Samuell; this is it said in Eccle. that he slept: for the diuell neither sleepeth nor dieth. But in truth we may gather, that it was neither the diuell in person, nor Samuell: but a circumstance is here described, according to the deceiued opinion and imagination of Saule. Whobbeit Augustine saith, that both these sides may easilie be defended. But we shall not need to fetch an exposition so farre off: for indeed (me thinkes) it is *Longè petita*; nor to descend so lowe as hell, to fetch by a diuell to expound this place. For it is ridiculous (as Pompanacius saith) to leaue manifest things, and such as by naturall reason may be proued, to seeke vnknowne things, which by no likelihod can be conceiued, nor tried by anie rule of reason. But in so much as we haue libertie by S. Augustines rule, in such places of scripture as seeme to containe either contrarie tie or absurditie, to varie from the letter, and to make a goodlie construction agreeable to the word; let vs confesse that Samuell was not raised (for that were repugnant to the word) and see whether this illusion may not be contrined by the art and cunning of the woman, without anie of these supernaturall deuises: for I could cite a hundred papisticall and confensing practises, as difficult

Pompanacius
lib. de incant.
cap. 2.

difficult as this, and as cleane handled. And it is to be surelie thought, if it had bene a diuell, the text would haue noted it in some place of the storie: as it doth not. But Bodin helpeth me exceedinglie in this point, wherein he forsaketh (he saith) Augustine, Tertullian, and D. Kimhi himselfe, who saie it was the diuell that was raised by: which (saith Bodin) could not be; for that in the same communication betwene Saule and Samuell, the name of Iehouah is fīue times repeated, of which name the diuell cannot abide the hearing.

I. Bod. lib. de dem. 2. cap. 3.

The obiection of the witchmongers concerning this place fullie answered, and what circumstances are to be considered for the vnderstanding of this storie, which is plainelie opened from the beginning of the 28. chap. of the 1. Samuel, to the 12. verse.

The eleuenth Chapter.



Here such a supernaturall miracle is wrought, no doubt it is a testimonie of truth; as Peter Martyr affirmeth. And in this case it should haue bene a witness of lyes: for (saith he) a matter of such weight cannot be attributed vnto the diuell, but it is the mightie power of God that doth accomplish it. And if it laie in a witches power to call by a diuell, yet it lieth not in a witches power to worke such miracles; for God will not giue his power and glorie to anie creature. To vnderstand this place, we must diligently examine the circumstance thereof. It was well knowne that Saule, before he resorted to the witch, was in despaire of the mercies and goodnes of God; partlie for that Samuell told him long before, that he should be ouerthrowne, and Dauid should haue his place; and partlie because God before had refused to answer him, either by Samuell when he liued, or by anie other prophet, or by Urim or Thumim, &c. And if you desire to see this matter discussed, turne to the first of Samuell, the 28. chapter, and conferre my words therewith.

P. Martyr in comment. in Sam. 28. verse. 9.

Isai 42. 1. Sam. 28.

1. Sam. 28. 7.

S. Cicilies
familiar.D. Burcot.
Feats.

Saule seeing the host of the Philistines come vpon him (which thing could not be vnknown to all the people) fainted, because he sawe their strength, and his owne weaknesse, and speciallie that he was forsaken: so as being now straught of mind, desperate, and a verie sole, he goeth to certeine of his seruants, that saue in what taking he was, and asked them for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by that there dwelt one at Endor. By the waie you shall vnderstand, that both Saule and his seruants ment such a one as could by hir spirit raise vp Samuell, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you see they were deceiued, though it were true, that she toke vpon hir so to do. To what vse then serued hir familiar spirit, which you conceiue she had, because Saules seruants said so: Surelie, as they were deceiued and abused in part, so doubtlesse were they in the rest. For to what purpose (I saie) should hir familiar serue, if not for such intents as they reported, and she vndertoke: I thinke you will grant that Saules men neuer saue hir familiar: for I neuer heard any yet of credit saie, that he was so much in the wittches fauour, as to see hir diuell; although indeed we read among the poppish trumperie, that S. Cicilie had an angell to hir familiar, and that she could shew him to whom she would, and that she might aske and haue what she or hir friend list: as appeareth in the lesson read in the poppish church on saint Cicilies daie. Well, I perceiue the woman of Endors spirit was a counterfeit, and kept belike in hir studie at Endor, in the bottle, with mother Alices diuell at Westwell, and are now betwained and fled together to *Limbo patrum*, &c. And though Saule were bewitched and blinded in the matter; yet doubtlesse a wisse man wold haue perchance espied hir knauerie. He thinks Saule was brought to this wittch, much after the maner that docto; Burcot was brought to Feats, who sold maister Docto; a familiar, wherby he thought to haue wrought miracles, or rather to haue gained good stoz of monie. This fellowe by the name of Feats was a iugler, by the name of Hilles a wittch or conturer, euerie waie a counsener: his qualities and feats were to me and manie other well knowne and detected. And yet the opinton conceiued of him was most strange and wonderfull; euen with such and in such cases, as it grauenth me to thinke of speciallie because his knauerie and cou

senage

senage reached to the shedding of innocent blood, But now for
 soth Saule couereth himselfe with a net : and bicause he would
 not be knowne, he put on other garments . But to bring that
 matter to passe, he must haue bene cut thorow by the head and
 shoulders, for by so much he was higher than any of the people.
 And therfore what forer face the craftie quene did set vpon it, she
 knew him well enough. And for further proofe thereof, you may
 vnderstand, that the princes of the Ielues were much conuer-
 sant with the people. And it appereth manifestlie, that Saule
 dwelt verie nere to Endor, so as she should the rather knowe
 him, for in the euenting he went from his lodging vnto hir house:
 neither should it seme that she was gone to bed when he came.
 But bicause that may be vncertaine, you may see in the pprocesse
 of the text, that in a peece of the night he went from his house to
 hers, and with much aw intreated hir to consent to his request.
 She finished hir conuration, so as both Saules part, the witches
 part, and also Samuels part was plaied: and after the solemniza-
 tion therof, a calfe was killed, a batch of bread baked, and a supper
 made readie and eaten by; and after all this, he went home the
 same night: and had need so to do, for he had some business the
 next daie. By these and manie other circumstances it may bee
 gathered, that she dissembled, in saieing she knew him not, and
 consequentlie counterfayted, and made a foole of him in all the
 rest.

1. Sam. 28, 8

1. Sa. 10, 23.

Ibidem.

It appereth there, that he, with a couple of his men, went to hir
 by night, and said; Coniecture vnto me by thy familiar spirit,
 and bring me by whom I shall name vnto thee. The godlie lear-
 ned knowe that this was not in the power of the witch of Endor,
 but in the God of heauen onelie to accomplish. Whobeit, Saule
 was bewitched so to suppose: and yet is he more simple that will
 be overtaken with the deuises of our old witches, which are pro-
 duced to resemble hir. And why should we thinke, that GOD
 would rather permit the witch to raise Samuel, than that Diues
 could obtaine Lazarus to come out of Abrahams bosome, vpon
 more likelie and more reasonable conditions: Well now doth
 this strumpet (according to the guise of our couensing witches
 and confurers) make the matter strange vnto Saule, saieing that
 he came to take hir in a snare, &c. But witches seldome make

Ibidem.

When will
 they be to
 vnderstand
 the

1. Sam. 28, 9.

this obiection, sauing when they mistrust that he which commeth to them will espie their iugling: for other wise, where the witchmonger is simple and easie to be abused, the witch will be as easie to be intreated, and nothing dangerous of hir cunning; as you see this witch was sone perswaded (notwithstanding that obiection) because she perceiued and sawe that Saule was affraid and out of his wits. And therefore she said vnto him; Whom shall I raise vp? As though she could haue brought vnto him Abraham, Isaac, or Iacob; who cannot heare vs, therefore cannot rise at our call. For it is writtten; *Loke thou downe from heauen and behold vs, &c:* as for Abraham he is ignorant of vs, and Irael knoweth vs not.

1. Sa. 28. 12.

Isa. 63. 15. 16

The 12. 13. & 14. verses of 1. Samuel 28. expounded: wherein is shewed that Saule was coufened and abused by the witch, and that Samuel was not raised, is prooued by the witches owne talke.

The twelue Chapter.



The manner and circumstance of their communication, or of hir coniuration, is not verbatim set downe and expressed in the text; but the effect thereof briefly touched: yet will I shew you the common order of their coniuration, and speciallie of hers at this time vsed. When Saule had told hir, that he would haue Samuel brought vp to him, she departed from his presence into hir closet, where doubtles she had hir familiar; to wit, some lewd craftie priest, and made Saule stand at the doore like a fowle (as it were with his finger in a hole) to heare the coufening answers, but not to see the coufening handling thereof, and the counterfetting of the matter. And so goeth she to worke, vsing ordinarie words of coniuration, of which there are sundrie varieties and formes (whereof I shall haue occasion to repeat some in another place) as you see the iuglers (which be inferior coniurors) speake certeine strange words of course to lead awaie the eie from espyng

The maner
of the witch
of Endors
coufening
of Saule.

eng the maner of their conceiue, whilſt they may induce the mind to conceiue and ſuppoſe that he dealeth with ſpirits; ſaieng Hay, fortune furie, nunq; credo, paſſe, paſſe, when come you ſirra. So belike after many ſuch woꝝds ſpoken, the ſaith to hir ſelſe; No now the matter is brought to paſſe, for I ſee wonderfull things. So as Saule hearing theſe woꝝds, longed to knowe all, 1. Sa. 28, 13. and aſked hir what the ſaue. Whereby you may know that Saule ſaue nothing, but ſtood without like a mome, whilſt the plaied hir part in hir cloſet: as may moſt euidentlie appere by the 21. 1. Sa. 28, 21. verſe of this chapter where it is ſaid; Then the woman came out vnto Saule. Howbeit, a little befoze the cunninglie counterfaited that the ſaue Samuel, and thereby kneue it was Saule that was come vnto hir. Whereby all the woꝝld may perceiue the couſening, and hir diſſimulation. For by that which hath bene befoze ſaid, it muſt needs be that the knew him. And (I praie you) why ſhould ſhe not haue ſuſpected aſwell him to be Saule befoze, when in expreſſe woꝝds he required hir to bring vnto him Samuel, as now, when Samuel appeared vnto hir?

Well, to the queſtion befoze propoſed by Saule, the anſwereth and lieth, that the ſaw angels or gods aſcending by out of the earth. Then proceedeth ſhe with hir inchanting phraſes and woꝝds of courſe: ſo as thereby Saule gathereth and ſuppoſeth that ſhe hath raiſed a man. For otherwiſe his queſtion dependeth not vpon any thing befoze ſpoken. For when ſhe hath ſaid; I ſaue angels aſcending, &c: the next woꝝd he ſaith is; What ſaſhion is he of? Which (I ſaie) hangeth not vpon hir laſt expreſſed woꝝds. And to this ſhe answered not directlie, that it was Samuel; but that it was an old man lapped in a mantell: as though ſhe knew not him that was the moſt notorious man in Iſraell, that had bene hir neighbour by the ſpace of manie yeres, and vpon whom (while he liued) euerie eie was fixed, and whom alſo ſhe knew within leſſe than a quarter of an houre befoze, as by whoſe meanes alſo ſhe came acquainted with Saule. 1. Sa. 28, 12. Read the text and ſee.

But ſhe deſcribeth his perſonage, and the apparell which he did vſuallie weare when he liued: which if they were both buried together, were conſumed and rotten, or deuoured with woꝝmes befoze that time. Belike he had a new mantell made him in hear

uen: and yet they saie Tailors are skantie there, for that their consciences are so large here. In this contrie, men giue a waie their garments when they die: if Samuel had so done, hee could not haue borrowed it againe; for of likelihood it would haue bene wo:ne out in that space, except the donee had bene a better husband than I: for the testator was dead (as it is supposed) two yeares before.

The residue of 1. Sam. 28. expounded: wherein is declared how cunninglie this witch brought Saule resolute to beleue that she raised Samuel, what words are vsed to colour the couzenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.

The xiiij. Chapter.

1. Sa. 28, 15.

Ibidem.

1. Sam. 13, 5.

1. Sa. 13, 15.



Now commeth in Samuel to plaie his part: but I am perswaded it was performed in the person of the witch hir selfe, or of hir confederate. He saith to Saule; Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me vp: As though without guile or packing it had bene Samuel himselfe. Saule answered that he was in great distresse: for the Philistines made warre vpon him. Whereby the witch, or hir confederate priest might easilie coniecture that his heart failed, and direct the oracle or prophesie accordinglie: especiallie vnderstanding by his present talkie, and also by former prophesies and doings that were past, that God had forsaken him, and that his people were declining from him. For when Ionathan (a little before) overthrow the Philistines, being thirtie thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen; Saule could not assemble about six hundred souldiers.

Then said Samuel (which some suppose was sathan, and as I thinke was the witch, with a confederate; for what need to farre fetches, as to fetch a diuell supernaturallie out of hell, when the illusion may be here by naturall meanes deciphered? And if you note the words well, you shall perceiue the phase not to come out

of a spiritfull mouth of a diuell, but from a lieng cozpo: all tonge of a coufener, that careth neither for God nor the diuell, fro whence issueth such aduise and communication, as greatlie disagreeth from sathans nature and purpose. For thus (I saie) the said Samuel speaketh: Wherefoze dost thou aske me, seeing the Lord is gone from thee, and is thine enemy? Euen the Lord hath done vnto him as he spake by mine hand: for the Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and giue it to thy neighbour Dauid, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a diuell, but of a coufener, which knew before what Samuel had prophesied concerning Saules destruction. For it is the diuels condition, to allure the people vnto wickednes, and not in this sort to admonish, warne, and rebuke them for euill. And the popish wryters confesse, that the diuell would haue bene gone at the first naming of God. If it bee said, that it was at Gods speciall commandement and will, that Samuel or the diuell should be raised, to propound this admonition, to the profit of all posteritie: I answer, that then he would rather haue done it by some of his liuing prophets, and that sathan had not bene so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the witch (I would saie Samuel) into the veine of prophesying, and speaketh to Saule on this wise; The Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and giue it to thy neighbour Dauid, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierse wrath vpon the Amalekites: therefore hath the Lord done this vnto thee this daie. Moreouer, the Lord will deliuer thee into the hands of the Philistines, and to morrowe shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall giue the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines. What could Samuel haue said more?

He thinks the diuell would haue used another order, encouraging Saule rather than rebuking him for his euill. The diuell is craftier than to leaue such an admonition to all posterities, as should be prejudiciall vnto his kingdome, and also be void of all impietie. But so diuine a sentence maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to the advancement of hir gaires. Howbeit, concerning the veritie of this prophesie, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the battell were fought the next daie; secondlie, whether all his sonnes were kil-

1. Sam. 28.

16. 17.

1. Sa. 15, 28.

1. Sa. 28, 17.

18.

19.

led with him; Item, whether they went to heauen or hell together, as being with Samuel, they must be in heauen, and being with sathan, they must be in hell. But although euerie part of this prophesie were false, as that all his sonnes were not slaine (Ishbosheth living and reigning in Israel two yeares after Saules death) and that the battell was not on the morrow, and that wicked Saule, after that he had killed himselfe, was not with good Samuel; yet this witch did giue a shewd gesse to the sequelle.

2. Reg. 4.

Which whether it were true or false, perteins not to my purpose; and therfore I will omit it. But as touching the opinion of them that saie it was the diuell, bicause that such things came to passe; I would faine knowe of them where they learne that diuels foreknow things to come. If they saie he gesseth onelie vpon probabilities, the witch may also do the like. But here I may not forget the decrees, which conclude, that Samuel appeared not vnto Saule; but that the historiographer set forth Saules mind and Samuels estate, and certeine things which were said & scene, omitting whether they were true or false: and further, that it were a great offense for a man to beleue the bare words of the storie. And if this exposition like you not, I can easilie frame my selfe to the opinion of some of great learning, expounding this place, and that with great probability, in this sort; to wit, that this Pythonist being Ventriloqua; that is, Speaking as it were

Right Ventriloquic.

from the bot tome of hir bellie, did cast hir selfe into a trance, and so abused Saule, answering to Saule in Samuels name, in hir counterfeit hollow voice: as the wench of Westwell spake, whose historie I haue rehearsed before at large, in pag. 127 and this is right Ventriloquic.

(.)

Opinions

Opinions of some learned men, that Samuel was indeed raised, not by the witches art or power, but by the speciall miracle of God, that there are no such visions in these our daies, & that our witches cannot doo the like.

The xiiij. Chapter.



As and Sadaias write, that when the woman sawe the miracle indeed, and more than she looked for, or was wont to doo; she began to crie out, that this was a vision indeed, and a true one, not done by hie art, but by the power of God. Which exposition is far more probable than our late writers iudgements herevpon, and agreeth with the exposition of diuerse good diuines. Gelasius saith, it was the verie spirit of Samuel: and where he suffered himselfe to be worshipped, it was but in ciuill salutation and courtesie; and that God did interpose Samuel, as he did Elias to the messenger of Ochofias, when he sent to Belzebub the god of Acharon. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are set vp in this point: for the papists saie, that it cannot be a diuell, because Jehouah is thise or fise times named in the storie. Upon this peece of scripture arguments are daelie deuised, to proue and mainteine the miraculous actions of witchcraft, and the raising of the dead by contrarations. And yet if it were true, that Samuel himselfe were raised, or the diuell in his likenesse; and that the witch of Endor by hie art and cunning did it, &c: it maketh rather to the disprove than to the proue of our witches, which can neither do that kind of miracle, or any other, in any such place or companie, where their iugling and coufenage may be seen and laid open. And I challenge them all (euen vpon the aduenture of my life) to shew one peece of a miracle, such as Christ did trulie, or such as they suppose this witch did diabolicallie, be it not witch art nor confederacie, whereby some colour thereof may be made; neither are there any such visions in these daies shewed.

Heretofore God did send his visible angels to men: but now

D. liij.

we

I. Bodin &
L. Vairus
differ here-
in.

A bold, discreet, and faithfull challenge.

We heare not of such apparitions, neither are they necessarie. Indeed it pleased God heretofore, by the hand of Moses and his prophets, and speciallie by his sonne Christ and his apostles, to worke great miracles, for the establishing of the faith: but now whatsoeuer is necessarie for our saluacion, is contained in the word of God: our faith is alreadie confirmed, and our church established by miracles; so as now to seeke for them, is a point of infidelitie. Which the papists (if you note it) are greatlie touched withall, as in their lieng legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are knaueries most commonlie, and speciallie of priests, whereof I could cite a thousand. If you read the storie of Bell and the dragon, you shall find a conuensing miracle of some antiquitie. If you will see newer deuises, read Wierus, Cardanus, Balcus, and speciallie Lauaterns, &c. There haue bene some walking spirits in these parts so coniuered not long since, as afterwards they little delighted to make anie more apparitions.

* At Canturburie by Rich. Lee esquire, & others, anno. 1573.
At Ric by maister Gaymor & others, anno. 1577.

Of vaine apparitions, how people haue bene brought to feare bugges, which is partlie reformed by preaching of the gospell, the true effect of Christes miracles.

The xv. Chapter.

At certeinlie, some one knaue in a white sheete hath conuensed and abused manie thousands that waite; speciallie when Robin good-fellow kept such a colle in the countrie. But you shall vnderstand, that these bugs speciallie are spied and feared of sicke folke, children, women, and colwarde, which through weakness of mind and bodie, are shaken with vaine dreames and continuall feare. The Scythians, being a stout and a warlike nation (as diuers writers report) neuer see anie vaine sights, or spirits. It is a common saieing; A lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maids haue so terrified vs with an ouglie diuell hauing hoznes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his

Wier. lib. 3.
cap. 8.
Theodor.
Bizanius.
Lanus. de
spect. & le-
uuarib.

his bꝛeāch, eyes like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a Nigger, and a voice rozing like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie *Wough*: and they haue so fraied vs with bull beggers, spirits, witches, bꝛehens, elues, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, hit with the caru sticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, coniu rozs, nymphes, changlings, Incubus, Robin god-fellowe, the spowne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdꝛake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob goblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes: in so much as some neuer feare the diuell, but in a darke night; and then a polled sheepe is a perillous beast, and manie times is taken for our fathers soule, speciallie in a churchyard, where a right hardie man heretofore scant durst passe by night, but his haire would stand vpright. For right graue wꝛiters report, that spirits most often and speciallie take the shape of women appearing to monks, &c: and of beasts, dogs, swine, horses, goates, cats, haire; of fowles, as crowes, night owles, and shꝛeke owles; but they delight most in the likenes of snakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, this wretched and cowardlie infidelitie, since the preaching of the gospell, is in part forgotten: and doubtles, the rest of those illusions will in shoꝛt time (by Gods grace) be detected and banish awaie.

Diuers wꝛiters report, that in Germanie, since Luthers time, spirits and diuels haue not personallie appeared, as in times past they were wont to do. This argument is taken in hand of the ancient fathers, to pꝛoue the determination and ceasing of oracles. For in times past (saith Athanasius) diuels in vaine shapes did intricate men with their illusions, hiding themselues in waters, stones, woods, &c. But now that the woꝛd of *GOD* hath appeared, those sights, spirits, and mockeries of images are ceased. Truelie, if all such oracles, as that of Apollo, &c (before the comming of Christ) had bene true, and done according to the report, which hath bene brought through diuers ages, and from farre countries vnto vs, without pꝛeslie fraud or guile, so as the spirits of prophesie, and working of miracles, had bene inserted into an idoll, as hath bene supposed: yet we christians may conceiue, that Christs coming was not so fruteles and pꝛe-
indiciall

Cardan. de
var. rerum
Pewer. &c.

Lauat. de
spect.

Car. de var.
rerum.
I. Wier. de
pꝛesli. demon.
&c.
Athanas. de
humaniatate
verbi.

judiciall in this point vnto vs, as to take awaie his spirit of propheticke and diuination from out of the mouth of his elect people, and good prophets, giuing no answers of anie thing to come by them, no; by *Vrim* no; *Thumim*, as he was wont, &c. And yet to leaue the diuell in the mouth of a witch, or an idoll to prophesie, or wo;ke miracles, &c. to the hinderance of his glorious gospell, to the discountenance of his church, and to the furtherance of infidelitie and false religion, whereas the working of miracles was the onelie, or at least the most speciall meanes that moued men to belieue in Christ: as appeareth in sundrie places of the gospell, and speciallie in *Iohn*, where it is writtten, that a great multitude followed him, because they sawe his miracles which he did, &c. Naie, is it not writtten, that *Iesus* was approued by God among the *Iewes*, with miracles, wonders and signes, &c. And yet, if we conferre the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that are imputed to witches; witches miracles shall appeare moze common, and nothing inferior; vnto his.

The true end of miracles.

Iohn. 2.

Act. 2. 22.
Iohn. 5.

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

The xvj. Chapter.

An ironical collation.



If this witch of *Endor* had performed that, which manie conceiue of the matter, it might haue bene compared with the raising vp of *Lazarus*. I praie you, is not the conuerting of water into milke, as hard a matter as the turning of water into wine? And yet, as you may read in the gospell, that Christ did the one, as his first miracle; so may you read in *M. Mal.* and in *Bodin*, that witches can easilie do the other: yea, and that which is a great deale more, of water they can make butter. But to auoid all cauils, and leass there should appeare more matter in Christs miracle, than the others, you shall find in *M. Mal.* that they can change water into wine: and what is it to attribute to

Mal. malef.
par. 2. q. 14. 1.
cap. 14.

a creature, the powler and woꝝke of the creatoꝝ, if this be not? Christ saith, *Opera quae ego facio nemo potest facere.* Creation of substance was neuer granted to man noꝝ angell; Ergo neither to witch noꝝ diuell: foꝝ God is the onlie giuer of life and being, and by him all things are made, visibible and inuisibible.

Finallie, this woman of Endor is in the scripture called Pythonissa: whereby it may appeare that she was but a verie confesner. Foꝝ Pytho himselfe, whereof Pythonissa is deriued, was a counterfet. And the originall stoꝝie of Apollo, who was called Pytho, bicause he killed a serpent of that name, is but a poetick fable. Foꝝ the poets saie he was the god of musicke, hyflicke, poetrie, and shooting. In heauen he is called Sol, in earth Liber pater, in hell Apollo. He flourisheth alwaies with perpetuall youth, and therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an oracle-giuer: and the priests that attended thereon at Delphos were confesners, and called Pythonists of Pytho, as papists of Papa; and after wards all women that used that trade,

were named Pythonissae, as was this woman of Endor. But bicause it concerneth this matter, I will bꝛiefelie note

the opintions of diuers learned men, and certeine other proofes, which I find in the scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, propheties and oracles.



¶ The

Acts. 17.
Tim. 6, 13.
Col. 1, 16.
Athanas. f. 16.

Apollo Pytho vnca-
led.

or. 16.

16. 17.
16. 18.
16. 19.
16. 20.

16. 21.

16. 22.
16. 23.
16. 24.
16. 25.

The eight booke.

That miracles are
ceased.

The first Chapter.

Pfal. 136. 4.
Pfal. 72. 18.
Pfal. 88. 10.



Although in times past,
it pleased God, extraordina-
rily to shew miracles a-
mongst his people, for the
strengthening of their faith
in the Messias; and againe
at his comming to confirme
their faith by his wonderfull
doings, and his speciall gra-
ces and gifts bestowed by
him vpon the apostles, &c: yet
we ordinarilie read in the
scriptures, that it is the Lord
that worketh great wonders.

Ihai. 42.
Iohn. 3. 2.
Ibid. 7. 16.
In annotat.
in Iohan. 3.

Yea Dauid saith, that among the dead (as in this case of Samuel)
God himselfe sheweth no wonders. I find also that God will not
giue his glorie and power to a creature. Nichodemus being a
Pharisee could saie, that no man could do such miracles as Christ
did, except God were with him, according to the saying of the pro-
phet to those gods and idols, which toke on them the power of
God: Do either god 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 scrip-
ture, which for breuitie I omit and ouerslip.

Ihai. 45.

August. de
verbis Dom.
secundum
Matth. ser-
mone. 18.

S. Augustine, among other reasons, whereby he proueth the
ceasing of miracles, saith; Now blind flesh doth not open the eyes
of the blind by the miracle of God, but the eyes of our hart are o-
pened by the word of God. Now is not our dead carcase raised
any more by by miracle, but our dead bodies be still in the graue,
and

od 77

and our soules are raised to life by Christ. Now the eares of the deafe are not opened by miracle, but they which had their eares shut before, haue them now opened to their saluation. The miraculous healing of the sicke by anointing, spoken of by S. James, is objected by manie, speciallie by the papists, for the maintenance of their sacrament of extreme unction: which is aposthlie and banelie bled in the Romish church, as though that miraculous gift had continuance till this daie: wherein you shall see what Caluine speaketh in his institutions. The grace of healing (saith he) spoken of by S. James, is vanished awaie, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would haue shewed onclie for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the gospell meruellous for euer. Why (saith he) doe not these (meaning miracle-mongers) appoint some Siloah to swim in, therein to at certeine ordinarie recourses of times sicke folke maie plunge themselves: Why doe they not lie a long vpon the dead, bicause Paule raised vp a dead child by that meanes: Therelie (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 shew his manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles, as by the hands of the apostles, bicause the gift was but for a time. Caluine euen there concludeth thus; They saie such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saith naie. And see how they agree among themselves. Danaus saith, that neither witch nor diuell can worke miracles. Giles Alley saith direalie, that witches worke miracles. Caluine saith they are all ceased. All witchmongers saie they continue. But some asserme, that popish miracles are vanished and gone awaie: holobett witches miracles remaine in full force. So as S. Loy is out of credit for a horse-leach, Daister T. and mother Bungie remaine in estimation for prophets: naie Hobgoblin and Robin goodfellow are contemned among yong children, and mother Alice and mother Bungie are feared among old soles. The estimation of these continue, bicause the matter hath not bene called in question: the credit of the other decayeth, bicause the matter hath bene looked into. Whereof I saie no more, but that S. Antonies blisse will helpe

your

James. 5. 14.

I. Caluin. Institutions. lib. 4. cap. 19. sect. 18.

Idem. ibid. sect. 19. l. 1. 9. 7.

Acts. 20. 10. Idem. ibid. nempe I. Caluine.

James. 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1.

Prou. 51. your pig, whenſoever mother Bungie doth hurt it with hir curſe, And therefore we are warned by the word of God, in anie wiſe not to feare their curſes. But let all the witchmongers, and ſpeciallie the miraclemongers in the world answer me to this ſuppoſition; But caſe that a woman of credit, or elſe a woman-witch ſhould ſaie unto them, that ſhe is a true prophet of the Lord, and that he revealeth thoſe ſecret myſteries unto hir, whereby ſhe detecteth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and that by him ſhe worketh miracles, and propheteſth, &c: I thinke they muſt either yeeld, or confeſſe that miracles are ceaſed. But ſuch things (ſaith Cardane) as ſeeme miraculous, are cheſtie done by deceit, legierdemaine, or confederacie; or elſe they maie be done, and yet ſeeme unpoſſible, or elſe things are ſaid to be done, and neuer were nor can be done.

H. Card. de miracul.

That the gift of propheſie is ceaſed.

The ſecond Chapter.



Iſai. 41.

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

Iohn. 4.

Hat witches, nor the woman of Endor, nor yet hir familiar or diuell can tell what is to come, may plainelie appeare by the words of the prophet, who ſaith; Shew what things are to come, and we will ſaie you are gods indeed. According to that which Salomon ſaith; Who can tell a man what ſhall happen him vnder the ſunne? Wharrie that can I (ſaith the witch of Endor to ſaule.) But I will rather believe Paule and Peter, which ſaie, that propheſie is the gift of God, and no worldlie thing. When a conſenting queane, that taketh vpon hir to do all things, and can do nothing but beguile men: by ſteppeth alſo mother Bungie, and ſhe can tell you where your horſe or your aſſe is beſtowed, or anie thing that you haue loſt is become, as Samuell could; and what you haue done in all your age paſt, as Chriſt did to the woman of Sidar at Iacobs well; yea and what your errand is, before you ſpeake, as Elizabeth did.

Peter Martyr ſaith, that onelie God and man knoweth the
heart

heart of man, and therefore, that the diuell must be secluded, al^{p. Martyr.}
 ledging these places; *Solus Deus est scrutator cordium*, Onelie ^{loc.com.9.}
 God is the searcher of hearts. And, *Nemo scit qua sunt hominis, nisi* ^{sect.17.}
spiritus hominis qui est in eo, None knoweth the things of man, but
 the spirit of man which is within him. And Salomon saith, *Tu so-*
lus nosti cogitationes hominum, Thou onelie knowest the thoughts of
 men. And Ieremie saith in the person of God, *Ego Deus scrutans*
corda & renes, I am God searching hearts and reines. Also Mat-
 thew saith of Christ, *Iesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*, And Iesus
 seeing their thoughts, who in scripture is called the searcher and
 knower of the thoughts in the heart: as appeareth in Acts, 1. & 15.
 Rom. 8. Matth. 9. 12. & 22. Marke. 2. Luke. 6. & 7. & 11. Iohn. 1.
 2. 6. & 13. Apoc. 2. & 3. and in other places infinite.

The same Peter Martyr also saith, that the diuell maie suspect, ^{p. Martyr.}
 but not know our thoughts: for if he should know our thoughts, ^{in loc. comm.}
 he should vnderstand our faith; which if he did, he would neuer as-
 salt vs with one temptation. Indeed we read that Samuel could
 tell where things lost were strayed, &c: but we see that gift also cea-
 sed by the comming of Christ, according to the saicng of Paule, ^{Hebr. 1, 8.}
 At sundrie times, and in diuerse maners God spake in the old ^{& 2.}
 times by our fathers the prophets, in these last daies he hath spo-
 ken vnto vs by his sonne, &c. And therefore I saie that gift of pro-
 phesie, wherewith God in times past endued his people, is also
 ceased, and counterfeits and counsers are come in their places,
 according to this saicng of Peter: There were false prophets a-
 mong the people, euen as there shalbe false teachers among ^{2. Pet. 2. 1.}
 you, &c. And thinke not that so notable a gift should be taken
 from the beloued and elect people of God, and committed to mo-
 ther Bungie, and such like of hir profession.

The words of the prophet Zacharie are plaine, touching the
 ceasing both of the god and bad prophet, to wit: I will cause the ^{Zach. 13.}
 prophets and vncleane spirits to depart out of the land, and when
 anie shall yet prophesie, his parents shall saie to him; Thou shalt
 not liue, 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 onelie worke of God, ^{1. Chry. off.}
 who disposeth all things sweetlie, of whose counsell there hath ne-
 uer yet bene anie man. And to know our labours, the times <sup>in euang. Io-
 han. hom. 18.
 Per. Bleff.
 epist. 49.</sup>
 and

and moments God hath placed in his owne power. Also Phavorinus saith, that if these cold prophets or oracles tell thee prosperitie, and deceiue thee, thou art made a miser through baine expectation: if they tell thee of aduersitie, &c: and lie, thou art made a miser through baine feare. And therefore I saie, we maie as well loke to heare prophetes at the tabernacle, in the bush, of the cherubin, among the clouds, from the angels, within the arke, or out of the flame, &c: as to expect an oracle of a prophet in these daies.

But put the case, that one in our common wealth should step by and saie he were a prophet (as manie frenstike persons doe) who would beleue him, or not thinke rather that he were a lewd person? See the statutes Elizab. 5. whether there be not lawes made against them, condemning their arrogancie and conuenage: see also the canon lawes to the same effect.

Canon. de
malef. &
mathemas.

That Oracles are ceased.

The third Chapter.



Touching oracles, which for the most part were idols of siluer, gold, wood, stones, &c: within whose bodies some saie vnclene spirites hid themselues, and gaue answers: as some others saie, that exhalations rising out of the ground, inspire their minds, whereby their priestes gaue out oracles: so as spirits and winds rose by out of that soile, and indued those men with the gift of prophetie of things to come, though in truth they were all deuises to couen the people, and for the profit of priestes, who receiued the idols answers ouer night, and deliuered them backe to the idolaters the next morning: you shall vnderstand, that although it had bene so as it is supposed; yet by the reasons and proofes before rehearsed, they should now cease: and whatsoeuer hath affinity with such miraculous actions, as witchcraft, coniuration, &c: is knocked on the head, and nailed on the crosse with Christ, who hath broken the power of diuels, and satisfied Gods iustice,

Thucidid.
lib. 2.
Cicer. de di-
uin. lib. 2.

who

who also hath troden them vnder his fecte, & subdued them, &c. At whose comming the prophet Zacharie saith, that the Lord will cut the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be no more remembered; and he will then cause the prophets and vncleane spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written; I will cut off thine enchanters out of thine hand, and thou shalt haue no more soothsaiers. And indeed the gospell of Christ hath so laid open their knauerie, &c: that since the preaching thereof, their combes are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if euer these prophesies came to take effect, it must be vpon the coming of Christ, whereat you see the diuels were troubled and fainted, when they met him, saieing, or rather exclaiming vpon him on this wise; *Fili Dei cur venisti nos cruciare ante tempus?* D thou sonne of God, whie comest thou to molest vs (or confound vs) befoze our time appointed? Which he indeed preuented, and now remaineth he our defender and keeper from his clauwes. So as now you see here is no roome left for such ghefts.

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that haue bene as much deceued as your selues in this matter: and yet are diuinen to confesse, that G D D hath constituted his sonne to beat downe the power of diuels, and to satisfie Gods iustice, and to heale our wound receiued by the fall of Adam, according to Gods promise in Genesis. 3. The seed of the woman shall tread downe the serpent, or the diuell. Eusebius (in his fifth booke *De prae-dicatione Euangelij*, the title whereof is this, that the power of diuels is taken awaie by the comming of Christ) saith; All answers made by diuels, all soothsaiengs and diuinations of men are gon and banished awaie. Item he citeth Porphyrie in his booke against christian religion, wherein these words are rehearsed; It is no meruell, though the plague be so hot in this citie: for euer since Iesus hath bene worshipped, we can obtaine nothing that god is at the hands of our gods. And of this defecation and ceasing of oracles writeth Cicero long befoze, and that to haue happened also befoze his time. Howbeit, Chrystostome liuing long since Cicero, saith, that Apollo was forced to grant, that so long as anie relike of a marty? was held to his nose, he could not make anie answer or oracle. So as one may perceiue, that the heathen were wiser in this behalfe than manie christians, who in

Zach. 13, 2.

Mich. 5, 12.

Gen. 3.

Euseb. lib. 5, cap. 1.

Idem. Ibid.

Porphyr. in lib. contra christi. relig.

Cic. de diuin. lib. 2.

I. Chrysoff.

de laud. Paul. rom. 4.

times past were called *Oppugnatores incantamentorum*, as the English princes are called *Defensores fidei*. Plutarch calleth Bœotia (as we call babilers) by the name of manie words, bicause of the multitude of oracles there, which now (saith he) are like to a spring or fountaine which is dried up. If anie one remained, I would ride five hundred miles to see it: but in the whole world there is not one to be seene at this houre; popish censurages excepted.

Porphyr.
writeth
verses in *A-*
pollas name,
of the death
of *Apollo*:
cited by
J. Bod. fol. 6.

But Plutarch saith, that the cause of this defection of oracles, was the diuels death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortall, saing they died for verie age; and that the diuining priests were blowne by with a whirlewind, and sonke with an earthquake. Others imputed it to the site or the place of the planets, which when they passed ouer them, carried awate that art with them, and by reuolution may returne, &c. Eusebius also cetteth out of him the storie of Pan, which bicause it is to this purpose, I will insert the same; and since it mentioneth the diuels death, you may beleue it if you list: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserued aliuie to punish the wicked, and such as impute vnto those idols the power of almighty God.

A tale written by manie graue authors, and beleued by manie wise men of the diuels death. An other storie written by papists, and beleued of all catholikes, approving the diuels honestie, conscience, and courtesie.

The fourth Chapter.

Plutarch saith, that his countryman Epotherles told him, that as he passed by sea into Italie, manie passengers being in his bote, in an evening, when they were about the islands Echinadae, the wind quite ceased: and the ship drifting with the tide, was brought at last to Paxe. And whilest some slept, and others quaff, and other some were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddenlie a voice was heard calling, *Thamus*; in such sort as euerie man marvelled. This *Thamus* was a pilot,

hoine

bozne in Aegypt, vnknozne to manie that were in the ship. *Thamus* wherefoze being twice called, he answered nothing; but the thir d time he answered: and the other with a lowder voice comman ded him, that when he came to Palodes, he should tell them that the great God Pan was departed. Whereat euerie one was a stonied (as Epitherfes affirmed.) And being in consultation what were best to doo, *Thamus* concluded, that if the wind were hie, they must passe by with silence; but if the weather were calme, he must vtter that which he had heard. But when they came to Palodes, and the wether calme, *Thamus* looking out toward the land, cried aloud, that the great god Pan was deceased: and immediatlie there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of people, as it were with great wonder and admiration. And be cause there were manie in the ship, they said the same thereof was spædilie brought to Rome, and *Thamus* sent for by *Tiberius* the Emperour, who gaue such credit thereto, that he diligentlie inquired and asked, who that Pan was. The learned men about him supposed, that Pan was he who was the sonne of *Mercurie* and *Penlope*, &c. *Eusebius* saith, that this chanced in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperoz, when *Christ* expelled all diuels, &c.

Paulus *Marfus*, in his notes vpon *Quids* *Fasti*, saith, that this voice was heard out of *Paxe*, that verie night that *Christ* suffered, in the yeare of *Tiberius* the ninetænth. Surelie, this was a mer rie iest deuised by *Thamus*, who with some confederate thought to make sport with the passengers, who were some asleepe, and some dzoinke, and some other at plate, &c: whyles the first voice was vsed. And at the second voice, to wit, when he should deli uer his message, he being an old pilot, knew where some noise was vsuall, by meanes of some echo in the sea, and thought he would, (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his deuise, if the wether proued calme. Whereby may appeare, that he would in other cases of tempests, &c: rather attend to moze serious busi nes, than to that ridiculous matter. For whie else should he not doo his errand in rough wether, as well as in calme? Or what need he tell the diuell thereof, when the diuell told it him befoze, and with much moze expedition could haue done the errand himselfe?

* But you shall read in the Legend a fable, an oracle I would
 P. ij. late,

Thamus hauing lie tle to doo, thought to plaic with his compa nie, whom he might easlie ouertake with such a iest.

A detreci on of *Tha mus* his knauerie.

* Legend. 119.
 in vita sacre
 si Andree.
 fol. 39.

Agente
and a god-
lie diuell.

saie, moze authentike. For many will say that this was a prophane stozie, and not so canonicall as those which are verified by the popes authoritie: and thus it is written. A woman in hir trouble sent hir sister to Diana, which was the diuell in an idoll (as all those oracles are said to be) and willed hir to make hir praiers, or rather a request, to knowe of hir safe deliuerie: which thing he did. But the diuell answered; Why praieest thou to me: I cannot helpe thee, but go praie to Andrew the apostle, and he may helpe thy sister, &c. Lo, this was not onelie a gentle, but a godlie diuell, pitttieng the womans case, who reuealing his owne disability, enabled S. Andrew moze. I knowe some protestants will saie, that the diuell, to mainteine idolatrie, &c: referred the maid to S. Andrew. But what answer will the papists make, who thinke it great pietie to praie vnto saints, and so by consequence honest courtesie in the diuell, to send hir to S. Andrew, who wold not faile to serue hir turne, &c.

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

The fifth Chapter.

Athanas. de
human. ver-
bi. fol. 55. &
64.



The opinions of the fathers, that oracles are ceased by the coming of Christ, you shall find in these places following, to wit: Iustinus *In dialogis aduersus Indæos*, Athanasius *De humanitate verbi*, Augustine *De ciuitate Dei*, Ensebius *lib. 7. cap. 6*, Item *lib. 5. cap. 1. 8*. Rupertus *In Ioan. lib. 10. 12*. Plutarch *De abolitione oraculorum*, Plinie *lib. 30. natural. historie*. Finallye, Athanasius concludes, that in times past there were oracles in Delphos, Bœotia, Lycia, and other places: but now since Christ is preached to all men, this madness is ceased. So as you see, that whatsoeuer estimation in times past, the ancient fathers conceiued (by heere saie) of those miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c: they themselues refuse now, not onelie to beare witnesse of; but also affirme, that euer since

since Christs comming their mouthes haue bene stopped.

For the ceasing of the knaueries and coufening deuises of p̄ests, I see no authoritie of scripture or ancient father, but rather the contrarie; to wit, that there shall be strange illusions thewred by them, euen till the end. And truelike, whosoever knoweth and noteth the order and deuises of and in popish pilgrimages, shall see both the oracles & their conclusions remaining, and as if were transferred from Delphos to Rome, where that adulterous generation continuallie seeketh a signe, though they haue Moses & the prophets, yea euen Christ & his apostles also, &c.

Where and wherein coufeners, witches, and p̄ests were wont to giue oracles, and to worke their feats,

The sixt Chapter.



These coufening oracles, or rather oracles used (I saie) to exercise their feats and to do their miracles most commonly in maids, in beasts, in images, in dens, in cloisters, in darke holes, in trees, in churches or churchyards, &c. where p̄ests, monks, and friers had laid their plots, and made their confederacies afozehand, to beguile the world, to gaine monie, and to adde credit to their profession. This practise began in the okes of Dodona, in the which was a wood, the trees thereof (they saie) could speake. And this was done by a knaue in a hollowe tree, that seemed sound vnto the simple people. This wood was in Molossus a part of Greece, called Epyrus, and it was named Dodonas oracles. There were manie oracles in Aegypt; namelie, of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerua, of Diana, of Mars, of Iupiter, and of the ore Apys, who was the sonne of Iupiter, but his image was worshipped in the likeness of an ore. Latona, who was the mother of Apollo, was an oracle in the citie of Bute. The p̄ests of Apollo, who alwaies counterfaieted furie and madnesse, gaue oracles in the temple called Clarius, within the citie of Colophon in Greece. At Thebes in Bœotia, and also in Lœbadia, Trophonius was the chiefe oracle. At Memphis a cow, at Corinth an ore called Mineus, in Artinoe a crocodile, in Athens a prophet called Amphiaraus, who

¶. iij.

indeed

Strabo Geog.
lib. 16.
I. Vier. li. 1.
de prest. dem.
cap. 12.

indeed died at Thebes, where they saie the earth opened, & swallowed him by quicke. At Delphos was the great temple of Apollo, where diuels gaue oracles by maides (as some saie) though indeed it was done by priests. It was built vpon Parnassus hill in Greece. And the defenders of oracles saie, that euen as riuers oftentimes are diuerted to another course; so likewise the spirit, which inspired the chiefe prophets, may for a time be silent, and reuiue againe by reuolution.

*H. Haw. in his defence against prophecies.

Demetrius saith, that the spirits, which attended on oracles, wared wearie of the peoples curiositie and importunitie, and so; thame forsooke the temple. But as * one that of late hath written against prophecies saith; It is no maruell, that when the familiaris that speake in trunks were repelled from their harbour for feare of discouerie, the blocks almightie lost their senses. For these are all gone now, and their knauerie is espied; so as they can no longer abuse the world with such bables. But whereas these great doctors suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was the coming of Christ; if they meane that the diuell died, so lone as he was bozne, or that then he gaue ouer his occupation; they are deceiued. For the popish church hath made a continuall practise hereof, partlie for their owne priuate profit, lucre, and gaine; and partly to be had in estimation of the world, and in admiration among the simple. But indeed, men that haue learned Christ, and bene conuersant in his word, haue discovered and shaken off the vanitie and abomination hereof. But if those doctors had liued till this date, they would haue said and written, that oracles had ceased, or rather bene giuen out of England in the time of K. Henrie the eight, and of Quene Elizabeth his daughter; who haue done so much in that behalfe, as at this houre they are not onlie all gone, but forgotten here in this English nation, where they swarmed as thicke as they did in Boeotia, or in any other place in the world. But the credit they had, depended not vpon their desert, but vpon the credulitie of others. Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this matter, with the opinion and sateng of the prophet; Vaine is the awfwer of idols. For they haue eies and see not, eares and heare not, mouthes and speake not, &c: and let them shew what is to come, and I will saie they are gods indeed.

In whose daies oracles ceased in England

Zach. 10.
Mai. 44.

¶ The ninth Booke.

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

The first Chapter.



Asam (as John Wierus ^{I. Wier. lib. de prest. de- moti.} upon his owne knowledge affirmeth, and vpon the word of Andraas Malius reporteth) differeth little in signification from the former word *ob*; betokening *Præcognari*, which is, To prophesie, and is most commonly taken in euill part; as in Deut. 18. Ierem. 27. &c. howbeit, sometime in good part, as in Esaie 3. verse. 21. To foretell things to come vpon probable

All diuinations are not condemnable.

coniectures, so as there in we reach no further than becommeth humane capacitie, is not (in mine opinion) vnlawfull, but rather a commendable manifestation of wisdome and iudgment, the good gifts and notable blessings of G D D, for the which we ought to be thankfull; as also to yeld due honour and praise vnto him, for the noble order which he hath appointed in nature: praesenting him to lighten our hearts with the beames of his wisdome, that we may more and more profit in the true knowledge of the workmanship of his hands. But some are so wise, that they condemne generallie all sorts of diuinations, denieng those things that in nature haue manifest causes, and are so framed, as they foretew things to come, and in that thew admonish vs of things after to insue, exhibiting signes of vnknowne and future matters to be iudged vpon, by the order, lawe, and course of nature

p. iij.

proposed

proposed vnto vs by God.

And some on the other side are so betwitched with follie, as they attribute to creatures that estimation, which rightlie and true lie apperteineth to God the creator of all things; affirming that the publike and priuate destinies of all humane matters, and whatsoeuer a man would knowe of things come or gone, is manifested to vs in the heauens: 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 fauourable aspect of the planets. By which, and other the like deuises they depraue and prophane the ancient and commendable obseruations of our fathers: as did Colebrabus, who taught, that all mans life was governed by the seuen planets; and yet a christian, and condemned for heresie. But let vs so farre forth embrace and allow this philosophie and prophesying, as the word of God giueth vs leaue, and commendeth the same vnto vs.

Colebrabus
erronious
& impious
opinion.

Proofes by the old and new testament, that certaine obseruations of the weather are lawfull.

The second Chapter.



When God by his word and wisdom had made the heauens, and placed the starres in the firmament, he said; Let them be for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and yeares. When he created the rainebowe in the clouds, he said it should be for a signe and token vnto vs, which we find true, not onelie of the flood

past, but also of shewers to come. And therefore according to Iesus Sirachs aduise, let vs behold it, and praise him that made it. The prophet Dauid saith; The heauens declare the glorie of God, and the earth sheweth his handie worke: daie vnto daie uttereth the same, and night vnto night teacheth knowledg. It is also written that by the commandement of the holie one the starres are placed, and continue in their order, & faile not in their watch. It should appeare, that Christ himselve did not altogether neglect the course & order of the heauens, in that he said; When you see a cloud

Psal. 13.
Ierem. 54.
Gen. 1.
Ezech. 1.
Gen. 9.

Ecl. 43.

Pl. 19. & 50.

Firmament

Ecl. 43.

Baruch. 3.

Luk. 12. 24.

cloud rise out of the west, streight waite you saie a shewer cometh; and so it is. And when you see the southwind blowe; you saie it will be hot, and so it comieth to passe. Againe, when it is evening, you saie faire weather, for the skie is red: and in the morning you saie, to daie shalbe a tempest, for the skie is red and lowering. Wherein as he noteth that these things do trulie come to passe, according to ancient obseruation, and to the rule astronomical: so doth he also by other words following admonish vs, that in attending to much to those obseruations, we neglect not spectallie to follow our christian vocation.

The physician is commended vnto vs, and allowed in the scriptures: but so to put trust in him, as to neglect & distrust God, is seuerelie forbidden and reprovod. Surelie it is most necessarie for vs to know and obserue diuerse rules astrologicall; otherwise we could not with oportunitie dispatch our ordinarie affaires. And yet Lactantius condemneth and recounteth it among the number of witchcrafts: from whose censure Caluine doth not much varie. The poore husbandman perceiueth that the increase of the moone maketh plants and living creatures frutefull: so as in the full moone they are in best strength, decaying in the wane, and in the coniunction do viterlie wither and bade. Which when by obseruation, vse and practise they haue once learned, they distribute their businesse accordinglie; as their times and seasons to sowe, to plant, to proine, to let their cattell blood, to cut, &c.

That certeine obseruations are indifferent, certeine ridiculous, and certeine impious, whence that cunning is deriued of Apollo, and of Aruspices.

The third Chapter.

I know not whether to disallow or discomend the curious obseruation vsed by our elders, who consecrated vpon natiuities: so as, if Saturne and Mercurie were opposite in anie brute signe, a man then bozne should be dumbe or stammer much; whereas it is dailie seene, that children naturallie imitate their parents conditions

Mat. 16. 2,
3.

Lactant. contra astrologos.

Peucer. de astrolog. pag. 383.

The ridiculous art of natiuity-casting.

conditions in that behalfe. Also they haue noted, that one borne in the spring of the moone, shalbe healthie; in that time of the wane, when the moone is bitterlie decayed, the child then borne cannot liue; and in the conjunction, it cannot long continue.

Julius Ma-
ternus his
most impi-
ous opi-
nion.

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 liue long, and after his death shall go to heauen presentlie. And so is this of Albumazar, who saith, that whosoever praiesh to God, when the moone is in Capite draconis, shalbe heard, and obtaine his praier. Further more, to plate the cold prophet, as to recount it god or bad lucke, when salt or wine falleth on the table, or is shed, &c. or to prognosticate that ghests approach to your house, vpon the chattering of pies or haggisters, wherof there can be peelded no probable reason, is altogether vanitie and superstition: as hereafter shalbe more largelie shewed. But to make simple people beleue, that a man or woman can foretell god or euill fortune, is mere witchcraft or couzenage. For God is the onlie searcher of the heart, and deliuereth not his counsell to so lewd reprobates. I know diuerse writers affirme, that witches foretell things, as prompted by a reall diuell; and that he againe learneth it out of the prophesies written in the scriptures, and by other nimble sleights, wherein he passeth anie other creature earthlie; and that the same diuell, or some of his fellowes runnes or flies as farre as Rochester, to mother Bungie; or to Canturburie to S. T.; or to Delphos, to Apollo; or to Aesculapius, in Pargamo; or to some other idoll or witch, and there by waie of oracle answers all questions, through his vnderstanding of the prophesies contained in the old testament, especiallie in Daniel and Esaie: whereby the diuell knew of the translation of the monarchie from Babylon to Gracia, &c. But either they haue learned this of some oracle or witch; or else I know not where the diuell they find it. Harrie certeine it is, that herein they shew themselues to be witches and fond diuinozs; for they find no such thing written in Gods word.

Bodinus.
Daneus.
Erastus.
Heminges.
Mal. malef.
Thom. Aquinas, &c.

Of the idoll called Apollo, I haue somewhat already spoken in the former title of Ob or Pytho; and some occasion I shall haue to speake thereof hereafter: and therefore at this time it shall suffice to tell you, that the credit gained thereunto, was by the craft and

and cunning of the priests; which tended thereupon; who with their counterfeite miracles so bewitched the people, as they thought such vertue to haue bene contained in the bodie of those idols, as God hath not promised to anie of his angels, or elect people. For it is said, that if Apollo were in a chafe, he would sweat: if he had remorse to the afflicted, and could not help them, he would shed teares, which I beleue might haue bene wiped awaie with that handkerchiefe, that wiped and dried the King of graces face, being in like perplexities. Euen as another sort of witching priests called Aruspices, prophesied victorie to Alexander, because an eagle lighted on his head: which eagle might (I beleue) be coped or caged with Mahomets doue, that picked pearson out of his care.

Apollo's
passions.

The predictions of soothsaiers and lewd priests, the prognostications of astronomers and physicians allowable, diuine prophesies holie and good.

The fourth Chapter.



The couensing tricks of oracling priests and monkes, are and haue bene speciallie most abhominable. The superstitious obseruations of senseles augurers and soothsaiers (contrarie to philosophy, and without authoritie of scripture) are verie bugodie and ridiculous.

Howbeit, I reiect not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the coniectures or forewarnings of physicians, nor yet the interpretations of philosophers; although in respect of the diuine prophesies contained in holie scriptures, they are not to be weighed or regarded. For the end of these and the other is not onlie farre differing; but whereas these containe onlie the word and will of God, with the other are mingled most horrible lies and couensages. For though there be many of them learned and godlie, yet lucke there in corners of the same profession, a great number of counterfets and couensers. I Bodin put

testh this difference betweene diuine propets and incantors; to wit,

What prophesies allowable.

I. Bod. lib. de
dem. lib. 1.
cap. 4.

to with, the one saith alwaies true, the others words proceeding from the diuell are alwaies false; or for one truth they tell a hundred lies. And then why maie not euerie witch be thought as cunning as Apollo? And why not euerie counterfet coufener as good a witch as mother Bungie? For it is ods, but they will hit the truth once in a hundred diuinations as well as the best.

The diuersitie of true prophets, of Vrim, and of the propheticall vse of the twelue precious stones contained therein, of the diuine voice called Echo.

The fift Chapter.

Diuerse degrees of prophesie.

It should appeare, that euen of holie prophets there were diuerse sorts. For Dauid and Salomon, 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 Elie and Elisha were, &c. For as often as it is said, that God spake to Dauid or Salomon, it is meant to be done by the prophets. For Nathan or Gad were the messengers and prophets to reueale Gods will to Dauid. And Ahiam the Silonite was sent from God to Salomon. Item, the spirit of prophesie, which Elias had, was doubled upon Elisha. Also some prophets prophesied all their liues, some had but one vision, and some had more, according to Gods pleasure; yea some prophesied vnto the people of such things as came not to passe, and that was where Gods wrath was pacified by repentance. But these prophets were alwaies reputed among the people to be wise and goodlie; whereas the heathen prophets were euermore knowne and said to be mad and foolish: as it is written both of the prophets of Sibylla, and also of Apollo; and at this daie also in the Indies, &c.

But that ante of these extraordinary gifts remaine at this daie, Bodin, nor antie witchmonger in the world shall neuer be able to proue: though he in his booke of diuells madnesse would make men beleue it. For these were miraculoustie maintained by

by God among the Jewes, who were instructed by them of all such things as should come to passe; or else informed by Vrim: so as the priests by the brightnes of the twelue pretious stones contained therein, could prognosticate or erpound anie thing. Which brightnes and vertue ceased (as Iosephus reporteth) two hundred yeates befoze he was bozne. So as since that time, no answers were yelded thereby of Gods will and pleasure. Nevertheless, the Hebrewes write, that there hath bene euer since that time, a diuine voice heard among them, which in Latine is called *Filia vocis*, in Greeke $\eta\chi\omega$, in English The daughter of speeche.

Ioseph. de antiquis.

Iosue filius Levi. lib. Pirkeaboth.

Of propheties conditionall: whereof the propheties in the old testament doo intreate, and by whom they were published; witchmongers aunswers to the obiections against witches supernaturall actions.

The sixt Chapter.



Christ and his apostles prophesied of the calamities and afflictions, which shall greue and disturbe the church of God in this life: also of the last date, and of the signes and tokens that shall be shewed befoze that date: and finallye of all things, which are requisite for vs to foreknowe. Howbeit, such is the mercie of God, that all propheties, threatenings, plagues, and punishments are annered to conditions of repentance: as on the other side, corporall blessings are tied vnder the condition of the crosse and castigation. So as by them the mysteries of our saluation being discovered vnto vs, we are not to seeke new signes and miracles; but to attend to the doctrine of the apostles, who preached Christ exhibited and crucified for our sinnes, his resurrection, ascension, and thereby the redemption of as manie as belæue, &c.

Prophetica conditionall.

The propheties in the old testament treat of the continuance, the gouernement, and the difference of estates: of the distinction of the foure monarchies, of their order, decaie, and instauration;

of

The subject
of the pro-
phesies of
the old te-
stament.

of the changes and ruines of the kingdomes of Iuda, Israel, Aegypt, Persia, Gracia, &c : and speciallie of the comming of our Saviour Iesus Christ; and how he should be borne of a virgine, and where, of his tribe, passion, resurrection, &c. These prophesies were published by Gods speciall and peculiar prophets, endued with his particular and excellent gifts, according to his promise; I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren, I will put my words in his mouth, &c. Which though it were speciallie spoken of Christ, yet was it also spoken of those particular prophets, which were placed among them by God to declare his will; which were also figures of Christ the prophet himselfe. Now, if prophesie be an extraordinary gift of God, and a thing peculiar to himselfe, as without whose speciall assistance no creature can be a prophet, or shew what is to come; whie should we beleue, that those lewd persons can performe by diuinations and miracles that which is not in humane but in diuine power to accomplish?

2.Reg. 2.13. I doubt, when I denie that witches can ride in the aire, and the miraculous circumstance thereof: by and by it is obieared vnto me, that Enoch and Elie were rapt into heauen bodilie; and that Abacucke was carried in the aire, to feed Daniel: and so falselie oppose a diuels or a witches power against the vertue of the Holy-ghost. If I deride the poets opinions, saying, that witches cannot *Caelo deducere lunam*, fetch the moone from heauen, &c: they tell me that at Ioshuas battell the sunne staid, and at the passion of Christ there was palpable darknes. If I denie their cunning in the exposition of dreames, aduising them to remember Ieremies counsell, not to followe or credit the exposition of dreames; they hit me in the teeth with Daniel and Ioseph: for that the one of them expounded Pharaos the Persian kings, the other Nabuchadnezzar the Aegyptian kings dreame. If I saie with Salomon, that the dead knowe nothing, and that the dead knowe vs not, neither are remouable out of Abrahams bow some, &c: they produce the storie of Samuel: wherein, I saie, they set the power of a creature as high as the creator. If I saie, that these witches cannot transubstantiate themselues, nor others into brass, &c. they cite the storie of Nabuchadnezzar; as though indeed he were made a materiall beast, and that also by witchcraft;

Eccles. 9.5.

1.Sam. 28.

What were the miracles expressed in the old testa-
ment, and what are they in the new testament: and that
we are not now to looke for anie more miracles.

The seuenth Chapter.



The miracles expressed in the old
testament were manie, but the end of
them all was one, though they were di-
uers and differing in thew: as where the
sacrifices of Moles, Elias, and Salomon,
being abundantlie wet were burnt with
fier from heauen, &c. The varietie of
tongues at the building of Babylon, Isaachs
birth of Sarah being by nature past children,
the passage through the red sea, Daniels
foretelling of the foure monarchies, in the
fourth whereof he apparantlie foresheweth
the coming of the Lord. All these, and
manie other, which are expressed in the
old testament, were mercifull instructions
and notable miracles to strengthen the
faith of Gods people in their distresses.
If you had gone to Delphos, Apollo would
haue made you beleue with his amphibologi-
call answers, that he could haue fo-
retold you all these things.

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

The miracles wrought by Christ were the raising
vp of the dead (which manie would impute to
the woman of Endor, and also to our
witches and conuicors) the restoring of the
lame to lims, the blind to sight, the dumbe
to speach, and finallie the healing of all
diseases; which manie beleue our witches
can doe; yea, and as they themselues will
take it vpon them. As for casting out of
diuels (which was another kind of mirac-
les vsual with Christ) witches and conuicors
are said to be as god thereat as euer he was:
and yet, if you will beleue Christs words,
it cannot be so. For he saith; Euerie
kingdome diuided against it selfe, shall be
brought to naught, &c. If sathan cast out
sathan, he is diuided, &c.: and his kingdome
shall not endure, &c.

A summe
of Christs
miracles.

Mat. 12. 25.

Peters chaines fell off in prison, so did Richard Gallies fetters at Windfor: marrie the prison doores opened not to Richard, as they did to Peter. Helias by speciall grace obtained raine, our witches can make it raine, when they list, &c. But sithens Christ did these miracles, and manie more, and all to confirme his truth, and strengthen our faith, and finally for the conuersion of the people (as appeareth in Iohn. 6. 7, and 12: in so much as he vehementlie reprovued such, as upon the sight of them would not beleeue, saying; Who be to thee Chorazin, who be to thee Bethsaida: If the miracles had bene done in Tyre and Sidon, which haue bene done in you, they had a great while ago repented, &c. Let vs settle and acquiet our faith in Christ, and beleeuing all his wonderful works, let vs reject these old wifes fables, as lieng vanities: whereof you may find in the golden legend, M. Mal. and speciallie in Bodin miraculous stufte, enough to cheeke all the miracles expressed in the old and new testament; which are of more credit with manie bewitched people, than the true miracles of Christ himselte. Inso much as they stand in more awe of the manacles of a witch, than of all the threatnings and curses pronounced by God, and expressed in his word.

And thus much touching

the word *Kalam*.



The tenth Booke.

The interpretation of this Hebrue word
Onen, of the vanitie of dreames, and diuinati-
ons therevpon.

The first Chapter.



ONEN differeth not
much from *Kasam*, but that
it is extended to the inter-
pretation of dreames. And
as for dreames, whatsoe-
uer credit is attributed
vnto them, procédeeth of
sollie: and they are soles
that trust in them, for whie
they haue deceiued many.
In which respect the Pro-
phet giueth vs god war-
ning, not to followe noz
hearken to the expositors

Ecclus. 14.

Jerem. 27.
Ecclc. 5.

of dreames, for they come through the multitude of busines. And
therefore those witches, that make men beléue they can prophe-
sie vpon dreames, as knowing the interpretation of them,
and either for monte or glozie abuse men & women ther-
by, are mére couseners, and worthise of great pu-
nishment: as are such witchmongers, as be-
léuing them, attribute vnto them such
diuine power as onelie below-
geth to God: as appé-
reth in Ieremie the
Prophet.

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

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

The second Chapter.



Macrobios recounteth five differences of images, or rather imaginati-
ons exhibited vnto them that sleepe, which
for the most part do signifie some what in
admonition. There be also many subdivi-
sions made hereof, which I thinke need-
lesse to reherse. In Iasper Peucer they are
to be seene, with the causes and occasions
of dreames. There were wont to be deliuered from God himselfe
or his angels, certeine dreames and visions vnto the prophets
and holie fathers: according to the saying of Ioel; I will poure
my spirit vpon all flesh, your young men shall dreame dreames,
and your old men shall see visions. These kind of dreames (I say)
were the admonishments and forewarnings of God to his peo-
ple: as that of Ioseph, to abide with Marie his wife, after she was
conceited by the Holie-ghost, as also to conueie our Saviour
Christ into Aegypt, &c: the interpretation whereof are the pecu-
liar gifts of God, which Ioseph the patriarch, and Daniel the pro-
phet had most spectallie.

As for physcally coniectures vpon dreames, the scriptures im-
proue them not: for by them the physicians manie times do vn-
derstand the state of their patients bodies. For some of them
come by meanes of cholera, flegme, melancholie, or blood; and
some by loue, surfet, hunger, thirst, &c. Gallen and Boetius were
said to deale with diuels, because they told so iustlie their patients
dreames, or rather by their dreames their speciall diseases. How-
beit, physcally dreames are naturall, and the cause of them dwel-
leth in the nature of man. For they are the inward actions of
the mind in the spirits of the braine, whilst the bodie is occupied
with sleepe: for as touching the mind it selfe, it neuer sleepeth.
These dreames varie, according to the difference of humors and
vapors. There are also casuall dreames, which (as Salomon saith)

Peucer in
diuinitat. ex
somnijs.

Ioel. 2.

Matth. 1. 20.

Matth. 2. 13.

Gen. 39. &
40. & 41.
Dani. 2.

Ecles. 5.

come

come through the multitude of businesse. For as a looking glasse
sheweth the image or figure thereunto opposite: so in dreames,
the phantasie & imagination informes the vnderstanding of such
things as haunt the outward sense. Whereupon the poet saith:

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

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

*Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.*

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

The third Chapter.



Ynesius, Themistius, Democritus,
and others grounding themselues vpon
examples that chance hath sometimes be-
rified, persuade men, that nothing is
dreamed in vaine: affirming that the he-
uentic influencies do bring forth diuers
formes in corporall matters; and of the
same influencies, visions and dreames
are printed in the fantastickall power, which is instrumentall, with
a celestiaall disposition meete to bring forth some effect, especiallie
in sleepe, when the mind (being free from bodilie cares) may moze
liberallie receiue the heauenlic influencies, wherby many things
are knowne to them sleeping in dreames, which they that wake
cannot see. Plato attributeth them to the formes and ingendred
knowledges of the soule; Auicen to the last intelligeunce that mo-
ueth the mone, through the light that lighteneth the fantasie in
sleepe; Aristotle to the phantastickall sense; Auerroës to the imagi-
natiue; Albert to the influence of superioz bodies.

A dissonan-
cie in opi-
nions a-
bout
dreames:

Against interpretors of dreames, of the ordinarie
cause of dreames, Hemingius his opinion of diabolicall
dreames, the interpretation of dreames ceased.

The fourth Chapter.

Here are bookeſ carried about concerning this matter, vnder the name of Abraham, who (as Philo *In lib. gigantium* ſaith) was the firſt inuentor of the expoſition of dreames: and ſo likewise of Salomon and Daniel. But Cicero *In lib. de diuinatione* confuteſ the vanitie and follie of them that giue credit to dreames. And as for the interpretoꝝ of dreames, as they knowe not befoꝛe the dreame, noꝛ yet after, any certeintie; yet when any thing afterwards happeneth, then they applie the dreame to that which hath chanced.

Certeintie men neuer lightlie faille to dreame by night, of that which they meditate by daie: and by daie they ſee diuers and ſundry things, and conceiue them ſeueralie in their minds. Then thoſe mixed conceits being laid vp in the cloſſet of the memorie, ſtrive together; which, becauſe the phantaſie cannot diſcerne noꝛ diſcuſſe, ſome certeine thing gathered of manie conceits is bred and contriued in one together. And therefore in mine opinion, it is time vaineſie employed, to ſtudie about the interpretation of dreames. He that liſt to ſee the follie and vanitie thereof, maie read a vaine treatiſe, ſet out by Thomas Hill Londoner, 1568.

The pleaſant ar: of the interpretation of dreames.
N. Hemini in ad monitionib. de ſuſpirationib. magicis uicadis.

Laſtly, there are diabolicall dreames, which Nicholaus Hemingius diuideſ into thꝛee ſortes. The firſt is, when the diuell immediately of himſelſe (he meaneth cozpozallie) offereth anie matter of dreame. Secondlie, when the diuell theweth reuelations to them that haue made requeſt vnto him therefore. Thirdlie, when magicians by art bring to paſſe, that other men dreame what they will. Aſſuredlie theſe, and ſo all the reſt (as they maie be ſeene) are verie magicall and diueliſh dreames. For although we maie receiue comfort of mind by thoſe, which are called diuine dreames,

dreames, and health of bodie through physcall dreames: yet if we take vpon vs to vse the office of God in the reuelation or rather the interpretation of them; or if we attribute vnto them miraculous effects (now when we see the gifts of prophesie, and of interpretation of dreames, and also the operation of miracles are created, 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 vnto vs both in the testament, and also in the blood of our Saviour Iesus Christ) we are bewitched, and both abuse and offend the maiestie of God, and also seduce, delude and conuen all such as by our persuasion, and their owne light beleefe, giue vs credit.

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

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

The fift Chapter.



I Grant there maie be hearbs and stones found and knowne to the physicians, which maie procure dreames; and other hearbs and stones, &c: to make one betwixt all the secrets of his mind, when his bodie sleepeeth, or at least wise to procure speech in sleepe. But that witches or magicians haue power by words, herbs, or imprecations to thrust into the mind or conscience of man, what it shall please them, by vertue of their charmes, hearbs, stones, or familiars, &c: according to the opinion of Hemingius, I denie: though therewithall I confesse, that the diuell both by daie and also by night, trauelleth to seduce man, and to lead him from God; yea and that no waite more than this, where he placeth himselfe as God in the minds of them that are so credulous, to attribute vnto him, or vnto witches, that which is onlie in the office, nature, and power of God to accomplish.

Seeke for such stuffe in my booke of Hartumim.

Doth not Daniel the prophet saie, euen in this case; It is the Dan. 2.

Id. ij.

L. qz

Gen. 11. 8.

Gen. 37. 8c

11.

Iſai. 11.

Dan. 2.

Lord onelie that knoweth ſuch ſecrets, as in the expoſition of dreames is required: And doth not Ioseph repeat thoſe verie words to Pharaos officers, who conſulted with him therein: Examples of diuine dreames you maie find a great number in the ſcripture, ſuch (I meane) as it pleaſed God to reueale his pleaſure by. Of phyſicall dreames we maie both read in authozs, and ſee in our owne experience daillie, or rather nightly. Such dreames alſo as are caſuall, they are likewise vſuall, and come (as hath bene ſaid) though the multitude of affaires and buſineſſe. Thoſe which in theſe daies are called magicall or diabolicall dreames, maie rather be called melancholicall. For out of that blacke vapoz in ſleepe, through dreames, appeareth (as Ariſtole ſaith) ſome horrible thing; and as it were the image of an ouglie diuell: ſometimes alſo other terrible viſions, imaginations, counſels, and practiſes. As where we read of a certeine man, that dreamed there appeared one vnto him that required him to throwe himſelfe into a deepe pit, and that he ſhould reape great benefit thereby at Gods hands. So as the miſerable wretch giuing credit therevnto, perſozmed the matter, and killed himſelfe. Now I confeſſe, that the interpretation or execution of that dreame was indeed diabolicall: but the dreame was caſuall, deriued from the heaue and blacke humoz of melancholie.

Ariſtot. de ſomnis.

How men haue bene bewitched, couſened or abuſed by dreames to dig and ſearch for monie.

The ſixt Chapter.

Such would be imbar-
ked in the
ſhip of
fooles.



How manie haue bene bewitched with dreames, and thereby made to conſume themſelues with digging and ſearching for monie, &c: whereof the y, or ſome other haue dzempt: I my ſelfe could manifeſt, as hauing knowne how wiſe men haue bene that waie abuſed by verie ſimple perſons, euen where no dreame hath bene met withall, but waking dreames. And this hath bene vſed heretofore, as one of the fineſt couſening feates; in ſo much

as there is a vertie for maill art thereof deuised, with manie excellent superstitions and ceremonies therevnto belonging, which I will set do tunc as by exellie as maie be. Albeit that here in England, this pꝛouerbe hath bene current; to wit, *Dreames pꝛouue contrarie*: according to the answer of the pꝛiests boy to his master, who told his said boy that he dꝛempt he killed his faile: *Þea master (saith he) but dꝛeames pꝛouue contrarie, you must kisse mine.*

An english
prouerbe.

The art and order to be vsed in digging for monie, reuealed by dreames, how to procure pleasant dreames, of morning and midnight dreames.

The seuenth Chapter.



Here must be made vpon a hazell wand thre crosses, and certeine words both blasphemous and impious must be said ouer it, and herevnto must be added certeine characters, & 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 inferi credo videre bona, &c. Expectate Dominum, Requiem eternam.* And then a certeine pꝛaier. And if the time of digging be neglected, the diuell will carie all the treasure awaie. See other moze absolute conirations for this purpose, in the word I idoni following.

Note this
superstitious
do-
tage.

You shall find in Iohannes Baptista Neapolitanus, diuerse receipts by hearbes and potions, to procure pleasant or fearefull dreames; and perfumes also to that effect: who affirmeth, that dreames in the dead of the night are commonlie pꝛeposurous and monstrous; and in the morning when the grosse humors be spent, there happen moze pleasant and certeine dreames, the blood being moze pure than at other times: the reason whereof is there expressed.

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

Sundrie receipts and ointments, made and vsed for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects: an instance therof reported and credited by some that are learned.

The eight Chapter.



LThall not be amisse here in this place to repeate an ointment greatlie to this purpose, rehearsed by the foresaid John Bapt. Neap. wherein although he maie be ouertaken and couened by an old witch, and made not onelie to beleue, but also to report a false tale; yet bicause it greatlie ouerthroweth the opinion of M. Mal. Bodin, and such other, as write so absolutelie in maintenance of witches transportations, I will set downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

Confeci-
ons or re-
ceipts for
the mira-
culous
transporta-
tion of
witches.

℞. The fat of yong children, and seeth it with water in a brazen vessell, reseruing the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they laie vp and keepe, vntill occasion serueth to vse it. They put herevnto *Eleosclanum, Acanitum, Frondes populeas,* and *Sote.*

Another receipt to the same purpose.

℞. *Sium, acarium vulgare, pentaphyllon,* the blond of a sitter mouse, *solanum somniferum,* & *oleum.* They stampe all these togither, and then they rubbe all parts of their bodies exceedinglie, till they loke red, and be verie hot, so as the pores may be opened, and their flesh soluble and lose. They ioine herewithall either fat, or oile in steed thereof, that the force of the ointment maie the rather pearse inwardly, and so be more effectuall. By this means (saith he) in a moone light night they seeme to be carried in the aire, to feasting, singing, dancing, kissing, culling, and other acts of venerie, with such yoythes as they loue and desire most: for the force (saith he) of their imagination is so vehement, that al most all that part of the braine, wherein the memorie consisteth, is full of such conceipts. And whereas they are naturallie prone

to

to beleue anie thing; so doe they receiue such impressions and stedfast imaginations into their minds, as euen their spirits are altered thereby; not thinking vpon anie thing else, either by daie or by night. And this helpeth them forward in their imaginations, that their vsuall food is none other commonlie but baets, rotes, nuts, beanes, peaze, &c.

Now (saith he) when I considered thoughtlie hereof, remaining doubtfull of the matter, there fell into my hands a witch, who of hir owne accoꝝd did promise me to fetch me an errand out of hand from farre countries, and willed all them, whom I had brought to witnesse the matter, to depart out of the chamber. And when she had undressed hir selfe, and froted hir bodie with certeine ointments (which action we beheld through a chynke or little hole of the doꝝe) she fell downe thorough the force of those soporiferous or sleepe ointments into a most sound and heauie sleepe: so as we did breake open the doꝝe, and did beate hir erces dinglie; but the force of hir sleepe was such, as it toke awate from hir the sense of feeling: and we departed for a time. Now when hir strength and powers were wearie and decayed, she awooke of hir owne accoꝝd, and began to speake manie baine and dotting words, affirming that she had passed ouer both seas and mountaines; deliuering to vs manie vntreue and false reports: we earnestlie denied them, she impudentlie affirmed them. This (saith he) will not so come to passe with euerie one, but onlie with old women that are melancholike, whose nature is extreme cold, and their euapozation small; and they both perceiue and remember what they see in that case and taking of theirs.

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

The ninth Chapter.



Ut if it be true that S. Augustine saith, and manie other writers, that witches nightwalkings are but phantasies and dreames: then all the reportes of their bargaine, transporting, and meetings

*Verule, quas
à strigis simi-
litudine, stri-
ges vocant,
que q. noctis
puerulorum
sanguinem in
cunis cubar-
ium exfor-
bent.*

tings with Diana, Minerua, &c: are but fables; and then do they lie that mainteine those actions to be done in deed and veritie, which in truth are done no waie. It were maruell on the one side (if those things happened in dreames, which neuertheless the witches affirme to be otherwise) that when those witches awake, they neither consider nor remember that they were in a dreame. It were maruell that their ointments, by the physicians opinions hauing no force at all to that effect, as they confesse which are inquisitozs, should haue such operation. It were maruell that their ointments cannot be found anie where, sauing onelie in the inquisitozs booke. It were maruell, that when a stranger is annointed therewith, they haue sometimes, and yet not alwaies, the like operation as with witches; which all the inquisitozs confesse.

Barthol. Spinus, q. de strigib. c. 31.

Bar. Spin. qn. de strigib. c. 30.

New matter & worthie to be maruelled at.

But to this last, siter Bartholomæus saith, that the witches themselves, before they amoint themselves, do heare in the night time a great noise of minstrels, which flie ouer them, with the ladie of the fairies, and then they addresse themselves to their tourne. But then I maruell againe, that no bodie else heareth nor seeth this trope of minstrels, especiallie riding in a mone light night. It is maruell, that they that thinke this to be but in a dreame, can be persuaded that all the rest is anie other than dreames. It is maruell that in dreames, witches of old acquaintance meet so iust together, and conclude vpon murders, and receiue ointments, roots, powders, &c: (as witchmongers report they do, and as they make the witches confesse) and yet lie at home fast asleepe. It is maruell 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 vp their meate: and the alewife spectallie is not wearied with them so; non payment of their scoze, or false payment; to wit, with imaginarie monte, which they saie is not substantiall, and that they talke not afterwards about the reckoning, and so discover the matter. And it is most maruell of all, that the hostesse, &c: doth not sit among them, and take part of their good chaire. For so it is, that if any part of these their meetings and league be true, it is as true and as certainlie proved and confessed, that at some alehouse, or sometime at some Gentlemans

stemans house, there is continuall preparat ion made monethlie
foz this assemblie : as appereth in S. Germans scole.

Legen d. awy.
in visa S.
Germani.

That most part of prophesies in the old testament were
revealed in dreames, that we are not now to looke for
such reuelations, of some who haue drempt of that which
hath come to passe, that dreames prouue contrarie, Nabu-
chadnezzars rule to knowe a true expositor of dreames.

The tenth Chapter.



Tis held and mainteined by di-
uers, and gathered out of the 12. of Num-
bers, that all which was written or spoken
by the prophets, among the children of Is-
rael (Moses excepted) was propounded to
them by dreames. And indeed it is mani-
fest, that manie things, which are thought
by the vnlearned to haue bene perfectlie
finished, haue bene onlie perfozmed by dreames and visions. As
where Salomon required of God the gift of wisdome : that was
(I say) in a dreame; and also where he receiued promise of the con-
tinuance of the kingdome of Israel in his line. So was Elais visi-
on in the 6. of his prophesie : as also that of Ezechiel the 12. Ibi-
nallie, where Ieremie was commanded to hide his girdle in the
cliff of a rocke at the riuer Euphrates in Babylon; and that after
certeine daies, it did there putrisie, it must needs be in a dreame ;
foz Ieremie was neuer (or at leastwise not then) at Babylon. We
that are christians must not now slumber and dreame, but watch
and praye, and meditate vpon our saluation in Christ both daie
and night. And if we expect reuelations in our dreames, now,
when Christ is come, we shall deceiue our selues : for in him are
fulfilled all dreames and prophesies. Hotobett, Bodin holdeth that
dreames and visions continue till this daie, in as miraculous
maner as euer they did.

1. Re. 3, 5, 15.
1. Reg. 9.
I. Sai. 6.
Ezech. 12.
Ierem. 13.

If you read Artemidorus, you shall read manie scoles of such
as drempt of things that after wards cam to passe. But he might
haue cited a thousand for one that fell out contrarie : for as for
such

I. Bodin;
lib. de de-
mon. l. cap. 5.

Zach. 10, 2.

Eccles. 5, 6.
Ierem. 23.

Daniel 2.

such dreamers among the Jews themselves, as had not extraordinary visions miraculously exhibited unto them by God, they were counted counterfeiters, as may appere by these words of the prophet Zacharie; Surely the idols haue spoken vanitie, and the soothsayers haue sene a lie, and the dreamers haue told a vaine thing. According to Salomons saying; In the multitude of dreames and vanities are manie words. It appereth in Ieremie 23. that the false prophets, whilst they illuded the people with lies, counterfetting the true prophets, vsed to crye out; Dreames, dreames; We haue dreamed a dreame, &c. Finally, Nabuchadnez-zar teacheth all men to knowe a true expostio of dreames; to wit, such a one as hath his reuelation from **G D D**. For he can (as Daniel did) repeate your dreame befoze you discover it: which thing if anie expounder of dreames can do at this daie, I will beleue him.



The

¶ *The eleuenth booke.*

The Hebrue word Nahas expounded, of the art of augurie, who inuented it, how slouentie a science it is: the multitude of sacrifices and sacrificers of the heathen, and the causes thereof.

The first Chapter.



Ahas, is To obserue the flight of birds, & comprehendeth all such other obseruations; where men do ghesse vpon vncerteine toies. It is found in Deur. 18. and in 2. Chron. 33. and else-where. Of this art of augurie Tyresias the king of the Thebans is said to be the first inuentoꝝ; but Tages first published the discipline thereof, being but a little boie; as Cicero repoꝝ;

teth out of the booke of the Hetruscans themselues. Some points of this art are moze high and profound than some others, and yet are they moze homelie and slouentie than the rest; as namelie, the diuination vpon the entralles of beasts, which the Gentiles in their sacrifices speciallie obserued. Insomuch as Marcus Varro, seeing the absurditie thereof, said that these gods were not onlie idle, but verie slouens, that vsed so to hide their secrets and counsels in the guts and botwels of beasts.

The slouentie art of augurie.

How vainlie, absurdie, and superstitiouslie the heathen vsed this kind of diuination in their sacrifices, is manifested by their actions & ceremonies in that behalfe practised, as well in times past, as at this houre. The Aegyptians had 666. severall sorts and kinds of sacrifices; the Romans had almost as manie; the Gre-

cians.

cians had not so few as they; the Persians and the Medes were not behind them; the Indies and other nations haue at this instant their sacrifices full of varietie, and more full of barbarous impietie. For in sundrie places, these offer sacrifices to the diuell, hoping thereby to moue him to lenitie: yea, these commonlie sacrifice such of their enemies, as they haue taken in ware: as we read that the Gentiles in ancient time did offer sacrifice, to appease the wrath and indignation of their feigned gods.

Of the Iewes sacrifice to Moloch, a discourse thereupon, and of Purgatorie.

The second Chapter.

2. Re. 23, 10
2. Chr. 33.
Ierem. 7.



Deut. 18, 10
Leui. 18, 21.
Id. cap. 20, 2.

An inuincible argument against Purgatorie.

The Iewes vsed one kind of diabolical sacrifice, neuer taught them by Moses, namelie, to offer their chylzen to Moloch, making their sonnes and their daughters to runne through the fire; supposing such grace and efficacie to haue bene in that action, as other witches affirme to be in charmes and woords. And therfore among other points of witchcraft, this is spectallie and namelie forbidden by Moses. We read of no more miracles wrought hereby, than by any other kind of witchcraft in the old or new testament expressed. It was no ceremonie appointed by God, no figure of Christ: perhaps it might be a sacrament or rather a figure of purgatorie, the which place was not remembred by Moses. Neither was there anie sacrifice appointed by the lawe for the reliefe of the Israelites soules that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt should not haue bene omitted, if any such place of purgatorie had bene then, as the Pope hath lately deuised for his priuate and spectall lucre. This sacrificing to Moloch (as some affirme) was vsuall among the Gentiles, from whence the Iewes brought it into Israel; and there (of likelihood) the Eutichists learned the abomination in that be halfe.

The Canibals crueltie, of popish sacrifices exceeding
in tyrannie the Iewes or Gentiles.

The third Chapter.



THe inciuilitie and cruell sacrific-
ces of popish priests do yet exceed both the
Iew and the Gentile: for these take vp
on them to sacrifice Christ himselfe. And
to make their tyrannie the more appa-
rent, they are not contented to haue kil-
led him once, but daily and hourly tor-
ment him with new deaths; yea they are
not ashamed to sweare, that with their carnall hands they teare
his humane substance, breaking it into small gobbets; and with
their externall teeth chew his flesh and bones, contrarie to diuine
or humane nature; and contrarie to the prophesie, which saith;
There shall not a bone of him be broken. Finally, in the end of
their sacrifice (as they say) they eat him vp rawe, and swallow
downe into their guts euerie member and parcell of him: and
last of all, that they conueie him into the place where they be-
stowe the residue of all that which they haue deuoured that day.
And this same barbarous impietie exceedeth the crueltie of all o-
thers: for all the Gentiles consumed their sacrifices with fier,
which they thought to be holie.

Against the
papists ab-
hominable
and blas-
phemous
sacrifice of
the masse.

Psal. 34, 20.
I will not
destroy
the
righteous
of
Elihu

The superstition of the heathen about the element of
fier, and how it grew in such reuerence among them, of
their corruptions, and that they had some inking of the
godlie fathers doings in that behalfe.

The fourth Chapter.



AS touching the element of fier, & the su-
perstition therof about those busineses, you shall
vnderstand, that manie superstitious people and
nations haue receiued, reuerenced, & reserued fir-
er, as the most holy thing among their sacrifices:
insomuch (I saie) as they haue worshipped it a-
mong

among their sacrifices : in so much (I saie) as they haue worship-
ped it among their gods, calling it Orimalda (to wit) holie fier,
and diuine light. The Grækes called it *eslav*, the Romans *vestis*,
which is, The fier of the Lord. Surelie they had heard of the fier
that came downe from heauen, and consumed the oblations of
the fathers; and they vnderstood it to be God himselfe. For there
came to the heathen, the bare names of things, from the doctrine
of the godlie fathers and patriarchs, and those so obscured with
fables, and corrupted with lies, so overwhelmed with superstiti-
ons, and disguised with ceremonies, that it is hard to iudge from
whence they came. Some cause thereof (I suppose) was partlie
the translations of gouernements, whereby one nation learned
sollie of another; and partlie blind deuotion, without knowledge
of Gods word: but spectallie the want of grace, which they sought
not for, according to Gods commandement and will. And that
the Gentiles had some inkling of the godlie fathers doings,
may diuerslie appeare. Do not the Muscouits and * Indian pro-
phets at this daie, like apes, imitate Esaie? Because he went na-
ked certeine yeares, they forsooth counterfet madnes, and drinke
potions for that purpose; thinking that whatsoeuer they saie in
their madnes, will certeinlie come to passe. But hereof is more
largelie discoursed before in the word *Kasam*.

*The Gym-
nosophists
of India
their apish
imitation
of Esaie.

Of the Romane sacrifices : of the estimation they
had of auguric, of the lawe of the twelue tables,

The fift Chapter.

THe Romans, euen after they were
growne to great ciuilitie, and entoid a
most flourishing state and common
wealth, would sometimes sacrifice them-
selues, sometimes their children, some-
times their friends, &c: consuming the
same with fier, which they thought holie.
Such estimation (I saie) was attributed
to this art of diuination vpon the entrails of beasts, &c: at Rome,
as the chiefe princes themselues exercised the same; namelie,
Romulus,

Romulus, Fabius Maximus, &c : in so much as there was a decree made there, by the whole senate, that six of the chiefe magistrates sonnes should from time to time be put forth, to learne the myserie of these arts of augurie and diuination, at Hetruria, where the cunning and knowledge thereof most abounded. When they came home well informed and instructed in this art, their estimation and dignitie was such, as they were accounted, reputed, and taken to be the interpretoꝝ of the gods, oꝛ rather betwene the gods and them. No high pꝛest, noꝛ anie other great officer was elected, but these did either absolutelie nominate them, oꝛ else did exhibit the names of two, whereof the senate must chole the one.

In their ancient lawes were witten these words: *Prodigia & portentosa ad Hetruscos aruspices (si senatus iusserit) deserunt, Hetruriaeque principes disciplinam discunt. Quibus diuis decreuerunt, procurant, ijdem fulgura & ostenta pianto, auspicia seruanto, auguri parento*: the effect of which words is this; Let all prodigious and portentous matters be carred to the soothsaiers of Hetruria, at the will and commandement of the senat; and let the yong pꝛinces be sent to Hetruria, there to learne that discipline, oꝛ to be instructed in that art and knowledge. Let there be alwaies some solicitoꝛ, to learne with what gods they haue decreed oꝛ determined their matters, and let sacrifices be made vnto them in times of lightening, oꝛ at anie strange oꝛ supernaturall shew. Let all such coniecturing tokens be obserued; what soeuer the soothsaier commandeth, let it be religiouslike obied.

The lawe of the twelve tables.

Colleges of augurors, their office, their number, the signification of augurie, that the practisers of that art were counsellers, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparrell, their superstition.

The sixt Chapter.



Romulus erected three colleges oꝛ centuries of those kinds of soothsaiers, which onelie (and none other) should haue authoritie to expound the minds and admonishments of the gods. Afterwards that

P.i.

number

*Magna
chara. Hen.
3.36.7. Ed. 1.
15. Ri. 2. 5.*

number was augmented to fivē, and after that to nine; for they must needs be od. In the end, they increased so fast, that they were feine to make a decreá for staie from the further proceeding in those erections: like to our statute of *Mortmaine*. *Hovvbeit*, *Silla* (contrarie to all orders and constitutions befoze made) increased that number to foure and twentie.

And though *Augurium* be most p[ro]perlie that diuination, which is gathered by birds; yet bicause this wo[or]d *Nabas* comprehendeth all other kinds of diuination, as *Extispicium*, *arsuspicium*, &c: which is as well the gheffing vpon the entrailes of beafts, as diuers other waies: omitting physiognomie and palmeftrie, and such like, fo[er] the tediousnes and follie thereof; I will speake a litle of such arts, as were aboue measure regarded of our elders: neither mind I to discover the whole circumstance, but to refute the vanitie thereof, and speciallie of the p[ro]fesso[er]s of them, which are and alwaies haue beē coufening arts, and in them contained both speciall and severall kinds of witchcrafts. Fo[er] the maist[er]s of these faculties haue euer taken vpon them to occupie the place and name of God; blasphemoullie ascribing vnto themselves his omnipotent power, to fo[er]tell, &c: whereas, in truth, they could o[er] can do nothing, but make a shew of that which is not.

A manifest
discoverie
of augurors
coufengage.

One matter, to bewraie their coufening, is; that they could neuer wo[or]ke no[er] fo[er]shew anie thing to the po[er]e o[er] inferio[er] so[er]t of people: fo[er] po[er]tentous shewes (saie they) alwaies concerned great estates. Such matters as touched the baser so[er]t, were inferio[er] causes; which the superstition of the people themselves would not neglect to learne. *Hovvbeit*, the p[ro]fesso[er]s of this art descended not so lowe, as to communicate with them: fo[er] they were p[re]ests; (which in all ages and nations haue beē tollie fellows) whose office was, to tell what should come to passe, either touching god lucke, o[er] bad fo[er]tune; to expound the minds, admonitions, warnings and threatnings of the gods, to fo[er]shew calamities, &c: which might be (by their sacrifices and common contrition) remoued and qualified. And befoze their entrance into that action, they had manie obseruations, which they executed be[er]ie superstitioullie; pretending that euerie bird and bea[er]t, &c, should be sent from the gods as fo[er]shewes of somewhat. And
there

therefoze first they bſed to choſe a cleare daie, and faire wether to doo their buſines in: foꝝ the which their place was certeineliſe aſſigned, as well in Rome as in Hetruria, wherein they obſerued euerie quarter of the element, which waite to looke, and which way to ſtand, &c. Their apparell was verie præſtlike, of faſhion altered from all others, ſpectallie at the time of their praier, wherein they might not omit a woꝝd noꝝ a ſyllable: in reſpect whereof one read the ſeruiſe, and all the reſidue repeated it after him, in the maner of a proceſſion.

The times and ſeaſons to exerciſe augurie, the maner and order thereof, of the ceremonies therevnto belonging.

The ſeuenth Chapter.



No leſſe regard was there had of the times of their praicſe in that miniſterie: foꝝ they muſt beginne at midnight, and end at none, not traueilling therein in the decaie of the day, but in the increaſe of the ſame; neither in the ſixt oꝝ ſeuenty hoꝝre of the daie, noꝝ yet after the moneth of Auguſt; bicauſe then yong birds ſlie about, and are diſeaſed, and imperfect, mounting their ſethers, and ſleng out of the countrie: ſo as no certeine gheſſe is to be made of the gods purpoſes by them at thoſe ſeaſons. But in their due times they ſtanding with a bowed wand in their hand, their face toward the eaſt, &c: in the top of an high towꝝer, the wether being cleare, watch foꝝ birds, noting from whence they came, and whether they ſlie, and in what ſoꝝt they waꝝg their wings, &c.

Note the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of auguꝝrs.

Vpon what signes and tokens augurors did prognosticate, obseruations touching the inward and outward parts of beasts, with notes of beasts behauiour in the slaughterhouse.

The eight Chapter.

THese kind of witches, whom we haue now in hand, did also prognosticate good or bad lucke, according to the soundnes or imperfection of the entrailles of beasts; or according to the superfluities or infirmities of nature; or according to the abundance of humors vniuersall, appearing in the inward parts and bowels of the beasts sacrificed. If or as touching the outward parts, it was alwaies provided and foreseene, that they should be witty out blemish. And yet there were manie tokens and notes to be taken of the eternall actions of those beasts, at the time of sacrifice: as if they would not quietlie be brought to the place of execution, but must be forceable hailed; or if they brake loose; or if by hap, cunning, or strength they withstood the first blowe; or if after the butchers blowe, they leaped vp, rored, stood fast; or being fallen, kicked, or would not quietlie die, or bled not well; or if anie ill newes had bene heard, or anie ill sight seene at the time of slaughter or sacrifice: which were all significations of ill lucke and unhappie successe. On the other side, if the slaughterman performed his office well, so as the beast had bene well chosen, not infected, but whole and sound, and in the end faire killed; all had bene safe: for then the gods smiled.

Obseruations in the art augurificall.

A confutation of angurie, Plato his reuerend opinion thereof, of contrarie euent, and false predictions.

The ninth Chapter.

WHat credit is to be attributed to such toies and chances, which grow not of nature, but are gathered by the superstition of the interpretoys: As for birds, who is so ignorant that conceiveth not, that

one

one flieth one waite, another another waite, about their priuat necessities: And yet are the other diuinations more vaine and foolish. Howbeit, Plato thinketh a commonwealth cannot stand without this art, and numbereth it among the liberall sciences: These fellows promised Pompeie, Cassius, and Caesar, that none of them should die before they were old, and that in their owne houses, and in great hono:; and yet they all die cleane contrarylie. Howbeit doubtles, the heathen in this point were not so much to be blamed, as the sacrificing papists: for they were directed herevnto without the knowledge of Gods promises; neither knew they the end why such ceremonies and sacrifices were instituted; but onelie vnderstood by an vncerteine and slender report, that God was wont to send god o: ill successe to the children of Israell, and to the old patriarchs and fathers, vpon his acceptance o: disallowance of their sacrifices and oblations. But men in all ages haue bene so desirous to know the effect of their purposes, the sequele of things to come, and to see the end of their feare and hope; that a selie witch, which hath learned anie thing in the art of coufening, may make a great manie iollie soles.

Plato in
Phedro, in
Timeo. in
lib. de Re-
publ.

Wherein
the papists
are more
blame wor-
thie than
the hea-
then.

The coufening art of sortilege or lotarie, practised especiallie by Aegyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots, of Pythagoras his lot, &c.

The tenth Chapter.



The counterfeit Aegyptians, which were indeed coufening vagabonds, practising the art called *Sortilegium*, had no small credit among the multitude: howbeit, their diuinations were as was their fall and lose, and as the witches curses and hurtes, & as the soothsaiers answers, and as the confutors raisings vp of spirits, and as Apollos o: the Rod of graces oracles, and as the iugglers knacks of legierdemaine, and as the papists exorcisines, and as the witches charmes, and as the counterfeit visions, and as the coufeners knaueries. Here vpon it was said; *Non inue-*

Sortilege
or lotshare.

*niatur inter vos menabas, that is, sortilegus, which were like to these Egyptian counsellers. As for other lots, they were used, and that lawfullie, as appeareth by Ionas and others that were holie men, and as may be seene among all commonwelths, for the deciding of diuerse controuersies, &c: wherein thy neighbour is not misused, nor God anie waie offended. But in truth I thinke, bicause of the consenage that so easilie may be used herein, God forbade it in the commonwealth of the Iewes, though in the good vse thereof it was allowed in matters of great weight; as appeareth both in the old and new testament; and that as well in doubtfull cases and distributions, as in elections and inheritances, and pacification of variiances. I omit to speake anie thing of the lots comprized in verses, concerning the lucke ensuing, either of Virgil, Homer, or anie other, wherein fortune is gathered by the sudden turning vnto them: bicause it is a childish and ridiculous soie, and like vnto childrens plate 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 there vpon; or of whom there is no want.*

Leuit. 16.
Num. 33.
& 36.
Iosua. 14.
I. Chron. 24
& 26.
Prouer. 18.
Ionas. I.
Acts. I.

Of Pythagoras lot.

There is a lot also called Pythagoras lot, which some saie Aristotle beloued: and that is, where the characters of letters haue certeine proper numbers; whereby they diuine (through the proper names of men) so as the numbers of each letters being gathered in a summe, and put together, giue victorie to them whose summe is the greater; whether the question be of warre, life, matrimonie, victorie, &c: euen as the vnequall number of vowels in proper names portendeth lacke of sight, halting, &c: which the godfathers and godmothers might easilie preuent, if the case stood so.

Of the Cabalisticall art, consisting of traditions and vnwritten verities learned without booke, and of the diuision thereof.

The eleuenth Chapter.



There is place also for the Cabalisticall art, consisting of vnwritten verities, which the Iewes do beloue and brag that God himselfe gaue to Moses in the mount Sinai; and afterwards was taught onelie

onelic with stuclic voice, by degrees of succession, without writing, vntill the time of Eldras: euen as the scholers of Archippus did vse wit and memoarie in steed of booke. They diuide this in twaine; the one expoundeth with philosophical reason the secrets of the lawe and the bible, wherein (they saie) that Salomon was verie cunning; because it is written in the Hebrew stories, that he disputed from the Cedar of Libanus, euen to the Hissop, and also of birds, beasts, &c. The other is as it were a symbollicall diuinitie of the highest contemplation, of the diuine and angelike vertues, of holie names and signes; wherein the letters, numbers, figures, things and armes, the pickes ouer the letters, the lines, the points, and the accents doe all signifie verie profound things and great secrets. By these arts the Atheists suppose Moses wrote all his miracles, and that hereby they haue power ouer angels and diuels, as also to doe miracles: yea and that hereby all the miracles that either anie of the prophets, or Christ himselfe wrought, were accomplished.

But C. Agrippa hauing searched to the bottome of this art, saith it is nothing but superstition and follie. Otherwise you maie be sure Christ would not haue hidden it from his church. For this cause the Jewes were so skillfull in the names of God. But there is none other name in heauen or earth, in which we might be saued, but Iesus: neither is that meant by his bare name, but by his vertue and godnes towards vs. These Cabalists doe further brag, that they are able hereby, not onelic to find out and know the vspeakeable mysferies of God; but also the secrets which are about scripture; whereby also they take vpon them to prophesie, and to worke miracles: yea hereby they can make what they list to be scripture; as Valeria Proba did picke certeine verses out of Virgil alluding them to Christ. And therefore these their reuolutions are nothing but allegorical games, which idle men busied in letters, points, and numbers (which the Hebrew tongue easilie suffereth) deuise, to delude and couen the simple and ignozant. And this they call Alphabetarie or Arithmanticall diuinitie, which Christ shewed to his apostles onelic, and which Paule saith he speaketh but among perfect men; and being high mysferies are not to be committed vnto writing, and so made popular. There is no man that readeth anie thing of

The art
Cabalisti-
call diui-
ded.

C. Agrippa
lib. de uanie
scient.

The blas-
phemie of
the Caba-
lists.

*In concil.
Trident.*

this Cabalistical art, but must needs think vpon the popes cur-
ning practises in this behalfe, who hath *In scrinio pectoris*, not onelie
the exposition of all lawes, both diuine and humane, but also au-
thoritie to adde therevnto, or to drawe backe therefrom at his
pleasure: and this may he lawfullie doe euen with the scriptures,
either by addition or subtraction, after his owne pontificall li-
king. As for example: he hath added the Apocrypha (therevnto
he might as well haue ioined S. Augustines woordes, or the course
of the ciuill lawe, &c.) Againe, he hath diminished from the deca-
log or ten commandements, not one or two words, but a whole
precept, namelie the second, which if hath pleased him to dash out
with his pen: and trulie he might as well by the same authoritie
haue raised out of the testament S. Markes gospell.

When, how, and in what sort sacrifices were first
ordained, and how they were prophaned, and how the
pope corrupted the sacraments of Christ.

The twelue Chapter.

Gen. 2. 17.



Gen. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 15.

Leuit. 12. 3.
&c.

The first God manifested to our
father Adam, by the prohibition of the
apple, that he would haue man liue vn-
der a lawe, in obedience and submission;
and not to wander like a beast without
order or discipline. And after man had
transgressed, and deserued thereby Gods
heauie displeasure; yet his mercie preuai-
led; and taking compassion vpon man, he promised the Messias,
who should be borne of a woman, and breake the serpents head;
declaring by euident testimonies, that his pleasure was that
man should be restored to fauour and grace, through Christ: and
binding the minds of men to this promise, and to be fixed vpon
their Messias, established figures and ceremonies wherewith to
nourish their faith, and confirmed the same with miracles, pro-
hibiting and excluding all mans deuises in that behalfe. And
vpon his promise renewed, he inioined (I say) and erected a new
forme of worship, whereby he would haue his promises constant-
lie beheld, faithfullie beleued, and reuerentlie regarded. He or-
deined

deined six sorts of diuine sacrifices; three propitiatorie, not as meriting remission of sinnes, but as figures of Christs propitiation: the other three were of thanksgiuing. These sacrifices were full of ceremonies, they were powdered with consecrated salt, and kindled with fier, which was preserved in the tabernacle of the Lord: which fier (some thinke) was sent downe from heauen. GOD himselte commanded these rites and ceremonies to our forefathers, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, &c: promising them in both the amplification of their families, and also their wealth. But in tract of time (I saie) wantonnesse, negligence, and contempt, through the instigation of the diuell, abolished this institution of GOD: so as in the end, God himselte was forgotten among them, and they became pagans & heathens, deuising their owne waies, vntill euerie countrie had deuised and created both new sacrifices, and also new gods particular vnto themselues. Whose example the pope followeth, in prophaning of Christs sacraments, disguising them with his deuises and superstitious ceremonies; contriuing and comprehending therein the follie of all nations: the which because little children do not perceiue and scoone, I will passe over; and returne to the Gentiles, whome I cannot excuse of couenage, superstition, nor yet of vanitie in this behalfe. For if God suffered false prophets among the children of Israel, being Gods peculiar people, and hypocrits in the church of Christ; no maruell if there were such people amongst the heathen, which neither possessed nor knew him.

A gird at
the pope
for his law-
cinesse in
Gods mat-
ters.

Of the obiects wherevpon the augurors vsed to prognosticate, with certeine cautions and notes.

The xiiij. Chapter.



THe Gentiles, which treat of this matter, repeat an innumerable multitude of obiects, wherevpon they prognosticate good or bad lucke. And a great matter is made of nothing, wherein the number of newings & the time thereof is greatly noted; the tingling in the finger, the elbowe, the toe, the knee, &c: are singular

gular notes also to be obserued in this art; though speciallie here in are marked the siteng of fowles, and meeting of beasts; with this generall caution, that the obiect or matter whereon men diuine, must be sudden and vnlooked for: which regard, chylzen and some old soles haue to the gathering primrose, true loues, and foure leaued grasse; Item the person vnto whome such an obiect offereth it selfe vnawares; Item the intention of the diuinoz, whereby the obiect which is met, is referred to augurie; Item the houre in which the obiect is without foreknowledge vpon the sudden met withall: and so forth.

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

Arist. in augurie.

Plinie reporteth that griffes sit alwaies to the place of slaughter, two or thre daies before the battell is fought; which was seene and tried at the battell of Troie: and in respect thereof, the griff was allowed to be the chiefe bird of augurie. But among the innumerable number of the portentous beasts, fowles, serpents, and other creatures, the tode is the most excellent obiect, whose ouglie defozmitie signifieth swete and amiable fortune: in respect whereof some superstitious witches preferue todes for their familiars. And some one of god credit (whome I could name) hauing conuented the witches themselues, hath starued diuerse of their diuels, which they kept in boxes in the likeness of todes.

Plutarch doth by his leaue, for all his learning.

Plutarch Chironæus saith, that the place and site of the signes that we receiue by augurie, are speciallie to be noted: for if we receiue them on the left side, god lucke; if on the right side, ill lucke insueth: because terrene and mortall things are opposite & contrarie to diuine and heauenlie things; so that which the gods deliuer with the right hand, falleth to our left side; and so contrariwise.

The diuision of augurie, persons admittable into the colleges of augurie, of their superstition.

The xiiij. Chapter.



The latter diuinoz in these mysteries, haue diuided their soothsayings into twelue superstitions: as Augustinus Niphus termeth them. The first is prosperitie; the second, ill lucke, as when one goeth out

Aug. Niphus de auguriis, lib. 1.

out of his house, and seeth an unluckie beast lieng on the right side of his waite; the third is destinie; the fourth is fortune; the fifth is ill hap, as when an infortunate beast feedeth on the right side of your waite; the sixt is vtilitie; the seventh is hurt; the eight is called a cautell, as when a beast followeth one, and staith at any side, not passing beyond him, which is a signe of good lucke; the ninth is infelicitie, and that is contrarie to the eight, as when the beast passeth before one; the tenth is perfection; the eleuenth is imperfection; the twelue is conclusion. Thus farre he.

Among the Romans none could be receiued into the college of auguroz that had a bile, or had bene bitten with a dog, &c: and at the times of their exercise, euen at none daies, they lighted candels. From whence the papists conueie vnto their church, those points of infidelitie. Finally, their obseruations were so infinite and ridiculous, that there flew not a sparkle out of the fier, but it betokened somewhat.

Who were not admittable into the college of auguroz among the Romans.

Of the common peoples fond and superstitious collections and obseruations.

The xv. Chapter.



Amongst vs there be manie women, and effeminate men (marie papists alwaies, as by their superstition may appeere) that make great diuinations vpon the shedding of salt, wine, &c: and for the obseruation of daies and houres vse as great witchcraft as in anie thing. For if

O vaine follic and foolish vannie!

one chance to take a fall from a horse, either in a slipperie or stumbling waite, he will note the daie and houre, and count that time unluckie for a iournie. Other wise, he that receiueth a nischance, wil consider whether he met not a cat, or a hare, when he went first out of his doores in the morning; or stumbled not at the threshold at his going out; or put not on his shirt the wrong side outwards; or his left shoo on his right sote, which Augustus Caesar reputed for the worst lucke that might befall. But about all other nations (as Martinus de Arles witnesseth)

*Marin. de
Arles in
tract. de su-
perst. contra
maleficia.
Appian. de
bello civili.*

11. Booke The discouerie *Superstitious auguries.*

nesseth) the Spaniards, are most superstitious herein; & of Spaine, the people of the province of Lusitania is the most fond. For one will saie; I had a dreame to night, or a crowe croked vpon my house, or na otule flew by me and screeched (which augurie Lucius Silla toke of his death) or a cocke creto contrarie to his houre. Another saith; The mone is at the prime; another, that the sun rose in a cloud and looked pale, or a starre shot and shined in the aire, or a strange cat came into the house, or a hen fell from the top of the house.

*Augurifi-
call roies.*

Many will go to bed againe, if they néeze before their shooes be on their feet; some will hold fast their left thombe in their right hand when they hickot; or else will hold their chinne with their right hand whiles a gospell is song. It is thought verie ill lucke of some, that a child, or anie other liuing creature, should passe betwéene two friends as they walke together; so; they say it portendeth a diuision of frendship. Among the papists themselues, if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to méet a frier or a prest; they wought it so ill lucke, as they would couple vp their hounds, and go home, being in despaire of any further sport that daie. Harrie if they had vsed venericie with a begger, they should win all the monie they plaied so; that daie at dice. The like follie is to be imputed vnto them, that obserue (as true or probable) old verses, wherein can be no reasonable cause of such effects; which are brought to passe onlie by Gods power, and at his pleasure. Of this sort be these that follow:

*Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.*

Vincenti festo si sol radiet memor esto.

Remember on S. Vincents daie,
If that the sunne his beames displaie.

Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni.

If Paule th'apostles daie be cleare,
It dooth foreshew a luckie yeare.

*By Ab. Fle-
ming.*

*Si sol splendescat Maria purificante,
Maior erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante.*

If

If Maries purifieng daie,
 Be cleare and bright with sunnie raie,
 Then frost and cold shalbe much more,
 After the feast than was before.

By Ab. Fla-
 ming.

*Serò rubens cœlum cras indicat esse serenum,
 Si manè rubescit, ventus vel pluuia crescit.*

The skie being red at euening,
 Foreshewes a faire and cleare morning;
 But if the morning riseth red,
 Of wind or raine we shalbe sped.

By Ab. Fla-
 ming.

Some sticke a needle or a buckle into a certeine tree, neere to
 the cathedrall church of S. Christopher, or of some other saint; ho-
 ping therby to be deliuered that yeare from the headach. Item
 maids forsooth hang some of their haire before the image of S.
 Urbane, bicause they would haue the rest of their haire grow long
 and be yellow. Item, women with child runne to church, and
 tie their girdles or shoo latches about a bell, and strike vpon the
 same thise, thinking that the sound thereof halleth their good de-
 liuerie. But sithence these things beginne to touch the vanities
 and superstitions of incantations, I will referre you thither,
 where you shall see of that stuffe abundance; beginning at
 the word Habar.

Seeke more
 hereof in
 the word
 Habar.

How old writers varie about the matter, the ma-
 ner, and the meanes, whereby things augurificall are
 moued.

The xvj. Chapter.



Heophrastus and Themistius affirme, that
 whatsoever hapeneth vnto man suddentie and by
 chance, commeth from the prouidence of God. So
 as Themistius gathereth, that men in that respect
 prope,

*Auerroes. 12.
metaphysic.*

prophete, when they speake what commeth in their vaine, vpon the sudden; though not knowing or vnderstanding what they saie. And that seeing God hath a care for vs, it agreeth with reason (as Theophrastus saith) that he shew vs by some meane what soeuer shall happen. If or with Pythagoras he concludeth, that all for ourselves and auguries are the voices and words of God, by the which he foretelleth man the good or euill that shall bectide.

Trismegistus affirmeth, that all augurificall things are moued by diuels; Porphyrie saith by gods, or rather good angels; according to the opinion of Plotinus and Iamblichus. Some other affirme they are moued by the mone wandering through the twelue signes of the Zodiacke: because the mone hath dominion in all sudden matters. The Aegyptian astronomers hold, that the mone ordereth not those portentous matters, but *stella errans*, a wandering starre, &c.

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

The xvij. Chapter.

The fond
art of augu-
rie conuin-
ced.

Acts. 17.



Verlie all these obseruations being neither grounded on Gods word, nor physicall or philosophicall reason, are vanities, superstitions, lies, and mere witchcraft; as whereby the world hath long time bene, and is still abused and conuened. It is written; *Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta, &c.* It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his owne power. The most goble men and the wisest philosophers haue giuen no credit herevnto. S. Augustine saith; *Qui his diuinationibus credit, sciat se fidem christianam & baptismum praeuaricasse, & paganism Deiq; inimicum esse.* Dne told Cato, that a rat had carried a waite and eaten his hose, which the partie said was a wonderfull signe. Paie (said Cato) I thinke not so; but if the hose had eaten the rat, that had bene a wonderfull token indeed. *Uthen*

Nonius

Nonius told Cicero that they should haue good successe in battell, because seuen eagles were taken in Pompeies campe, he answered thus; So doubt it will be euen so, if that we chance to fight with pies. In the like case also he answered Labienus, who prophesied like successe by such diuinations, saying, that though the hope of such toies, Pompeie lost all his pavillions not long before.

What wiseman would thinke, that God would commit his counsell to a dawle, an otter, a swine, or a tode; or that he would hide his secret purposes in the dong and bowels of beasts? Aristotle thus reasoneth; Augurie or diuinations are neither the cause nor effects of things to come; Ergo, they do not thereby fozetell things trulie, but by chance. As if I dreame that my friend will come to my house, and he cometh indeed; yet neither dreame nor imagination is more the cause of my friends coming, than the chattering of a pie.

When Hanibal ouerthrew Marcus Marcellus, the beast sacrificed wanted a peece of his hart; therefore forsooth Marius, when he sacrificed at Veica, and the beast lacked his liuer, he must needs haue the like successe. These are their collections, and as vaine, as if they said that the building of Tenderden steeple was the cause of Goodwine sands, or the decate of Sandwich haue. S. Augustine saith, that these obseruations are most superstitious. But we read in the fourth psalme, a sentence which might dissuade anie christian from this follie and impietie; O ye sonnes of men, how long will you turne my glozie into shame, louing vanitie, and seeking lies? The like is read in manie other places of scripture.

Of such as allow this follie, I can commend Plinie best, who saith, that the operation of these auguries is as we take them. For if we take them in god part, they are signes of god lucke; if we take them in ill part, ill lucke followeth; if we neglect them, and wey them not, they do neither god nor harme. Thomas of Aquine reasoneth in this wise; The starres, whose course is certaine, haue greater affinitie and communitie with mans actions, than auguries; and yet our doings are neither directed nor proceed from the starres. Which thing also Ptolome witnesseth, saying; *Sapienter dominabitur astris*, A wiseman ouerruleth the starres.

Arist. de somno.

August. lib. de doct. christi. 2. cap. 2. Plal. 43. 2.

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 28. cap. 2. Tho. Aquin. lib. de sensib.

Fond distinctions of the heathen writers,
concerning augurie.

The 18. Chapter.

*C. Epidius.
Homer. Ili.
ad. 19.*

The heathen made a distinction betwene diuine, naturall, and casuall auguries. Diuine auguries were such, as men were made beleue were done miraculouſtie, as when dogs spake; as at the expulsion of Tarquinius out of his kingdom; or when trees spake, as befoze the death of Caesar; or when hoſſes spake, as did a hoſſe, whose name was Zandus. Many learned christians confesse, that such things as may indeed haue diuine cause, may be called diuine auguries; or rather forewarnings of God, and tokens either of his blessings or discontentation: as the starre was a token of a safe passage to the magicians that sought Christ; so was the cockerowing an augurie to Peter for his conuersion. And manie such other diuinations or auguries (if it be latofull so to terme them) are in the scriptures to be found.

Of naturall and casuall augurie, the one allowed,
and the other disallowed.

The 19. Chapter.

Naturall augurie is a physieall or philosophicall obseruation; because humane and naturall reason may be yeelded for such events: as if one heare the cocke crow manie times together, a man may ghesse that raine will followe shortly; as by the crieng of roks, and by their extraordinarie vsing of their wings in their flight, because through a naturall instinct, prouoked by the impression of the heauenlie bodies, they are moued to know the times,

times, according to the disposition of the weather, as it is necessary for their natures. And therefore Ieremie saith; *Mihus in celo cognouit tempus suum*. The physician may argue a strength towards in his patient, when he heareth him naze twice, which is a naturall cause to iudge by, and conjecture vpon. But sure it is mere casuall, and also verie foolish and incredible, that by two nēzings, a man should be sure of god lucke or successe in his business; or by meeting of a tode, a man should escape a danger, or atchieue an enterprise, &c.

A confutation of casuall augurie which is meere witchcraft, and vpon what vncertaintie those diuinations are grounded.

The xx. Chapter.



What imagination worketh in man or woman, many leaues would not comprehend; for as the qualities thereof are strange, and almost incredible, so would the discourse thereof be long and tedious, whereof I had occasion to speake elsewhere. But the power of our imagination extendeth not to beaſts, nor reacheth to birds, and therefore pertaineth not hereto. Neither can the chance for the right or left side be good or bad lucke in it selfe. Why should any occurrent or augurie be good? Because it cometh out of that part of the heauens, where the god or beneficiall stars are placed: By that reason, all things should be good and happy that liue on that side; but we see the contrarie experience, and as commonlie as that.

The like absurditie and error is in them that credit those diuinations; because the starres, ouer the ninth house haue dominion at the time of augurie. If it should betoken god lucke, joy or gladnesse, to heare a noise in the house, when the mone is in Aries: and contrariwise, if it be a signe of ill lucke, sorrowe, or grieſe for a beaſt to come into the house, the mone being in the same signe: here might be found a ſolue error; and contrarietie.

The vanitie of casuall augurie.

Isai. 44. 25.

And sozomuch as both may happen at once, the rule must needs be false and ridiculous. And if there were any certeine rules or notes to be gathered in these diuinations; the abuse therein is such, as the word of God must needs be berefted therein; to wit, I will destroie the tokens of soothsaiers, and make them that coniecture, soles.

That figure-casters are witches, the vncerteintie of their art, and of their contradictions, Cornelius Agrippas sentence against iudiciall astrologie.

The xxj. Chapter.



These casters of figures may be numbred among the coufening witches, whose practise is about their reach, their purpose to gaine, their knowledge stolne from poets, their art vncerteine & full of vanitie, moze plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other follie. And thereby on many other trifling vanities are towed and grounded; as physionomie, palmestrie, interpreting of dreames, monsters, auguries, &c: the professors whereof confesse this to be the necessarie key to open the knowledge of all their secrets. For these fellows erect a figure of the heauens, by the exposition whereof (together with the coniectures of similitudes and signes) they seeke to find out the meaning of the significators, attributing to them the ends of all things, contrarie to truth, reason, and diuinitie: their rules being so inconstant, that few writers agree in the verie principles thereof. For the Rabbins, the old and new writers, and the verie best philosophers dissent in the these grounds thereof, differing in the proprietic of the houses, whereout they wyng the soyetelling of things to come, contending euen about the number of spheres, being not yet resolued how to erect the beginnings and endes of the houses: for Ptolomie maketh them after one sort, Campanus after another, &c.

The vaine and trifling trickes of figure-casters.

And as Alpetragus thinketh, That there be in the heauens diuerse

diuerse mouings as yet to men vnknowne, so do others affirme (not without probability) that there maie be starres and bodiees, to whome these mouings maie accoꝝd, which cannot be seene, either through their exceeding highnes, or that hitherto are not tried with anie obseruation of the art. The true motion of Mars is not yet perceiued, neither is it possible to find out the true entering of the sunne into the equinoctfall points. It is not denied, that the astronomers themselues haue receiued their light, and their verie art from poets, without whose fables the twelue signes, and the northerlie and southerlie figures had neuer ascended into heauen. And yet (as C. Agrippa saith) astrologers do liue, cousten men, and gaine by these fables; whyles the poets, which are the inuentors of them, do liue in beggerie.

The verie skilfullest mathematicians confesse, that it is vnpossible to find out anie certeine thing concerning the knowledge of iudgements, as well for the innumerable causes which worke together with the heauens, being all together, and one with the other to be considered: as also bicause influencies do not constrain but incline. For manie ordinarie and extraordinary occasions do interrupt them; as education, custome, place, honestie, birth, blond, sicknesse, health, strength, weakenes, meate, drinke, libertie of mind, learning, &c. And they that haue written the rules of iudgement, and agree nearest therein, being of equall authoritie and learning, publish so contrarie opinions vpon one thing, that it is vnpossible for an astrologian to pronounce a certieintie vpon so variable opinions; & otherwise vpon vncerteine reports no man is able to iudge herein. So

as (accoꝝding to Ptolomie) the foreknowledge of things to come by the starres, dependeth as well vpon the affections of the mind, as vpon the obseruation of the planets, proceeding rather from chance than art, as where by they deceiue others, and are deceiued themselves also.

*Iohan. Men-
tregius in
epistola ad
Blanchimē:
& Guillel-
mus de san-
cto Clodoald.
Rabbi Leui.
C. Agrip. in
lib. de vanis.
scien.
Archelau.
Cassander.
Eudoxus,
&c.*

The subtiltie of astrologers to mainteine the credit of their art, why they remaine in credit, certeine impieties contained in astrologers assertions.

The xxij. Chapter.

Astrologers prognostications are like the answers of oracles.



If you marke the cunning ones, you shall see them speake darkelie of things to come, deuising by artificiall subtiltie, doubtfull prognostications, easilie to be applied to euerie thing, time, prince, and nation: and if anie thing come to passe according to their diuinations, they fortifie their old prognostications with new reasons. Neuertheles, in the multitude and varietie of starres, yea euen in the verie middelt of them, they find out some places in a good aspect, and some in an ill; and take occasion herebpon to saie what they list, promising vnto some men honoz, long life, wealth, victorie, children, marriage, friends, offices; & finallie euerlasting felicitie. But if with anie they be discontent, they saie the starres be not fauourable to them, and threaten them with hanging, drowning, beggerie, sickenes, misfortune, &c. And if one of these prognostications fall out right, then they triumph about measure. If the prognosticators be found to forge and lie alwaies (without such fortune as the blind man had in killing the crow) they will excuse the matter, saieing, that *Sapiens dominatur astris*, whereas (according to Agrippas words) neither the wiseman ruleth the starres, nor the starres the wiseman, but God ruleth them both. Corn. Tacitus saith, that they are a people dissolall to princes, deceiuing them that beleue them. And Varro saith, that the banitie of all superstitious floweth out of the bolome of astrologie. And if our life & fortune depend not on the starres, then it is to be granted, that the astrologers seeke where nothing is to be found. But we are so fond, mistrustfull & credulous, that we feare moze the fables of Robin god fellow; astrologers, & witches, & beleue moze the things that are not, than the things that are. And the moze vnpossible a thing is, the moze we stand in feare thereof; and the lesse likelie to be true, the moze we

we beleue it. And if we were not such, I thinke with Cornelius Agrippa, that these diuinoꝝ, astrologers, conturoꝝ, and coufeꝛ noꝝ would die foꝝ hunger.

And our solitly light beleafe, foꝝ getting things past, neglecting things present, and verie hastie to know things to come, doth so comfoꝛt and mainteine these coufenozs; that wheras in otheꝛ men, foꝝ making one lie, the faith of him that speaketh is so much mistrusted, that all the residue being true is not regarded. Contrariwise, in these coufenages among our diuinoꝝ, one trusty spoken by hap giueth such credit to all their lies, that euer after we beleue whatsoeuer they saie; how incredible, impossible oꝝ false soeuer it be. Sir Thomas Moore saith, they know not who are in their owne chambers, neither who maketh themselves cuckholdes that take vpon them all this cunning, knowledg, and great foresight. But to enlarge their credit, oꝝ rather to manifest their impudencie, they saie the gift of prophesie, the foꝛce of religion, the secrets of conscience, the power of diuels, the vertue of miracles, the efficacie of praies, the state of the life to come, &c: both onlie depend vpon the starres, and is giuen and knowne by them alone. Foꝝ they saie, that when the signe of Gemini is ascended, and Saturne and Mercurie be ioined in Aquarie, in the ninth house of the heauens, there is a prophet boꝛne: and therefoꝛe that Christ had so manie vertues, because he had in that place Saturne and Gemini. Pea these Astrologers do not sticke to saie, that the starres distribute all foꝛtes of religions: wherein Iupiter is the especiall patrone, who being ioined with Saturne, maketh the religion of the Iewes; with Mercurie, of the Christians; with the Moone, of Antichristianitie. Pea they asarme that the faith of euerie man maie be knowne to them as well as to God. And that Christ himselfe did vse the election of houres in his miracles; so as the Iewes could not hurt him whilest he went to Ierusalem, and therefore that he said to his disciples that foꝛbad him to go; Are there not twelue houres in the date?

S. Thomas Moores frumpe at iudiciall astrologers.

Astrologi call blasphemies.

Ioh. 11. 8. & 9.

M. iij.

Who

Who haue power to driue awaie diuels with their onelic presence, who shall receiue of God whatsoeuer they aske in praier, who shall obtaine euerlasting life by meanes of constellations, as natiuitie-casters affirme.

The xxij. Chapter.



Hey saie also, that he which hath Mars happilie placed in the ninth house of the heauens, shall haue power to driue awaie diuels with his onelic presence from them that be possessed. And he that shall praie to God, when he findeth the Moone and Iupiter ioined with the Mars gons head in the middelt of the heauens, shall obtaine whatsoeuer he asketh; and that Iupiter and Saturne do giue blessednes of the life to come. But if ante in his natiuitie shall haue Saturne happilie placed in Leone, his soule shall haue euerlasting life. And herevnto subscribe Peter de Appona, Roger Bacon, Guido Bonatus, Arnold de villa noua, and the Cardinall of Alia. Furthermoze, the prouidence of God is denied, and the miracles of Christ are diminished, when these powers of the heauens and their influencies are in such sort advanced. Moses, Esaie, Iob and Ieremie seeme to dislike and reiect it: and at Rome in times past it was banished, and by Iustinian condemned vnder paine of death. Finallie, Seneca derideth these soothsaing witches in this sort; Amongst the Cleones (saith he) there was a custome, that the *χελαιοφύλακες* (which were gazers in the aier, watching when a storme of haile should fall) when they saue by anie cloud that the shower was imminent and at hand; the vse was (I saie) because of the hurt which it might do to their vines, &c: diligentlie to warne the people thereof; who vsed not to prouide clothes or anie such defense against it, but prouided sacrifices; the rich, cockes and white lambes; the poze would spoile themselves by cutting their thombes; as though (saith he) that little blood could ascend by to the cloudes, and do anie god there for their relæse in this matter.

The follic
of our ge-
nethliaks,
or natiuitie-
casters.

Senec. lib. de
querest. na-
tural. 4.

matter.

And here by the waie, I will impart vnto you a Venetian superstition, of great antiquitie, and at this daie (so; ought I can read to the contrarie) in vse. It is witten, that euerie yeare ordinarly vpon ascension daie, the Duke of Venice, accompanied with the States, goeth with great solemnitie vnto the sea, and after certeine ceremonies ended, casteth thereinto a gold ring of great value and estimation so; a pacificatorie oblation: where withall their predecessors supposed that the wrath of the sea was asswaged. By this action, as a late wriiter saith, they doe *Desponsare sibi mare*, that is, espouse the sea vnto themselves, &c.

Hilarius Pirknair in arte apodemica.
Ioannes Garropius in Venet. & Hyperb.
Zach. 10. 2. vers. 2.

Let vs therefore, according to the prophets aduise, aske raine of the Lord in the houres of the latter time, and he shall send white cloudes, and giue vs raine &c: so; surerie, the idols (as the same prophet saith) haue spoken vanitie, the soothsaiers haue seene a lie, and the dreamers haue told a vaine thing.

They comfort in vaine, and therefore they went awaie like sheepe, &c. If anie thæpebiter or witchmonger will follow them, they shall go alone so; me.



¶ *The twelfth Booke.*

The Hebrue word Habar expounded, where also the supposed secret force of charmes and incantments is shewed, and the efficacie of words is diuerse waies declared.

The first Chapter.



His Hebrue word Habar, being in Greeke *Epa-
thin*, and in Latine *Incantare*, is in English, *To in-
chant*, or (if you had rather
haue it so) *to bewitch*. In
these incantments, cer-
taine wordes, verses, or
charmes, &c: are secretlie
vtered, wherein there is
thought to be miraculous
efficacie. There is great va-
riety hereof: but whether
it be by charmes, voices, &

images, characters, stones, plants, metals, herbes, &c: there must
herewithall a speciall foyme of wordes be alwaies vsed, either di-
uine, diabolicall, insensible, or papisticall, whereupon all the ver-
tue of the worke is supposed to depend. This word is speciallie vsed
in the 58. psalme, which place though it be taken by foymine
aduerlaties strongest argument against me; yet me thinkes it
maketh so with me, as they can neuer be able to answer it. For
there it plainlie appeareth, that the adder heareth not the voice
of the charmer, charme he neuer so cunninglie: contrarie to the
poets fabling,

*Virgil. in
Dauone.*

Frigidus in pratibus cantando rumpitur anguis.

The

The coldish snake in medowes greene,
With charmes is burst in peeces cleene.

By Ab. Fleming.

But hereof more shall be said hereafter in due place.

I grant that words sometimes haue singular vertue and efficacy, either in persuasion or disuasion, as also diuerse other waies; so as thereby some are conuerted from the waie of perdition, to the estate of saluation: and so contrariwise, according to the saying of Salomon; Death and life are in the instrument of the tong: but euen therein God worketh all in all, as well in framing the heart of the one, as in directing the tong of the other: as appeareth in manie places of the holie scriptures.

Prouer. 18.
Chron. 30.
Psal. 10.
Psal. 51.
Psal. 139.
Ierem. 32.
Isai. 6.
Isai. 50.
Exod. 7. 8. 9.
Prou. 16.

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

The second Chapter.



That which is forbidden in the scriptures touching enchantment or witchcraft, is not the wonderfull working with words. For where words haue had miraculous operation, there hath bene alwaies the speciall prouidence, power and grace of God vttered to the strengthening of the faith of Gods people, and to the furtherance of the gospel: as when the apostle with a word slue Ananias and Saphira. But the prophanation of Gods name, the seducing, abusing, and cousening of the people, and mans presumption is hereby prohibited, as whereby manie take vpon them after the recitall of such names, as God in the scripture seemeth to appropriate to himselfe, to foreshew things to come, to worke miracles, to detect felonies, &c: as the Cabalists in times past toke vpon them, by the ten names of God, and his angels, expressed

Acts. 5.

in the scriptures, to worke wonders: and as the papists at this daie by the like names, by crosses, by gospels hanged about their necks, by masses, by exorcismes, by holie water, and a thousand consecrated or rather execrated things, promise vnto themselves and others, both health of bodie and soule.

Ionas. i.

But as herein we are not to imitate the papists, so in such things, as are the peculiar actions of God, we ought not to take vpon vs to counterfet, or resemble him, which with his word created all things. For we, neither all the coniurozs, Cabalists, papists, soothsaiers, inchanters, witches, nor charmers in the world, neither anie other humane or yet diabolicall cunning can adde anie such strength to Gods workmanship, as to make anie thing anew, or else to exchange one thing into another. New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herein, doubtles neither the illusions of diuels, nor the cunning of witches, can bring anie such thing truelie to passe. For by the sound of the words nothing commeth, nothing goeth, other wise than God in nature hath ordained to be done by ordinarie speech, or else by his speciall ordinance. Indeed words of sanctification are necessarie and commendable, according to S. Paules rule; Let your meat be sanctified with the word of God, and by prayer. But sanctification doth not here signifie either change of substance of the meate, or the adding of anie new strength therevnto: but it is sanctified, in that it is receiued with thanksgiuing and prayer; that our bodies may be refreshed, and our soule thereby made the apter to glorifie God.

Words of sanctification, and wherein they consist.

What effect and offense witches charmes bring, how vnapt witches are, and how vnlikelie to worke those things which they are thought to doo, what would followe if those things were true which are laid to their charge.

The third Chapter.



The words and other the illusions of witches, charmers, and coniurozs, though they be not such in operation and effect, as they are commonlie taken to be: yet they are offensive to the maiestie and

and name of God, obscuring the truth of diuinitie, & also of philosophy. For if God only giue life & being to all creatures, who can put any such vertue or liuelie feeling into a body of gold, siluer, bread, or wax, as is imagined? If either preests, diuels, or witches could so doe, the diuine power should be checked & outcast by magicall cunning, & Gods creatures made seruite to a witches pleasure. What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches? & yet they are women that neuer went to schoole in their liues, nor had any teachers: and therefore without art or learning; poore, and therefore not able to make any prouision of metals or stones, &c: whereby to bring to passe strange matters, by naturall magicke; old and stiffe, and therefore not nimble handed to deceiue your eie with legier demaine; heauie, and commonlie lame, and therefore vnapt to flie in the aire, or to danse with the faeries; sad, melancholy like, sullen, and miserable, and therefore it should be vnto them (*Inuita Minerva*) to banket or danse with *Minerua*; or yet with *Herodias*, as the common opinion of all wryters here in is. On the other side, we see they are so malicious and spitefull, that if they by themselves, or by their diuels, could trouble the elements, we should neuer haue faire weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattell, they would spare none; but would destroy and kill whole countries and households. If they could transfer come (as is affirmed) from their neighbors field into their owne, none of them would be poore, none other should be rich. If they could transforme themselves and others (as it is most constantlie affirmed) oh what a number of apes and owles should there be of vs! If Incubus could beget Merlins, vs, we should haue a tollie manie of cold prophets.

An ample description of women commonlie called witches.

Why

Why God forbid the practise of witchcraft, the absurditie of the lawe of the twelue tables, wherevpon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their wondrous works.

The fourth Chapter.



Though it be apparent, that the Holie-ghost forbiddeth this art, because of the abuse of the name of God, and the censurage comprehended therein: yet I confesse, the customes and lawes almost of all nations doe declare, that all these miraculous works before by me cited, and many other things moze wonderfull, were attributed to the power of witches. The which lawes, with the executions and iudicials therevpon, and the witches confessions, haue beguiled almost the whole world. What absurdities concerning witchcraft, are written in the lawe of the twelue tables, which was the highest and most ancient lawe of the Romans? Wherevpon the strongest argument of witches omnipotent power is framed; as that the wisdom of such lawgiuers could not be abused. Whereof (I thinke) might be made a moze strong argument on our side; to wit, If the chiefe and principall lawes of the world be in this case ridiculous, vaine, false, incredible, yea and contrarie to Gods lawe; the residue of the lawes and arguments to that effect, are to be suspected. If that argument should hold, it might proue all the popish lawes against protestants, & the heathenish princes lawes against christians, to be god and in force: for it is like they would not haue made them, except they had bene god. Were it not (thinke you) a strange proclamation, that no man (vpon paine of death) should pull the moue out of heauen? And yet verie many of the most learned witchmongers make their arguments vpon weaker grounds; as namelie in this forme and maner; We find in poets, that witches wrought such and such miracles; Ergo they can accomplish and doe this or that wonder. The words of the lawe are these;

A common
and vni-
uerfall er-
ror.

I. Bodinus.
Daneus.
Hyperius.
Heming.
Bar. Spinius.
Mal. Malef.

Qui

Qui fruges incantasset penas dato, Neve alienam segetem pellexeris excantando, neq; incantando, Ne agrum defruganto: the sense therof in English is this; Let him be executed that bewitcheth cozne, Transferre not other mens cozne into thy ground by enchantment, Take hede thou inchant not at all neither make thy neighbors field barren: he that dooth these things shall die, &c.

An instance of one arreigned vpon the lawe of the twelue tables, whereby the said lawe is proued ridiculous, of two witches that could doo wonders.

The fift Chapter.



Although among vs, we thinke them bewitched that war suddenlie poore, and not them that growe hastily rich; yet at Rome you shall vnderstand, that (as Plinie reporteth) vpon these articles one C. Furius Cressus was conuented before Spurius Albinus; for that he being but a little while free, and deliuered from bondage, occupieng onelie tillage; grew rich on the sudden, as hauing good crops: so as it was suspected that he transferred his neighbors cozne into his fields. None intercession, no delate, none excuse, no deniall would serue, neither in test nor derision, nor yet through sober or honest meanes: but he was assigned a peremptorie date, to answer for life. And therefore fearing the sentence of condemnation, which was to be giuen there, by the voice and verdict of thre men (as we here are tried by twelue) made his appearance at the daie assigned, and brought with him his ploughs and harrowes, spades and shouels, and other instruments of husbandrie, his oxen, horses, and working bullocks, his seruants, and also his daughter, which was a sturdie wench and a good huswife, and also (as Piso reporteth) well trimmed by in apparell, and said to the whole bench in this wise; Lo here my lords I make mine appearance, according to my promise and your pleasures, presenting vnto you my charmes and witchcrafts, which haue so enriched me. As for the labour, sweat, wat-
ching,

A notable
purgation
of C. F. C.
conuented
for a witch.

ching, care, and diligence, which I haue vsed in this behalfe, I cannot shew you them at this time. And by this meanes he was dismissed by the consent of that court, who other wise (as it was thought) should hardly haue escaped the sentence of condemnation, and punishment of death.

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 1.
cap. 5.*

It is constantlie affirmed in M. Mal. that Stafus vsed alwaies to hide himselfe in a monsthoall, and had a disciple called Hoppo, who made Stadlin a maister witch, and could all when they list inuisible transerre the third part of their neighbours doing, hay, cozne, &c : into their owne ground, make haile, tempests, and floods, with thunder and lightning; and kill children, cattell, &c: reueale things hidden, and many other tricks, when and where they list. But these two thisted not so well with the inquisitors, as the other with the Romane and heathen iudges. Howbeit, Stafus was too hard for them all: for none of all the lawiers nor inquisitors could bring him to appeere before them, if it be true that witchmongers write in these matters.

Lawes prouided for the punishment of such witches as worke miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certeine popish lawes published against them.

The sixt Chapter.

Punishmēt
of impossi-
bilities.



Here are other lawes of other nations made to this incredible effect: as *Lex Salicarum* prouideth punishment for them that lie in the aire from place to place, and méete at their nightlie assemblies, and haue bankets, carrieng with them plate, and such stuffe, &c: euen as we should make a lawe to hang him that should take a church in his hand at Douer, and tholue it to Callice. And because in this case also popish lawes shall be seene to be as foolish and lewd as any other whatsoeuer, and speciallie as tyrannous as that which is most cruell: you shall heare what trim new lawes the church of Rome hath latelie deuised. These are therefore the words of pope Innocent the eight to the inquisitors

of

of Almanie, and of pope Iulius the second, sent to the inquisitoꝝ of Bergomen. It is come to our eares, that manie lewd persons, of both kinds, as well male as female, vsing the companie of the diuels Incubus and Succubus, with incantations, charmes, conjurations, &c: do destroie, &c: the birthis of women with child, the yong of all cattell, the cozne of the feld, the grapes of the vines, the frute of the trees: Item, men, women, and all kind of cattell and beasts of the feld: and with their said inchantments, &c: do vtterlie extinguisht, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, oꝝtchards, medowes, pastures, grasse, gréene cozne, and ripe cozne, and all other podware: yea men and women themselues are by their imprecations so afflicted with externall and inward paines and diseases, that men cannot bæget, noꝝ women bzing foꝝth anie children, noꝝ yet accomplish the dutie of wedlocke, denieng the faith which they in baptisme professed, to the destruction of their owne soules, &c. Our pleasure therefore is, that all impediments that maie hinder the inquisitoꝝ office, be vtterlie remoued from among the people, least this blot of heresie proceed to poison and defile them that be yet innocent. And therefore we do ordeine, by vertue of the apostolicall authoritie, that our inquisitoꝝ of high Almanie, maie execute the office of inquisition by all tortures and afflictions, in all places, and vpon all persons, what and wheresoeuer, as well in euerie place and diocesse, as vpon anie person; and that as soeue, as though they were named, expꝛessed, oꝝ cited in this our commission.

A wise lawe of pope Innocent and Iulie, were it not that they wanted wit when they made it.

Poetical authorities commonlie alleaged by witch-mongers, for the prooꝛe of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernaturall power.

The seventh Chapter,



Here haue I place and oportunitie, to discover the whole art of witchcraft; euen all their charmes, periapts, characters, amulets, pꝛaiers, blessings, curllings, hurtings, helpings, knaueries, conuenages, &c. But first I will shew what authorities are produced to defend and mainteine the same, and that in serious sort,

by

by Bodin, Spinaeus, Hemingius, Vairus, Danaus, Hyperius: Mal. and the rest.

Virg. eclog. 8.

*Carmina vel celo possunt deducere lunam,
Carminibus Circe socios mutauit Vlyssis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis:*

Inchantments plucke out of the skie,
The moone, though she be plaste on his:
Dame Circes with hir charmes so fine,
Vlysses mates did turne to swine:
The snake with charmes is burst in twaine,
In medowes, where she dooth remaine.

Againe out of the same poet they cite further matter.

Virg. eclog. 8.

*Has herbas, atq; hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena,
Ipsa dedit Meris: nascuntur plurima Ponto.
His ego sæpe lupam fieri, & se condere sylvis,
Marim sæpe animas imis exire sepulchris,
Atq; satas alio vidi traducere messes.*

These herbs did Meris giue to me,
And poisons pluckt at Pontus,
For there they growe and multiplie,
And doo not so amongst vs.
With these she made hir selfe becomee,
A wolfe, and hid hir in the wood,
She fetcht vp soules out of their toome,
Remououing corne from where it stood.

Furthermore out of Ouid they alledge these following.

Ouid. fast. 6.

*Nocte volant puerosq; petunt nutricis egentes,
Et vitiant cunis corpora capti suis:
Carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris,
Et plenum potu sanguine guttur habent:*

To children they doo flie by night,
And catch them while their nurses sleepe,

And

And spoile their little bodies quite,
And home they beare them in their beake.

Againe out of Virgill in forme following.

*Hinc mihi M. assyla gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulâq; draconi
Quæ dabat, & sacros seruabat in arbore ramos,
Spargens humida mella, soporiferumq; papauer.
Hæc se carminibus promittit soluere mentes,
Quas velit, aut alijs duras immittere curas,
Nocturnâq; ciet manes, mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram, & descendere montibus ornos :*

Virg. Aene. 4

From thence a virgine preest is come,
from out Massyla land,
Sometimes the temple there she kept,
and from hir heauenlie hand
The dragon meate did take : she kept
also the frute diuine,
With herbes and liquors sweete that still
to sleepe did men incline.
The minds of men (the faith) from loue
with charmes she can vnbind,
In whom she list : but others can
she cast to cares vnkind.
The running streames doo stand, and from
their course the starres doo wreath,
And foules she coniure can : thou shalt
see sister vnderneath
The ground with roing gape, and trees
and mountaines turne vpright, &c.

Tho. Phaiers
translation of
the former
words of
Virg.

Moreouer out of Ouid they alledge as followeth.

*Cum volui ripis ipsis mirantibus amnes
Infontes rediere suos, concussâq; sesto,*

Ouid. meta-
mor. 7.

R.i.

Stantia

Stantia concutio, cantu freta nubila pello,
 Nubilâg, induco, ventos abigôg, vocôg,
 Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces,
 Vinâque saxa, sua conuulsâque robora terra,
 Et fluias moueo, iubeoq; tremescere montes,
 Et mugire solum, manêque exire sepulchris,
 Têque luna traho, &c :

The riuers I can make retire,
 Into the fountains whence they flo,
 (Whereat the banks themselues admire)
 I can make standing waters go,
 With charmes I driue both sea and clowd,
 I make it calme and blowe alowd.
 The vipers iawes, the rockie stone,
 With words and charmes I breake in twaine
 The force of earth congeald in one,
 I mooue and shake both woods and plaine;
 I make the soules of men arise,
 I pull the moone out of the skies.

Also out of the same poet.

Ouid. de
 Medea.

Verbâque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
 Quæ mare turbatum, quæ flumina concita sistant.

And thrise she spake the words that causd
 Sweete sleepe and quiet rest,
 She staid the raging of the sea,
 And mightie floods supprest.

Ouid. de
 Medea,
 epistola. 4.

Et miserum tenues in secur urget acus,
 She sticketh also needels fine
 In liuers, whereby men doo pine.

3. Amor,
 Eclog 6.

Also out of other poets.

Carmine lasa Ceres, sterilem vanescit in herbam,
 Deficiunt lasi carmine fontis aque,
 Illicibus glandes, cantatâque vitibus vna

Decidit,

Decidit, & nullo pomâ mouente fluunt:
With charmes the come is spoiled so,
As that it vades to barren gras,
With charmes the springs are dried lowe,
That none can see where water was,
The grapes from vines, the mast from okes,
And beats downe frute with charming strokes.

*Qua sidera excantata voce Thessala
Lunamque caelo diripit:* Horac. epod. 5

She plucks downe moone and starres from skie,
With chaunting voice of Thessalie.

*Hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi,
Fluminis ac rapidi carmine vertit iter,
Hæc cantu finditque solum, manisque sepulchris* Tibul. de
Elicit, & tepido deuorat ossa rogo: fascinatric,
lib. x. Eleg. 2.

*Cùm lubet hæc tristi depellit lumina caelo,
Cùm lubet æstiuo conuocat orbe niues:*
She plucks each star out of his throne,
And turneth backe the raging waues,
With charmes she makes the earth to cone,
And raiseth foules out of their graues:
She burnes mens bones as with a fire,
And pulleth downe the lights from heauen,
And makes it snowe at hir desire
Euen in the midst of summer seafon.

*Mens hausti nulla sanie pollutâ veneni,
Incantata perit:* Lucan. lib. de
bello. ciuili. 6

A man enchanted runneth mad,
That neuer anie poison had.

*Cessare vices rerum, dilatâque longa
Hæsit nocte dies, legi non paruit æther,* Idem. libid.

Torpuît & præceps audito carmine mundus:

The course of nature ceased quite,
R. ij. The

The aire obeyed not his lawe,
 The daie delaid by length of night,
 Which made both daie and night to yawe;
 And all was through that charming geare,
 Which causd the world to quake for teare.

Idem. Ibid.

*Carminē Theſſalidum dura in præcordia fluxit,
 Non ſatis adductus amor, ſtammisque ſeneri
 Illicitis arſere ignes:*

With Theſſall charmes, and not by fate
 Hot loue is forced for to flowe,
 Euen where before hath beene debate,
 They cauſe affection for to growe.

Idem. Ibid.

*Gens inuiſa dijs maculandi callida cæli,
 Quos genuit terra, mali qui ſidera mundi
 Iuræque fixarum poſſunt peruertere rerum:
 Nam nunc ſtare polos, & flumina mittere norunt,
 Aether a ſub terras adigunt, montesque reuellunt:*

Theſe witches hatefull vnto God,
 And cunning to deſile the aire,
 Which can diſorder with a nod
 The courſe of nature euerie where,
 Doo cauſe the wandring ſtarres to ſtaie,
 And driue the winds beelow the ground,
 They ſend the ſtreames another waie,
 And throwe downe hilles where they abound.

*C. Manlius
 aſironom.
 ſue. lib. I.*

*linguis dixere volucrum,
 Conſultare fibras, & rumpere uocibus angues,
 Solicitare umbras, ipſumque Acheronta mouere,
 In noctemque dies, in lucem uertere noctes,
 Omnia conando docilis ſolertia vincit:*

They talked with the toongs of birds,
 Conſulting with the ſalt ſea coaſts,
 They burſt the ſnakes with witching words,

Sollici-

Soliciting the spirituall ghosts,
 They turne the night into the daie,
 And also driue the light awaie:
 And what ist that cannot be made
 By them that doo applie this trade?

Poetrie and poperie compared in inchantments, popish withmongers haue more aduantage herein than protestants.

The eight Chapter.



You see in these verses, the poets (whether in earnest or in iest I know not) ascribe vnto witches & to their charmes, more than is to be found in humane or diabolicall power. I doubt not but the most part of the readers hereof will admit them to be fabulous; although the most learned of mine aduersaries (for lacke of scripture) are faine to produce these poetries for proofes, and for lacke of iudgement I am sure doe thinke, that Actæons transformation was true. And why not? As well as the metamorphosis or transubstantiation of Vlysses his companions into swine: which S. Augustine, and so manie great clarkes credit and report.

Ouid. Metamorph. lib. 3. fab. 2.

Ouid. Metamorph. 14. fab. 5. 6.

Speuerthelesse, popish wyters (I confesse) haue aduantage herein of our protestants: for (besides these poeticall proofes) they haue (so; aduantage) the word and authoritie of the pope himselfe, and others of that holie crue; whose charmes, coniuurations, blessings, curtings, &c: I meane in part (so; a talk) to set downe, giuing you to vnderstand, that poets are not altogether so impudent as papists herein, neither same they so ignorant, prophane, or impious. And therefore I will shew you how lowd also they lie, and what they on the other side ascribe to their charmes and coniuurations; and together will set downe with them all maner of witches charmes, as conuenientlie as I maie.

The authors transfiguration to his purposed scope.

Popish periapts, amulets and charmes, agnus Dei,
a waltcote of proffe, a charme for the falling euill, a writing
brought to S. Leo from heauen by an angell, the
vertues of S. Sauiors epistle, a charme against theeues,
a writing found in Christs wounds, of the crosse, &c.

The ninth Chapter.



These vertues vnder these verses
(written by pope Urbane the first to the
emperour of the Græcians) are contained
in a periapt or tablet, to be continuallie
worne about one, called Agnus Dei, which
is a little cake, hauing the picture of a
lambe carrying of a flag on the one side;
and Christs head on the other side, and is
holloiw: so as the gospell of S. Iohn, written in fine paper, is pla-
ced in the concavitie thereof: and it is thus compounded or
made, euen as they themselues report.

*Balsamus & munda cera, cum chrismatibus vnda
Consciunt agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum,
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum:
Fulgura de sursum depellit, & omne malignum,
Peccatum frangit, ut Christi sanguis, & angit,
Pregnans seruetur, simul & partus liberatur,
Dona refert dignis, virtutem destruit ignis,
Portatus munda de fluctibus eripit vnda:*

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming,
Looke in
the Bee-
hiue of the
Romish
church,
Lib. 4. cap. 1.
fol. 243.

Balme, virgine wax, and holie water,
an Agnus Dei make:
A gift than which none can be greater,
I send thee for to take.
From founteine cleere the same hath issue,
in secret sanctifide:
Gainst lightning it hath soueraigne vertue,
and thunder crackes beside.

Ech

Ech hainous sinne it weares and wasteth,
 euen as Christs precious blood,
 And women, whiles their trauell lasteth,
 it saues, it is so good.
 It doth bestow great gifts and graces,
 on such as well deserue:
 And borne about in noisome places,
 from perill doth preferue.
 The force of fire, whose heat destroieth,
 it breaks and bringeth downe:
 And he or she that this enioieth,
 no water shall them drowne.

¶ A charme against shot, or a wastcote
 of profe.

BEfore the comming ty of these Agnus Deis, a holie garment
 called a wastcote so; necessitie was much vsed of our forefa-
 thers, as a holy relike, &c: as giuen by the pope, or some such archy-
 conturo, who promised thereby all manner of immunitie to the
 wearer thereof; in somuch as he could not be hurt with anie shot
 or other violence. And other wise, that woman that would weare
 it, should haue quicke deliuerance: the composition thereof was
 in this order following.

On Christmas daie at night, a threed must be sponne of flax, The maner
 of making
 a waste-
 cote of
 profe.
 by a little virgine girl, in the name of the diuell: and it must be
 by hir wouen, and also wrought with the needle. In the brest or
 forepart thereof must be made with needle worke two heads; on
 the head at the right side must be a hat, and a long beard; the left
 head must haue on a crowne, and it must be so horrible, that it
 maie resemble Belzebub, and on each side of the wastcote must
 be made a crosse.

¶ Against the falling euill.

Moreouer, this insuing is another counterfet charme of
 theirs, whereby the falling euill is presentlie remedied.

*Gaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum,
 Hæc tria qui secum portabit nomina regum,*

R. iij.

Soluitur

Soluitur à morbo Christi pietate caduco.

Gasper with his myrh beganne
these presents to vnfold,
Then Melchior brought in frankincense,
and Balthasar brought in gold.
Now he that of these holie kings
the names about shall beare,
The falling yll by grace of Christ
shall neuer need to feare.

These ef-
fects are
too good to
be true in
such a patched
peece
of poperie.

This is as true a copie of the holie wryting, that was brought
downe from heauen by an angell to S. Leo pope of Rome;
& he did bid him take it to king Charles, when he went to the bat-
tell at Roncevall. And the angell said, that what man or woman
beareth this wryting about them with god deuotion, and saith
euerie daie thre Pater nollers, thre Aues, and one Creede, shall
not that daie be overcome of his enemies, either bodilie or ghost-
lie; neither shall be robbed or slaine of theues, pestilence, thun-
der, or lightening; neither shall be hurt with fier or water, nor
combrzed with spirits, neither shall haue displeasure of lords or
ladies; he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken
with fairies, or anie maner of ares, nor yet with the falling euill.
Also, if a woman be in trauell, laie this wryting vpo hir bellie, she
shall haue easie deliuerance, and the child right shape and chri-
stendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all
through vertue of these holie names of Iesus Christ following:

✠ Iesus ✠ Christus ✠ Messias ✠ Soter ✠ Emmanuel ✠
Sabbaoth ✠ Adonai ✠ Vnigenitus ✠ Maiestas ✠ Paracletus
✠ Saluator noster ✠ Agiros iskiros ✠ Agios ✠ Adanatos ✠
Gasper ✠ Melchior ✠ & Balthasar ✠ Matthæus ✠ Marcus ✠
Lucas ✠ Iohannes.

The epistle of S. Sauior, which pope Leo sent to king Charles,
saieng, that whosoever carrieth the same about him, or in what
daie so ever he shall read it, or shall see it, he shall not be killed
with anie iron tole, nor be burned with fier, nor be drowned with
water, neither anie euill man or other creature maie hurt
him. The crosse of Christ is a wonderfull defense ✠ The crosse
of

of Christ be alwaies with me ✠ the crosse is it which I do alwaies worship ✠ the crosse of Christ is true health ✠ the crosse of Christ doth lose the bands of death ✠ the crosse of Christ is the trust and the waie ✠ I take my iournie vpon the crosse of the Lord ✠ the crosse of Christ beateth dolone euerie euill ✠ the crosse of Christ giueth all good things ✠ the crosse of Christ taketh awaie paines euerlasting ✠ the crosse of Christ saue me ✠ O crosse of Christ be vpon me, before me, and behind me ✠ bicause the ancient enimie cannot abide the sight of thee ✠ the crosse of Christ saue me, keepe me, gouerne me, and direct me ✠ Thomas bearing this note of thy diuine maiestie ✠ Alpha ✠ Omega ✠ first ✠ and last ✠ middelt ✠ and end ✠ beginning ✠ and first begotten ✠ wisdome ✠ vertue ✠.

¶ A popish periapt or charme, which must neuer be said, but carried about one, against theeues.

I Do go, and I do come vnto you with the loue of God, with the humilitie of Christ, with the holines of our blessed ladie, with the faith of Abraham, with the iustice of Isaac, with the vertue of Dauid, with the might of Peter, with the constancie of Paule, with the word of God, with the authoritie of Gregorie, with the prayer of Clement, with the flood of Jordan, p p p e g e g a g g e s t p t
 1 k a b g l k 2 a x r g t b a m g 2 4 2 1 q p x c g k g a 9 9 p o q q r. Oh ones lie Father ✠ oh onlie lord ✠ And Iesus ✠ passing through the middelt of them ✠ went ✠ In the name of the Father ✠ and of the Sonne ✠ and of the Holie-ghost ✠.

This were a good preleruatiue for a traueiling papist.

¶ Another amulet.

Ioseph of Arimathea did find this writing vpon the wounds of the side of Iesus Christ, written with Gods finger, when the bodie was taken away frō the crosse. Whosoener shall carrie this writing about him, shall not die anie euill death, if he beleue in Christ, and in all perplexities he shall sone be deliuered, neither let him feare any danger at all. Fons ✠ alpha & omega ✠ figa ✠ sigalis ✠ Sabbaoth ✠ Emmanuel ✠ Adonai ✠ o ✠ Nera y ✠ Elay ✠ Ihe ✠ Rentone ✠ Neger ✠ Sahe ✠ Pangerton ✠ Commen ✠ a ✠ g. ✠ a ✠ Mattheus ✠ Marcus ✠ Lucas ✠ Iohannes ✠ ✠ ✠ *titulus triumphalis* ✠ Iesus Nasarennus

renus rex Iudæorum ✠ ecce dominica crucis signum ✠ fugite partes aduersæ, vicit leo de tribu Iudæ, radix, David, alelujab, Kyrie eleeson, Christus eleeson, pater noster, Ave Maria, & ne nos, & veniat super nos salutar tuum: Oremus, &c.

I find in a Primer intituled The houres of our Ladie, after the vse of the church of Yorke, printed anno 1516. a charme with this titling in red letters; To all them that asoze this image of pitie deuoutlie shall saie ⁴ fine Pater nosters, fine Aues, and one Credo, pitiously beholding these armes of Christs passion, are granted thirtie two thousand seuen hundred fiftie fine yeares of pardon. It is to be thought that this pardon was granted in the tyme of pope Boniface the ninth; for Platina saith that the pardons were sold so cheape, that the apostolicall authoritie grew into contempt.

If the party
faile in the
number,
he may go
whistle for
a pardon.

¶ A papisticall charme.

Signum sancte crucis defendat me à malis presentibus, præteritis, & futuris, interioribus & exterioribus: that is, The signe of the crosse defend me from euils present, past, and to come, inward and outward.

¶ A charme found in the canon of the masse.

Also this charme is found in the canon of the masse, *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi fuit mihi, omnibusque sumentibus, salus mentis & corporis, & ad vitam promouendam, & capeffendam, preparatio salutaris*: that is, Let this holie mixture of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto me, and vnto all receiuers thereof, health of mind and bodie, and to the deseruing and receiuing of life an healthfull preparatiue.

¶ Other papisticall charmes.

Aqua benedicta, sit mihi salus & vita:

Let holie water be, both health and life to me.

Adque nomen Martini omnis hereticus fugiat pallidus,

When Martins name is soong or said,

Let heretikes flie as men dismaid.

By Ab. Fleming.

But

But the papists haue a harder charme than that; to wit, Fier and fagot, Fier and fagot.

¶ A charme of the holie crosse.

Nulla salus est in domo,

Nisi cruce munit homo

Superliminaria.

Neque sentit gladium,

Nec amisit filium,

Quisquis egit talia.

No health within the house dooth dwell,
Except a man doo crosse him well,
at euerie doore or frame,
He neuer feeleth the sword's point,
Nor of his sonne shall loofe a ioint,
that dooth performe the same.

Furthermore as followeth.

Ista suos fortiores

Semper facit, & victores,

Morbos sanat & languores,

Reprimit demonia.

Dat captiuis libertatem,

Vita confert nouitatem,

Ad antiquam dignitatem,

Cruce reduxit omnia.

O Cruce lignum triumphale,

Mundi vera salus vale,

Inter ligna nullum tale,

Fronde, flore, germine.

Medicina Christiana,

Salua sanos, egros sana,

Quod non valet vis humana,

Fit in tuo nomine, &c.

*Sancta cruce
equiparatur
saluifero
Christo.
O blasphemiam inenarrabilem!*

Englisht by
Abraham
Fleming.
Looke in
the Bee-
hiue of the
Romish
church lib.
4. cap. 3.
fol. 251, 252.

It makes hir souldiers excellent,
and crowneth the m with victorie,
Restores the lame and impotent,
and healeth euerie maladie.
The diuels of hell it conquereth,
releaseth from imprisonment,
Newnesse of life it offereth,
it hath all at commandement.
O crosse of wood incomparable,
to all the world most holsome:
No wood is halfe so honourable,
in branch, in bud, or blossome.
O medicine which Christ did ordaine,
the sound saue euerie hower,
The sicke and fore make whole againe,
by vertue of thy power.
And that which mans vnablenesse,
hath neuer comprehended,
Grant by thy name of holinesse,
it may be fullie ended, &c.

¶ A charme taken out of the Primer.

This charme following is taken out of the Primer aforesaid.
*Omnipotens ✠ Dominus ✠ Christus ✠ Messias ✠ with 34.
 names more, & as many crosses, & then proceeds in this wise; Ista
 nomina me protegant ab omni aduersitate, plaga, & infirmitate corporis &
 anime, plene liberent, & assistent in auxilium ista nominaregum, Gasper,
 &c: & 12. apostoli (videlicet) Petrus, &c: & 4. euangeliste (vi-
 delicet) Mattheus, & c. mihi assistent in omnibus necessita-
 tibus meis, ac me defendant & liberent ab
 omnibus periculis & corporis &
 anime, & omnibus malis
 prateritis, presentibus,
 & futuris, &c.*

How to make holie water, and the vertues therof, S.
 Rufins charme, of the wearing and bearing of the name
 of Iesus, that the sacrament of confession and the eu-
 charist is of as much efficacie as other charmes, & mag-
 nified by L. Vairus.

The tenth Chapter.

If I did well, I should shew you
 the consecration of all their stuffe, and how
 they prepare it; but it would be too long.
 And therefore you shall onlie haue in this
 place a few notes for the composition of
 certein receipts, which in stead of an Ap-
 othecarie if you deliuer to any morrow
 masse prest, he will make them as well
 as the pope himselfe. Marke now they way euerie parlement
 deerer and deerer; although therewithall, they utter many stale
 drugs of their owne.

If you looke in the popish pontificall, you shall see how they
 make their holie water; to wit, in this sort: I coniure thee thou
 creature of water, in the name of the father, and of the sonne,
 & of the Holie-ghost, that thou diuine the diuell out of euerie cor-
 ner and hole of this church, and altar; so as he remaine not with-
 in our pccinats that are iust and righteous. And water thus b-
 sed (as Durandus saith) hath power of his owne nature to diuine
 away diuels. If you will learne to make any more of this popish
 stuffe, you may go to the verie masse booke, and find manie good
 receipts: marrie if you search Durandus, &c; you shall find a
 bundance.

I know that all these charmes, and all these palterie conse-
 crations (though they were farre more impious and foolish) will be
 mainteined and defended by massmongers, euen as the residue
 will be by witchmongers: and therefore I will in this place
 insert a charme, the authoritie wherof is equall with the rest, de-
 firing to haue their opinions herein. I find in a booke called *Poma-*
rium sermonum quadragesimalium, that S. Francis seing Rufinus *Pom. ser-*
mon. 32.
 prouoked

*In ecclesie
 dedicatione.*

*In rationally
 diuinorum
 officiorum.*

prouoked of the diuell to thinke himfelfe damned, charged Rufinus to faie this charme, when he next met with the diuell; *Aperi os, & ibi imponam stercus*, which is as much to faie in English as, *Open thy mouth and I will put in a plumme: a berie ruffinlie charme.*

L. Vairus lib. de fascin. 3. cap. 10. Idem, ibid.

Leonard Vairus writeth, *De veris, pjs, ac sanctis amuletis fascinum atq; omnia veneficia destruentibus*; wherein he spectallie commendeth the name of Iesus to be woyn. But the sacrament of confession he extollethe aboue all things, saieing, that whereas Christ with his powter did but thzowe diuels out of mens bodies, the p̄cest d̄ziuethe the diuell out of mans soule by confession. For (saith he) these wordes of the p̄cest, when he saith, *Ego te absoluo*, are as effectuall to d̄ziue awaie the princes of dar knes, though the mightie powter of that saieing, as was the voice of God to d̄ziue awaie the darknes of the wo:ld, when at the beginning he said, *Fiat lux*. He commendeth also, as hole some things to d̄ziue awaie diuels, the sacrament of the eucharist, and solitarines, and silence. Finallie he saith, that if there be added herevnto an *Agnus Dei*, and the same be woyn about ones necke by one void of sirne, nothing is wanting that is god and hole some fo: this purpose. But he concludeth, that you must weare and make dints in your fo:head, with crossing your selfe when you put on your shoes, and at euerie other action, &c: and that is also a p̄sent remedie to d̄ziue awaie diuels, fo: they cannot abide it.

Idem, ibid.

Of the noble balme vsed by Moses, a p̄ishlie counterfeited in the church of Rome.

The eleuenth Chapter.

THe noble balme that Moses made, hauing indeede manie excellent vertues, besides the pleasant and comfortable sa uour thereof; wherewithall Moses in his polittke lawes entoiued kings, quēnes, and princes to be annointed in their true and lawfull elections and coronations, untill the euerlasting king had put on man

man vpon him, is apthilie counterfeited in the Romish church, with diuerse terrible conturations, threë bzeathings, crossewise, (able to make a quezie stomach spue) nine mumblings, and threë curtisies, saieing therevnto, *Aue sanctum oleum, ter aue sanctum balsamum.* And so the diuell is thrust out, and the Holie-ghost let into his place. But as for Moses his balme, it is not now to be found either in Rome or elsewhere that I can learne. And according to this papistlicall order, witches, and other superstitious people follow on, with charmes and conurations made in forme; which manie bad physicians also practise, when their learning faileth, as maie appeare by example in the sequele.

The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periaps, appensions, amulets, &c. Of Homerickall medicines, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof.

The twelue Chapter.



Rgerius Ferrarius, a physician in these daies of great account, doth saie, that for so much as by no diet nor physick any disease can be so taken awaie or extinguished, but that certeine organs and reliques will remaine: therefore physicians vse physickall alligations, appensions, periaps, amulets, charmes, characters, &c. which he supposeth maie doo good; but harme he is sure they can doo none: vnging that it is necessarie and expedient for a physician to leaue nothing vndone that may be deuised for his patients recoverie; and that by such meanes manie great cures are done. He citeth a great number of experiments out of Alexander Trallianus, Aetius, Ostauianus, Marcellus, Philodorus, Archigenes, Philostratus, Plinie, and Dioscorides; and would make men beleue that Galen (who in truth despised and derided all those vanities) recanted in his latter daies his former opinion; and all his inuectiues tending against these magicall cures: writing also a booke intituled *De Homerica medicatione*, which no man could euer see, but one Alexander Trallianus, who saith he saw it:

Arg. Ferr. libri de medendi methodo. 2. cap. 11. De Homerica medicatione.

and.

This would
be exami-
ned, to ſee
if Galen be
not ſlande-
red.

and further affirmeth, that it is an honeſt mans part to cure the ſicke, by hooke or by crooke, or by anie meanes whatſoener. Yea he ſaith that Galen (who indeed wrote and taught that *Incantamenta ſunt muliercularum ſigmenta*, and be the onlie clokes of bad phyſicians) affirmeth, that there is vertue and great force in incantations. As for example (ſaith Trallian) Galen, being now reconciled to this opinion, holdeth and writeth, that the bones which ſicke in ones throte, are auoided and caſt out with the violence of charmes and inchanting words; yea and that thereby the ſtone, the chollicke, the falling ſicknes, and all feuers, goivts, ſures, fiſtulas, iſſues of bloud, and finallie whatſoener cure (euen beyond the ſkill of himſelfe or anie other ſolliſh phyſician) is cured and perfectlie healed by words of inchantment. Marie *de Ferrarius* (although he allowed and practiſed this kind of phyſicke) yet he proteſteth that he thinketh it none otherwiſe effectuall, than by the waie of conſtant opinion: ſo as he affirmeth that neither the character, nor the charme, nor the witch, nor the diuell accompliſh the cure; as (ſaith he) the experiment of the touchack will manifeſtly declare, wherein the cure is wrought by the confidence or diffidence as well of the patient, as of the agent; according to the poets ſaieng :

*Nos habitat non tartara, ſed nec ſidera cali,
Spiritus in nobis qui viget illa facit.*

Engliſhed by
Abraham
Fleming.

Not helliſh furies dwell in vs,
Nor ſtarres with influence heauenlie;
The ſpirit that liues and rules in vs,
Doth euerie thing ingeniouſlie,

This (ſaith he) commeth to the vnlearned, through the opinion which they conceiue of the characters and holie words: but the learned that know the force of the mind and imagination, worke miracles by meanes thereof; ſo as the vnlearned muſt haue eternall helps, to do that which the learned can do with a word onelie. He ſaith that this is called *Homeric medicatio*, becauſe Homer diſcovered the bloud of the word ſuppreſſed, and the infections healed by or in myſteries.

Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Argerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charms, &c: foure sorts of Homericall medicines, & the choice thereof; of imagination.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Touching mine opinion of these amulets, characters, and such other bables, I haue sufficientlie vttered it elsewhere: and I will bewraite the vanitie of these superstitious trifles moze largelie hereafter. And therefore at this time I onelie saie, that those amulets, which are to be hanged oꝝ carried about one, if they consist of hearbs, rootes, stones, oꝝ some other metall, they maie haue diuerse medicinable operations; and by the vertue giuen to them by God in their creation, maie worke strange effects and cures: and to impute this vertue to anie other matter is witchcraft. And whereas A. Ferrarius commendeth certeine amulets, that haue no shew of physicall operation; as a naile taken from a crosse, holie water, and the verie signe of the crosse, with such like poppish stuffe: I thinke he laboureth thereby rather to draw men to poperie, than to teach oꝝ persuade them in the truth of physicke oꝝ philosophie. And I thinke thus the rather, for that he himselfe seeth the fraud hereof; confessing that where these magicall physicians applie thre seeds of thre leaued grasse to a tertian ague, and foure to a quartane, that the number is not materiall.

But of these Homericall medicines he saith there are foure sorts, whereof amulets, characters, & charms are thre: howbeit he commendeth and preferreth the fourth about the rest; and that he saith consisteth in illusions, which he moze properlie calleth stratagemis. Of which sort of conclusions he alledgeth for example, how Philodotus did put a cap of lead vpon ones head, who imagined he was headlesse, whereby the partie was deliuered from his disease oꝝ conceipt. Item another cured a woman that imagined, that a serpent oꝝ snake did continuallie gnaw and

Foure sorts of Homericall medicines, and which is the principall.

The force
of fixed
fantie, opi-
nion, or
strong con-
script.

teare hir entrailes; and that was done onelie by giuing hir a vomit, and by foisting into the matter vomited a little serpent or snake, like vnto that which she imagined was in hir bellie.

Item, another imagined that he alwaies burned in the fier, vnder whose bed a fier was priuilie conueied, which being raked out before his face, his fantie was satisfied, and his heate allaied. Here vnto perteineth, that the hickot is cured with sudden feare or strange newes: yea by that meanes agues and manie other strange and extreme diseases haue bene healed. And some that haue lien so sicke and soze of the gowt, that they could not remoue a ioint, through sudden feare of fier, or ruine of houses, haue forgotten their infirmitie and grieues, and haue runne awaie. But in my treat vpon melancholie, and the effects of imagination, and in the discourse of naturall magick, you shall see these matters largelie touched.

Choice of Charms against the falling euill, the biting of a mad dog, the stinging of a scorpion, the tooth-ach, for a woman in trauell, for the Kings euill, to get a thorne out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charms to be said fasting, or at the gathering of hearbs, for sore eies, to open locks, against spirits, for the bots in a horse, and speciallic for the Duke of Albas horse, for sowre wines, &c.

The xiiij. Chapter.

THERE BE INNUMERABLE CHARMS OF coniturers, bad physicians, lewd surgeons, melancholike witches, and conuersers, for all diseases and grieues; speciallic for such as bad physicians and surgeons knowe not how to cure, and in truth are good struffs to shadowe their ignorance, whereof I will repeate some.

For the falling euill.

TAKE the sicke man by the hand, and whisper these wordes softlie in his eare, I conitoure thee by the sunne and mone,
and

and by the gospell of this date deliuered by God to Hubert, Giles, Cornelius, and Iohn, that thou rise and fall no more. * Otherwise: Drink in the night at a spring water out of a skull of one that hath bene slaine. * Otherwise: Eat a pig killed with a knife that slew a man. * Otherwise as folloiweth.

Ananizapta ferit mortem, dum ledere querit,
Est mala mors capta, dum dicitur Ananizapta,
Ananizapta Dei nunc miserere mei.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

Ananizapta smiteth death,
whiles harme intendeth he,
This word Ananizapta say,
and death shall captiue be,
Ananizapta o of God,
haue mercie now on me.

¶ Against the biting of a mad dog.

Put a siluer ring on the finger, within the which these words *1. Bodinus. lib. de demon. cap. 5.*
are grauen ✠ Habay ✠ habar ✠ hebar ✠ & saie to the per-
son bitten with a mad dog, I am thy sauiour, lose not thy life;
and then picke him in the nose thise, that at each time he bleed.
* Otherwise: Take pilles made of the skull of one that is hang-
ed. * Otherwise: Write vpon a peece of bread, *Irioni, kbrion-
ra, esser, kbuder, feres;* and let it be eaten by the partie bitten.
* Otherwise: *O rex gloria Iesu Christe, veni cum pace: In nomine patri-
max, in nomine filij max, in nomine spiritus sancti prax: Gasper, Melchior,
Balthasar ✠ prax ✠ max ✠ Deus I max ✠*

But in troth this is verie dangerous; insomuch as if it be not
speedilie and cunninglie pꝛeuented, either death or frensie insu-
eth, through infection of the humoz left in the wound bitten by a
mad dog: which bicause bad surgions cannot cure, they haue ther-
foze vsed foolishly censuring charmes. But Dodonaus in his her-
ball saith, that the hearbe Alysson cureth it: which experiment, I
doubt not, will pꝛoue moze true than all the charmes in the world.
But where he saith, that the same hanged at a mans gate or en-
trie, pꝛeferueth him and his cattell from inchantment, or bewit-
ching, he is ouertaken with follie.

¶ If.

¶ Against

¶ Against the biting of a Scorpion.

SAie to an asse secretlie, and as it were whispering in his eare;
I am bitten with a Scorpion.

¶ Against the toothach.

SCarifie the gums in the gréepe, with the tooth of one that hath
Sbene slaine. * Otherwise: Galbes galbat, galdes galdat. * O-
therwise: *Ab hur bus, &c.* * Otherwise: At laccaring of masse
hold your teeth together, and say * *Os non comminuetis ex eo.* * Other-
wise: *strigiles falcesq, dentate, dentium dolorem persanate;* & horse-
combs and sickles that haue so many teeth, come heale me now
of my toothach.

* That is,
You shall
not breake
or diminish
a bone of
him.

¶ A charme to releafe a woman in trauell.

THrowe ouer the top of the house, where a woman in trauell
lieth, a stone, or any other thing that hath killed thre living
creatures; namelie, a man, a wild boze, and a she beare.

¶ To heale the Kings or Queenes euill, or any other
foreneffe in the throte.

REmedies to cure the Kings or Quenes euill, is first to
touch the place with the hand of one that died an vntimelie
death. * Otherwise: Let a virgine fasting laie hir hand on the
soze, and saie; Apollo denieth that the heate of the plague can in-
crease, where a naked virgine quengeth it: and spet thre times
vpon it.

¶ A charme read in the Romish church, vpon saint
Blazes daie, that will fetch a thorne out of
anic place of ones bodie, a bone out
of the throte, &c: Lect. 3.

FO: the fetching of a thorne out of any place of ones bodie, or a
bone out of the throte, you shall read a charme in the Romish
church vpon S. Blazes daie; to wit, Call vpon God, and remem-
ber S. Blaze. This S. Blaze could also heale all wild beasts that
were sicke or lame, with laieng on of his hands: as appeareth in
the lesson red on his daie, where you shall see the matter at large.

¶ A charme for the headach.

The a halter about your head, therewith one hath béene har-
ged.

¶ A charme to be said each morning by a witch fa-
sting, or at least before she go abroad.

The fier bites, the fier bites, the fier bites; Hogs turd ouer it,
hogs turd ouer it, hogs turd ouer it; The father with thee, the
sonne with me, the holic-ghost betwéene vs both to be: fer. Then
spit ouer one shoulder, and then ouer the other, and then threé
times right forward.

¶ Another charme that witches vse at the gathering
of their medicinable hearbs.

Haile be thou holie hearbe
growing on the ground,
All in the mount * Caluarie
first wert thou found,
Thou art good for manie a sore,
and healest manie a wound,
In the name offweete Iesus
I take thee from the ground.

*Though
neither the
hearbe nor
the witch
neuer came
there.

¶ An old womans charme, wherewith she did
much good in the countrie, and grew
famous thereby.

An old woman that healed all diseases of cattell (so: the which
she neuer toke any reward but a penie and a loafe) being
serioultie examined by what words she brought these things to
passe, confessed that after she had touched the sicke creature, she
alwaies departed immediatlly; saying:

My loafe in my lap,
my penie in my purse;
Thou art neuer the better,
and I am neuer the wurse.

S. 17.

Another

Another like charme.

A Gentlewoman hauing soze eies, made hir mone to one, that promised hir helpe, if she would follow his aduise: which was onelie to weare about hir necke a scroll sealed vp, wherein to she might not loke. And she conceiuing hope of cure thereby, receiued it vnder the condition, and left hir weeping and teares, wherewith she was wont to bewaile the miserable darkenesse, which she doubted to indure: whereby in short time hir eies were well amended. But alas! she lost some after that pretious ietwell, and thereby returned to hir wonted weeping, and by consequence to hir soze eies. Howbeit, hir ietwell or scroll being found againe, was looked into by hir deere friends, and this onelie poe- sie was contained therein:

Note the force of constant opinion, or fixed fancy.

The diuell pull out both thine eies,
And * etish in the holes likewise.

Whereby partlie you may see what constant opinton can do, according to the sayeng of Plato; If a mans fantasie or mind giue him assurance that a hurtfull thing shall do him good, it may do so, &c.

* Spell the word backward, and you shall soone see this slouenlie charme or appension.

A charme to open locks.

The euill charmes.

As the hearbes called Aethiopes will open all locks (if all be true that inchanters saie) with the help of certeine words: so be these charmes also and perhapt, which without any hearbs can do as much: as for example. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and do but print certeine flowers therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt; and when you would vndo the locke, blow thise therin, sayeng; *Arato hoc partiko hoc maratarykin.* I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake, as thou breakest hell gates, *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.*

¶ A charme to driue awaie spirits that haunt anie house.

This is called and counted the Paracelsian charme.

Hang in euerie of the foure corners of your house this sentence written vpon virgine parchment; ^a *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum:* ^b *Mosen habent & prophetas:* ^c *Excurret Deus & dissipentur*

^a Plal. 150. ^b Luk. 16. ^c Plal. 64.

pentur inimici eius.

¶ A prettie charme or conclusion
for one possessed.

The possessed bodie must go vpon his or hir knees to the church, how farre so euer it be off from their lodging; and so must creepe without going out of the waite, being the common high waite, in that sort, how sowle and durtie soeuer the same be; or whatsoeuer lie in the waite, not shunning anie thing whatsoeuer, vntill he come to the church, where he must heare masse deuoutlie, and then followeth recoverie.

* Memorandum that hearing of masse be in no case omitted, quoth Nota.

¶ Another for the same purpose.

There must be commended to some poore begger the sateng of five *Pater nosters*, and five *Aues*; the first to be said in the name of the partie possessed, or bewitched: so: that Christ was led into the garden; secondlie, so: that Christ did sweat both water and bloud; thirdlie, so: that Christ was condemned; fourthlie, so: that he was crucified guiltlesse; and fiftlie, so: that he suffered to take awaie our sinnes. Then must the sicke bodie heare masse eight daies together, standing in the place where the gospell is said, and must mingle holie water with his meate and his drinke, and holie salt also must be a portion of the mixture.

¶ Another to the same effect.

The sicke man must fast three daies, and then he with his parents must come to church, vpon an embering s^t daie, and must heare the masse so: that daie appointed, and so likewise the saturday and sunday following. And the priest must read vpon the sicke mans head, that gospell which is read in September, and in grape harvest, after the feast of holie crosse *In diebus quatuor temporum*, in ember daies: then let him write and carrie it about his necke, and he shall be cured.

Iohannes Anglicus ex Constantino, Guatero, Bernardo, Gilberto, &c

¶ Another charme or witchcraft for the same.

This office or conuration following was first authorized and printed at Rome, and afterwards at Auenion, Anno. 1515. And least that the diuell should lie hid in some secret part of the

S. iij.

bodie,

bodie, euerie part thereof is named; *obsecro te Iesu Christe, &c.*: that is: I beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, that thou pull out of euerie member of this man all infirmitie, from his head, from his haire, from his baine, from his forehead, from his eyes, from his nose, from his eares, from his mouth, from his tongue, from his teeth, from his iawes, from his throte, from his necke, from his backe, from his brest, from his paps, from his heart, from his stomack, from his sides, from his flesh, from his blood, from his bones, from his legs, from his fete, from his fingers, from the soles of his fete, from his marrowe, from his sinewes, from his skin, and from euerie ioint of his members, &c.

Doubtles Iesus Christ could haue no starting hole, but was hereby euerie waie pzevented and pursued; so as he was forced to do the cure: for it appeareth hereby, that it had bene insufficient for him to haue said; Depart out of this man thou vnclane spirit, and that when he so said he did not perfozme it. I do not thinke that there will be found among all the heathens superstitious fables, or among the witches, coniuroz, coueners, poets, knaues, soles, &c: that euer wrote, so impudent and impious a lie or charme as is read in *Barnardine de bustis*; where, to cure a sicke man, Christs bodie, to wit: a wafer cake, was outwardlie applied to his side, and entred into his heart, in the sight of all the standers by. Now, if graue authozs report such lies, what credit in these cases shall we attribute vnto the old wiuues tales, that Sprenger, Institor, Bodine, and others write? Euen as much as to Ouids Metamorphosis, Aefops fables, Moores Vtopia, and diuerse other fantasies; which haue as much truth in them, as a blind man hath sight in his eye.

*Barnard. de
bustis in Ro-
sar. serm.
serm. 15.*

¶ A charme for the bots in a horffe.

You must both saie and do thus vpon the diseased horffe thre daies together, before the sunne rising: *In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti; Exorcizo te vermem per Deum patrem, & filium & spiritum sanctum*: that is, In the name of God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost, I coniure thee O worme by God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost; that thou netther eat nor drinke the flesh blood or bones of this horffe; and that thou hereby maist be made as patient as Iob, and as good as S. Iohn

Baptist,

Baptist, when he baptised Christ in Jordan, *In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti.* And then saie three *Pater nosters*, and three *Aues*, in the right eare of the horſſe, to the glorie of the holie trinitie. *Do Amicus filij & spiritus Mari & a.*

There are also diuers booke imprinted, as it should appeare with the authoritie of the church of Rome, wherein are contained manie medicinall praier, not onelie against all diseases of horſſes, but also for euerie impediment and fault in a horſſe: in so much as if a hoo fall off in the middelt of his tournie, there is a praier to warrant your horſſes hooſe, so as it shall not breake, how far so euer he be from the Smithes forge.

The smiths will canne them small thanks for this praier.

Item, the Duke of Alba his horſſe was consecrated, or cano- nized, in the lowe countries, at the solemne masse; wherein the popes bull, and also his charme was published (which I will here after recite) he in the meane time sitting as Vice-roy with his consecrated standard in his hand, till masse was done.

¶ A charme against vineager.

That wine was not eager, write on the vessell, *Gustate & Vide- re, quoniam suavis est Dominus.*

O notable blasphemie.

The enchanting of serpents and snakes, objections answered concerning the same; fond reasons whie charmes take effect therein, Mahomets pigeon, miracles wrought by an Asse at Memphis in Aegypt, popish charmes against serpents, of miracle workers, the taming of snakes, Bodins lie of snakes.

The xv. Chapter.

Concerning the charming of ser- pents and snakes, mine aduersaries (as I haue said) thinke they haue great advantage by the words of David in the fiftie eight psalme; and by Ieremie, chapter eight, expounding the one prophet by Virgil, the other by Ouid. For the words of David are these; Their poison is like the poison of a serpent, and like a deafe adder, that stoppeth his eare,

care, and heareth not the voice of the charmer, charme he neuer so cunninglie. The words of Virgil are these, *Frigidus in pratis cando rumpitur anguis*. As he might saie, David thou liest; for the cold natured snake is by the charmes of the inchanters broken all to peeces in the field where he lieth. Then commeth Ouid, and he taketh his countreimans part, saieing in the name and person of a witch; *Pipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces*; that is, I with my words and charmes can breake in sunder the vsper satwes.

Ouid. meta- mor. 7.
Jerem. 8. 17. Partie Jeremie on the other side encountereth this poeticall witch, and he not onelie defendeth, but expoundeth his fellowe prophets words, and that not in his owne name, but in the name of almighty God; saieing, I will send serpents and cockatrices among you, which cannot be charmed.

Now let anie indifferent man (christian or heathen) iudge, whether the words and minds of the prophets doe not direalie opugne these poets words (I will not saie minds:) for that I am sure they did therein but iest and trifle, according to the common fabling of lieng poets. And certeinlie, I can encounter them two with other two poets; namelie Propertius and Horace, the one meruilie deriding, the other seriouilie impugning their fantasticall poetries, concerning the power and omnipotencie of witches. For where Virgil, Ouid, &c: wrote that witches with their charmes fetch downe the moone and starres from heauen, &c: Propertius mocketh them in these words following:

*At vos deducta quibus est fallacia Luna,
 Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,
 En agedum domina mentem conuertite nostrae,
 Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis,
 Tunc ego crediderim vobis & sideris & amnes
 Possē Circeis ducere carminibus:*

Englished by
 Abraham
 Fleming.

But you that haue the subtile flight,
 Offetching downe the moone from skies;
 And with inchanting fier bright,
 Attempt to purge your sacrifices:
 Lo now, go to, turne (if you can)
 Our madams mind and sturdie hart,

And

And make hir face more pale and wan,
 Than mine : which if by magicke art
 You doo, then will I soone belecue,
 That by your witching charmes you can
 From skies aloft the starres remeeue,
 And riuers turne from whence they ran.

And that you may see more certeinlie, that these poets did but
 tell and deride the credulous and timorous sort of people, I
 thought good to shew you what Ouid saith against himselfe, and
 such as haue written so incredible and ridiculouslie of witches
 omnipotencie :

*Nec medice magicis finduntur cantibus angues,
 Nec redit in fontes vnda supina suos :*
 Snakes in the middle are not riuen
 with charmes of witches cunning,
 Nor waters to their fountaines driuen
 by force of backward running.

Englished by
 Abraham
 Fleming.

As for Horace his verses I omit them, because I haue cited
 them in another place. And concerning this matter Cardanus Card. lib. 15.
 de var. rer.
 cap. 80. saith, that at euerie eclipse they were wont to thinke, that wit-
 ches pulled downe the sunne and moone from heauen. And
 doubtles, hence came the opinion of that matter, which spread so
 farre, and continued so long in the common peoples mouthes,
 that in the end learned men grew to beleue it, and to affirme it
 in writing.

But here it will be objected, that because it is said (in the places
 by me alledged) that snakes or vipers cannot be charmed; Ergo
 other things may: To answer this argument, I would aske the
 witchmonger this question, to wit; Whether it be expedient, that
 to satisfie his follie, the Holie-ghost must of necessitie make men-
 tion of euerie particular thing that he imagineth may be bewit-
 ched? I would also aske of him, what privilege a snake hath more
 than other creatures, that he onelie may not, and all other crea-
 tures may be bewitched? I hope they will not saie, that either
 their saith or infidelitie is the cause thereof; neither do I admit
 the answer of such diuines as saie, that he cannot be bewitched :

so,

foz that he seduced Eue; by meanes whereof God himselſe curſed him; and thereby he is ſo priuileged, as that no witches charme can take hold of him. But moze ſhall be ſaid hereof in the ſequele.

Dan. in dia-
log. cap. 3.

Danaus ſaith, that witches charmes take ſoneſt hold vpon ſnakes and adders; bicauſe of their conference and familiaritie with the diuell, whereby the rather mankind through them was ſeduced. Let vs ſeeke then an anſwer foz this cauill; although in truth it needeth not: foz the phraſe of ſpeech is abſolute, & impoſtes not a ſpeciall qualitie proper to the nature of a viper anie moze, than when I ſaie; A connie cannot ſtie; you ſhould gather & con- clude therevpon, that I ment that all other beaſts could ſtie. But you ſhall vnderſtand, that the cauſe why theſe vipers can rather withſtand the voice & practiſe of inchanters and ſorcerers, than o- ther creatures, is: foz that they being in bodie and nature veno- mous, cannot ſo ſone oꝝ properlie receiue their deſtruction by veno- me, whereby the witches in other creatures bying their miſchee- fous practiſes moze eaſilie to paſſe, according to Virgils ſaieing:

Virg. geo. 4.

Engliſhed by
Abraham
Fleming.

Corruptique lacus, infecit pabula t abo,

She did infect with poiſon ſtrong
Both ponds and paſtures all along.

And therevpon the prophet alludeth vnto their corrupt and in- ſerible nature, with that compariſon: and not (as Tremelius is ſaine to ſhif it) with ſtopping one eare with his taile, and laſeing the other cloſe to the ground; bicauſe he would not heare the charmers voice. If oꝝ the ſnake hath neither ſuch reaſon; noꝝ the woꝝds ſuch effect: otherwiſe the ſnake muſt know our thoughts. It is alſo to be conſidered, how vntame by nature theſe vipers (foz the moſt part) are; in ſo much as they be not by mans indu- ſtrie oꝝ cunning to be made familiar, oꝝ trained to do anie thing, whereby admiration maie be procured: as Bomelio Feates his dog could do; oꝝ Mahomets pigeo, which would reſort vnto him, being in the middeſt of his campe, and picke a peafe out of his eare; in ſuch ſoꝝ that manie of the people thought that the Holie-ghoſt came and told him a tale in his eare: the ſame pi- geon alſo brought him a ſcroll, wherein was written, *Rex eſto*, and laid the ſame in his necke. And bicauſe I haue ſpoken of the doct- cilitie

Feates his
dog, and
Mahomets
pigeon.

little of a dog and a pigeon, though I could cite an infinite number of like tales, I will be bold to trouble you but with one more.

At Memphis in Aegypt, among other iuggling knacks, which were there vsuallie shewed, there was one that toke such paines with an asse, that he had taught him all these qualities following. And so; gaine he caused a stage to be made, and an assemblie of people to méete; which being done, in the maner of a plaie, he came in with his asse, and said; The Sultane hath great need of asses to helpe to carrie stones and other stufte, towards his great building which he hath in hand. The asse immediatlie fell downe to the ground, and by all signes shewed himselfe to be sicke, and at length to giue vp the ghost: so as the iuggler begged of the assemblie monie towards his losse. And hauing gotten all that he could, he said; Now my maisters, you shall see mine asse is yet aliue, and doth but counterfet; bicause he would haue some monie to buie him prouender, knowing that I was poore, and in some need of reliefe. Here vpon he would néeds laie a wager, that his asse was aliue, who to euerie mans seeming was starke dead. And when one had laid monie with him thereabout, he commanded the asse to rise, but he laie still as though he were dead: then did he beate him with a cudgell, but that would not serue the turne, vntill he addressed this speéche to the asse, saieing (as befoze) in open audience; The Sultane hath commanded, that all the people shall ride out to mozroto, and see the triumph, and that the faire ladies will then ride vpon the fairest asses, and will giue notable prouender vnto them, and euerie asse shall drinke of the swéete water of Nilus: and then lo the asse did presentlie start vp, and aduance himselfe exceedinglie. Lo (quoth his maister) now I haue wonne: but in troth the Spatoz hath borrowed mine asse, for the vse of the old ilfaouered witch his wife: and there vpon immediatlie he hong downe his eares, and halted downe right, as though he had béene starke lame. Then said his maister; I perceiue you loue pong prettie wenches: at which words he looked vp, as if were with iollfull chere. And then his maister did bid him go chose one that should ride vpon him; and he ran to a verie handsome woman, and touched hir with his head: &c. A snake will neuer be brought to such familiaritie, &c. Bodin

saith, that this was a man in the likenesse of an asse; but I mate rather

A storie
declaring
the great
docilitie of
an asse.

rather thinke that he is an asse in the likenesse of a man. Well, to returne to our serpents, I will tell you a storie concerning the charming of them, and the cument of the same.

*Mal. malef.
part. 2. qu. 2.
cap. 9.
Iohm. Bodin.*

In the citie of Salisborough there was an inchanter, that befoze all the people toke vpon him to conture all the serpents and snakes within one mile compasse into a great pit or dike, and there to kill them. When all the serpents were gathered together, as he stood vpon the brinke of the pit, there came at the last a great and a horrible serpent, which would not be gotten downe with all the foze of his incantations: so as (all the rest being dead) he flew vpon the inchanter, and clasped him in the middell, and drew him downe into the said dike, and there killed him. You must thinke that this was a diuell in a serpents likenesse, which foze the loue he bare to the poze snakes, killed the sozcerer; to teach all other witches to beware of the like wicked practise. And surely, if this be not true, there be a great number of lies contained in M. Mal. and in I. Bodin. And if this be well weighed, and conceiued, it beateth downe to the ground all those witchmongers arguments, that contend to bring witching miracles out of this place. For they disagree notable, some denieng and some affirming that serpents maie be bewitched. Neuertheless, be cause in euerie point you shall see how poperie agreeth with paganism, I will recite certeine charmes against vipers, alowed for the most part in and by the church of Rome: as followeth.

*Exorcismes
or coniura-
tions against
serpents.*

I conture thee O serpent in this houre, by the fine holie wounds of our Lord, that thou remoue not out of this place, but here stae, as certeinlie as God was bozne of a pure virgine. ✽ Other wise: I conture thee serpent *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti*: I command thee serpent by our ladie S. Marie, that thou obeie me, as wax obeieth the fier, and as fier obeieth water: that thou neither hurt me, nor anie other christian, as certeinlie as God was bozne of an immaculate virgine, in which respect I take thee by, *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti: Ely last eiter, ely last eiter, ely last eiter.* ✽ Other wise: O vermine, thou must come as God came vnto the Iewes. ✽ Other wise: L. Vairus saith, that *Serpens quermis frondibus contacta*, that a serpent touched with oke leaues dieth, and staeeth cuen in the beginning of his going, if a feather of the bird Ibis be cast or throtwne vpon him: and that

*E. Vair. lib.
de fascinas.
l. cap. 4.*

a viper smitten or hot with a reed is assonied, and touched with a beechen branch is presentlie numme and stiffe.

Here is to be remembred, that manie vse to boast that they are of S. Paules race and kindred, shewing vpon their bodies the prints of serpents: which (as the papists affirme) was incident to all them of S. Paules stocke. Marie they saie herewithall, that all his kinfolks can handle serpents, or anie posson without danger. Others likewise haue (as they brag) a Katharine wheele vpon their bodies, and they saie they are kin to S. Katharine, and that they can carrie burning coles in their bare hands, and dip their said hands in hot skalding liquor, and also go into hot ouens. Whereof though the last be but a bare test, and to be done by anie that will proue (as a bad fellow in London had vsed to do, making no tariance at all therein:) yet there is a shew made of the other, as though it were certeine and vndoubted; by anointing the hands with the iuice of mallowes, mercurie, ozime, &c: which for a little time are defensatiues against these scalding liquors, and scotching fiers.

But they that take vpon them to worke these mysteries and miracles, do indeed (after rehearfall of these and such like words and charmes) take vp euen in their bare hands, those snakes and vipers, and sometimes put them about their necks, without receiuing anie hurt thereby, to the terroꝝ and astonishment of the beholders, which naturallie both feare and abhorre all serpents. But these charmers (vpon my word) dare not trust to their charmes, but vse such an inchantment, as euerie man maie lawfully vse, and in the lawfull vse thereof maie vying to passe that they shalbe in securitie, and take no harme, how much soeuer they handle them: marie with a wollen rag they pull out their teeth befoze hand, as some men saie; but as truth is, they wearie them, and that is of certieintie. And surelie this is a kind of witchcraft, which I terme priuate confederacie. Bodin saith, that all the snakes in one countrie were by charmes and verses diuened into another region: perhaps he meaneth Ireland, where S. Patrick is said to haue done it with his holinesse, &c.

James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor affirme, that serpents and snakes, and their skins exceed all other creatures for witchcraft: in so much as witches do vse to burie them vnder mens thresholds,

Vsurpers of
kinred with
blested
Paule and
S Katharine.

I. Bodin. lib.
de dem. 1.
cap. 3.

thresholds, either of the house or skalles, whereby barrennes is procured both to woman and beast: yea and that the verie earth and ashes of them continue to haue force of fascination. In respect whereof they with all men now and then to dig awaie the earth vnder their thresholds, and to sprinkle holie water in the place, & also to hang boughes (halloved on midsummer daie) at the skalle doore where the cattell stand: & produce examples therevpon, of witches lies, or else their owne, which I omit; because I see my booke groweth to be greater than I meant it should be.

Charmes to carrie water in a siue, to know what is spoken of vs behind our backs, for bleare eies, to make seeds to growe well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang hir vp, notable authorities against waxen images, a storie bewraing the knauerie of waxen images.

The xvj. Chapter.

*L. Vairus lib.
fascin. l. ca. 5.
Oratio Tuf-
ce uofialis.*



Leonardus Vairus saith, that there was a praier extant, whereby might be carried in a siue, water, or other liquoz: I thinke it was Clam claie; which a crow taught a maid, that was promised a cake of so great quantitie, as might be kneded of so much floure as she could wet with the water that she brought in a siue, and by that meanes she clamd it with claie, & brought in so much water, as whereby she had a great cake, and so beguiled hir sisters, &c. And this tale I heard among my grandams maides, whereby I can decipher this witchcraft. Item, by the tingling of the eare, men heretofore could tell what was spoken of them. If anie see a scorpion, and saie this woꝝd (Bud) he shall not be stong or bitten therewith. These two Graeke letters Π and Α written in a paper, and hong about ones necke, preserue the partie from blærgiednesse. Cummin or hempsed sowne with cursling and opprobrious woꝝds grow the faster and the better. Berofus Anianus maketh witchcraft of great antiquitie: for he saith, that Cham

Of the
word (*Bud*)
and the
Graeke let-
ters Π & Α.

Cham touching his fathers naked member uttered a charme, whereby his father became emasculated or deprived of the powers generatiue.

¶ A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list with images of wax, &c.

Make an image in his name, whom you would hurt or kill, of new virgine war; under the right arme poke thereof place a swallowes hart, and the liuer vnder the left; then hang about the necke thereof a new thred in a new needle pricked into the member which you would haue hurt, with the rehearfall of certeine woords, which for the auoiding of foolish superstition and credulitie in this behalfe is to be omitted. And if they were inserted, I dare vndertake they would do no harme, were it not to make soles, and catch gudgins. * Otherwise: Sometimes these images are made of brasse, and then the hand is placed where the foote should be, and the foote where the hand, and the face downeward. * Otherwise: If or a greater mischæfe, the like image is made in the forme of a man or woman, vpon whose head is written the certeine name of the partie: and on his or hir ribs these woords, *A l i s e a s s l e z a z e h i r m e l m e t a t*: then the same must be buried. * Otherwise: In the dominion of Mars, two images must be prepared, one of war, the other of the earth of a dead man; each image must haue in his hand a sword wherewith a man hath bene slaine, & he that must be slaine may haue his head thrust through with a soine. In both must be written certeine peculiar characters, and then must they be hid in a certeine place. * Otherwise: To obtaine a womans loue, an image must be made in the houre of Venus, of virgine war, in the name of the beloued, wherupon a character is written, & is warmed at a fier, and in doing therof the name of some angell must be mentioned. To be utterlie rid of the witch, and to hang hir vp by the haire, you must prepare the image of the earth of a dead man to be baptised in another mans name, whereon the name, with a character, must be written: then must it be perfumed with a rotten bone, and then these psalmes read backward: *Domine Dominus noster, Dominus illuminatio mea, Domine exaudi orationem meam, Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*: and then burie it, first in one place, and afterwards

The practi-
fer of these
charmes
must haue
skill in the
planetarie
motions, or
else he may
goe shoo the
goose.

afterwards in another. *Holoheit*, it is written in the 21. article of the determination of Paris, that to affirme that images of byasse, lead, gold, of white or red war, or of any other stufte (conured, baptised, consecrated, or rather excreated through these magicall arts at certeine dates) haue wonderfull vertues, or such as are auowed in their bookes or assertions, is erroꝝ in faith, naturall philosophie, and true astronomie: yea it is concluded in the 22. article of that counsell, that it is as great an erroꝝ to beleue those things, as to doo them.

But as concerning these images, it is certeine that they are much feared among the people, and much vsed among couensing witches, as partlie appareth in this discourse of mine else-where, & as partlie you may see by the contents of this storie following.

Not long sithence, a yong maiden (dwelling at new Romnie here in Kent) being the daughter of one D. L. Stuppenie (late Jurat of the same towne but dead before the execution hereof) and afterwards the wife of Thomas Eps, who is at this instant Maior of Romnie) was visited with sicknesse, whose mother and father in lawe being abused with credulitie concerning witches supernaturall power, repaired to a famous witch called mother Baker, dwelling not far from thence at a place called Stonfreet, who (according to witches couensing custome) asked whether they mistrusted not some bad neighbour, to whom they answered that indeed they doubted a woman nere vnto them (and yet the same woman was, of the honestest & wisest sort of hir neighbors, reputed a good creature.) Neuertheles the witch told them that there was great cause of their suspicion: for the same (said she) is the verie partie that wrought the maidens destruction, by making a hart of war, and picking the same with pins and needels; affirming also that the same neighbor of hers had bestowed the same in some secret corner of the house. This being beleued, the house was searched by credible persons, but nothing could be found. The witch or wise woman being certified hereof, continued hir assertion, and would needs go to the house where she hir selfe (as she affirmed) would certeinlie find it. When she camd thither, she vsed hir cunning (as it chanced to hir owne confusion) or at leastwise to hir defecation: for herein she did, as some of the wisest sort mistrusted that she woulde doo, laseng downe priuillie such an image

image (as the had before described) in a corner, which by others had bene most diligentlie searched & looked into, & by that means hir couenage was notablie betwazated. And I would wish that all witchmongers might paie for their lewd repaire to inchantozs, and consultation with witches, and such as haue familiar spirits, as some of these did, and that by the order of the high commissioners, which partlie for respect of neighborhod, and partlie for other considerations, I leaue vnspoken of.

Sundrie sorts of charmes tending to diuerse purposes, and first, certeine charmes to make taciturnitie in tortures.

The xvij. Chapter.



*L*mparibus meritis tria

pendent corpora ramis,

Difmas & Gestas,

in medio est diuina potestas,

Difmas damnatur,

Gestas ad astra lenatur:

Three bodies on a bough doo hang,
for merits of inequalitye,
Difmas and Gestas, in the midst
the power of the diuinitie.
Difmas is damnd, but Gestas lif-
ted vp about the starres on hie.

Also this: *Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum. ueritatem nunquam* Psal. 44.

dican regi. * Otherwise: As the milke of our ladie was

lullions to our Lord Iesus Christ; so let this torture

or rope be pleasant to mine armes and mem-

bers. * Otherwise; *Iesus autem transiens*

per medium illorum ibat. * Other-

wise: You shall not

hzeake a bone

of him.

This charm seemeth to allude to Christ crucified betwene the two thecus.

sem O
-subnoy
entroy lli
nincbbil
xnoyol bly
-H. 2 lo
sicut enal
! :oma

Luk. 4.
Iohn. 19.

¶ Counter charmes against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saing also whereof witches are vexed, &c.

Psal. 44.
Scripture
properlie
applied.

E *Ruclauit cor meum verbum bonum, dicam cuncta opera mea regi.*
* *Otherwise: Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annuntiabit veritatem.* * *Otherwise: Contere brachia iniqui rei, & lingua maligna subuertetur.*

¶ A charme for the choine cough.

Take three sips of a chalice, when the prest hath said masse, and swallow it downe with god deuotion, &c.

¶ For corporall or spirituall rest.

*In nomine patris, vp and downe,
Et filij & spiritus sancti vpon my crowne,
Cruce Christi vpon my brest,
Sweete ladie send me eternall rest.*

¶ Charms to find out a theefe.

O most
wonder-
full vertue
hidden in
the letters
of S. He-
lens holie
name!

The meanes how to find out a theefe, is thus: Turne your face to the east, and make a crosse vpon christfall with oile oliue, and vnder the crosse wryte these two words [Saint Helen.] When a childe that is innocent, and a chaste virgine borne in true wedlocke, and not base begotten, of the age of ten yeares, must take the christfall in his hand, and behind his backe, kneeling on thy knees, thou must deuoutlie and reuerentlie saie ouer this prater thise: I beseech thee my ladie S. Helen, mother of king Constantine, which diddest find the crosse where vpon Christ died: by that thy holie deuotion, and inuention of the crosse, and by the same crosse, and by the ioy which thou conceiuedst at the finding thereof, and by the loue which thou barest to thy sonne Constantine, and by the great godnes which thou doest alwaies vse, that thou shew me in this christfall, whatsoever I aske or desire to knowe; Amen. And when the childe seeth the angell in the christfall, demand what you will, and the angell will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, that this be done iust at the sunne rising,

rising, when the weather is faire and clere.

Cardanus derideth these and such like fables, and setteth
 downe his iudgement therein accordinglie, in the sixtenth booke
De rerum var. These coniuroys and coufessers so; sooth will shew
 you in a glasse the theefe that hath stolne anie thing from you,
 and this is their order. They take a glasse viall full of holie wa-
 ter, and set it vpon a linnen cloth, which hath bene purified, not
 onelie by washing, but by sacrifice, &c. On the mouth of the viall
 or vrinall, two oliue leaues must be laid acrosse, with a litle con-
 iuration said ouer it, by a child; to wit thus: *Angele bone, angele*
candide, per tuam sanctitatem, meamq; virginitatem, ostende mihi furem:
 with threē *Pater nosters*, threē *Aues*, and bestwirt either of them a
 *For if the
 crosse be
 forgotten
 all is not
 woorth a
 pudding.
 crosse made with the naille of the thumbe vpon the mauff of the
 viall; and then shall be seene angels ascending and descending
 as it were notes in the sunne beames. The theefe all this while
 shall suffer great torments, and his face shall be seene plainlie,
 euen as plainlie I beleue as the man in the mone. For in truth,
 there are soies artificiallie conueied into the glasse, which will
 make the water bubble, and deuises to make images appare in
 the bubbles: as also there be artificiall glasses, which will shew
 vnto you that shall loke therein, manie images of diuerse
 formes, and some so small and curious, as they shall in fauour
 resemble whom so euer you thinke vpon. Loke in John Bap.
 Neap. for the confection of such glasses. The subtilties hereof are
 so defected, and the mysteries of the glasses so common now, and
 their coufenance so well knowne, &c: that I need not stand vpon
 the particular confutation hereof. Cardanus in the place before
 cited reporteth, how he tried with childzen these and diuerse cir-
 cumstances the whole illusion, and found it to be plaine knaue-
 rie and coufenance.

¶ Another waie to find out a theefe that hath
 stolne anie thing from you.

Go to the sea side, and gather as manie pebles as you suspect
 them into the fier, and burie them vnder the threshold, where the
 parties are like to come ouer. Here let them lie threē daies, and
 then befoze sunne rising take them awaie. Then set a poztenger
 full

full of water in a circle, wherein must be made crosses euerie waie, as manie as can stand in it; vpon the which must be written: Christ ouercommeth, Christ reigneth, Christ commandeth. The porrenger also must be signed with a crosse, and a soyme of coniration must be pronounced. Then each stone must be throwne into the water, in the name of the suspected. And when you put in the stone of him that is guiltie, the stone will make the water boile, as though glowing iron were put thereinto. Which is a meere knacke of legier de maine, and to be accomplisshed diuerse waies.

¶ To put out the theeues eie.

Read the seuen psalmes with the Letanie, and then must be said a horrible praier to Christ, and God the father, with a curse against the theefe. Then in the middelt of the step of your sofe, on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eie, and write thereabout certeine barbarous names, and driue with a copers hammar, or addes into the middelt thereof a brazen naile consecrated, saieing: *Iustus Domine, & iusta iudicia tua.* Then the theefe shall be betrayed by his ering out.

¶ Another waie to find out a theefe.

These be
meere toies
to mocke
apes, and
haue in
them no
commen-
dable de-
uise.

Ticke a paire of sheeres in the rind of a siue, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers vpon the vpper part of the sheeres, holding it with the siue vp from the ground steddilie, and aske Peter and Paule whether A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guiltie person, the siue will turne round. This is a great practise in all countries, and indeed a verie bable. For with the beating of the pulse some cause of that motion ariseth, some other cause by slight of the fingers, some other by the wind gathered in the siue to be staid, &c: at the pleasure of the holders. Some cause may be the imagination, which vpon conceipt at the naming of the partie altereth the common course of the pulse. As may well be conceiued by a ring held steddilie by a thred betwixt the finger and the thombe, ouer or rather in a goblet or glasse; which within short space will strike against the side therof so manie strokes as the holder thinketh it

a clocke, and then will staie : the which who so proueth shall find true.

¶ A charme to find out or spoile a theefe.

Of this matter, concerning the apprehension of theues by words, I will cite one charme, called *S. Adelberts curse*, being both for length of words sufficient to wearie the reader, and for substantiall stuffe comprehending all that apperteineth vnto blasphemous speech or cursing, allowed in the church of Rome, as an excommunication and inchantment.

¶ Saint Adelberts curse or charme
against theeues.

By the authoritie of the omnipotent Father, the Sonne, and the holie ghost, and by the holie virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesu Christ, and the holie angels and archangels, and *S. Michael*, and *S. Iohn Baptist*, and in the behalfe of *S. Peter* the apostle, and the residue of the apostles, and of *S. Steeuen*, and of all the martyrs, of *S. Syluester*, and of *S. Adelbert*, and all the confessoers, and *S. Alegand*, and all the holie virgins, and of all the saints in heauen and earth, vnto whom there is giuen power to bind and loose : we doe excommunicate, damne, curse, and bind with the knots and bands of excommunication, and we doe segregate from the bounds and lists of our holie mother the church, all those theues, sacrilegious persons, rauenous catthers, doers, counsellors, coadiutors, male or female, that haue committed this theft or mischeefe, or haue vsurped any part thereof to their owne vse. Let their share be with *Dathan* and *Abiran*, whome the earth swallowed by for their sinnes and pride, and let them haue part with *Judas* that betrayed Christ, Amen : and with *Pontius Pilat*, and with them that said to the Lord, We part from vs, we will not vnderstand thy waies ; let their children be made orphanes. Cursed be they in the field, in the groue, in the woods, in their houses, barnes, chambers, and beds ; and cursed be they in the court, in the waie, in the towne, in the castle, in the water, in the church, in the churchyard, in the tribunall place, in battell, in their abode, in the market place, in their talke, in silence, in eating, in watching, in sleeping, in drinking,

This is not to doo good to our enemies, nor to praie for them that hurt and hate vs; as Christ exhorteth.

in feeling, in ſitting, in kneeling, in ſtanding in lieng, in idleneſſe, in all their worke, in their bodie and ſoule, in their ſiue wits, and in euerie place. Curſſed be the fruit of their wombs, and curſſed be the fruit of their lands, and curſſed be all that they haue. Curſſed be their heads, their mouthes, their noſtreils, their noſes, their lips, their talues, their teeth, their eyes and eyelids, their baines, the roſe of their mouthes, their tonges, their throates, their breaſts, their hartes, their bellies, their livers, all their bowels, and their ſtomach.

Curſſed be their nauels, their ſplénes, their bladder. Curſſed be their thighs, their legs, their ſaete, their toes, their necks, their ſhoulders. Curſſed be their backs, curſſed be their armes, curſſed be their elbowes, curſſed be their hands, and their fingers, curſſed be both the nails of their hands and ſaete; curſſed be their ribbes and their genitals, and their knees, curſſed be their fleſh, curſſed be their bones, curſſed be their blood, curſſed be the ſkin of their bodies, curſſed be the marrowe in their bones, curſſed be they from the crowne of the head, to the ſole of the foote: and whatſoener is betwixt the ſame, be it accurſſed, that is to ſaie, their ſiue ſenſes; to wit, their ſeing, their hearing, their ſmel- ling, their taſting, and their feeling. Curſſed be they in the bolie croſſe, in the paſſion of Chriſt, with his ſiue wounds, with the eſſuſion of his blood, and by the milke of the virgine Marie. I confure thee Lucifer, with all thy ſoldiers, by the father, the ſon, and the Holie-ghoſt, with the humanitie and nauſiuitie of Chriſt, with the vertue of all ſaints, that thou reſt not day nor night, till thou bringeſt them to deſtruction, either by drowning or hang- ing, or that they be deuoured by wild beaſts, or burnt, or ſlaine by their enemies, or hated of all men liuing. And as our Lord hath giuen authoritie to Peter the apoſtle, and his ſucceſſors, whoſe place we occupie, and to vs (though unworthie) that whatſoener we bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heauen, and whatſo- uer we loſe on earth, ſhall be loſed in heauen: ſo we according- lie, if they will not amend, do ſhut from them the gates of hea- uen, and denie vnto them chriſtian buriall, ſo as they ſhall be bur- ied in alleſ leaze. Furthermoze, curſſed be the ground wherein they are buried, let them be confounded in the laſt daie of iudge- ment, let them haue no conuerſation among chriſtians, nor be- houſeled

* Thus they
make the
holie trini-
tie to beare
a part in
their exor-
ciſme, or
eſſe it is no
bargaine.

houseled at the houre of death; let them be made as dust befoze the face of the wind: and as Lucifer was expelled out of heauen, and Adam and Eue out of paradise; so let them be expelled from the daie light. Also let them be ioined with those, to whome the Lord saith at the iudgement; Go ye cursed into euerlasting fier, which is prepared for the diuell and his angels, where the worme shall not die, nor the fier be quenched. And as the candle, which is throwne out of my hand here, is put out: so let their works and their soule be quenched in the stench of hell fier, except they resfoze that which they haue stolne, by such a daie: and let euery one say, Amen. After this must be song *In media vita in morte sumus, &c.*

Math. 19.

This terrible curse with bell, booke, and candell added thereunto, must needs worke wonders: howbeit among theues it is not much weighed, among wise and true men it is not well liked, to them that are robbed it bringeth small reliefe: the priests stomach may well be eased, but the goods stolne will neuer the sooner be restored. Hereby is bewraied both the malice and follie of popish doctrine, whose uncharitable impietie is so impudentlie published, and in such order uttered, as euery sentence (if oportunitie serued) might be proued both hereticall and diabolicall. But I will answer this cruell curse with another curse farre moze mild and ciuill, perfozmed by as honest a man (I dare saie) as he that made the other, whereof mention was latelie made.

* That is, In the midst of life we are in death, &c.

So it was, that a certeine sir John, with some of his companie, once went abroad a ietting, and in a mone light euening robbed a millers weire, and stole all his eeles. The poore miller made his mone to sir John himselfe, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so curse the theefe, and all his confederates, with bell, booke, and candell, that they should haue small ioy of their fish. And therefore the next sundaie, sir John got him to the pulpit, with his surplisse on his backe, and his stole about his necke, and pronounced these words following in the audience of the people.

All you that haue stolne the millers eeles,

Laudate Dominum de caelis,

And all they that haue consented thereto,

Benedicamus Domino.

A curse
for theif.

¶ Another inchantment.

Certeine p^rests vse the hundred and eight psalme as an inchantment or charme, or at the leastwise saieing, that against whome soeuer they pronounce it, they cannot liue one whole yeere at the vttermost.

¶ A charme or experiment to find out a witch.

The xvij. Chapter.



N die dominico sotularia iuuenum axungia seu pinguedine porci, ut moris est, pro resurrectione fieri perungunt: and when the is once come into the church, the witch can neuer get out, vntill the seachers for hir giue hir cypresse leaue to depart.

But now it is necessarie to shew you how to p^reuent and cure all mischeifes wrought by these charmes & witchcrafts, according to the opinion of M. Mal. and others. One p^rincipall waie is to naile a hozse shoo at the inside of the outmost threshhold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall haue power to enter therein. And if you marke it, you shall find that rule obserued in manie countrie houses. ✽ Otherwise: Item the triumphant title to be w^ritten crossewise, in euerie corner of the house, thus: *Iesus Nazareus Rex Iudeorum* ✽ Memorandum you may soine heere withall, the name of the virgine Marie, or of the foure euangelists, or *Verbum caro factum est*. ✽ Otherwise: Item in some countries they naile a wolues head on the doze. ✽ Otherwise: Item they hang Scilla (which is either a roote, or rather in this place garlike) in the rose of the house, for to keepe awate witches and spirits: and so they doe Alicium also. ✽ Otherwise: Item perfume made of the gall of a blake dog, and his blood besmeared on the posts and walles of the house, dyueth out of the dozies both diuels and witches. ✽ Otherwise: The house where

Preseruatues from witchcraft according to M. Mal. L. Vairus & others.

where *Herba betonica* is sowne, is free from all mischeeses. ✽ Otherwise: It is not unknowne that the Romish church allowed and used the smoke of sulphur, to drive spirits out of their houses; as they did frankincense and water hallowed. ✽ Otherwise: Apuleius saith, that Mercurie gave to Vlyses, when he came nere to the inchantresse Circe, an hearbe called *Verbascum*, which in English is called *Mullein*, or *Tapus barbatus*, or *Longwort*; and that preserved him from the inchantments. ✽ Otherwise: Item *Plinie* and *Homer* both doe saie, that the herbe called *Holie* is an excellent herbe against inchantments; and saie all that thereby *Vlyses* escaped *Circes* his sozceries, and inchantments. ✽ Otherwise also diuerse waies they went to worke in this case, and some used this descantative, some that preservative against incantations.

And herein you shall see, not onelie how the religion of papists, and infidels agree; but also how their ceremonies and their opinions are all one concerning witches and spirits.

For thus writeth *Ouid* touching that matter:

Térque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat:

She purifies with fier thrise
old horie headed Aeson,
With water thrise, and sulphur thrise,
as she thought meet in reason.

Ouid de Medea.

Englished by
Abraham Fleming.

Againe, the same *Ouid* commeth in as before:

*Adueniat, qua lustrat anus, lectúmque locúmque,
Deferat & tremula sulphur & oua manu.*

Let some old woman hither come,
and purge both bed and place,
And bring in trembling hand new eggs
and sulphur in like case.

By *Ab. Fleming.*

And *Virgil* also harpeth vpon the like string:

_____ *baccare frontem*
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro:

Virg. in Bucolicis.

Englished by
Abrahams
Fleming.

Of berrie bearing baccar bowze
a wreath or garland knit,
And round about his head and browze
see decentlie it sit;
That of an euill talking tung
Our future poet be not stung.

Furthermore, was it not in times of tempests the papists vse,
or superstition, to ring their belles against diuels; trusting rather
to the tonging of their belles, than to their owne crie vnto God
with fasting and praier, assigned by him in all aduersities and
dangers: according to the order of the Thracian priests, which
would roze and crie, with all the noise they could make, in those
tempests. Olaus Gothus saith, that his countriemen would shoot
in the aire, to aske their gods, whome they thought to be then to-
gether by the eares with others, and had consecrated arrowes,
called *Sagitta Ioniales*, euen as our papists had. Also in stead of
belles, they had great hammers, called *Mallei Ioniales*, to make a
noise in time of thunder. In some countries they runne out of
the doores in time of tempest, blessing themselues with a chiefe,
wherevpon there was a crosse made with a ropes end vpon as-
cension daie. Also three hailestones to be throwne into the fier in
a tempest, and therevpon to be said three *Pater nosters*, and three
Aues, S. Iohns gospell, and *In sine fugiat tempestas*, is a present
remedie. Item, to hang an eg laid on ascension daie in the roze
of the house, preferueth the same from all hurts. * Item, I con-
iure you haile and wind by the five wounds of Christ, by the three
nailes which pearced his hands and his fete, and by the soure
euangelists, Mathew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, that thou come
downe dissolued into water. Item, it hath bene a vsuall mat-
ter, to carrie out in tempests the sacraments and relikes, &c.
Item, against skozmes, and manie dumme creatures, the popish
church vseth excommunication as a principall charme. And now
to be deliuered from witches themselues, they hang in their ev-
tries an hearbe called pentashyllon, cinquefole, also an oliue
branch, also frankincense, myrry, valerian, veruen, palme, an
titchmon, &c: also haythorne, other wise whitehorne gathered on
spate daie: also the smoke of a laypoints fetters driueth spirits
alwaie.

Olaus Goth.
lib. de gentib.
septentriona-
lib. 3. cap. 8.

* A witches
coniuration
to make
haile cease
and be dis-
solved.

atwaie. There be immerable popish exorcismes, and coniurations for hearbs and other things, to be thereby made wholesome both for the bodies and soules of men and beasts, and also for contagion of weather. Memorandum, that at the gathering of these magicall herbs, the *Credo* is necessarie to be said, as Vairus affirmeth; and also the *Pater noster*, for that is not superstitious. Also Sprenger saith, that to throw up a blacke chicken in the aire, will make all tempests to cease: so it be done with the hand of a witch. If a soule wander in the likenesse of a man or woman by night, molesting men, with bewailing their torments in purgatorie, by reason of tithes forgotten, &c: and neither masses nor coniurations can helpe; the exorcist in his ceremoniall apparell must go to the toome of that bodie, and spurne thereat, with his fote, saie; *Vade ad gebenman*, Get thee packing to hell: and by and by the soule goeth thither, and there remaineth for ever.

✽ Otherwise: There be masses of purpose for this matter, to unbewitch the bewitched. ✽ Otherwise: You must spet into the pissipot, where you haue made water. ✽ Otherwise; Spet into the shoo of your right fote, before you put it on: and that Vairus saith is good and wholesome to do, before you go into anie dangerous place. ✽ Otherwise: That neither hunters nor their dogs maie be bewitched, they cleave an oken branch, and both they and their dogs passe ouer it. ✽ Otherwise: S. Augultine saith, that to pacifie the god *Liber*, whereby women might haue fruite of the seeds they sowe, and that their gardens and fields should not be bewitched; some cheefe graue matrone used to put a crowne vpon his genitall member, and that must be publike lie done.

*L. Vair lib. de
fascim. 2. cap.
11.*

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 1.
cap. 15.*

Note that
you read
neuer of a
nie spirit
that walked
by daie,
quoth No-
ta.

*Aug. de ci-
uit. Dei. lib.
7. cap. 120.*

To spile a theefe, a witch, or anie other enimie,
and to be deliuered from the euill.

Vpon the Sabbath daie before sunrising, cut a hazell wand, saie; I cut thee a bough of this summers growth, in the name of him whome I meane to beate or maime. Then couer the table, and saie ✽ *In nomine patris* ✽ & filij ✽ & spiritus sancti ✽ ter. And striking thereon saie as followeth (english it be that can) *Drochs myroch, esenaroth* ✽ *betu* ✽ *baroch* ✽ *ass* ✽ *maaroth* ✽: and then saie; Holie trinitie punish him that hath wrongt

wrought this mischiefe, & take it away by thy great iustice, *Eson* \times *elion* \times *emaris, ales, age*; and strike the carpet with your wand.

¶ A notable charme or medicine to pull out an arrow-head, or anie such thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot other wise be had out.

Saie thée seuerall times knéeling; *Oremus, præceptis salutaribus* *Smoniti, Pater noster, aue Maria.* Then make a crosse saing: The Hebrzew knight strake our Lord Iesu Christ, and I beséech thée, O Lord Iesu Christ \times by the same iron, speare, bloud and water, to pull out this iron: *In nomine patris* \times *& filij* \times *& spiritus sancti* \times

The Hebrue knight was canonized a saint, to wit, *S. Longinus.*

¶ Charms against a quotidian ague.

¶ Cut an apple in thée pièces, and write upon the one; The father is vncreated: upon the other; The father is incomprehensible: upon the third; The father is eternall. \times Other wise: Write upon a masscake cut in thée pièces; Dague to be too; shipped: on the second; A sicknesse to be ascribed to health and toies: on the third; *Pax* \times *max* \times *fax* \times and let it be eaten fasting. \times Other wise: Paint upon thée like pièces of a masscake, *Pater pax* \times *A donai* \times *filius* *vita* \times *sabaoth* \times *spiritus sanctus* \times *Tetragrammaton* \times and eat it, as is afoze said.

¶ For all maner of agues intermittant.

A crossed
appension,
with other
appensions.

¶ Bind two little stiches together in the middelt, being of one length, and hang it about your necke in the forme of a crosse. \times Other wise; For this disease the Turkes put within their doublet a ball of wood, with an other pièce of wood, and strike the same, speaking certeine frivulous words. \times Other wise; Certeine monks hanged scrolles about the necks of such as were sicke, willing them to saie certeine praiers at each fit, and at the third fit to hope well: and made them belæue that they should thereby receiue cure.

¶ Periaps, characters, &c: for agues, and to cure all diseases, and to deliuer from all euill.

For bodie
and soule.

¶ The first chapter of *S. Johns* gospel in small letters created at a masse, and hanged about ones necke, is an incomparable

comparable amulet or tablet, which deliuereth from all witchcrafts and diuelish practises. But me thinkes, if one should hang a whole testament, or rather a bible, he might beguile the diuell terrible. For indeed so would S. Barnard haue done, whom the diuell told, that he could shew him seuen verses in the psalter, which being daillie repeated, would of themselves bring anie man to heauen, and preserue him from hell. But when S. Barnard desired the diuell to tell him which they were, he refused, saying, he might then thinke him a soole so to preiudice himselfe. Well (quoth S. Barnard) I will doe well enough for that, for I will daillie saie ouer the whole psalter. The diuell hearing him saie so, told him which were the verses, least in reading ouer the whole psalter daillie, he should merit too much for others. But if the hanging of S. Iohns gospel about the necke be so beneficiall; how if one should eate vp the same?

S. Barnard
ouermar-
chet the
diuell for
all his sub-
tiltie.

¶ More charmes for agues.

TAke the partie by the hand, and saie; *Aequè facilis sit tibi hæc febris, atque Mariae virgini Christi partus.* * Otherwise: *M*ath with the partie, and priuillie saie this psalme, *Exaltabo te Deus meus, rex, &c.* * Otherwise: Weare about your necke a peece of a naille taken from a crosse, and wrapped in wolle. * Otherwise: Dzinke wine, wherein a sward hath bene drowned that hath cut off ones head. * Otherwise: Take three consecrated masscakes, and write vpon the first: *Qualis est pater talis est vita:* on the second; *Qualis est filius, talis est sanctus:* on the third; *Qualis est spiritus tale est remedium.* Then giue them to the sicke man, enioining him to eate none other thing that daie wherein he eateth anie of them, nor yet dzinke: and let him saie sixtene *Pater nosters*, and as manie *Aues*, in the honour and praise of the Trinitie. * Otherwise: Lead the sicke man on a fridaie before sunne rising towards the east, and let him hold vp his hands towards the sunne, and saie: This is the daie, wherein the Lord God came to the crosse. But as the crosse shall neuer more come to him: so let neuer the hot or cold fit of this ague come anie more vnto this man, *In nomine patris* ✠ ✠ ✠ *et filij, et spiritus sancti* ✠. Then saie seuen and twentie *Pater nosters*, and as manie *Aues*, and vse this three daies together. * Otherwise:

Precious
restorities.

Fécana,

This is too
mysticall
to be en-
glished;
quoth No-
ta.

*Fécana, cagéti, daphnes, gebáre, gedáco,
Gébalí stant, sed non stant pheb as, becas, & hedas.*

Euery one of these words must be written vpon a peece of bread, and be giuen in order one daie after another to the sicke bodie, and so must he be cured. This saith Nicholus Hemingius he chanced to read in the scholes in iess; so as one noting the words, practised the medicine in earnest; and was not onelie cured himselfe, but also cured manie others thereby. And therefoze he concludeth, that this is a kind of a miraculous cure, wrought by the illusion of the diuell: whereas in truth, it will fall out most commonlie, that a tertian ague will not hold anie man longer than so, though no medicine be giuen, nor anie words spoken. * Otherwise: This word, *Abra caidabra* written on a paper, with a certeine figure ioined therewith, and hanged about ones necke, helpeth the ague. * Otherwise: Let the vaine of the sicke bodie made earlie in the morning be so litle heated nine daies together continuallie, untill all be consumed into vapoze. * Otherwise: A crosse made of two litle twigs ioined together, wherewith when the partie is touched, he will be whole; speciallie if he weare it about his necke. * Otherwise: Take a like quantitie of water out of threé ponds of equall bignesse, and tast thereof in a new earthen vessell, and drinke of it when the fit commeth.

Fernelius.

Notable
follies of
the Spaniards &
Italians.

In the yeare of our lord 1568. the Spaniards and Italians rescued from the pope, this incantation following; whereby they were promised both remission of sinnes, and god successe in their warres in the lowe countries. Which whether it be not as prophane and impious, as anie witches charme, I reposit me to the indifferent reader. ✠ *Crucem pro nobis subiye* ✠ ✠ *stans in illa sitiye* ✠ *Iesus sacratis manibus, clavis ferreis, pedibus perfusus, Iesus, Iesus, Iesus: Domine libera nos ab hoc malo, & ab hac peste:* then threé *Pater nosters*, and threé *ave Maries*. Also the same yeere their ensignes were by the authoritie aforesaid conured with certeine ceremonies, & consecrated against their enemies. And if you read the histories of these warres, you maie see what victorie they gained hereby. Item, they baptised their cheefe standard, and gaue it to name S. Margaret, who ouerthrew the diuell. And because you shall vnderstand

stand the mysterie hereof, I haue the rather set it downe else
there, being indeed woꝛth the reading.

¶ For a bloudie flux, or rather an
issue of blood.

Take a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto thꝛe drops of
the same blond, and betwæne each drop saie a *Pater noster*,
and an *Aue*, then drinke to the patient, and saie; Who shall helpe
you: The patient must answer S. Marie. Then saie you; S. Marie
stop the issue of blood. ✽ *Otherwise*: Write vpon the patients
foꝛhead with the same blond; *Consummatus est*. ✽ *Otherwise*:
Saie to the patient; *Sanguis mane in te sicut fecit Christus in se; Sanguis*
mane in tua vena, sicut Christus in sua pœna; Sanguis mane fixus, si-
cut Christus quando fuit crucifixus: ter. ✽ *Otherwise*, as followeth.

He must
answer by
none o-
ther, for
she per-
haps hath
the curing
thereof by
patent.

In the blood of Adam death was taken ✽

In the blood of Christ it was all to shaken ✽

And by the same blood I doo thee charge,

That thou doo runne no longer at large. ✽ *Otherwise*.

Christ was boꝛne at Bethelam, and suffered at Ierusalem,
there his blood was troubled. I command thee by the vertue of
God, and through the helpe of all saints, to staie euen as Iordan
did, when Iohn baptised Christ Iesus; *In nomine patris ✽ & filij ✽*
& spiritus sancti ✽ ✽ *Otherwise*: Put thy nameles finger in
the wound, and make therewith thꝛe crosses vpon the wound, and
saie five *Pater noster*, five *Aues*, and one *Credo*, in the honour of the
five wounds. ✽ *Otherwise*: Touch that part and saie, *De latere* See I. Wier.
eius exiit sanguis & aqua. ✽ *Otherwise*: *In nomine patris ✽ & cap. 11. conf.*
filij ✽ & spiritus sancti ✽ & c. *Chimrat, chara, sarite, confirma, consona,*
Imbolite. ✽ *Otherwise*: *sepa ✽ sepaga ✽ sepagoga ✽ sta sanguis in*
nomine patris ✽ podendi ✽ & filij ✽ podera ✽ & spiritus sancti ✽ pan-
dorica ✽ pax tecum, Amen.

¶ Cures commensed and finished
by witchcraft.

There was a tollie fellowe that toke vpon him to be a nota-
ble surgion, in the dutchie of Mentz, 1567. to whom there re-
sorted a Gentleman that had beene bered with sicknesse, named

U. j.

Elibert,

Elibert, hauing a kerchiefe on his head, according to the guile of sicke folke. But the surgion made him pull off his kerchiefe, and willed him to drinke with him freely. The sickeman said he durst not; so he was forbidden by physicke so to doo. Tush (said this cunning man) they know not your disease: be ruled by me, and take in your drinke lustlie. For he thought that when he was well tippled, he might the more easilie beguile him in his bargain, and make his reward the greater, which he was to receiue in part aforesaid. When they had well dronke, he called the sicke man aside, and told him the greatnes and danger of his disease, and how that it grew by meanes of witchcraft, and that it would be vniuer fallie spread in his house, and among all his cattell, if it were not prevented: and impudentlie perswaded the sicke man to receiue cure of him. And after bargain made, he demanded of the sicke man, whether he had not anie at home, whom he might assuredlie trust. The sicke man answered, that he had a daughter and a seruant. The counsener asked how old his daughter was? The patient said, twentie. Well (said the counsener) that is fit for our turne. Then he made the mother and father to kneele on their knees to their daughter, and to desire hir in euerie thing as he commanded hir; otherwise hir father could not be restored to his health. In which respect hir parents humble besought hir on their knees so to doo. Then he assigned hir to bring him into his lodging hir fathers haire, and hir mothers, and of all those which he kept in his house, as well of men and women, as also of his cattell. When she came therewith vnto him, according to the match made, and hir parents commandement, he lead hir downe into a lowe parlor, where hauing made a long speech, he opened a booke that laie on the board, and lateh thereon two knives a crosse, with much circumstance of words. Then coniureth he, and maketh strange characters, and at length he maketh a circle on the ground, wherein he causeth hir to sticke one of those coniured knives; and after manie more strange words, he maketh hir sticke the other knife beside it. Then fell downe the maid in a swoone for feare; so as he was faine to frote hir and put a sop in to hir mouth, after the receipt whereof she was sore troubled and amazed. Then he made hir breasts to be vncouered, so as when they

The surgion here most impudentlie stretch his knauerie abroch.

A pretended coniuration.

they were bare, he dallied with them, diuerslie and long together. Then he made hir lie right vprward, all vncouered and bare belowe hir pappes. Wherein the maide being loth to obeie him, resisted, and in shame forbad that villanie. Then said the knaue; Your fathers destruction is at hand: for except you will be ruled, he and all his familie shall susteine greater græse and inconuenience, than is yet happened vnto him. And no remedie, except you will seeke his vtter ouerthrowe, I must haue carnall copulation with you, and therewithall fell into hir besome, and ouerthrew hir and hir virginittie. So did he the second daie, and attempted the like on the third daie. But he failed then of his purpose, as the wench confessed afterwards. In the meane time he ministred so cruell medicines to the sicke man, that through the torments therof he feared present death, and was saine to keepe his bed, whereas he walked about befoze verie well and lustilie. The patient in his torments calleth vnto him for remedie, who being slacke and negligent in that behalfe, made roume for the daughter to accompanie hir father, who asked hir what she thought of the cure, and what hope she had of his reuerie. Who with teares remained silent, as being oppressed with græse; till at the last in abundance of sorow she vitered the whole matter to hir father. This doth Iohannes Wierus report, saieing, that it came vnto him by the lamentable relation of the father himselfe. And this is here at this time for none other purpose rehearsed, but that men may hereby learne to take heed of such confusing merchants, and knowe what they be that take vpon them to be so cunning in witchcraft; least they be bewitched: as master Elibert and his daughter were.

*Ad vade
tor vade
urna quod
ipsa cadit.*

¶ Another witchcraft or knauerie, practised by the same surgion.

This surgion ministred to a noble man, that laie sicke of an Ague, offering vnto him thre peces of a roote to be eaten at thre morfels; saieing to the first: I would Christ had not bene borne; vnto the second: I would he had not suffered; vnto the third: I would he had not risen againe. And then putting them about the sicke mans necke, said; Be of good chære. And if he lost them, whosoever toke them by, should therewithall take awate

Three morfels, the first charmed with christ's birth, the second with his passion, the third with his resurrection.

U. y.

his ague. * Otherwise : Iesus Christ, which was borne, deli-
uer thee from this infirmitie. † Iesus Christ which died, † deli-
uer thee from this infirmitie. † Iesus Christ which rose againe, †
deliuer thee from this infirmitie. Then daillie must be said nine
Pater nosters, and five *Aues*.

¶ Another experiment for one bewitched.

A counse-
ning phy-
sician, and
a foolish
patient.

A Nother such couensing physitian persuaded one which had a
timpanie, that it was one old viper, and two yong main-
teined in his bellie by witchcraft. But being watched, so as he
could not conuey vipers into his ordure or excrements, after his
purgations: at length he told the partie, that he should suffer the
paines of childbirth, if it were not pzevented; and therefore he
must put his hand into his bzeach, and rake out those wormes
there. But the mother of the sicke partie hauing warning here-
of, said she could do that hir selfe. So the couenoz was pzeuen-
ted, and the partie died onclie of a timpanie, and the knaue ran
awaie out of the countrie.

¶ Otherwise.

Iohn. Bodin.

Monsieur Bodin telleth of a witch, who vndertaking to cure a
woman bewitched, caused a masse to be song at midnight
in our ladies chappell. And when she had ouerlien the sicke partie,
and bzeathed certeine words vpon hir, she was healed. Wherein
Bodin saith, she followed the erample of Elias the prophet, who
raised the Sunamitie. And this storie must needs be true: for god-
man Hardiuin Blesensis his host at the signe of the lion told him
the storie.

Kakozelia.

¶ A knacke to knowe whether you be be-
witched, or no, &c.

Mal. malef.
pa. 1. que. 17.
Barth. Spin.
in nouo
Mal. malef.

It is also expedient to learne how to know whether a sicke
man be bewitched or no: this is the practise thereof. You must
hold molten lead ouer the sicke bodie, and powze it into a
pozrenger full of water; and then, if there appeare
vpon the lead, anie image, you may
then knowe the partie is
bewitched.

That

That one witchcraft maie lawfullie meete
with another.

The xix. Chapter.

SCOTUS, Hostiensis, Gofridus, and all
the old canonists agree, that it is lawfull
to take awaie witchcraft by witchcraft,
Et vana vanis contunderi. And Scotus saith, Scotus in 4.
distinct. 34.
de imperio.
It were follie to forbear to encounter
witchcraft by witchcraft; for (saith he) there
can be none inconuenience therein; be-
cause the ouerthrower of witchcraft as-
senteth not to the works of the diuell. And therefore he saith fur-
ther, that it is meritorious so to ertinguish and ouerthrow the di-
uels workes. As though he should saie; It maketh no matter,
though S. Paule saie; *Non facies malum, ut inde veniat bonum,* Thou
shalt not do euill, that good maie come thereof. Humbertus saith, Dist. 4.
that witchcraft maie be taken awaie by that meanes whereby it
was brought. But Gofredus inueieth soze against the oppug- Gofred. in
summa sua.
ners thereof. Pope Nicholas the first gaue indulgence and leaue
to bishop Miraties (who was so bewitched in his priuities, that
he could not vse the gift of veneric) to seke remedie at witches
hands. And this was the clause of his dispensation, *vt ex duobus
malis fugiatur maius,* that of two euills, the greater should be auoi-
ded. And so a witch, by taking his doublet, cured him, and killed
the other witch; as the storie saith, which is to be seene in M. Mal.
and diuerse other writers.

Who are priuileged from witches, what bodies are
aptest to be bewitched, or to be witches, why women are
rather witches than men, and what they are.

The xx. Chapter.

NOW if you will know who and what per-
sons are priuileged from witches, you must vn-
derstand, that they be euen such as cannot be be- Mals. malef.
par. 2. que. 2.
witched. In the number of whome first be the in-
quisitors, cap. 1.

¶.ij.

*Whereof
looke more
in a little
booke set
forth in
print.

quills, and such as exercise publike iustice vpon them. Polw-
beit, a iustice in Essex, whome for diuerse respects I haue left un-
named, not long since thought he was bewitched, in the verie in-
stant whyles he examined the witch; so as his leg was broken
therby, &c. which either was false, or else this rule vntrue, or both
rather inuisious vnto Gods prouidence. Secondly, such as ob-
serue dulle the rites and ceremonies of holie church, and wor-
ship them with reuerence, though the sprinkling of holie water,
and receiuing consecrated salt, by the lawfull vse of candles hal-
lowed on Candelmas daie, and greene leaues consecrated on
Walne sundaie (which things they saie the church vseth for the
qualifieng of the diuels powder) are p̄serued from witchcraft.
Thirdlie, some are p̄serued by their good angels, which attend
and wait vpon them.

But I maie not omit here the reasons, which they bring, to
proue what bodies are the moze apt and effectuall to execute the
art of fascination. And that is, first they saie the force of celestiall
bodies, which indifferentlie communicate their vertues vnto
men, beasts, trees, stones, &c. But this gift and naturall influ-
ence of fascination maie be increased in man, according to his
affections and perturbations; as thorough anger, feare, loue,
hate, &c. For by hate (saith Vairus) entereth a fierie inflamma-
tion into the eie of man, which being violentlie sent out by
beams and streames, &c. infect and bewitch those bodies against
whome they are opposed. And therefore he saith (in the fauour of
women) that that is the cause why women are oftener found to
be witches than men. For (saith he) they haue such an vnbroiled
force of furie and concupiscence naturallie, that by no means it
is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as vpon
euerie trifling occasion, they (like brute beasts) fix their furious
eyes vpon the partie whom they bewitch. Whereby it commeth to
passe, that whereas women hauing a meruellous fickle nature,
what gr̄ce so euer happeneth vnto them, immediatlie all peace-
ableness of mind departeth; and they are so troubled with euill
humors, that out go their venomous exhalations, ingendred thro-
ugh their illfaoured diet, and increased by meanes of their
pernicious excrements, which they expell. Women are also (saith
he) monethlie filled full of superfluous humors, and with them
the

2. Vair. lib. de
fascin. l. c. 12.

Much like
the ciebi-
ting wit-
ches, of
whom we
haue elf-
where
spoken.

the melancholike bloud boileth; whereof spring vapors, and are carried by, and conueied through the noſethrils and mouth, &c: to the bewitching of whatſoener it meeteth. For they be ch by a certaine breath, wherewith they bewitch whomſoener they liſt. And of all other women, leane, hollow eied, old, beile, rowed women (ſaith he) are the moſt infectious. Paric he ſaith, that hot, ſubtil, and thin bodies are moſt ſubiet to be bewitched, if they be moſt, and all they generallie, whoſe veines, pipes, and paſſages of their bodies are open. And ſinallie he ſaith, that all beautifull things whatſoener, are ſone ſubiet to be bewitched; as name lie goodlie yongmen, faire women, ſuch as are naturallie bozne to be rich, goodlie beaſts, faire hoꝛſes, ranke coyne, beautifull trees, &c. Pea a friend of his told him, that he ſaw one with his eie breake a pretious ſtone in pæces. And all this he telleth as ſoberlie, as though it were true. And if it were true, honeſt women maie be witches, in deſpight of all inquiſitors: neither can anie auoid being a witch, except the locke hir ſelfe by in a chamber.

Who are
moſt likelie
to bewitch,
and to be
bewitched.

What miracles witchmongers report to haue beene done by witches words, &c: contradictions of witchmongers among themſelues, how beaſts are cured hereby, of bewitched butter, a charme againſt witches, and a counter charme, the effect of charmes and words proued by L. Vairus to be wonderfull.

The xxj. Chapter.



If I ſhould go about to recite all charmes, I ſhould take an infinite worke in hand. For the witching writers hold opinion, that anie thing almoſt maie be therby brought to paſſe; & that whether the words of the charme be vnderſtandable or not, it ſkileth not: ſo the charmer haue a ſteddie intention to bring his deſire about. And then what is it that cannot be done by words? For L. Vairus ſaith, that old women haue infeebled and killed children with words, and haue made women with child miſcarrie

L. Vair. lib. de
ſaſcin. l. c. 5.

U. iij.

they

Also one generall rule is giuen by M. Mal. to all butter wines, A good deu-
 and dairie maides, that they neither giue no; lend ante butter, uile to
 milke, or chéese, to anie witches, which alwaies vse to beg therof, starue vp
 when they meane to wo;ke mischæse to their kine or whittmeats. poore wo-
 Whereas indeed there are in milke threé substances commixed; Mal. malif.
 to wit, butter, chéese, and whaie: if the same be kept too long, or in par. 2. que. 2.
 an euill place, or be stuttishlye vsed, so as it be scale and sower, cap. 7.
 which happeneth sometimes in winter, but oftener in summer,
 when it is set ouer the fier, the chéese and butter runneth together,
 and congealeth, so as it will rope like birdlime, that you maie
 wind it about a sticke, and in thort space it will be so drie, as you
 maie beate it to powder. Which alteration being strange, is
 wondered at, and imputed to witches. And herehence some-
 times procédeth the cause, why butter commeth not, which when
 the countrie people see that it commeth not, then get they out of
 the suspected witches house, a little butter, whereof must be made
 threé bailes, in the name of the holie trinitie; and so if they be put
 into the cherne, the butter will presentlie come, and the witchcraft
 will cease; Sic ars deluditur arte. But if you put a little sugar or sope
 into the cherne, among the cream, the butter will neuer come:
 which is plaine witchcraft, if it be closelic, cleanlie, and priuillie
 handled. There be twentie seuerall waies to make your butter
 come, which for breuitie I omit; as to bind your cherne with a
 rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c: but your best remedie
 and surest waie is, to loke well to your dairie maid or wife, that
 she neither eat by the cream, no; sell awaie your butter.

¶ A charme to find hir that bewitched your kine.

Put a paire of breeches vpon the colues head, and beate hir out A ridi-
 of the pasture with a good cudgell vpon a fridate, and she will culous
 runne right to the witches doze, and strike thereat with hir charme.
 hoznes.

¶ Another, for all that haue bewitched
 anie kind of cattell.

When anie of your cattell are killed with witchcraft, haue
 you to the place where the carcase lieth, and traile the
 bowels of the beast vnto your house, and draue them not in at
 the

the doze, but vnder the threshhold of the house into the kitchen; and there make a fier, and set ouer the same a grediron, and therepon laie the inwards or bowels; and as they wax hot, so shall the witches entrailles be molested with extream heate and paine. But then must you make fast your dozes, least the witchy come and fetch a waie a cole of your fier: for then ceaseth hir torment. And we haue knowne saith M. Mal. when the witchy could not come in, that the whole house hath bene so darkened, and the aire round about the same so troubled, with such horrible noise and earthquakes; that except the doze had bene opened, we had thought the house would haue fallen on our heads. Thomas Aquinas, a principall treatoz herein, alloweth conurations against the changelings, and in diuerse other cases: whereof I will saie moze in the woꝝ I doni.

¶ A speciall charme to preferue all cattell
from witchcraft.

In anie case
obserue the
festiuall
time, or
else you
marre all.

A Easter you must take certein drops, that lie vppermost of the holie paschall candle, and make a little ware candle thereof: and vpon some fundaie moꝝning rath, light it, and hold it, so as it maie drop vpon and betwene the hoznes and eares of the beaſt, ſaieng: *In nomine patris, & filij, & duplex ſſ:* and burne the beaſt a little betwene the hoznes on the eares with the same war: and that which is left thereof, ſticke it in croſſe wiſe about the ſtable or ſtall, or vpon the threshhold, or ouer the doze, where the cattell uſe to go in and out, and for all that yeare your cattell ſhall neuer be bewitched. ✽ Otherwiſe: Iacobus de Chufa Carthufianus ſheweth, how bread, water, and ſalt is coniuꝛed, and ſaith, that if either man or beaſt receiue holie bread and holie water nine daies together, with thꝛee *Pater noſters*, and thꝛee *Aues*, in the honour of the trinitie, and of S. Hubert, it preferueth that man or beaſt from all diſeaſes, and defendeth them againſt all aſſaults of witchcraft, of ſatan, or of a mad dog, &c.

Lo this is their ſtuffe, maintained to be at the leaſt effectuall, if not wholſome, by all papiſts and witchmongers, and ſpeciallie of the laſt and proudeſt wꝛiters. But to pꝛoue theſe things to be effectuall, God knoweth their reaſons are baſe and abſurd. For they wꝛite ſo, as they take the matter in queſtion as granted,
and

and by that meanes go awaite therewith. For L. Vairus saith in *L. Vair. lib.* the beginning of his booke, that there is no doubt of this supernaturall matter, because a number of writers agree herein, and a number of stories confirme it, and manie poets handle the same argument, and in the twelue tables there is a lawe against it, and because the consent of the common people is fullie with it, and because immoderate praise is to be approved a kind of witchcraft, and because old women haue such charmes and superstitious meanes as preferue themselves from it, and because they are mocked that take awaite the credit of such miracles, and because Salomon saith; *Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bona*, and because the apostle saith; *O insensati Galate, quis vos fascinavit?* And because it is written, *Qui timent te, videbunt me*. And finally he saith, least you should seeme to distrust and detract anie thing from the credit of so manie graue men, from histories, and common opinion of all men: he meaneth in no wise to proue that there is miraculous working by witchcraft and fascination; and proceedeth so, according to his promise.

Sapi 4.

Gali. 3.

Psal. 119.

Lawfull charmes, or rather medicinable cures for diseased cattell. The charme of charmes, and the power thereof.

The xxij. Chapter.

BUt if you desire to learne true and lawfull charmes, to cure diseased cattell, euen such as seeme to haue extraordinary sicknesse, or to be bewitched, or (as they saie) stranglie taken: loke in B. Gooe his third booke, treating of cattell, and happily you shall find some good medicine or cure for them: or if you list to see more ancient stufte, read Vegetius his foure bookes thereupon: or, if you be vnlearned, seeke some cunning bullocke leech. If all this will not serue, then set Iobs patience before your eyes. And neuer thinke that a poore old woman can alter supernaturallie the notable course, which God hath appointed among his creatures.

Direct and
lawfull
meanes
of curing
cattell, &c.

creatures. If it had béene Gods pleasure to haue permitted such a course, he would no doubt haue both giuen notice in his word, that he had giuen such power vnto them, and also would haue taught remedies to haue p̄uented them.

Furthermore, if you will knowe assured meanes, and infallible charmes, yelding indeed v̄doubted remedies, and p̄uenting all maner of witchcrafts, and also the assaults of wicked spirits; then despise first all couſening knauerie of priests, witches, and couſeners: and with true faith read the first chapter of S. Paule to the Ephesians, and followe his counsell, which is misstrid vnto you in the words following, deseruing woorthilie to be called by the name insuing:

The charme of charmes.

A charme
of charmes
taken out
of the sixt
chapter of
S. Paule
to the E-
phesians.

Finallie my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may stand against the assaults of the diuell. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, & against worldlie gouernors the princes of the darkenes of this world, against spirituall wickednes, which are in the high places. For this cause take vnto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the euill daie; and hauing finished all things, stand fast. Stand therefore, and your loines girded about with veritie, and hauing on the brestplate of righteousnes, &c: as follooweth in that chapter, verses 15. 16. 17. 18. 1. Theſ. 5. 1. Pet. 5. verſe. 8. Ephes. 1. and elsewhere in the holie scripture.

¶ Otherwise.

If you be vnlearned, and want the comfort of friends, repaire to some learned, godlie, and discret preacher. If other wise need require, go to a learned physician, who by learning and experience knoweth and can discern the difference, signes, and causes of such diseases, as faithlesse men and vnſkilfull physicians impute to witchcraft.

A confutation of the force and vertue falselie ascribed to charmes and amulets, by the authorities of ancient writers, both diuines and physicians.

The xxij. Chapter.



My meaning is not, that these words, in the bare letter, can do anie thing towards your ease or comfort in this behalfe; or that it were wholesome for your bodie or soule to weare them about your necke: for then would I wish you to weare the whole Bible, which must needs be moze effectuell than anie one parcell thereof. But I find not that the apostles, or anie of them in the primitiue church, either carried S. Johns gospell, or anie *Agnus Dei* about them, to the end they might be preserued from bugges: neither that they looked into the foure corners of the house, or else in the roose, or vnder the threshold, to find maister of witchcraft, and so to burne it, to be freed from the same; according to the popish rules. Neither did they by such and such verses or prayers made vnto saints, at such or such houres, seeke to obtaine feine grace: neither spake they of anie old women that vsed such trades. Neither did Christ at anie time vse or command holie water, or crosses, to be vsed as terrores against the diuell, who was not affraid to assault himselfe, when he was on earth. And therefore a verie vaine thing it is to thinke that he feareth these trifles, or anie externall matter. Let vs then cast awaie these prophane and old wiues fables. For (as Origen saith) *Incantationes sunt demonū irrisiones idololatriæ sex, animarum insatiatio, &c.*

Chrysolome saith; There be some that carrie about their necks a peece of a gospell. But * is it not daillie read (saith he) and heard of all men? But if they be neuer the better for it, being put into their eares, how shall they be saued, by carrieng it about their necks? And further he saith; Where is the vertue of the gospell? In the figure of the letter, or in the vnderstanding of the sense? If in the figure, thou dost well to weare it about thy necke;

Mal. malef. pari. 2. qu. 2. cap. 6.

1. Tim. 4. 7. Origin. lib. 3. in Iob.

1. Chrysof. in Math.

* Marke that here was no latine seruice. *Idem. Ibid.*

Auguſt. 26.
que. viiij.

necke; but if in the vnderſtanding, then thou ſhouldeſt laie it by in thine heart. Auguſtine ſaith; Let the faithfull miniſters admoſtly and tell their people, that theſe magicall arts and incantations doe bying no remedie to the infirmities either of men or cattell, &c.

The heathen philoſophers ſhall at the laſt daie confound the infidelitie and barbarous fooliſhnes of our Chriſtian or rather antichriſtian and prophane witchmongers. For as Ariſtotle ſaith, that *Incantamenta ſunt muliercularum ſigmenta*: ſo doth Socrates (who was ſaid to be cunning herein) affirme, that *Incantationes ſunt verba animas decipientia humanas*. Others ſaie; *Inſeritæ pallium ſunt carmina, maleficium, & incantatio*. Galen alſo ſaith, that ſuch as impute the falling euill, and ſuch like diſeaſes to diuine matter, and not rather to naturall cauſes, are witches, coniuers, &c. Hippocrates calleth them arrogant; and in another place affirming that in his time there were manie deceiuers and conſurers, that would vndertake to cure the falling euill, &c: by the power and helpe of diuels, by burieng ſome lots or incantments in the ground, or caſting them into the ſea, con-

cludeth thus in their credit, that they are all knaues and conſurers: for God

is our onlie defender and deliuerer. A notable

ſentence of a hea-
then philoſo-
pher!



¶ The

¶ The xiiij. booke.

The signification of the Hebrue word Hartumim, where it is found written in the scriptures, and how it is diuerslie translated: whereby the obiection of Pharaos magicians is afterward answered in this booke; also of naturall magicke not euill in it selfe.

The first Chapter.



Hartumim is no naturall Hebrue word, but is borrowed of some other nation: howbeit, it is vsed of the Hebrues in these places; to wit, Gen. 4. 1. 8. 24. Exod. 7. 13. 24. & 8. 7. 18. & 9. 11. Dan. 1. 20. & 2. 2. Hierome sometimes translateth it, *Coniectores*, sometimes *Malefici*, sometimes *Arioli*: which we for the most part translate by this word witches. But the

Hieronymus
in Gen. 4. 8,
& 24. In
Exod. 7. 13.
In Dan. 1. 20.

right signification hereof may be conceiued, in that the inchanters of Pharao, being magicians of Aegypt, were called Hartumim. And yet in Exodus they are named in some Latine translations *Venefici*. Rabbi Leui saith, it betokeneth such as do strange and wonderfull things, naturallie, artificiallie, and deceitfullie. Rabbi Isaac Natar affirmeth, that such were so termed, as amongst the Gentiles professed singular wisdom. A-ben Ezra expoundeth it, to signifie such as knowe the secrets of nature, and the qualitie of stones and hearbs, &c: which is attained vnto by art, and speciallie by naturall magicke. But we, either for want of speech, or knowlege, call them all by the name

and

and terme of witches.

Certainlie, God indueth bodies with wonderfull graces, the perfect knowledge whereof man hath not reached vnto: and on the one side, there is amongst them such mutuall loue, societie, and consent; and on the other side, such naturall discord, and secret enimitie, that therein manie things are wrought to the astonishment of mans capacitie. But when deceit and diabolicall words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and coniuration; as wherevnto those naturall effects are falselie imputed. So as here I shall haue some occasion to say somewhat of naturall magicke; bicause vnder it lieth hidden the venome of this word Hartumim. This art is said by some to be the profoundnesse, and the verie absolute perfection of naturall philosophie, and the wing with the actiue part thereof, & through the aid of naturall vertues, by the conuenient applieng of them, woorks are published, exceeding all capacitie and admiration; and yet not so much by art, as by nature. This art of it selfe is not euil: for it consisteth in searching forth the nature, causes, and effects of things. As farre as I can conceiue, it hath bene more corrupted and profaned by vs Christians, than either by Jewes or Gentiles.

The authors intention touching the matter hereafter to be discussed vpon.

How the philosophers in times past trauelled for the knowledge of naturall magicke, of Salomons knowledge therein, who is to be called a naturall magician, a distinction thereof, and why it is condemned for witchcraft.

The second Chapter.



Ante philosophers; as namely Plato, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, &c: trauelled ouer all the world, to find out & learne the knowlege of this art; & at their returne they preached and taught, profesed and published it. Yea, it should appere by the magicians that came to a doze Christ, that the knowledge and reputation

reputation thereof was greater, than we conceive or make account of. But of all other, Salomon was the greatest traveller in this art, as may appere throughout the booke of Ecclesiastes: and spectallie in the booke of Wisedome, where he saith* God hath giuen me the true science of things, so as I knowe how the world was made, and the power of the elements, the beginning and the end, and the middelt of times, how the times alter, and the change of seasons, the course of the yeare, and the situation of the starres, the nature of liuing things, and the furiousnesse of beaasts, the power of the wind, and the imaginations of men, the diuersities of plants, and the vertues of roots, and all things both secret and knowne, &c. Finally, he was so cunning in this art, that he is said to haue bene a conurer or witch, and is so reputed in the Romish church at this daie. Whereby you may see, how soles and papists are inclined to credit false accusations in matters of witchcraft and conuration. The lesse knowledge we haue in this art, the more we haue it in contempt: in which respect Plato saith trulie to Dionysius; They make philosophie a mockerie, that deliuer it to prophane and rude people. Certainlie, the witchcraft, conuration, and Inchantment that is imputed to Salomon, is gathered out of these his words following: I applied my mind to knowledg, and to search and seeke out science, wisedome and vnderstanding, to knowe the foolishnesse of the vngodlie, and the erroz of doting soles. In this art of naturall magike (without great heed be taken) a student shall sone be abused. For manie (writting by report, without experience) mistake their authozs, and set downe one thing for another. Then the conclusions being found false, the experiment groweth into contempt, and in the end seemeth ridiculous, though neuer so true. Plinie and Albert being curious wryters herein, are often deceived; insonmuch as Plinie is called a noble liar, and Albert a rusticall liar; the one lieng by herelate, the other by authoritie.

A magician is indeed that which the Latines call a wise man, as *Numa Pompilius* was among the Romans; The Greeks, a philosopher, as *Socrates* was among them; the Egyptians a priest, as *Hermes* was; the Cabalists called them prophets. But although these distinguished this art, accounting the one part

A. s.

thereof

* Sap. 7, 17

18.

19.

20.

21.

See Iudici.

Eccle. 1. & 2

the first part
of the
book
of
Ecclesiastes
chapter
1
verse
1
I applied
my
mind
to
know
ledge
and
to
search
and
seeke
out
science
wisdom
and
vnder
standing
to
know
the
foolish
ness
of
the
vngod
ly
and
the
erroz
of
dot
ing
soles

A magician
described
and the art
distingui
shed.

thereof infamous, as being too much giuen vnto wicked, baine, and impious curiositie, as vnto mouings, numbers, figures, sounds, voices, tunes, lights, affections of the mind, and words; and the other part commendable, as teaching manie good and necessarie things, as times and seasons to sowe, plant, till, cut, &c: and diuerse other things, which I will make manifest vnto you hereafter: yet we generallie condemne the whole art, without distinction, as a part of witchcraft; hauing learned to hate it, before we knowe it; affirming all to be witchcraft, which our grosse heads are not able to conceiue, and yet can thinke that an old dotting woman seeth through it, &c. Wherein we consider not how God bestoweth his gifts, and hath established an order in his works, grafting in them sundrie vertues to the comfort of his seuerall creatures; and speciallie to the vse and behoefe of man: neither doe we therein weigh that art is seruant vnto nature, and waiteth vpon hir as hir handmaiden.

What secrets do lie hidden, and what is taught in naturall magicke, how Gods glorie is magnified therein, and that it is nothing but the worke of nature.

The third Chapter.

*Read Plinie
in natural.
hist. Cardan
de verborum
variet. Al-
bertus de oc-
culis et erum
proprietate.
Barthol. Ne-
ap. in natu-
ral. magia. &
many others.*



In this art of naturall magicke, God almightie hath hidden manie secret mysteries; as wherein a man may learne the properties, qualities, and knowledge of all nature. For it teacheth to accomplish maters in such sort and oportunitie, as the common people thinketh the same to be miraculous; and to be compassed none other waie, but onely by witchcraft. And yet in truth, naturall magicke is nothing else, but the worke of nature. For in tillage, as nature produceth come and heards; so art, being natures minister, prepareth it. Wherein times and seasons are greatlie to be respected: for *Annus non arum producit aristas.*

But as manie necessarie and sober things are herein taught: so doth it partlie (I saie) consist in such experiments and con-
sions

sions as are but soies, but neuertheless lie hid in nature, and being unknowne, doe seeme miraculous, speciallie when they are intermedled and corrupted with cunning illusion, or legierde-
maine, from whence is deriued the estimation of witchcraft. But being learned and knowne, they are contemned, and appere ridiculous: for that onelie is wonderfull to the beholder, whereof he can conceiue no cause nor reason, according to the saying of Ephesius, *Miraculum soluitur unde videtur esse miraculum.* And therefore a man shall take great paines herein, and beflow great cost to learne that which is of no value, and a mere iugling knacke. Wherevpon it is said, that a man may not learne philosophie to be rich; but must get riches to learne philosophie: for to sluggards, niggards, & dizzards, the secrets of nature are neuer opened. And doubtlesse a man may gather out of this art, that which being published, shall set forth the glorie of God, and be many waies beneficiall to the commonwealth: the first is done by the manifestation of his works; the second, by skillfull applieng them to our vse and seruice.

Naturall
magicke
hath a double end,
which pro-
ueth y^e ex-
cellencie of
the same.

What strange things are brought to passe
by naturall magicke.

The fourth Chapter.

The daillie vse and practise of medicine taketh awaie all admiration of the wonderfull effects of the same. Many other things of lesse weight, being more secret and rare, seeme more miraculous. As for example (if it be true that I. Bap. Neap. and many other writers doe constantly affirme.) Tie a wild bull to a fig-tree, and he will be presentlie tame; or hang an old cocke therevpon, and he will immediatlie be tender; as also the feathers of an eagle consume all other feathers, if they be intermedled together. Wherein it may not be denied, but nature sheweth hie selfe a proper workwoman. But it seemeth vnpossible, that a little fish being but halfe a foot long, called Remora or Remiligo, or

Pompanati-
ni. lib. de in-
cant. cap. 3.
I. Wierus
de lamys.
Ia sp. Penser
H. Cardan.
&c.

of some Ethenis, staeth a mightie ship with all hir load and tackling, and being also vnder saile. And yet it is affirmed by so manie and so graue authoꝝ, that I dare not denie it; specialtie, bicause I see as strange effects of nature otherwise: as the propertie of the loadstone, which is so beneficiall to the mariner; and of Rheubarb, which onelic medleth with choler, and purgeth neither flegme nor melancholie, & is as beneficiall to the physician, as the other to the mariner.

The incredible operation of waters, both standing and running; of wels, lakes, riuers, and of their wondrous effects.

The fift Chapter.



The operation of waters, and their sundrie vertues are also incredible, I meane not of waters compounded and distilled: for it were endlesse to treat of their forces, specialtie concerning medicines. But we haue here euen in England naturall springs, wels, and waters, both standing and running, of excellent vertues, euen such as except we had seene, and had experiment of, we would not beleaue to be *In rerum natura*. And to let the physcally nature of them passe (for the which we cannot be so thankfull to God, as they are wholsome for our bodie) is it not miraculous, that wood is by the qualitie of diuers waters here in England transubstantiated into a stone? The which vertue is also found to be in a lake besides the citie Masaca in Cappadocia, there is a riuer called Scamandrus, that maketh yellow sheepe. Yea, there be manie waters, as in Pontus & Thessalia, and in the land of Aegyptides, in a riuer of Thracia (as Aristotle saith) that if a white sheepe being with lambe drinke thereof, the lambe will be blacke. Strabo writeth of the riuer called Crantes, in the borders of Italic, running towards Tarentum, where mens haire is made white and yellow being washed therein. Plinie doth write that of what colour the veines are vnder the rammes tong; of the

Of late experience
neere Co-
uentrie, &c.

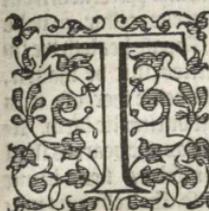
Aristot. in
lib. de hist.
animalium.

Plin. de la-
nicij colore.

the same colour or colours will the lambs be. There is a lake in a field called Cornetus, in the bottoome thereof manifestlie appeareth to the eye, the carcases of snakes, elots, and other serpents: whereas if you put in your hand, to pull them out, you shall find nothing there. There doppeth water out of a rocke in Arcadia, the which neither a siluerie nor a bzalen boll can conteine, but it leapeth out, and sprinkleth awaite; and yet will it remaine without motion in the hose of a mule. Such conclusions (I warrant you) were not vnknowne to Iannes and Iambres.

The vertues and qualities of sundrie pretious stones, of coufening Lapidaries, &c.

The sixt Chapter.



The excellent vertues and qualities of stones, found, conceived and tried by this art, is wonderfull. Howbeit many things most false and fabulous are added vnto their true effects, wherewith I thought good in part to trie the readers patience and cunning withall. An Agat (they saie) hath vertue against the biting of scorpions or serpents. It is witten (but I will not stand to it) that it maketh a man eloquent, and procureth the fauour of princes; yea that the fume thereof doth turne awaite tempests. Alectorius is a stone about the bignesse of a beane, as cleere as the christall, taken out of a cocks bellie which hath bene gelt or made a capon foure yeares. If it be held in ones mouth, it awageth thirst, it maketh the husband to loue the wife, and the bearer intvincible: for hereby Milo was said to ouercome his enemies. A crawpocke deliuereth from prison. Chelidonius is a stone taken out of a swallowe, which cureth melancholie: howbeit, some authors saie, it is the hearbe wherby the swallowes recover the sight of their yong, euen if their eyes be picked out with an instrument. Geranites is taken out of a crane, and Diacornites out of a dragon. But it is to be noted, that such stones must be taken out of the bellies of the serpents, beasts, or birds,

A a. iij.

(wherein

*Indonius
Callius Rhodo.
Libansiq.
le f. 11. ca. 70.
Barhol. An-
licus, lib. 16.*

(wherein they are) while they live: otherwise, they vanish away with the life, and so they retaine the vertues of those starres vnder which they are. Amethystus maketh a drunken man sober, and refresheth the wit. The corall preserveth such as beare it from fascination or bewitching, and in this respect they are hangged about childrens necks. But from whence that superstition is derived, and who invented the lie, I knowe not: but I see how readily the people are to give credit thereunto, by the multitude of corals that waie employed. I find in good authors, that while it remaineth in the sea, it is an herbe; and when it is brought thence, into the aire, it hardeneth, and becommeth a Stone.

Heliotropius stancheth blood, driveth away poisons, preserveth health: yea, and some write that it provoketh raine, and darkeneth the sunne, suffering not him that beareth it to be abused. Hyacinthus doth all that the other doth, and also preserveth from lightning. Dinothera hangged about the necke, collar, or yoke of any creature, tameneth it presentlie. A Topase healeth the lunaticke person of his passion of lunacie. Aitites, if it be shaken, soundeth as if there were a little stone in the bellie thereof: it is good for the falling sicknesse, and to prevent untimelie birth. Amethystus aforesaid resisteth drunkennesse, so as the bearer shall be able to drinke freely, and recover themselves sone being drunken as apes: the same maketh a man wise. Chalcedonius maketh the bearer luckie in lawe, quickeneth the power of the bodie, and is of force also against the illusions of the diuell, and fantastickall cogitations arising of melancholie. Corneolus mitigateth the heate of the mind, and qualifieth malice, it stancheth bloudie fluxes, speciallie of women that are troubled with their flowers. Heliotropius aforesaid darkeneth the sunne, raiseth the wiers, stancheth blood, procureth good fame, keepeth the bearer in health, and suffereth him not to be deceived. If this were true, one of them would be deerer than a thousand diamonds.

Hyacinthus deliuereth one from the danger of lightning, driveth away poison and pestilent infection, and hath manie other vertues. Iris helpeth a woman to speedie deliuerance, and maketh rainebowes to appere. A Sapphire preserveth the members, and maketh them liuelie, and helpeth agues and colicks, and suffereth not the bearer to be afraid: it hath vertue against

venome,

Auicenna
cano. 2. tract.
2. cap. 124.
Serapio agg.
cap. 100.
Di scor. lib. 5.
cap. 93.

Plin lib. 37.
cap. 10.
Albert. lib. 2.
cap. 7.
Solm. cap. 32.

venome, and staieþ bleeding at the nose being often put thereto. A Smarag is good for the eyesight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, it maketh one rich and eloquent. A Topase increaseth riches, healeth the lunatike passion, and stancheth blood. Herbis (as Aaron and Hermes report out of Albertus Magnus) being broken into powder, and dronke with water, maketh insensibilitie of torture. Hereby you may vnderstand, that as God hath bestowed vpon these stones, and such other like bodies, most excellent and wonderfull vertues: so according to the abundance of humane superstitions and follies, manie ascribe vnto them either more vertues, or others than they haue: other boast that they are able to adde new qualities vnto them. And herein consisteth a part of witchcraft and common couenage used sometimes of the Lapidaries for gaines; sometimes of others for couensing purposes. Some part of the vanitie hereof I will here describe, because the place serueth well therefore. And it is not to be forgotten or omitted, that Pharus magicians were like enough to be cunning therein.

Nevertheless, I will first giue you the opinion of one, who professed himselfe a verie skilfull and well experiented Lapidarie, as appeareth by a booke of his owne penning, published vnder this title of Dactylothea, and (as I thinke) to be had among the booke sellers. And thus followeth his assertion:

*Euax rex Arabum fertur scripsisse Neroni,
 (Qui post Augustum regnavit in orbe secundus)
 Quot species lapidis, quae nomina, quæ colores,
 Quæq; sit his regio, vel quanta potentia cuiq;
 Oculis etenim lapidum cognoscere vires,
 Quorum causa latens effectus dat manifestos,
 Egregium quiddam volumus rarumque videri.
 Scilicet hinc solers medicorum cura iuuatur,
 Auxilio lapidum morbos expellere docta.
 Nec minus inde dari cunctarum commoda rerum
 Autores perhibent, quibus hac perspecta feruntur.
 Nec dubium cuiquam debet falsumque videri,
 Quin sua sit gemmis diuinitus insita virtus:*

A. attj.

Euax

** Rabbi Moses aphorism. paric. 22. isidor lib. 14. cap. 3. Sazanovola.*

Marbodius Gallus in sua dactylothea, pag. 56.

*Englified by
Abraham
Fleming.*

Euax an old Arabian king
is named to haue writ
A treatise, and on Neros Grace
to haue bestowed it,
(Who in the world did second reigne
after Augustus time)
Of pretious stones the sundrie sorts,
their names, and in what clime
And countrie they were to be found,
their colours and their hue,
Their priuie power and secret force,
the which with knowledge true
To vnderstand, their hidden cause
most plaine effects declare:
And this will we a noble thing
haue counted be and rare.
The skilfull care of leeches learn'd
is aided in this case,
And hereby holpen, and are taught
with aid of stones to chafe
Awaie from men such sicknesses
as haue in them a place.
No lesse precise commodities
of althings else theriebie
Are ministred and giuen to men,
if authors doo not lie,
To whome these things are said to bee
most manifestlie knowne.
It shall no false or doubtfull case
appear to anie one,
But that by heauenlie influence
each pretious pearle and stone,
Hath in his substance fixed force
and vertue largelic sowne.

*Vis gemma-
rum & Lapi-
lorum pretio-
sorum nega-
tio, quia oc-
culis effra-
gissimè que
sub sensibus
eadi.*

Whereby it is to be concluded, that Stones haue in them cer-
teins

feine proper vertues, which are given them of a speciall influence of the planets, and a due proportion of the elements, their substance being a verie fine and pure compound, consisting of well tempered matter therein is no grosse mixture: as appeareth by plaine proofe of India and Aethopia, where the sunne being orient and meridionall, doth more effectually shew his operation, procuring more pretious stones there to be ingendred; than in the countries that are occident and septentrionall. Unto this opinion doe diuerse ancients accord; namelie, Alexander Peripateticus, Hermes, Euax, Bocchus Zoroastes, Isaac Iudaus, Zacharias Babylonicus, and manie more beside.

Manic mo-
authors
may be na-
med of no
lesse anti-
quitie and
learning.

Whence the pretious stones receiue their operations, how curious Magicians vse them, and of their scales.

The seventh Chapter.



Various Magicians affirme, that these stones receiue their vertues altogether of the planets and heauenlie bodies, and haue not onelie the verie operation of the planets, but sometimes the verie images and impressions of the starres naturallie ingrafted in them, and otherwise ought alwaies to haue grauen vpon them, the similitudes of such monsters, beasts, and other deuises, as they imagine to be both intermallie in operation; and eternallie in view, exprest in the planets. As for example, vpon the Achate are grauen serpents or venomous beasts; and sometimes a man riding on a serpent; which they know to be Aesculapian, which is the celestiall serpent, whereby are cured (they saie) poisons and stings of serpents and scorpions. These grow in the riuer of Achates, where the greatest scorpions are ingendred, and their noisomnes is thereby qualified, and by the force of the scorpions the stones vertue is quickened and increased. Also, if they would induce loue for the accomplishment of venerie, they inscribe and expresse in the stones, amiable embracing and loue

Plin. lib. 37.
cap. 10.
Albert. mi-
ner. li. 2. ca. 1.
Solin. cap. 17.
Diuini in
scrim. cap. de
complexioni-
bus & com-
plexatis.

lie

lie countenances and gestures, words and kissings in apt figures. For the desires of the mind are consonant with the nature of the stones, which must also be set in rings, and vpon soiles of such metals as haue affinity with those stones, thorough the operation of the planets whereunto they are addicted, whereby they may gather the greater force of their working.

As for example, They make the images of Saturne in lead, of Sol in gold, of Luna in silver. Harrie there is no small regard to be had for the certeine and due times to be obserued in the grauing of them: for so are they made with more life, and the influences and configurations of the planets are made thereby the more to abound in them. As if you will procure loue, you must worke in apt, proper, and frendlie aspects, as in the houre of Venus, &c: to make debate, the direct contrarie order is to be taken. If you determine to make the image of Venus, you must expect to be vnder Aquarius or Capricornus: for Saturne, Taurus, and Libra must be taken heed of. Manie other obseruations there be, as to auoid the unfortunate seate and place of the planets, when you would bring a happie thing to passe, and specialtie that it be not done in the end, declination, or heele (as they terme it) of the course thereof: for then the planet moorneth and is dull.

Such signes as ascend in the daie, must be taken in the daie; if in the night they increase, then must you go to worke by night, &c. For in Aries, Leo, and Sagittarie is a certeine triplicitie, where in the sunne hath dominion by daie, Iupiter by night, and in the twilight the cold star of Saturne. But because there shall be no excuse wanting for the faults espied herein, they saie that the vertues of all stones decaye through tract of time: so as such things are not now to be looked for in all respects as are written. Thowbeit Iannes and Iambres were liuing in that time, and in no inconuenient place; and therefore not vnlike to haue that helpe towards the abusing of Pharao. Cardane saith, that although men attribute no small force vnto such seales; as to the seale of the sunne, authorities, honours, and fauours of princes; of Iupiter, riches and frends; of Venus, pleasures; of Mars, boldnes; of Mercurie, diligence; of Saturne, patience and inburing of labour; of Luna, fauour of people: I am not ignozant (saith he) that stones doo good, and yet I knowe the seales or figures do none

Geor. Pistorium. Villan. doct. medic. in scholis super Man. bod. dactyl.

H. Card. lib. de subtil. 10.

none at all. And when Cardane had shewed fullie that art, and the
 follie thereof, and the maner of those terrible, prodigious, & deceit-
 full figures of the planets with their characters, &c: he saith that
 those were deceitfull inventions devised by confeners, and had
 no vertue indeede nor truth in them. But bicause we spake some,
 what euen now of signets and seales, I will shew you what I
 read reported by Vincentius in *suo speculo*, where making mention
 of the Jasper stone, whose nature and proprietie Marbodeus Gal-
 lus describeth in the verses following:

H. Card. lib.
 de var. rer.
 16. cap. 90.

*Iapidis esse decem species septemque feruntur,
 Hic & multorum cognoscitur esse colorum,
 Et multis nasci perhibetur partibus orbis,
 Optimus in viridi translucentique colore,
 Et qui plus soleat virtutis habere probatur,
 Caste gestatus febrem fugat, arcet hydropem,
 Adpositusque iuuat mulierem parturientem,
 Et tutamentum portanti creditur esse.
 Nam consecratus gratum facit atque potentem,
 Et, sicut perhibent, phantasmata noxia pellit,
 Cuius in argento vis fortior esse putatur.*

Marbodeus
 in sua dacty-
 lotheca, pag.
 41, 52.

Seven kinds and ten of Jasper stones

reported are to be;

Of manie colours this is knowne

which noted is by me,

And said in manie places of

the world for to be seene,

Where it is bred; but yet the best

is thorough shining greene,

And that which prouoed is to haue

in it more vertue plaste:

For being borne about of such

as are of liuing chaste,

Englished by
 Abrahams
 Fleming.

Memoran-
 dum the
 authors
 meaning
 is, that this

It

stone be set
in siluer, &
worne on
the finger
for a ring:
as you shall
see after-
wards.

It driues awaie their ague fits,
the drop sic thirsting drie,
And put vnto a woman weake
in trauell which dooth lie
It helps, assists, and comforts hir
in pangs when she dooth crie.
Againe, it is beleued to be
A safegard franke and free,
To such as weare and beare the same;
and if it hallowed bee
It makes the parties gracious,
and mightie too that haue it,
And noylsome fanfies (as they write
that ment not to depraue it)
It dooth displace out of the mind:
the force thereof is stronger,
In siluer if the same be set,
and will endure the longer.

*Vincen. lib.
9. cap. 77.
Dioscor. lib.
5. cap. 100.
Aristot. in
Lapidario.*

But (as I said) Vincentius making mention of the Jasper
stone, touching which (by the waie of a parenthesis) I haue infer-
red Marbodeus his verses, he saith that some Jasper stones are
found hauing in them the liuelie image of a naturall man, with
a shield at his necke and a speare in his hand, and vnder his feete
a serpent: which stones so marked and signed, he preferreth befoze
all the rest, because they are antidotaries or remedies nota-
bly resisting poison. Other some also are found figured and mar-
ked with the forme of a man bearing on his necke a bundle of
heards and flowers, with the estimation and value of them no-
ted, that they haue in them a facultie or power restrictive, and
will in an instant or moment of time stand blood. Such a kind
of stone (as it is reported) Galen wore on his finger. Other some
are marked with a crosse, as the same autho: writeth, and these be
right excellent against inundations or ouerflowings of waters.
I could hold you long occupied in declarations like vnto these,
wherein I laie befoze you that other men haue published and set
fozth to the world, choosing rather to be an academicall discour-
ser,

ser, than an vniuersall determiner: but I am desirous of benefitie.

The sympathie and antipathie of naturall and elementarie bodies declared by diuerse examples of beasts, birds, plants, &c.

The eight Chapter.

If I should write of the strange effects of Sympathia and Antipathia, I should take great paines to make you wonder, and yet you would scarce beleue me. And if I should publish such conclusions as are common and knowne, you would not regard them. And yet Empedocles thought all things were wrought hereby. It is almost incredible, that the grunting or rather the wheeking of a little pig, or the sight of a simple sheepe should terrifie a mightie elephant: and yet by that meanes the Romans did put to flight Pyrrhus and all his host. A man would hardlie beleue, that a cocks combe or his crowing should abash a puissant lion: but the experience herof hath satisfied the whole world. Who would thinke that a serpent should abandon the shadow of an ash, &c: But it seemeth not strange, bicause it is common, that some man otherwise hardie and stout enough, should not dare to abide or endure the sight of a cat. Or that a daughter of a kinke should so ouerthrow a man, that neuer a part or member of his bodie should be able to performe his dutie and office; and should also so corrupt and alter his senses, vnderstanding, memory, and iudgement, that he should in euerie thing, sauing in shape, become a beerie beast. And herein the poets experiment of liqor is verified, in these words following:

*sunt qui non corpora tantum,
Verum animas etiam valeant mutare liquores:*

Some waters haue so powerfull ben,
As could not onelie bodies change,

Agreement
& disagree-
ment in suf-
ferance.

in vltimo X
Sicuti dicitur

in vltimo dicitur
Sicuti dicitur

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

But

But euen the verie minds of men,
Their operation is so strange.

Read a litle
tract of E-
rasmus in-
titled *De*
amicitia,
where e-
nough is
said tou-
ching this
point.

The frendlie societie betwixt a fox and a serpent is almost incredible: how louing the lizzard is to a man, we maie read, though we cannot see. Yet some affirme that our newt is not onlie like to the lizzard in shape, but also in condition. From the which affection towards a man, a spaniell doth not much differ, whereof I could cite incredible stories. The amitie betwixt a castrell and a pigeon is much noted among writers; and speciallie how the castrell defendeth hir from hir enimie the sparow hawk: thereof they saie the doue is not ignozant. Besides, the wonderfull operation and vertue of hearbs, which to repeat were infinite: and therfore I will onlie referre you to Matheolus his herball, or to Dodonæus. There is among them such naturall accord and discoꝝd, as some prosper much the better for the others companie, and some wither awaie being planted nere vnto the other. The lillie and the rose reioice in ech others neighboꝝd. The flag and the sernebush abhoꝝre each other so much, that the one can hardlie liue besides the other. The cowcumber loueth water, and hateth oile to the death. And bicause you shall not saie that hearbs haue no vertue, for that in this place I cite none, I am content to discouer two or thre small qualities and vertues, which are affirmed to be in hearbs: marie as simple as they be. Iannes and Iambres might haue done much with them, if they had had them. If you picke out a yong swallowes eyes, the old swallow restozeth againe their sight, with the application (they saie) of a litle Celondine. Xanthus the authoz of histories repoꝝteth, that a yong dragon being dead, was reuined by hir dam, with an hearbe called *Walim*. And Iuba saith, that a man in Arabia being dead was reuined by the vertue of another hearbe.

Xanthus in
hist. prima.

Iub. lib. 24.
cap. 2.

The former matter prooued by manie examples
of the liuing and the dead.

The ninth Chapter.



As as we see in stones, herbs, &c. strange operation and naturall loue and dissention: so doe we read, that in the bodie of a man, there be as strange properties and vertues naturall. I haue heard by credible report, and I haue read many graue authoꝝs constantlie affirme, that the wound of a man murdered reneweth bleeding; at the presence of a deere friend, or of a mortall enemie. Diuerse also write, that if one passe by a murdered bodie (though vnknowne) he shalbe stricken with feare, and feele in him selfe some alteration by nature. Also that a woman, about the age of fiftie yeares, being bound hand and foote, hir clothes being vpon hir, and laid downe softlie into the water, sinketh not in a long time; some saie, not at all. By which experiment they were wont to trie witches, as well as by *Ferrum candens*: which was, to hold hot iron in their hands, and by not burning to be tried. Howbeit, Plutarch saith, that Pyrrhus his great toe had in it such naturall or rather diuine vertue, that no fier could burne it.

And Albertus saith, and manie other also repeat the same storie, saieing, that there were t̄wo such children boꝝne in Germanie, as if that one of them had bene carried by anie house, all the dooꝝes right against one of his sides would stie open: and that vertue which the one had in the left side, the other brother had in the right side. He saith further, that manie saue it, and that it could be referred to nothing, but to the proprietie of their bodies. Pompanatius writeth that the kings of France doe cure the disease called now the kings euill, or quēenes euill; which hath bene alwaies thought, and to this daie is supposed to be a miraculous and a peculiar gift, & a speciall grace giuen to the kings and quēenes of England. Which some referre to the proprietie of their persons, some to the peculiar gift of God, and some to the

This common experience can iustifie.

II Vierns.

Plutarch. in vita Pyrrhi.

Albert. lib. de mor. animal. cap. 3.

Pompan. lib. de incans. cap. 4.

efficacie

Plutar. in
vita Catonis.

I. Bap. Neap.
in lib. de na-
sur. magia. I.

efficacie of words. But if the French king vse it no worse than our Princesse doth, God will not be offended thereat: for his maiestie onelie vseth godlie and diuine praier, with some almes, and referreth the cure to God and to the physician. Plutar. writeth that there be certeine men called Pilli, which with their mouthes heale the bitings of serpents. And I. Bap. Neap. saith, that an oliue being planted by the hand of a virgine, prospereth; which if a harlot do, it withereth awaie. Also, if a serpent or viper lie in a hole, it maie easilie be pulled out with the left hand, whereas with the right hand it cannot be removed. Although this experiment, and such like, are like enough to be false; yet are they not altogether so impious as the miracles said to be done by charms, charmes, &c. For manie strange properties remaine in sundrie partes of a liuing creature, which is not vniuersally dispersed, and indifferentlie spread through the whole bodie: as the eie smelleth not, the nose seeth not, the eare tasteth not, &c.

The bewitching venome contained in the bodie of an harlot, how hir eie, hir tongue, hir beautie and behauior bewitcheth some men: of bones and hornes yeelding great vertue.

The tenth Chapter.

The venom
or poison of
an harlot.



The vertue contained within the bodie of an harlot, or rather the venome proceeding out of the same maie be beheld with great admiration. For hir eie infecteth, entiseth, and (if I maie so saie) bewitcheth them manie times, which thinke themselves well armed against such manner of people. Hir tongue, hir gesture, hir behauiour, hir beautie, and other allurements poison and intorticate the mind: yea, hir companie induceth impudencie, corrupteth virginitie, confoundeth and consumeth the bodies, goods, and the verie soules of men. And finally hir bodie destroiet and rotteth the verie flesh and bones of mans bodie. And this is common, that we wonder not at all thereat, naie we haue not
the

the course of the sunne, the mone, or the starres in so great admiration, as the globe, counterfeting their order: which is in respect but a bable made by an artificer. So as (I thinke) if Christ himselfe had continued long in the execution of miracles, and had left that power permanent and common in the church; they would haue growne into contempt, and not haue béene esteemed, according to his owne saying: A prophet is not regarded in his owne countrie. I might recite infinite properties, where with God hath indued the bodie of man, woorthie of admiration, and fit for this place. As touching other living creatures, God hath likewise (for his glorie, and our behofe) bestowed most excellent and miraculous gifts and vertues vpon their bodies and members, and that in seuerall and wonderfull wise. We see that a bone taken out of a carps head, stancheth blood, and so doth none other part besides of that fish. The bone also in a hares foot mitigateth the crampe, as none other bone nor part else of the hare doth. How pretious is the bone growing out of the fore head of a uniozne; if the horne, which we see, growe there, which is doubted: and of how small account are the residue of all his bones? At the excellencie whereof, as also at the noble and innumerable vertues of herbs we muse not at all; because it hath pleased God to make them common vnto vs. Which perchance might in some part assist Iannes and Iambres, towards the hardning of Pharaos heart. But of such secret and strange operations read Albert *De mineral. cap. 1. 11. 17.* Also Marsilius Ficinus, *cap. 1. lib. 4.* Cardan. *de rerum varietate. I.* Bap. Neap. *de magia natural. Peucer, Wier, Pompanacius, Fernelius, and others.*

Math. 13.
Marke. 6.
Luke. 4.
Iohn. 4.

Wonderfull naturall effects in bones of fishes, beastes, &c.

Two notorious woonders and yet not maruelled at.

The eleuenth Chapter.



Thought god here to insert two most miraculous matters, of the one I am *Testis oculatus*, an eie witnesse; of the other I am so credible and certeinlie informed, that I dare and do beleeue it to be verie true. When Maister T. Randolph returned out of Russia, after his ambassage dispatched, a gentleman of his traine
B b. j. brought

brought home a monument of great accompt, in nature and in propriety very wonderfull. And because I am loath to be long in the description of circumstances, I will first describe the thing it selfe: which was a peece of earth of a good quantitie, and most excellentlie proportioned in nature, hauing these qualities and vertues following. If one had taken a peece of perfect Steele, forked and sharpened at the end, and heated it red hot, offering therewith to haue touched it; it would haue fled with great celeritie: and on the other side, it would haue pursued gold, either in coine or bulloine, with as great violence and speed as if thinned the other. No bird in the aire durst approach nere it; no beast of the field but feared it, and naturallie fled from the sight thereof. It would be here to daie, and to morrowe twentie miles off, and the next daie after in the verie place it was the first daie, and that without the helpe of anie other creature.

Strange
properties
in a peece
of earth.

Strange
properties
in a stone:
the like
qualities in
other stons:
See pag. 193.
194, 195,
196, 197,
198, 199,
300.

Iohannes Fernelius writeth of a strange stone latelie brought out of India, which hath in it such a marvellous brightnes, puritie, and shining, that therewith the aire round about is so lightned and cleared, that one may see to read thereby in the darknes of night. It will not be contained in a close roome, but requireth an open and free place. It would not willingly rest or staie here belowe on the earth, but alwaies laboureth to ascend by into the aire. If one presse it downe with his hand, it resisteth, and striketh verie sharpelie. It is beautifull to behold, without either spot or blemish, and yet verie vnpleasant to taste or seele. If anie part thereof be taken awaie, it is neuer a whit diminished, the forme thereof being inconstant, and at euery moment mutable. These two things last rehearsed are strange, and so long wondred at, as the mysterie and moralitie thereof remaineth vncovered: but when I haue disclosed the matter, and told you that by the lump of earth a man is ment, and some of his qualities described; and that that which was contained in the same fetcht stone, was fier, or rather flame: the doubt is resolved, and the miracle ended. And yet (I confesse) there is in these two creatures contained moze miraculous matter, than in all the loadstones and diamonds in the world. And hereby is to be noted, that euen a part of this art, which is called naturall or witching magicke, consisteth as well in the deceit of words, as in the sleight

flight of hand: wherein plaine leng is avoided with a figurative speech, in the which, either the words themselves, or their interpretation have a double or doubtfull meaning, according to that which hath bene said before in the title* *ob* or *Pytho*: and shall be more at large hereafter in this treatise manifested.

Of illusions, confederacies, and legierdemaine, and how they may be well or ill vsed.

The twelwe Chapter.



Manie writers haue bene abused, as well by vnttrue reports, as by illusion, and practises of confederacie and legierdemaine, &c: sometimes imputing vnto words that which resteth in the nature of the thing; and sometimes to the nature of the thing, that which proceedeth of fraud and deception of sight. But when these experiments growe to superstition or impietie, they are either to be forsaken as vaine, or denied as false. Howbeit, if these things be done for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of Gods name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether vnlawfull: though herein or hereby a naturall thing be made to seeme supernaturall. Such are the miracles wrought by jugglers, consisting in fine and nimble conueiance, called legierdemaine: as when they seeme to cast a waite, or to deliuer to another that which they reteine still in their owne hands; or conueie otherwise: or seeme to eate a knife, or some such other thing, when indeed they bestowe the same secretlie into their bosoms or laps. Another point of iuggling is, when they thrust a knife through the braines and head of a chicken or pullet, and seeme to cure the same with words: which would liue and doe well, though neuer a word were spoken. Some of these toies also consist in arithmeticall deuises, partlie in experiments of naturall magike, and partlie in priuate as also in publike confederacie.

*Being the 7 booke of this discouerie: See pag. 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 160, &c. Where discourse is made of oracles, &c.

Look hereafter in this booke for diuers conceits of iuggling set forth at large, beginning at pag. 321.

Of priuate confederacie, and of Brandons pigeon.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Priuate confederacie I meane, when one (by a speciall plot laid by himselfe, without anie compact made with others) persuadeth the beholders, that he will suddentie and in their presence do some miraculous feat, which he hath alreadie accomplished priuilie. As for example, he will shew you a card, or anie other like thing: and will saie further vnto you; Behold and see what a marke it hath, and then burneth it; and neuertheless fetcheth another like card so marked out of some bodie's pocket, or out of some corner where he himselfe before had placed it; to the wonder and astonishment of simple beholders, which conceiue not that kind of illusion, but expect miracles and strange works,

Example
of a ridicu-
lous wonder.

What wondering and admiration was there at Brandon the juggler, who painted on a wall the picture of a doue, and seeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the king; Lo now your Grace shall see what a juggler can do, if he be his craftes maister; and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectuell words, as the pigeon fell downe from the top of the house starke dead. I need not write anie further circumstance to shew how the matter was taken, what wondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to vse that feat anie further, least he should employe it in anie other kind of murder; as though he, whose picture so euer he had pricked, must needs haue died, and so the life of all men in the hands of a juggler: as is now supposed to be in the hands and willes of witches. This storie is, vntill the date of the writing hereof, in fresh remembrance, & of the most part beleued as canonicall, as are all the fables of witches: but when you are taught the feate or sleight (the secrecie and sorcerie of the matter being bezaied, and discouered) you will thinke it a mockerie, and a simple illusion. To interpret vnto you the reuelation of this mysteric; so it is, that the poore pigeon was before in the hands of the juggler, into

This I haue
proued
vpon crows
and pies.

into whom he had thrust a dramme of *Nux vomica*, or some other such poison, which to the nature of the bird was so extream a venome, as after the receipt thereof it could not live above the space of halfe an houre, and being let lose after the medicine ministered, she alwaies resorted to the top of the next house: which she will the rather doe, if there be anie pigeons already sitting there, and (as it is already said) after a short space falleth downe, either starke dead, or greatlie astonnied. But in the meane time the juggler bleseth words of art, partlie to protract the time, and partlie to gaine credit and admiration of the beholders: If this or the like feate should be done by an old woman, euerie bodie would crie out for fier and saggot to burne the witch.

This might be done by a confederate, who standing at some window in a church steeple, or other fit place, and holding the pigeon by the leg in a string, after a signe giuen by his fellowe, pulleth downe the pigeon, and so the wonder is wrought.

Of publike confederacie, and whereof it consisteth.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Publike confederacie is, when there is before hand a compact made betwixt diuers persons; the one to be principall, the rest to be assistants in working of miracles, or rather in couensing and abusing the beholders. As when I tell you in the presence of a multitude what you haue thought or done, or shall doe or thinke, when you and I were thereupon agreed before. And if this be cunninglie and closelie handled, it will induce great admiration to the beholders; speciallie when they are before amazed and abused by some experiments of naturall magike, arithmetical conclusions, or legierdemaine. Such were, for the most part, the conclusions and deuises of Feates: wherein doubt you not, but Iannes and Iambres were expert, actiue, and readie.

How men haue bene abused with words of equiuocation, with fundrie examples thereof.

The xv. Chapter.

Some haue taught, and others haue written certeine experiments; in the expressing whereof they haue vsed such words of equiuocation, as wherby manie haue bene ouertaken and abused throught

A iest among watermen touching Stone church in Kent as light at midnight as at mid-daie.

rash credulitie: so as sometimes (I saie) they haue reported, taught, and written that which their capacitie toke hold upon, contrarie to the truth and sincere meaning of the authoz. It is a common iest among the water men of the Thames, to shew the parish church of Stone of the passengers, calling the same by the name of the lantern of Kent; affirming, and that not vntillie, that the said church is as light (meaning in weight and not in brightnes) at midnight, as at nonedaie. Whereupon some credulous person is made beleue, and will not sticke to affirme and sweare, that in the same church is such continuall light, that anie man may see to read there at all times of the night without a candle.

An excellent philosopher, whome (for reuerence vnto his fame and learning) I will forbear to name, was ouertaken by his hostesse at Dover; who merrilie told him, that if he could reteine and keepe in his mouth certeine pibbles (sieng at the shoe ste) he should not perbreake vntill he came to Calice, how rough and tempestuous so euer the seas were. Which when he had tried, and being not forced by sickness to vomit, nor to lose his stones, as by vomiting he must needs do, he thought his hostesse had discovered vnto him an excellent secret, nothing doubting of hir amphibologicall speech: and therefore thought it a worthe note to be recorded among miraculous and medicinable stones; and inserted it accordingly into his booke, among other experiments collected with great industrie, learning, trauell, and iudgement. All these toies helpe a subtil couenser to gaine credit with the multitude. Yea, to further their estimatton, manie will whisper propheties of their owne inuention into the eares of such as are not of quickest capacitie; as to tell what weather, &c: shall folowe. Which if it fall out true, then boast they and triumph, as though they had gotten some notable conquest; if not, they denie the matter, forget it, excuse it, or shift it off; as that they told another the contrarie in earnest, and spake that but in iest. All these helps might Pharaos iugglers haue, to mainteine their counes and illusions, towards the hardening of Pharaos hart.

A slender shift to saue the credit of their cunning.

Herevnto belong all maner of charmes, periapts, amulets, characters, and such other superstitions, both poppish and prophane: whereby (if that were true, which either papists, contuozs, or witches

ches undertake to do) we might daillie see the verie miracles wrought indeed, which Pharaos magicians seemed to performe. Howbeit, because by all those deuises or couenages, there cannot be made so much as a nit, so as Iannes and Iambres could haue no helpe that waite, I will speake thereof in place more conuenient.

How some are abused with naturall magike, and sundrie examples thereof when illusion is added therevnto, of Iacobs pied sheepe, and of a blacke Moore.

The xvj. Chapter.

What as these notable and wonderfull experiments and conclusions that are found out in nature it selfe (through wisdom, learning, and industrie) doe greatlie oppose and alsonnith the capacite of man: so (I saie) when deceit and illusion is annexed therevnto, then is the wit, the faith, & constancie of man searched and tried. For if we shall yeeld that to be diuine, supernaturall, and miraculous, which we cannot comprehend; a witch, a papist, a coniuro, a coufener, and a juggler may make vs beleue they are gods: or else with more impietie we shall ascribe such power and omnipotencie vnto them, or vnto the diuell, as onelie and properlie appertaineth to God. As for example. By confederacie or coufenage (as before I haue said) I may seeme to manifest the secret thoughts of the hart, which (as we learne in Gods booke) none knotweth or searcheth, but God himselte alone. And therefore, whosoeuer beleueth that I can do as I may seeme to do, maketh a god of me, and is an idolater. In which respect, whosoeuer we heare papist, witch, coniuro, or coufener, take vpon him more than lieth in humane power to performe, we may know & boldlie saie it is a knacke of knauerie; and no miracle at all. And further we may know, that when we vnderstand it, it will not be worth the knowing. And at the discouerie of these miraculous toies, we shall leaue to wonder at them, and beginne to wonder at our selues, that could be so abused with

W b. iij.

The inconuenience of holding opinion, that whosoeuer professeth our capacite, is diuine, supernaturall, &c.

ables.

bables. Howbeit, such things as God hath laid by secretlie in nature are to be weighed with great admiration, and to be searched out with such industrie, as may become a christian man: I meane, so as neither God, no; our neighbour be offended thereby, which respect doubtlesse Iannes and Iambres neuer had. We find in the scriptures diuerse naturall and secret experiments practised; as namelie that of Iacob, so; pied sheepe: which are confirmed by prophane authoers, and not onelie verified in lambs and sheepe, but in horses, peccocks, connties, &c. We read also of a woman that brought forth a yong blacke Hoze, by meanes of an old blacke Hoze who was in hir house at the time of hir conception, whom she beheld in phantasie, as is supposed: howbeit, a gelous husband will not be satisfied with such phantastical imaginations. For in truth a blacke Hoze neuer faileth to beget blacke children, of what colour soeuer the other be: *Et sic è contra.*

I. Bap. Neapol. in natural. mag.

The opinion of witchmongers, that diuels can create bodies, and of Pharaos magicians.

The xvij. Chapter.

M. malef. p. 1. q. 10.



It is affirmed by Iames Sprenger and Henrie Institor, in M. Mal. who cite Albert *In lib. de animalib.* so; their purpose, that diuels and witches also can truelie make liuing creatures as well as God; though not at an instant, yet verie suddenly. Howbeit, all such as are rightlie informed in Gods word, shall manifestlie perceiue and confesse the contrarie, as hath bene by scriptures alreadye proued, and may be confirmed by places infinite. And therefore I saie Iannes and Iambres, though sathan and also Belzebub had assisted them, could neuer haue made the serpent or the frogs of nothing, no; yet haue changed the waters with words. Neuertheless, all the learned expositors of that place affirme, that they made a shew of creation, &c: exhibiting by cunning a resemblance of some of those miracles, which God wrought by the hand of Moses. Hea S. Augustine and manie other hold, that they made by art (and that truelie) the serpents, &c.

Iohn. 1. 3. Colof. 1. 16.

But

But that they may by art approach somewhat nearer to those actions, than hath beene yet declared, shall and may appere by these and manie other conclusions, if they be true.

How to produce or make monsters by art magike, and why Pharaos magicians could not make lice.

The xviiij. Chapter.



Trato, Democritus, Empedocles, Naturall conclusions. and of late, Io. Bap. Neap. teach by what meanes monsters may be produced, both from beast and also from fowle. Aristotle himselfe teacheth to make a chicken haue foure legs, and as manie wings, onlie by a double yolcked eg: whereby also a serpent may be made to haue manie legs.

¶ any thing that produceth eggs, may likewise be made double membred, or dismembred: & the viler creature the sooner brought to passe. There are also prettie experiments of an eg, to produce anie fowle, without the naturall helpe of the hen: the which is brought to passe, if the eg be laid in the powder of the hens dong, dried and mingled with some of the hens fetthers, & stirred euerie fourth houre. You may also produce (as they saie) the most venomous, noisome, and dangerous serpent, called a cockatrice, by melting a litle arsenicke, and the poison of serpents, or some other strong venome, and drowning an eg therein, which there must remaine certeine daies; and if the eg be set vpright, the operation will be the better. This may also be done, if the eg be laid in dong, which of all other things giueth the most singular and naturall heate: and as I. Bap. Neap. saith is *Mirabilium rerum parens*, who also writeth, that *Crines faeminae menstruose* are turned into serpents within short space: and he further saith, that basilisk being beaten, and set out in a moist place, betwixt a couple of tiles, doth ingender scorpions. The ashes of a ducke, being put betwene two dishes, and set in a moist place, doth ingender a huge tode: *Quod etiam efficit sanguis menstruosus.*

To produce anie fowle out of an eg, without the naturall helpe of the hen.

*The mother of marucls.

¶ Anie writers conclude, that there be two maner of todes, the one

one bred by naturall course and order of generation, the other growling of themselves, which are called temporarie, being onlie ingendred of shewers and dust: and (as I. Bap. Neap. saith) they are easie to be made. Plutarch and Heraclides do saie, that they haue seene these to descend in raine, so as they haue lien and cralled on the tops of houses, &c. Also Aelianus doth saie, that he saue frogs and todes, whereof the heads & shoulers were a liue, & became flesh; the hinder parts being but earth, & so cralled on two feete, the other being not yet fashioned or fullie framed. And Macrobius reporteth, that in Aegypt, mice growe of earth and shewers; as also frogs, todes, and serpents in other places. They saie that Danmatus Hispanus could make them when & as manie as he list. He is no good angler, that knoweth not how sone the entrails of a beast, when they are buried, will engender maggots (which in a ciuiler terme are called gentles) a good bait for small fishes. Whosoever knoweth the order of preserving silke wormes, may perceiue a like conclusion: bicause in the winter, that is a dead seed, which in the summer is a liuelie creature. Such and greater experiments might be knowne to Iannes and Iambres, and serue well to their purpose, especiallie with such excuses, delaiies, and cunning, as they could ioine therewithall. But to proceed, and come a little nearer to their seats, and to shew you a knacke beyond their cunning; I can assure you that of the fat of a man or a woman, liec are in verie short space ingendered: and yet I saie, Pharaos magicians could not make them, with all the cunning they had. Whereby you may perceiue, that God indeed performed the other actions, to indurate Pharao, though he thought his magicians did with no lesse deservitie than Moses worke miracles and wonders. But some of the interpreters of that place excuse their ignorance in that matter, thus; The diuell (saie they) can make no creature vnder the quantitie of a barlie come, and lice being so little cannot therefore be created by them. As though he that can make the greater, could not make the lesse. A verie grosse absurditie. And as though that he which hath power ouer great, had not the like ouer small.

Maggots
ingendred
of the in-
wards of a
beast are
good for
angling.

Giles Alley:
See the
poore mans
librarie.

That great matters may be wrought by this art, when princes esteeme and mainteine it : of diuers woonderfull experiments, and of strange conclusions in glasses, of the art perspectiue, &c.

The xix. Chapter.



Howbeit, these are but trifles in respect of other experiments to this effect; speciallie when great princes mainteine & giue countenance to students in those magicall arts, which in these countries and in this age is rather prohibited than allowed, by reason of the abuse commonly coupled therewith; which in truth is it that moueth admiration and estimation of miraculous workings. As for example. If I affirme, that with certeine charmes and popish prayers I can set an horse or an asses head vpon a mans shoulders, I shall not be beleued; or if I do it, I shall be thought a witch. And yet if I. Bap. Neap. experiments be true, it is no difficult matter to make it seeme so: and the charme of a witch or papist ioined with the experiment, will also make the wonder seeme to proceed thereof. The words vsed in such case are vncertaine, and to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or coufener. But the conclusion is this: Cut off the head of a horse or an asse (before they be dead) otherwise the vertue or strength thereof will be the lesse effectiuall, and make an earthen vessell of fit capacitie to containe the same, and let it be filled with the oile and fat therof; couer it close, and dawbe it ouer with lome: let it boile ouer a soft fier three daies continuallie, that the fleshy boile may run into oile, so as the bare bones may be seene: beate the haire into powder, and mingle the same with the oile; and annoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seeme to haue horses or asses heads. If beasts heads be annointed with the like oile made of a mans head, they shall seeme to haue mens faces, as diuerse authozs soberlye affirme. If a lampe be annointed herewith, euerie thing shall seeme most monstrous. It is also written, that if that which is called *Sperma* in anie beaſt be buried,

Woonderfull experiments.

To set an horses or an asses head on a mans neck and shoulders,

ned, and any bodies face therewithall annoiuted, he shall seeme to haue the like face as the beast had. But if you beate arsenicke berie fine, and boile it with a little sulphur in a covered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seeme to be headlesse. Aqua composita and salt being fiered in the night, and all other lights ertinglished, make the standers by seeme as dead. All these things might be berie well perceiued and knowne, and also practised by Iannes and Iambres. But the wondrous deuises, and miraculous sights and conceipts made and contained in glasse, doo farre exceed all other; whereto the art perspectiue is berie necessarrie. For it sheweth the illusions of them, whose experiments be seene in diuerse sorts of glasses; as in the hallowe, the plaine, the embossed, the columnarrie, the pyramidate or piked, the turbinall, the bunched, the round, the cornered, the inuerfed, the euerfed, the masse, the regular, the irregular, the coloured and cleare glasses: for you may haue glasses so made, as what image or fauour soeuer you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as there in one may see what others doo in places far distant; others, wherby you shall see men hanging in the aire; others, wherby you may perceiue men sieng in the aire; others, wherin you may see one comming, & another going; others, where one image shall seeme to be one hundred, &c. There be glasses also, wherin one man may see another mans image, and not his owne; others, to make manie similitudes; others, to make none at all. Others, contrarie to the vse of all glasses, make the right side turne to the right, and the left side to the left; others, that burne before and behind; others, that represent not the images receiued within them, but cast them farre off in the aire, appearing like aierie images, and by the collection of sunne beames, with great force setteth fier (berie farre off) in euerie thing that may be burned. There be cleare glasses, that make great things seeme little, things farre off to be at hand; and that which is nere, to be far off; such things as are ouer vs, to seeme vnder vs; and those that are vnder vs, to be aboue vs. There are some glasses also, that represent things in diuerse colours, & them most gorgeous, spectallie any white thing. Finally, the thing most worthie of admiration concerning these glasses, is, that the lesser glasse dooth lessen the

Strange things to be doone by perspectiue glasses.

Concerning these glasses remember that the eyesight is deceived: for *Non est in speculo res que speculatur in eo.*

the shape : but how big so ever it be , it maketh the shape no bigger than it is. And therefore Augustine thinketh some hidden mystery to be therein . Vitellius, and I. Bap. Neap. write largely hereof. These I have for the most part seen, and have the receipt how to make them : which, if desire of brevity had not forbidden me, I would here have set downe. But I thinke not but Pharaos magicians had better experience than I for those and such like deuises. And (as Pompanacius saith) it is most true, that some for these feats have bene accounted saints, some other witches. And therefore I saie, that the pope maketh rich witches, saints ; and burneth the poore witches.

Rash opinion can neuer iudge soundlie.

A comparison betwixt Pharaos magicians and our witches, and how their cunning consisted in iuggling knacks.

The xx. Chapter.



Thus you see that it hath pleased GOD to shew vnto men that seeke for knowledge, such cunning in finding out, compounding, and framing of strange and secret things, as thereby he seemeth to have bestowed vpon man, some part of his diuinitie. Howbeit, God (of nothing, with his word) hath created all things, and doth at his will, beyond the power and also the reach of man, accomplish whatsoener he list. And such miracles in times past he wrought by the hands of his prophets, as here he did by Moses in the presence of Pharaos, which Iannes and Iambres apishlie followed. But to affirme that they by themselves, or by all the diuels in hell, could do indeed as Moses did by the power of the Holie-ghost, is worse than infidelitie. If anie object and saie, that our witches can do such feats with words and charms, as Pharaos magicians did by their art, I denie it ; and all the world will neuer be able to shew it. That which they did, was openlie done ; as our witches and confutors neuer do anie thing : so as these cannot do as they did. And yet (as Caluine saith of them) they were but iugglers. Neither could they do, as manie suppose.

An apish imitation in Iannes and Iambres of working woonders.

To Caluine, lib. insinuat. 1. cap. 8. Cle. recog. 3.

Erast. in dis-
putat. de
lamys.

Actions vn-
possible to
diuels: Ergo
to witches
coniurors,
&c.

Lamb. de my-
sterijs.

suppose. For as Clemens saith; These magicians did rather seeme to do these wonders, than worke them indeed. And if they made but prestigious shewes of things, I saie it was more than our witches can do. For witchcrafts (as Erastus himselfe confesseth in diu'd of argument) are but old wiues fables. If the magicians serpent had bene a verie serpent, it must needs haue bene tranſformed out of the rod. And therein had bene a double worke of God; to wit, the qualificng and ertinguishtment of one substance, and the creation of another. Which are actions beyond the diuels power, for he can neither make a bodie to be no bodie, nor yet no bodie to be a bodie; as to make something nothing, and nothing something; and contrarie things, one: naie, they cannot make one haire either white or blacke. If Pharaos magicians had made verie frogs vpon a sudden, whie could they not diue them awaie againe? If they could not hurt the frogs, whie should we thinke that they could make them? And that our witches, which cannot do so much as counterfet them, can kill cattell and other creatures with words or wishes? And therefore I saie with Iamblichus, *Quae fascinoati imaginamur, praeter imaginamenta nulla habent actionis & essentiae veritatem*; Such things as we being bewitched do imagine, haue no truth at all either of action or essence, beside the bare imagination.

That the serpents and frogs were trulie presented, and the water poisoned indeed by Iannes and Iambres, or false prophets, and of their miracles, of Balams asse.

The xxj. Chapter.



Truelie I thinke there were no inconuenience granted, though I should admit that the serpent and frogs were truelie presented, and the water truelie poisoned by Iannes and Iambres; not that they could exerceute such miracles of themselves, or by their familiars or diuels: but that God, by the hands of those counterfet couselers, contrarie to their owne expectations, ouertooke them, and compelled them in their ridiculous wickednes to be
in

Pharaos
magicians
were not
maisters of
their owne
actions.

instruments of his will and vengeance, vpon their maister Pharao: so as by their hands God shewed some miracles, which he himselfe wrought: as appeareth in Exodus. For God did put the spirit of truth into Baalams mouth, who was hired to curse his people. And although he were a corrupt and false prophet, and went about a mischaeuous enterprise; yet God made him an instrument (against his will) to the confusion of the wicked. Which if it pleased God to doe here, as a speciall worke, whereby to shew his omnipotencie, to the confirmation of his peoples faith, in the doctrine of their Messias deliuered vnto them by the prophet Moses, then was it miraculous and extraordinarie, and not to be looked for now. And (as some suppose) there were then a consort or crew of false prophets, which could also foretell things to come, and worke miracles. In answer, it was extraordinarie and miraculous, & that it pleased God so to trie his people; but he worketh not so in these daies: for the working of miracles is ceased. Likewise in this case it might well stand with Gods glorie, to vse the hands of Pharaos magicians, towards the hardening of their maisters hart; and to make their illusions and ridiculous conceits to become effectuall. For God had promised and determined to harden the heart of Pharao. As for the miracles which Moses did, they mollified it so, as he alwaies relented vpon the sight of the same. For vnto the greatnesse of his miracles were added such modestie and pattice, as might haue moued euen a heart of Steele or flint. But Pharaos stowardnes alwaies grew vpon the magicians actions: the like example, or the resemblance whereof, we find not againe in the scriptures. And though there were such people in those daies suffered and vsed by God, for the accomplishment of his will and secret purpose: yet it followeth not, that now, when Gods will is wholie reuealed vnto vs in his word, and his forme exhibited (for whome, or rather for the manifestation of whose comming all those things were suffered or wrought) such things and such people should yet continue. So as I conclude, the cause being taken awaie, the thing proceeding thence remaineth not. And to asigne our witches and coniuers their rouine, is to mocke and contemne Gods wonderfull works; and to oppose against them counsages, iuggling knacks, and things of nought. And therefore, as they must confesse,

Exod. 10.

God vseth the wicked as instruments to execute his counsels & iudgments.

The contrarie effects that the miracles of Moses and the miracles of the Aegyptian magicians wrought in the hart of Pharao.

confesse, that none in these daies can do as Moses did: so it may be answered, that none in these daies can do as Iannes and Iambres did: who, if they had bene false prophets, as they were jugglers, had yet bene more priuiledged to exceed our old women or coniurozs, in the accomplishing of miracles, or in prophesing, &c. For who may be compared with Balaam? I dare saie, that Balaams asse wrought a greater miracle, and more supernaturall, than either the pope or all the coniurozs and witches in the world can do at this daie.

That the art of iuggling is more, or at least no les strange in working miracles than coniuering, witchcraft, &c.

To conclude, it is to be auouched (and there be proofes manifest enough) that our jugglers approach much nêrer to resemble Pharaos magicians, than either witches or coniurozs, & can make a more liuelie shew of working miracles than anie inchantozs can do: for these practise to shew that in action, which witches do in words and termes. But that you may thinke I haue reason for the maintenance of mine opinion in this behalfe, I will surcease by multitude of wordz to amplifie this place, referring you to the tract following of the art of iuggling, where you shall read strange practises and cunning conuatiences: which because they cannot so conuenientlie be described by phrase of speech, as that they should presentlie sinke into the capacittie of you that would be practitioners of the same; I haue caused them to be set forth in forme and figure, that your vnderstanding might be somewhat helped by instrumentall demonstrations. And when you haue perused that whole discouerie of iuggling, compare the wonders thereof with the wonders imputed to coniurozs and witches, (not omitting Pharaos sozcerers at anie hand in this comparison) and I beleue you will be resolved, that the miracles done in Pharaos sight by them, and the miracles ascribed vnto witches, coniurozs, &c.: may be well taken for false miracles, mere delusions, &c: and for such actions as are common

lie practised by cunning jugglers; be it either by legier demaine, confectioneracie, or otherwise.

The art of iuggling discouered, and in what
points it dooth principallie consist.

The xxij. Chapter.

Now because such occasion is mi-
nistr'd, and the matter so pertinent to
my purpose, and also the life of witchcraft
and couenage so manifestlie deliuered
in the art of iuggling; I thought good to
discouer it, together with the rest of the
other deceitfull arts; being sorie that it
falleth out to my lot, to laie open the se-
crets of this mysterie, to the hinderance of such poze men as liue
thereby: whose dowings herein are not onlie tollerable, but great-
lie commendable, so they abuse not the name of God, nor make
the people attribute vnto them his power; but alwaies acknow-
ledge wherein the art consisteth, so as thereby the other vnlaw-
full and impious arts may be by them the rather detected and he-
wjaied.

The true art therefore of iuggling consisteth in legierde-
maine; to wit, the nimble conuenance of the hand, which is espe-
riallie performed thre wates. The first and principall consisteth
in hiding and conueieng of balles, the second in the alteration of
monie, the third in the shuffling of the cards. He that is expert
in these may shew much pleasure, and manie feats, and hath
more cunning than all other witches or magicians. All other
parts of this art are taught when they are discouered; but this
part cannot be taught by any description or instruction, without
great exercise and expense of time. And for as much as I pro-
fesse rather to discouer than teach these mysteries, it shall suffice
to signifie vnto you, that the enduoꝝ and dist of iugglers is
onelic to abuse mens eyes and iudgements. Now therefore
my meaning is, in words as plaine as I can, to rip by certeine
proper tricks of that art; whereof some are pleasant and delecta-
ble, other some dreadfull and desperate, and all but mere delusi-
ons, or counterfet actions, as you shall some see by due obseruat-
ion of euerie knacke by me heereafter deciphered.

In what re-
spects iug-
gling is tol-
lerable and
also com-
mendable.

The three
principall
points
wherein
legierde-
maine or
nimblenes
of hand
dooth con-
sist.

Of the ball, and the manner of legierdemaine there-
with, also notable feats with one or diuerse balles.

The xxij. Chapter.

Great vari-
etic of plaie
with the
balles, &c.



Concerning the ball, the plaies & demises thereof are infinite, in so much as if you can by vse handle them well, you may shewe therewith a hundred feats. But whether you seeme to throw the ball into your left hand, or into your mouth, or into a pot, or vp into the aier, &c: it is to be kept still in your right hand. If you practise first with a leaden bullet, you shall the sooner and better do it with balles of corke. The first place at your first learning, where you are to bestow a great ball, is in the palme of your hand, with your ringfinger: but a small ball is to be placed with your thombe, betwixt your ringfinger and middlefinger, then are you to practise to do it betwixt the other fingers, then betwixt the forefinger and the thombe, with the forefinger and middlefinger iointlie, and therein is the greatest and strangest cunning shewed. Lastlie the same small ball is to be practised in the palme of the hand, and by vse you shall not onelie seeme to put anie one ball from you, and yet retaine it in your hand; but you shall keepe foure or five as cleanelie and cerfeinelie as one. This being attained vnto, you shall worke wonderfull feats: as for ex- ample.

These feats
are nimble,
cleanly, &
swiftly to
be concei-
ed; so as the
beholders
may not
discerne or
perceiue
the drift.

Lie three or foure balles before you, and as manie small candlesticks, bolles, salttellers, or saltteller couers, which is the best. Then first seeme to put one ball into your left hand, and therewith all seeme to hold the same fast: then take one of the candlesticks, or anie other thing (hauing a hollow foot, & not being too great) and seeme to put the ball which is thought to be in your left hand, vnderneath the same, and so vnder the other candlesticks seeme to bestow the other balles: and all this while the beholders will suppose each ball to be vnder each candlesticke: this done, some charme or forme of words is commonlie used. Then take by one candlesticke with one hand, and blow, saying; Lo, you see that is gone:

gone: & so likewise looke vnder ech candlestick with like grace and words, & the beholders will wonder where they are become. But if you, in lifting vp the candlesticks with your right hand, leaue all those three or foure balles vnder one of them (as by vse you may easilie do, hauing turned them all downe into your hand, and holding them fast with your little and ring fingers) and take the candlestick with your other fingers, and cast the balles vp into the hollownes thereof (soz so they will not roll so sone awaie) the standers by will be much astonied. But it will seeme wonderfull strange, if also in shewing how there remaineth no thing vnder an other of those candlesticks, taken vp with your left hand, you leaue behind you a great ball, or anie other thing, the miracle will be the greater. For first they thinke you haue pulled awaie all the balles by miracle; then, that you haue brought them all together againe by like meanes, and they neither thinke nor looke that anie other thing remaineth behind vnder anie of them. And therefore, after manie other feats done, retorne to your candlesticks, remembryng where you left the great ball, and in no wise touch the same; but hauing an other like ball about you, seeme to bestowe the same in maner and sozme afoze said, vnder a candlestick which standeth furthest frō that where the ball lieth. And when you shall with words or charmes seeme to conueie the same ball from vnder the same candlestick, and after ward bring it vnder the candlestick which you touched not, it will (I saie) seeme wonderfull strange.

Memorandum that the juggler must see a good grace on the matter: for that is verie requisite.

To make a little ball swell in your hand till it be verie great.

Take a verie great ball in your left hand, or three indifferent big balles; and shewing one or three little balles, seeme to put them into your said left hand, concealing (as you may well do) the other balles which were there in before: then vse words, and make them seeme to swell, and open your hand, &c. This plaic is to be varied a hundzeth waies: for as you find them all vnder one candlestick, so may you go to a stander by, and take off his hat or cap, and shew the balles to be there, by conueying them thereinto, as you turne the bottoine vpward.

*As, Hey, fortuna furtic, nunquam credo, passe, when come you firra: See pag. 147.

To consume (or rather to conuie) one or
manie balles into nothing.

If you take one ball, or moze, & seeme to put it into your other hand, and whilſt you vse charming words, you conuie them out of your right hand into your lap; it will seeme ſtrange. For when you open your left hand immediatlie, the sharpest lookers on will ſaie it is in your other hand, which alſo then you may open; & when they ſee nothing there, they are greatlie ouertaken.

How to rap a wag vpon the knuckles.

But I will leaue to ſpeake anie moze of the ball, for herein I might hold you all daie, and yet ſhall I not be able to teach you to vse it, nor ſcarſlie to vnderſtand what I meane or write concerning it; but certeinlie manie are perſuaded that it is a ſpirit or a ſtie, &c. Memorandum, that alwaies the right hand be kept open and ſtreight, onlie keepe the palme from view. And therefore you may end with this miracle. ¶ Laid one ball vpon your ſhoulder, an other on your arme, and the third on the table: which becauſe it is round, and will not eaſilie lie vpon the point of your knife, you muſt bid a ſtander by laie it thereon, ſaieng that you meane to throwe all thoſe three balles into your mouth at once: and holding a knife as a pen in your hand, when he is laieng it vpon the point of your knife, you may eaſilie with the haſt rap him on the fingers, for the other matter will be hard to do.

This feat
tendeth
cheefelic
to the mo-
ouing of
laughter
and mirth.

Of conueiance of monie.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

The monie
muſt not be
of too ſmall
nor of too
large a cir-
cumference
for hinder-
ing of the
conuei-
ance.



The conueieng of monie is not much inferior to the ball, but much eaſier to do. The principall place to keepe a peece of monie is the palme of your hand, the beſt peece to keepe is a teſto; but which exercise all will be alike, except the mony be verie ſmall, and then it is to be kept betwixt the fingers, almoſt at the fingers end, whereas the ball is to be kept betwixt the fingers to the palme.

To

To conueie monie out of one of your hands into
the other by legierdemaine.

First you must hold open your right hand, & lay therein a testoz,
For some big peece of monie: then laie thereupon the top of
your long left finger, and vse words, and vpon the sudden slip
your right hand from your finger wherewith you held downe the
testoz, and bending your hand a verie little, you shall reteine the
testoz still therein: and suddentie (I saie) drawing your right
hand thurgh your left, you shall seme to haue left the testoz there
specialtie when you shut in due time your left hand. Which that
it may more plainelie appeare to be trulie done, you may take a
knife, and seme to knocke against it, so as it shall make a great
sound: but in stead of knocking the peece in the left hand (where
none is) you shall hold the point of the knife fast with the left
hand, and knocke against the testoz held in the other hand, and it
will be thought to hit against the mony in the left hand. Then vse
words, and open your hand, and when nothing is seene, it will
be wondered at how the testoz was remoued.

This is pretic if it be cunninglie handled: for both the eare and the eie is deceived by this deuise.

To conuert or transubstantiate monie into
counters, or counters into monie.

Another waie to deceiue the lookers on, is to doe as before,
with a testoz; and keeping a counter in the palme of the left
hand secretlie to seme to put the testoz thereinto; which being re-
teined still in the right hand, when the left hand is opened, the
testoz will seme to be transubstantiated into a counter.

To put one testoz into one hand, and an other into the
other hand, and with words to bring them togidier.

He that hath once attained to the facilitie of reteining one
peece of monie in his right hand, may shew a hundredth plea-
sant conceits by that meanes, and may reserue two or thre as
well as one. And so then may you seme to put one peece into
your left hand, and reteining it still in your right hand, you may
togither therewith take vp another like peece, and so with words
seme to bring both peeces togither.

Varietie of trickes may be shewed in iuggling with mony.

To put one testor into a strangers hand, and another into your owne, and to conueie both into the strangers hand with words.

Also you may take two testors euenlie set together, and put the same in stead of one testor, into a strangers hand; and then making as though you did put one testor into your left hand, with words you shall make it seeme that you conueie the testor in your hand, into the strangers hand: for when you open your said left hand, there shall be nothing seene; and he opening his hand shall find two, where he thought was but one. By this deuise (I saie) a hundred concepts may be shewed.

How to doo the same or the like seate otherwise.

To keepe a testor, &c: betwixt your finger, serueth speciallie for this and such like purposes. Hold out your hand, and cause one to laie a testor vpon the palme thereof, then shake the same by almost to your fingers ends, and putting your thombe vpon it; you shall easilie, with a little practise, conueie the edge betwixt the middle and forefinger, whilest you proffer to put it in to your other hand (prouided alwaies that the edge appere not through the fingers on the backside) which being done, take vp another testor (which you may cause a stander by to laie downe) and put them both together, either closelie in stead of one into a strangers hand, or keepe them still in your owne: & (after words spoken) open your hands, and there being nothing in one, and both peeces in the other, the beholders will wonder how they came together.

You must take heed that you be close and flie: or else you discredit the art.

To throwe a peece of monie awaie, and to find it againe where you list.

You may, with the middle or ringfinger of the right hand, conueie a testor into the palme of the same hand, & seeming to cast it awaie, keepe it still: which with confederacie will seeme strange; to wit, when you find it againe, where another hath bestowed the verie like peece. But these things without exercise cannot be done, and therefore I will proceed to shew things to be brought

Vfe and exercise maketh men readie and practiue.

brought to passe by monie, with lesse difficultie; & yet as strange as the rest: which being vnknoone are maruelloullie commended, but being knowne, are derided; & nothing at all regarded.

With words to make a groat or a testor to leape out of a pot, or to run alongst ypon a table,

You shall see a iuggler take a groat or a testor, and throwe it into a pot, or late it in the midst of a table, & with inchanting words cause the same to leape out of the pot, or run towards him, or from him ward alongst the table. Which will seeme miraculoullie, vntill you knowe that it is done with a long blacke haire of a womans head, fastened to the brim of a groat, by meanes of a little hole dziuen through the same with a Spanish neede. In like sort you may vse a knife, or anie other small thing; but if you would haue it go from you, you must haue a confederate, by which meanes all iuggling is graced and amended.

To make a groat or a testor to sinke through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher verie strangelic.

A iuggler also sometimes will borrow a groat or a testor, &c: and marke it before you, and seeme to put the same into the midst of a handkercher, and wind it so, as you may the better see and feele it. Then will he take you the handkercher, and bid you seele whether the groat be there or naie; and he will also require you to put the same vnder a candlesticke, or some such thing. Then will he send for a bason, and holding the same vnder the bowd right against the candlesticke, will vse certeine words of inchantments; and in short space you shall heare the groat fall into the bason. This done, one takes off the candlesticke, and the iuggler taketh the handkercher by a tassell, and shaketh it; but the monie is gone; which seemeth as strange as anie feate whatsoeuer, but being knowne, the miracle is turned to a bable. For it is nothing else, but to solue a groat into the corner of a handkercher, finelic couered with a peece of linnen, little bigger than your groat: which corner you must conueie in stead of the groat deliuered to you, into the middle of your handkercher; leauing the other either in your hand or lap, which afterwards you must

This feat is the stranger if it be doone by night; a candle placed betwene the lookers on & the iuggler: for by that means their eyesight is hindered from discerning the conceit.

A discouerie of this iuggling knacke.

A notable tricke to transforme a counter
to a groat.

TAke a groat, or some lesse peece of monie, and grind it verie thin at the one side; and take two counters, and grind them, the one at the one side, the other on the other side; glew the smooth side of the groat to the smooth side of one of the counters, joining them so close together as may be, speciallie at the edges, which may be so filed, as they shall seeme to be but one peece; to wit, one side a counter, and the other side a groat. Then take a verie little Greene ware (soz that is softest and therefore best) and laie it so vpon the smooth side of the other counter, as it do not much discolour the groat; and so will that counter with the groat cleave together, as though they were glewed; and being filed euen with the groat and the other counter, it will seeme so like a perfect entire counter, that though a stranger handle it, he shall not betwraie it; then hauing a little touched your forefinger, and the thombe of your right hand with soft ware, take there with this counterfet counter, and laie it downe openlie vpon the palme of your left hand, in such sort as an auditor laieih downe his counters, wzinging the same hard, so as you may leaue the glewed counter with the groat apparentlie in the palme of your left hand; and the smooth side of the wared counter will sticke fast vpon your thombe, by reason of the war wherewith it is smeared, and so may you hide it at your pleasure. Prouided alwaies, that you laie the wared side downeward, and the glewed side vppward: then close your hand, and in or after the closing thereof turne the peece, & so in stead of a counter (which they suppose to be in your hand) you shall seeme to haue a groat, to the astonishment of the beholders, if it be well handled.

The juggler must haue none of his trinkets wanting: besides that, it behooueth him to be mindfull, least he mistake his trickes.

An excellent feat, to make a two penie peece lie plaine in the palme of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you list.

The xxv. Chapter.



Put a little red wax (not too thin) vpon the nail of your longest finger, then let a stranger put a two penie peece into the palme of your hand, and shut your fist suddenlie, and conueie the two penie peece vpon the wax, which with vse you may so accomplish, as no man shall perceiue it. Then and in the meane time vse words of course, and suddenlie open your hand, holding the tips of your fingers rather lower than higher than the palme of your hand, and the beholders will wonder where it is become. Then shut your hand suddenlie againe, & laie a wager whether it be there or no; and you may either leaue it there, or take it awaie with you at your pleasure. This (if it be well handled) hath more admiration than any other feat of the hand. Memorandum this may be best handled, by putting the wax vpon the two penie peece, but then must you laie it in your hand your selfe.

* As, Ailif, calyl, zaze, hic mel melrat : Saturnus, Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurie, Luna; or such like.

To conueie a testor out of ones hand that holdeth it fast.

Sticke a little wax vpon your thombe, and take a scander by the finger, shewing him the testor, and telling him you will put the same into his hand: then wzing it downe hard with your waxed thombe, and vsing many words loke him in the face, & as sone as you perceiue him to loke in your face, or fro your hand, suddenlie take awaie your thombe, & close his hand, and so will it seeme to him that the testor remaineth: euen as if you wzing a testor vpon ones forehead, it will seeme to sticke, when it is taken awaie, especiallie if it be wet. Then cause him to hold his hand still, and with speed put into another mans hand (or into your owne) two testors in stead of one, and vse words of course, wher
by

by you shall make not onelie the beholders, but the holders beleeue, when they open their hands, that by inchantment you haue brought both together.

To throwe a peece of monie into a deepe pond, and to fetch it againe from whence you list.

In these knacks of confederacie Feats had the name, whilist he lived.

There be a maruellous number of feats to be done with monie, but if you will worke by priuate confederacie, as to marke a shilling, or any other thing, and throwe the same into a riuer or deepe pond, and hauing bid a shilling before with like marks in some other secret place; bid some go presentlie & fetch it, making them beleeue, that it is the verie same which you threw into the riuer: the beholders will maruell much at it. And of such feats there may be done a maruellous number; but manie more by publike confederacie, whereby one may tell another how much monie he hath in his purse, and a hundred like toies, and all with monie.

To conuie one shilling being in one hand into another, holding your armes abroad like a rood.

A knacke more merrie than maruellous

Ethermore it is necessarie to mingle some merie toies among your graue miracles, as in this case of monie, to take a shilling in each hand, and holding your armes abroad, to laie a wager that you will put them both into one hand, without bringing them anie whit neerer together. The wager being made, hold your armes abroad like a rood, and turning about with your bodie, laie the shilling out of one of your hands vpon the table, and turning to the other side take it by with the other hand: and so you shall win your wager.

How to rap a wag on the knuckles.

Another to the same purpose read in pag. 324.

Deliver one peece of monie with the left hand to one, and to a second person another, and offer him that you would rap on the fingers the third; for he (though he be ingracious and subtil) seeing the other receiue monie, will not lightlie refuse it: and when he offereth to take it, you may rap him on the fingers with a knife, or somewhat else held in the right hand, saieing that you knew by your familiar, that he ment to haue kept it from you.

To

To transforme anie one small thing into anie
other forme by folding of paper.

The xxvj. Chapter.



Ake a sheete of paper, or a handker-
cher, and fold or double the same, so as one
side be a little longer than an other: then put
a counter betwene the two sides or leaues of
the paper or handkercher, by to the middle of
the top of the fold, holding the same so as it be
not perceiued, and laie a groat on the outside
thereof, right against the counter, and fold it downe to the end
of the longer side: and when you vnfold it againe, the groat will
be where the counter was, and the counter where the groat was;
so as some will suppose that you haue transubstantiated the mo-
nie into a counter, and with this manie feats may be done.

The like or rather stranger than it may be done, with two pa-
pers three inches square a peece, diuided by two folds into three
equall parts at either side, so as each folded paper remaine one
inch square: then glew the back sides of the two papers together
as they are folded, & not as they are open, & so shall both papers
seeme to be but one; & which side soeuer you open, it shall appeare
to be the same, if you hide handsomelie the bottome, as you may
well do with your middle finger, so as if you haue a groat in the
one and a counter in the other, you (having the wed but one) may
by turning the paper seeme to transubstantiate it. This may
be best performed, by putting it vnder a candlesticke, or a hat, &c.*
and with* words seeme to do the feat.

* Such as
you shall
find in pag.
323, & 329.
in the mar-
ginal notes
or some
strange
terms of
your owne
deuising.

Of cards, with good cautions how to auoid coufenage
therein: speciall rules to conueie and handle the cards,
and the maner and order how to accomplish all difficult
and strange things wrought with cards.

The xxvij. Chapter.



Muing now bestowed some waste monie a-
mong you, I will set you to cards; by which kind of
witchcraft a great number of people haue iuggled
awaie not onelie their monie, but also their lands,
their

Of dice
plaie & the
like vn-
thriftie
games,
mark these
two olde
verses: *Ludens taxillis
bene respice
quid sit in il-
lis, Mors tua
fors euaves
tua spes tua
penet in il-
lis:* and re-
member
them.

their health, their time, and their honestie. I dare not (as I could) shew the lewd iuggling that chetoers practise, least it minister some offense to the well disposed, to the simple hurt and losses, and to the wicked occasion of euill doing. But I would wish all gamesters to beware, not onlie with what cards and dice they plaie, but speciallie with whome & where they exercise gaming. And to let dice passe (as whereby a man maie be ineuitable cou-
ferred) one that is skilfull to make and vse Bumcards, may vndo a hundredth wealthie men that are giuen to gaming: but if he haue a confederate present, either of the plaiers or standers by, the mischief cannot be auoided. If you plaie among strangers, beware of him that seems simple or drunken; for vnder their habit the most speciall coufeners are presented, & while you thinke by their simplicitie and imperfections to beguile them (and therof perchance are persuaded by their confederats, your verie freinds as you thinke) you your selfe will be most of all ouertaken. Beware also of bettoers by, and lookers on, and namelie of them that bet on your side: for whilest they loke in your game without suspicion, they discouer it by signes to your aduerfaries, with whome they bet, and yet are their confederates.

But in shewing feats, and iuggling with cards, the principall point consisteth in shuffling them nimblie, and alwaies keeping one certeine card either in the bottome, or in some knowne place of the stocke, foure or fise cards from it. Hereby you shall seme to wooke wonders; for it will be easie for you to see or spie one card, which though you be perceiued to do, it will not be suspected, if you shuffle them well afterwards. And this note I must giue you, that in reseruing the bottome card, you must alwaies (whilst you shuffle) keepe him a little before or a little behind all the cards lieng vnderneath him, bestowing him (I saie) either a little beyond his fellowes before, right ouer the forefinger, or else behind the rest, so as the little finger of the left hand may meete with it: which is the easier, the readier, and the better waie. In the beginning of your shuffling, shuffle as thicke as you can; and in the end throw vpon the stocke the nether card (with so manie mo at the least as you would haue preferred for anie purpose) a little before or behind the rest. Prouided alwaies, that your forefinger, if the packe be laied before, or the little finger, if the packe lie behind,

Note.

hind, crepe by to meete with the bottome card, and not lie be-
twixt the cards: and when you seele it, you may there hold it, un-
till you haue shuffled ouer the cards againe, still leauing your
kept card below. Being perfect herein, you may do almost what
you list with the cards. By this meanes, what packe focuer you
make, though it consist of eight, twelue, or twentie cards, you
may keepe them still together vnseuered next to the nether
card, and yet shuffle them often to satisfie the curious beholders.
As for example, and for bzenities sake, to shew you diuersc seats
vnder one.

How to deliuer out foure aces, and to conuert
them into foure knaues.

MAke a packe of these eight cards; to wit, foure knaues and
foure aces: and although all the eight cards must lie imme-
diatlie together, yet must ech knaue and ace be ^{openly} seuered,
and the same eight cards must lie also in the lowest place of the
bunch. Then shuffle them so, as alwaies at the second shuffling,
or at least wise at the end of your shuffling the said packe, and of
the packe one ace may lie nethermost, or so as you may know
where he goeth and lieth: and alwaies (I saie) let your foresaid
packe with three or foure cards more lie vnseparablie together
immediatlie vpon and with that ace. Then vsing some speech or
other deuise, and putting your hands with the cards to the edge
of the table to hide the action, let out puiilie a peece of the second
card, which is one of the knaues, holding forth the stocke in both
your hands, and shewing to the standers by the nether card
(which is the ace or kept card) couering also the head or peece of the
knaue (which is the next card) with your foure fingers, draw out
the same knaue, laicng it downe on the table: then shuffle againe,
keeping your packe whole, and so haue you two aces lieng toge-
ther in the bottome. And therefore, to reforme that disorde red card,
as also for a grace and countenance to that action, take off the
vppermost card of the bunch, and thrust it into the middle of the
cards; and then take awate the nethermost card, which is one of
your said aces, and bestow him likewise. Then may you begin
as before, shewing an other ace, and in steed thereof laie downe
an other knaue: and so forth, untill in steed of foure aces you
haue

You must
be well ad-
uised in the
shuffling of
the bunch,
least you
ouershoot
your selfe.

haue laied downe foure knaues. The beholders all this while thinking that there lie foure aces on the table, are greatlie abused, and will maruell at the transformation.

How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stocke.

When you haue seene a card priuillie, or as though you marked it not, laie the same vndermost, and shuffle the cards as before you are taught, till your card lie againe below in the bottome. Then shew the same to the beholders, willing them to remember it: then shuffle the cards, or let anie other shuffle them: so: you know the card alreadie, and therefore may at anie time tell them what card they saw: which neuertheless would be done with great circumstance and shew of difficultie.

"For that will drawe the action into the greater admiration.

An other waie to doo the same, hauing your selfe indeed neuer seene the card.

If you can see no card, or be suspected to haue seene that which you meane to shew, then let a stander by first shuffle, and afterwards take you the cards into your hands, and (hauing shewed and not seene the bottome card) shuffle againe, and keepe the same card, as before you are taught; and either make thise them to see it when their suspicion is past, which maie be done by letting some cards fall, or else laie downe all the cards in heape, remembering where you laid your bottome card. Then spie how manie cards lie in some one heape, and laie the heape where your bottome card is vpon that heape, and all the other heapes vpon the same: and so, if there were fise cards in the heape where you laied your card, then the same must be the first card, which now you may throw out, or look vpon without suspicion: and tell them the card they saw.

To tell one without confederacie what card he thinketh.

The eie bewraicheth the thought.

Laie these cards on a table, a litle waie distant, and bid a stander by be true and not wauer, but thinke one of them these; and by his eie you shall assuredlie perceiue which he both seeth and thinketh. And you shall do the like, if you cast downe a whole paire

paire of cards with the faces upward, therof there will be few or none plainlie perceived, and they also coate cards. But as you cast them downe suddenlie, so must you take them by presentlie, marking both his eie and the card thereon he loketh,

How to tell what card anie man thinketh, how to conueie the same into a kernell of a nut or cheristone, &c: and the same againe into ones pocket: how to make one drawe the same or anie card you list, and all vnder one deuise.

The xxviij. Chapter.



TAKE a nut, or a cheristone, & burne a hole through the side of the top of the shell, and also through the kernell (if you will) with a hot bodkin, or boare it with a nall; and with the eie of a needle pull out some of the kernell, so as the same may be as wide as the hole of the shell. Then write the number or name of a card in a peece of fine paper one inch or halfe an inch in length, and halfe so much in bredth, and roll it by hand: then put it into a nut, or cheristone, and close the hole with a little red ware, and rub the same with a little dust, and it will not be perceived, if the nut or cheristone be byowne or old. Then let your confederate thinke that card which you haue in your nut, &c: and either conueie the same nut or cheristone into some bodie's pocket, or laie it in some strange place: then make one drawe the same out of the stocke held in your hand, which by vse you may well do. But take note, I will make you perforce draw such a card: but require some stander by to draw a card, saying that it skills not what card he draw. And if your hand serue you to vse the cards well, you shall prefer vnto him, and he shall receiue (euen though he snatch at an other) the derie card which you kept, and your confederate thought, and is witten in the nut, and hidder in the pocket, &c. You must (while you hold the stocke in your hands, tossing the cards to and fro) remember allwates to keepe your card in your eie, and not to lose the sight thereof. Which feate, till you be perfect in, you may haue

Tricks with cards, &c: which must be doone with confederacie.

In his first draw select the best

haue the same priuillie marked; and when you perceiue his hand readie to draw, put it a little out towards his hand, nimble turning ouer the cards, as though you numbred them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw anie other: which if he should doe, you must let three or foure fall, that you may beginne againe. ¶ This will seeme most strange, if your said paper be inclosed in a button, and by confederacie sowed vpon the doublet or cote of anie bodie. This tricke they commonlie end with a nut full of inke, in which case some swag or vnhappie boie is to be required to thinke a card; and hauing so done, let the nut be deliuered him to cracke, which he will not refuse to doe, if he haue seene the other seate plaied before.

A merrie
concept,
the like
whereof
you shall
find in pag.
324, & 330.

Of fast or loose, how to knit a hard knot vpon a handkercher, and to vndo the same with words.

The xxix. Chapter.

The Aegyptians iuggling witchcraft or sortilegie standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I haue written some what generallie already, yet hauing such oportunitie I will here shew some of their particular feats; not treating of their common tricks which is so tedious, nor of their fortune telling which is so impious; and yet both of them mere couenages. ¶ Make one plaine loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and seeming to draw the same verie hard, hold fast the bodie of the said handkercher (neere to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrarie end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close vp handsomlie the knot, which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand, as the left hand end may be neere to the knot: then will it seeme a true and a firme knot. And to make it appeare more assuredlie to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilest you hold fast the other in your right hand: and then holding the knot with your forefinger & thombe, & the nether part of your handkercher with your other fingers,

as

Fast and
loose with a
handker-
cher.

as you hold a bydle when you would with one hand slip vp the knot and lengthen your reines. This done, turne your handkercher ouer the knot with the left hand, in doing whereof you must suddenlie slip out the end or corner, putting vp the knot of your handkercher with your forefinger and thombe, as you would put vp the foresaid knot of your bydle. Then deliuer the same (couered and wraapt in the middell of your handkercher) to one, to hold fast, and so after some words vsed, and wagers laied, take the handkercher and shake it, and it will be loose.

A notable feate of fast or loose; namelie, to pull three beaddstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remouing of your hand.

Take two little whipcords of two foote long a peece, double them equallie, so as there may appere foure ends. Then take three great beaddstones, the hole of one of them being bigger than the rest; and put one beaddstone vpon the eie or bolwt of the one cord, and an other on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bolwts be hidden therein: which may be the better done, if you put the eie of the one in to the eie or bolwt of the other. Then pull the middle bead vpon the same, being doubled ouer his fellow, and so will the beads seeme to be put ouer the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may tolle them as you list, and make it seeme manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you haue done it, that the beaddstones are put vpon the two cords without anie fraud. When must you seeme to adde more effectuall binding of those beaddstones to the string, and make one halfe of a knot with one of the ends of each side; which is for no other purpose, but that when the beaddstones be taken awaie, the cords may be seene in the case which the beholders suppose them to be in before. For when you haue made your halfe knot (which in anie wise you may not double to make a perfect knot) you must deliuer into the hands of some stander by those two cords; namelie, two ends euellie set in one hand, and two in the other, and then with a wager, &c: beginne to pull off your beaddstones, &c: which if you handle nimble, and in the end cause him to pull his two ends, the two cords will

Fast or lose with whipcords and beades.

This conuiciance must be closelie doone: Ergo it must be no bunglers woike.

13. Booke. The discouerie *Jug. with confederacie.*
 shew to be placed plainelie, and the headstones to haue come
 through the cords. But these things are so hard and long to be
 described, that I will leaue them; whereas I could shew great
 varietie.

Juggling knacks by confederacie, and how to know
 whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.

The xxx. Chapter.

Lie a wager with your confede-
 rate (who must seeme simple, or obstinat-
 lie opposed against you) that standing be-
 hind a doore, you will (by the sound or ring-
 ing of the monie) tell him whether he cast
 crosse or pile: so as when you are gone, and
 he hath fillipped the monie before the wit-
 nesses who are to be censured, he must
 saie; What is it, if it be crosse; or What is it, if it be pile: or some
 other such signe, as you are agreed vpon, and so you need not faile
 to gesse rightlie. By this meanes (if you haue anie inuention)
 you may seeme to doe a hundred miracles, and to discouer the
 secrets of a mans thoughts, or words spoken a far off.

What is it?
 What is it?
 signs of
 confede-
 racie.

To make a shoale of goslings drawe a timber log.

To make a shoale of goslings, or (as they saie) a gaggle of
 geese to seeme to drawe a timber log, is done by that ve-
 ricie meanes that is vsed, when a cat doth drawe a foole through
 a pond or riuier: but handled somewhat further off from the be-
 holders.

To make a pot or anie such thing standing fast on the
 cupboard, to fall downe thense by vertue of words.

Let a cupboard be so placed, as your confederate may hold a
 blacke thred without in the court, behind some window of
 that roome; and at a certeine lotud word spoken by you, he may
 pull the same thred, being twound about the pot, &c. And this was
 the feat of Eleazar, which Iosephus reporteth to be such a miracle,

Eleazars
 feat of c6-
 federacie.

To make one danse naked.

Make a poze boie confederate with you, so as after charmes, &c: spoken by you, he vnclouth himselfe, and stand naked, seeing (whilst he vnderstandeth hym) to shake, stampe, and crie, still fastening to be vnclouthed, till he be stark naked: or if you can procure none to go so far, let him onelie beginne to stampe and shake, &c: and to vnclouth him, and then you may (for the reuerence of the companie) seeme to release him.

To transforme or alter the colour of ones cap or hat.

Take a confederates hat, and vse certeine words ouer it, and deliuer it to him againe, and let him seeme to be woth, and cast it backe to you againe, affirming that his was a good new blacke hat, but this is an old blew hat, &c: and then you may seeme to countercharme it, and redeliuer it, to his satisfaction.

How to tell where a stollen horffe is become.

By meanes of confederacie, Steeuen Tailor and one Pope abused diuers countrie people. For Steeuen Tailor would hide awaie his neighbours horses, &c: and send them to Pope, (whom he before had told where they were) promising to send the parties vnto him, whome he described and made knowne by diuers signes: so as this Pope would tell them at their first entrance vnto the doore. Wherefore they came, and would saie that their horses were stollen, but the these should be forced to bring backe the horses, &c: and leaue them within one mile south and by west, &c: of his house, euen as the plot was laid, and the packe made before by Steeuen and him. This Pope is said of

some to be a witch, of others he is accounted

a confuro; but commonlie called

a wife man, which is all one

with a soothsaier or

witch.

*As, Droch myroch, & senaroch betu baroch affinaroch, roisee farounee, hey passe passe, &c: or such like strange words.

Pope and Tailor confederates.

The. xxxj. Chapter.



Here be diuers iuggling boxes with false bottoms, wherein manie false seats are wrought. First they haue a box couered or rather footed alike at each end, the bottome of the one end being no deeper than as it may containe one lane of corne or pepper glewed therevpon. Then vse they to put into the hollow end thereof some other kind of graine, ground or vnground; then do they couer it, and put it vnder a hat or candlesticke: and either in putting it therinto, or pulling it thence, they turne the box, and open the contrarie end, wherein is shewed a contrarie graine: or else they shew the glewed end first (which end they suddenlie thrust in to a boll or bag of such graine as is glewed already therevpon) and secondlie the emptie box.

Note the
maner of
this con-
uiciance.

How to conueie (with words or charmes) the corne
contained in one box into another.

There is another box fashioned like a bell, wherinto they do put so much, and such corne or spice as the foresaid hollow box can containe. Then they stop or couer the same with a peece of leather, as broad as a tessel, which being thrust vp hard towards the middle part or waiste of the said bell, will sticke fast, & beare vp the corne. And if the edge of the leather be wet, it will hold the better. Then take they the other box dipped (as is aforesaid) in corne, and set downe the same vpon the table, the emptie end vppward, saing that they will conueie the graine therein into the other box or bell: which being set downe somewhat hard vpon the table, the leather and the corne therein will fall downe, so as the said bell being taken vp from the table, you shall see the corne lying thereon, and the stopple will be hidden therewith, & couered: & when you vncouer the other box, nothing shall remaine therein. But presentlie the corne must be swept downe with one hand into the other, or into your lap or hat. Manie seats maie be done with this box, as to put therein a tode, affirming the same to haue bene so turned from corne, &c: and then manie beholders will suppose

You must
take heed
that when
the corne
commeth
out it couer
& hide the
leather, &c.

suppose the same to be the jugglers diuell, whereby his feats and miracles are wrought. But in truth, there is more cunning witchcraft vsed in transferring of coyne after this sort, than is in the transferring of one mans coyne in the grasse into an other mans field: which* the lawe of the twelue tables doth so force- ablie condemne: for the one is a couensing slight, the other is a false lie.

*See the 12 booke of this disco- uerie, in the title *Habar*, cap. 4. pag. 220, 221.

Of an other boxe to conuert wheat into flower with words, &c.

There is an other bore vsuall among jugglers, with a box some in the middle thereof, made for the like purposes. One other also like a tun, wherein is the wed great varietie of stuffe, as well of liquors as spices, and all by means of an other little tun within the same, wherein and whereon liquors and spices are thewed. But this would aske too long a time of description.

Of diuerse petie iuggling knacks.

There are manie other beggerlie feats able to beguile the simple, as to make an ote sit by spetting thereon, as though it came to passe by words. Item to deliuer meale, pepper, ginger, or anie powder out of the mouth after the eating of bread, &c. which is done by reteining anie of those things stuffed in a little paper or bladder conueted into your mouth, and grinding the same with your teeth. ¶ Item, a rish through a peece of a trencher, hauing three holes, and at the one side the rish appearing, out in the second, at the other side, in the third hole, by reason of a hollow place made betwixt them both, so as the slight consisteth in turning the peece of trencher.

These are such sleights that euen a bungler may doo them: and yet prettie, &c.

To burne a thred, and to make it whole againe with the ashes thereof.

The xxxij. Chapter.



It is not one of the worst feats to burne a thred handsomelie, and to make it whole againe: the order whereof is this. Take two threds, or small laces, of one sote in length a peece: toll by one of

Marke the maner of this conceit and de- uise.

D d. ij.

them

That is,
neatlie and
deintilie.

A thred cut
in manie
peeces and
burned to
ashes made
whole a-
gaine.

them round, which will be then of the quantitie of a pease, bestow the same betwene your left forefinger and your thombe. Then take the other thred, and hold it forth at length, betwixt the forefinger and thombe of each hand, holding all your fingers deintilie, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take up a morzell of meate. Then let one cut asunder the same thred in the middle. When that is done, put the tops of your two thombes together, and so shall you with lesse suspicion receive the peece of thred which you hold in your right hand into your left, without opening of your left finger and thombe: then holding these two peeces as you did the same befoze it was cut, let those two be cut also asunder in the middell, and they conueied againe as befoze, vntill they be cut verie short, and then roll all those ends together, and keepe that ball of short threds befoze the other in your left hand, and with a knife thrust out the same into a candle, where you may hold it vntill the said ball of short threds be burnt to ashes. Then pull backe the knife with your right hand, and leaue the ashes with the other ball betwixt the forefinger and thombe of your left hand, and with the two thombs & two forefingers together seeme to take paines to frot and rub the ashes, vntill your thred be renewed, and drawe out that thred at length which you kept all this while betwixt your left finger and thombe. This is not inferior to anie jugglers seate, if it be well handled, for if you haue legierdemaine to bestowe the same ball of thred, and to change it from place to place betwixt your other fingers (as may easilie be done) then will it seeme verie strange.

To cut a lace asunder in the middest, and to make it whole againe.

The means
discouered.

B a deuise not much vnlike to this, you may seeme to cut asunder any lace that hangeth about ones necke, or any point, girdle, or garter, &c: and with witchcraft or coniuration to make it whole and closed together againe. For the accomplishment whereof, prouide (if you can) a peece of the lace, &c: which you meane to cut, or at the least a patterne like the same, one inch and a halfe long, & (keeping it double priuillie in your left hand, betwixt some of your fingers nere to the tips thereof) take the other lace which you meane to cut, still hanging about ones necke,
and

and drawe downe your said left hand to the bought thereof: and putting your owne peece a little before the other (the end or rather middle whereof you must hide betwixt your forefinger and thombe) making the rie or bought, which shall be seene, of your owne patterne, let some stander by cut the same asunder, and it will be surelie thought that the other lace is cut; which with words and froting, &c: you shall seeme to renew & make whole againe. This, if it be well handled, will seeme miraculous.

How to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth,
of what colour or length you list, and neuer anie
thing seene to be therein.

As for pulling laces out of the month, it is somewhat a stale Aiest, whereby jugglers gaine monie among maides, selling lace by the yard, putting into their mouths one round bottome as fast as they pull out an other, and at the iust end of euerie yard they tie a knot, so as the same resteth vpon 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 drawne by so euery yards out of his mouth, and yet the juggler to talke as though there were nothing at all in his mouth.

A common
juggling
knacke of
flat counse-
nage plaied
among the
simple, &c.

How to make a booke, wherein you shall shew euerie leaf therein to be white, blacke, blew, red, yellow, greene, &c.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



Here are a thousand jugglings, which I am loth to spend time to describe, whereof some be common, and some rare, and yet nothing else but decept, counse-
nage, or confederacie: whereby you may plainelie see the art to be a kind of witch-
craft. I will end therefore with one deuise, which is not common, but was spectallie
vsed by Claruis, whome though I neuer saw to exercise the feat, yet am I sure I conceiue aright of that inuention. He had (they
saie)

Juggling a
kind of
witchcraft.

The inuen-
tion of
Claruis.

This knack
is sooner
learned by
demonstra-
tiue means,
than taught
by words of
instruction.

(late) a booke, whereof he would make you thinke first, that euerie
leafe was cleane white paper: then by vertue of words he would
shew you euerie leafe to be painted with birds, then with beasts,
then with serpents, then with angels, &c: the deuisse thereof is
this. ¶ Make a booke seuen inches long, and siue inches broad, or
according to that proportion: and let there be xliij. leaues; to wit,
seuen times seuen contained therein, so as you may cut vpon the
edge of each leafe six notches, each notch in depth halfe a quarter
of an inch, and one inch distant. Paint euerie foureteenth and six-
teenth page (which is the end of euerie first leafe, & the beginning
of euerie seuenth) with like colour, or one kind of picture. Cut off
with a paire of sheares euerie notch of the first leafe, leauing on-
ly one inch of paper in the vpper most place vncut, which will re-
maine almost halfe a quarter of an inch higher than anie part
of that leafe. Leauē an other like inch in the second place of the
second leafe, clipping away one inch of paper in the highest place
immediatlie about it, and all the notches below the same, and so
orderlie to the third, fourth, &c: so as there shall rest vpon each
leafe one onlie inch of paper about the rest. One high vncut inch
of paper must answer to the first, directlie, in euerie seuenth leafe
of the booke: so as when you haue cut the first seuen leaues, in such
sort as I first described, you are to begin in the selfe same order
at the eight leafe, descending in such wise in the cutting of seuen
other leaues, and so againe at the fifteenth, to xxi, &c: vntill you
haue passed through euerie leafe, all the thicknes of your booke.

Now you shall vnderstand, that after the first seuen leaues,
euerie seuenth leafe in the booke is to be painted, sauing one se-
uen leaues, which must remaine white. Howbeit you must ob-
serue, that at each vniuē leafe or high inch of paper, seuen leaues
distant, opposite one directlie and lineallie against the other,
through the thicknesse of the booke, the same page with the page
precedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture; and so
must you passe through the booke with seuen seuerall sorts of co-
lours or pictures: so as, when you shall rest your thombe vpon
anie of those vniuē leaues, or high inches, and open the booke, you
shall see in each page one colour or picture through out the booke;
in an other rowe, an other colour, &c. To make that matter more
plaine vnto you, let this be the description herof. Hold the booke
with

This will
seem strange
to the be-
holders.

with your left hand, and (betwixt your forefinger and thombe of your right hand) slip ouer the booke in what place you list, and your thombe will alwaies rest at the seuenth leafe; to wit, at the Bumleafe or high inch of paper from whence when your booke is streined, it will fall or slip to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, & open the booke, the beholders seeing each leafe to haue one colour or picture with so manie varieties, all passing continuallie & directlie through the whole booke, will suppose that with words you can discolor the leaues at your pleasure. But because perhaps you will hardlie conceiue herof by this description, you shall (if you be disposed) see or buie for a small value the like booke, at the shop of W. Brome in Dowles churchyard, for your further instruction. ¶ There are certeine seats of actiuitie, which beautifie this art exceedinglie: hotobet euen in these, some are true, and some are counterfet; to wit, some done by practise, and some by confederacie. ¶ There are likewise diuers seats arithmetical & geometrical: for them read Gemma Phrysius, and Record, &c. which being exercised by iugglers ad credit to their art. ¶ There are also (besides them which I haue set downe in this title of *Hartumim*) sundrie strange experiments reported by Plinie, Albert, Ioh. Bap. Port. Neap. and Thomas Lupton, wherof some are true, and some false: which being knowne to Iannes and Iambres, or else to our iugglers, their occupation is the more magnified, and they thereby more reuerenced. ¶ Here is place to discover the particular knauerics of casting of lots, and drawing of cuts (as they terme it) whereby manie couenages are wrought: so as I dare not teach the sundrie deuises thereof, least the vngodlie make a practise of it in the commonwealt, where manie things are decided by those meanes, which being honestlie meant may be lawfullie vsed. But I haue said already somewhat hereof in generall, and therefore also the rather haue suppressed the particularities, which (in truth) are mere iuggling knackes: wherof I could discover a great number.

Wher such bookes may be gotten.

See more hereof in the 11. book of this discouerie, in the title *Nabas*, cap. 10. pag. 197. 198.

Desperate

Desperate or dangerous iuggling knacks, wherein the simple are made to thinke, that a seelie iuggler with words can hurt and helpe, kill and reuiue anie creature at his pleasure: and first to kill anie kind of pullen, and to giue it life againe.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



Take a hen, a chicke, or a capon, and thrust a mall or a fine sharpe pointed knife through the middell of the head thereof, the edge towards the bill, so as it may seeme impossible for hir to scape death: then vse words, and pulling out the knife, laie otes before hir, &c: and she will eate and liue, being nothing at all graeued or hurt with the wound; bicause the bzaine lieth so far behind in the head as it is not touched, though you thrust your knife betweene the combe and it: and after you haue done this, you may conuert your speach and actions to the graeuous wounding and present recouering of your owne selfe.

* The naturall cause why a hen thrust thorough the head with a bodkin dooth liue notwithstanding.

To eate a knife, and to fetch it out of anie other place.

Take a knife, and conteine the same within your two hands, so as no part be seene thereof but a little of the point, which you must so bite at the first, as nosse may be made therewith. Then seeme to put a great part thereof into your mouth, and letting your hand slip downe, there will appeare to haue bene more in your mouth than is possible to be contained therein. Then send for drinke, or vse some other delai, vntill you haue 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 (so: from thence the knife may most priuilie slip downe into your lap) and in stead of biting the knife, knable a little vpon your nalle, and then seeme to thrust the knife into your mouth, opening the hand next vnto it, and thrust vp the other, so as it may appeare to the standers by, that you haue deliuered your hands

It must be cleanelie conuened in any case.

hands therof, and thrust it into your mouth: then call for drinke, after countenance made of pricking and danger, &c. Lasse, put your hand into your lap, and taking that knife in your hand, you may seeme to bring it out from behind you, or from thence you list. ¶ But if you haue another like knife and a confederate, you may do twentie notable woonders hereby: as to send a stranger by into some garden or orchard, describing to him some tree or herbe, vnder which it sticketh; or else some strangers sheath or pocket, &c.

To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt.

Take a bodkin so made, as the haff being hollowe, the blade thereof may slip thereinto as soone as you hold the point vppward: and set the same to your forehead, and seeme to thrust it into your head, and so (with a little sponge in your hand) you may wzing out blood or wine, making the beholders thinke the blood or the wine (whereof you may saie you haue drunke verie much) runneth out of your forehead. Then, after countenance of paine and greefe, pull awaie your hand suddentlie, holding the point downeward; and it will fall so out, as it will seeme neuer to haue bene thrust into the haff: but immediatlie thrust that bodkin into your lap or pocket, and pull out an other plaine bodkin like the same, sauing in that conceipt.

The maner
& meanes
of this acti-
on

To thrust a bodkin through your toong, and a knife through your arme: a pittifull sight, without hurt or danger.

Make a bodkin, the blade therof being sundred in the middle, so as the one part be not neere to the other almost by three quarters of an inch, each part being kept a sunder with one small bought or crooked peece of iron, of the fashion described hereafter in place conuenient. Then thrust your toong 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 seeme to sticke so fast in and through your toong, as that one can hardlie pull it out. ¶ Also the verie like may be done with a knife so made, and put vpon your arme: and the wound will appeare the moze terrible, if a little blood be powred there.

A forme or
patterne of
this bodkin
and knife
you shal see
described if
you turne
ouer a few
leaves for-
ward.

To thrust a peece of lead into one eie, and to driue it about (with a sticke) betweenc the skin and flesh of the forehead, vntill it be brought to the other eie, and there thrust out.

Put a peece of lead into one of the nether lids of your eie, as big as a tag of a point, but not so long (which you may doe without danger) and with a litle iuggling sticke (one end thereof being hollow) seeme to thrust the like peece of lead vnder the other eie lid; but conueie the same in deed into the hollownes of the sticke, the stople or peg thereof may be priuillie kept in your hand vntill this feate be done. Then seeme to driue the said peece of lead, with the hollow end of the said sticke, from the same eie: and so with the end of the said sticke, being brought along vpon your forehead to the other eie, you maie thrust out the peece of lead, which befoze you had put thereinto; to the admiration of the beholders. ¶ Some eat the lead, and then shoue it out at the eie: and some put it into both, but the first is best.

To cut halfe your nose asunder, and to heale it againe presentlic without anic salue.

This is easie doone, howbeit being cleuie handled it will deceiue the sight of the beholders.

Take a knife hauing a round hollow gap in the middle, and laie it vpon your nose, and so shall you seeme to haue cut your nose halfe asunder. Prouided alwaies, that in all these you haue an other like knife without a gap, to be shewed vpon the pulling out of the same, and words of incantment to speake, blood also to beate the wound, and nimble conueiance.

To put a ring through your cheeke.

There is an other old knacke, which seemeth dangerous to the cheeke. For the accomplishing thereof you must haue two rings, of like colour and quantitie; the one filed asunder, so as you may thrust it vpon your cheeke; the other must be whole, and conueied vpon a sticke, holding your hand therebpon in the middle of the sticke, deliuering each end of the same sticke to be holden fast by a stander by. Then conueieng the same cleauie into your hand, or (for lacke of god conueiance) into your lap or pocket,

pocket, pull a waite your hand from the sticke: and in pulling it a waite, whirle about the ring, and so will it be thought that you haue put thereon the ring which was in your chéke.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, &c:
which the iugglers call the decollation of Iohn Baptist.

Theſe ſhew a moſt notable execution by this art, you muſt cauſe a boꝝd, a cloth, and a platter to be purpoſelie made, and in each of them holes fit foꝛ a boies necke. The boꝝd muſt be made of two plankes, the longer and broader the better: there muſt be leſſe within halfe a yard of the end of each planke halfe a hole; ſo as both plankes being thruſt together, there may remaine two holes, like to the holes in a paire of ſtocks: there muſt be made likewiſe a hole in the tablecloth oꝛ carpet. A platter alſo muſt be ſet directlie ouer oꝛ vpon one of them, hauing a hole in the middle thereof, of the like quantitie, and alſo a peece cut out of the ſame, ſo big as his necke, through which his head may be conueied into the middleſt of the platter: and then ſitting oꝛ kneeling vnder the boꝝd, let the head onlie remaine vpon the boꝝd in the ſame. Then (to make the ſight moꝛe dreadfull) put a little brimſtone into a chaſing diſh of coles, ſetting it befoꝛe the head of the boie, who muſt gaspe two oꝛ thꝛee times, ſo as the ſmoke enter a little into his noſtrils and mouth (which is not vnholſome) and the head preſentlie will appeare ſcarke dead; if the boie ſet his countenance accoꝛdinglie: and if a little bloud be ſprinkled on his face, the ſight will be the ſtranger.

This is commonlie practiſed with a boie inſtructed foꝛ that purpoſe, who being familiar and conuerſant with the companie, may be knotone 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 knotone boie muſt be placed, hauing vpon him his vſuall apparell: he muſt leane oꝛ lie vpon the boꝝd, and muſt put his head vnder the boꝝd through the ſaid hole, ſo as his bodie ſhall ſeeme to lie on the one end of the boꝝd, and his head ſhall lie in a platter on the other end. ¶ There are other things which might be perſormed in this action, the moꝛe to aſtoniſh the beholders, which becauſe they offer long deſcriptions, I omit: as to put about his necke a little dough kneded with bul-

This was done by one Kingſfield of London, at a Bartholomewide, An. 1582. in the ſight of diuerſe that came to view this ſpectacle.

Necessary obseruations to astonish the beholders.

locks

locks blond, which being cold will appeare like dead flesh; & being pickt with a sharpe round hollow quill, will bleed, and seeme verie strange, &c. ¶ Manie rules are to be obserued herein, as to haue the table cloth so long and wide as it may almost touch the ground. ¶ Not to suffer the companie to staie too long in the place, &c.

To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts verie stranglie, and to recouer immediatlie.

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

A other miracle may be shewed touching counterfet executions; namelie, that with a bodkin or a dagger you shall seeme to kill your selfe, or at the least make an incurable wound in your bellie: as (in truth) not long since a juggler caused himself to be killed at a tauerne in cheapside, from whence he presentlie went into Dotoles churchyard and died. Which misfortune fell vpon him through his owne follie, as being then drunken, and hauing forgotten his plate, which he should haue had for his defense. The deuise is this. ¶ You must prepare a paste board, to be made according to the fashion of your bellie and breast: the same must by a painter be coloured cunninglie, not onelie like to your flesh, but with pappes, nauill, haire, &c: so as the same (being handsomelie trusted vnto you) may shew to be your naturall bellie. Then next to your true bellie you may put a linnen cloth, and there vpon a double plate (which the juggler that killed himselfe forgot, or wilfullie omitted) ouer and vpon the which you may place the false bellie. Prouided alwaies, that betwixt the plate & the false bellie you place a gut or bladder of blond, which blond must be of a calfe or of a sheepe; but in no wise of an ore or a cow, so that will be too thicke. Then thrust, or cause to be thrust into your breast a round bodkin, or the point of a dagger, so far as it may pearse through your gut or bladder: which being pulled out againe, the said blond will spin or spirt out a good distance from you, especiallie if you straine your bodie to swell, and thrust therewith against the plate. You must euer remember to vse (with words, countenance, and gesture) such a grace, as may giue a grace to the action, and moue admiration in the beholders.

But herein see you be circumspect

To

To drawe a cord through your nose, mouth or hand,
so sensible as is woonderfull to see,

There is an other iuggling knacke, which they call the bridle, A forme or
 pattern of
 this bridle
 you shall
 see descri-
 bed if you
 turne ouer
 a few leaues
 being made of two elder sticks, through the hollownes ther-
 of is placed a cord, the same being put on the nose like a paire of
 tongs or pinsars; and the cord, which goeth round about the
 same, being drawne to and fro, the beholders will thinke the
 cord to go through your nose verie dangeroullie. The knots at
 the end of the cord, which doe staie the same from being drawne
 out of the sticke, may not be put out at the verie top (so that
 must be stopped by) but halfe an inch be neath each end; and so I
 saie, when it is pulled, it will seeme to passe through the nose; and
 then may you take a kniffe, and seeme to cut the cord asunder,
 and pull the bridle from your nose.

The conclusion, wherin the reader is referred to cer-
 teine patterns of instruments wherewith diuerse
feats heere specified are to be executed.

Herein I might waide infinitelie, but I hope it sufficeth,
 that I haue deliuered vnto you the principles, and also the
 principall feats belonging to this art of iuggling; so as
 any man conceiuing throughlie hereof may not onlie doe
 all these things, but also may deuise other as strange, & varie e-
 uerie of these deuises into other formes as he can best conceiue.
 And so long as the power of almightie God is not transposed
 to the iuggler, no offense ministred by his vncomlie speech and
 behauiour, but the action performed in pastime, to the delight of
 the beholders, so as alwaies the iuggler confesse in the end that
 these are no supernatuall actions, but deuises of men, and
 nimble conueiances, let all such curious conceited men as
 cannot afford their neighbors anie comfort or commoditie, but
 such as pleaseth their melancholike dispositions say what they
 list, for this will not onelie be found among indifferent actions,
 but such as greatlie aduance the power and glorie of God, disco-
 uering their pride and fallshood that take vpon them to worke
 miracles, and to be the mightie power of God, as Iannes and
 Iambres and also Simon Magus did.

Among
 wharacti-
 ons iug-
 gling is to
 be counted.

If anie man doubt of these things, as whether they be not as
 Strange

A marchles
fellowe for
legierde-
maine.

strange to behold as I haue reported, or thinke with Bodin that these matters are performed by familiaris or diuels; let him go into S. Martins, and inquire for one Iohn Cautares (a French man by birth, in conuersation an honest man) and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who getteth not his liuing hereby, but laboureth for the same with the sweat of his bowles, and neuerthelesse hath the best hand and conueiance (I thinke) of anie man that liueth this daie.

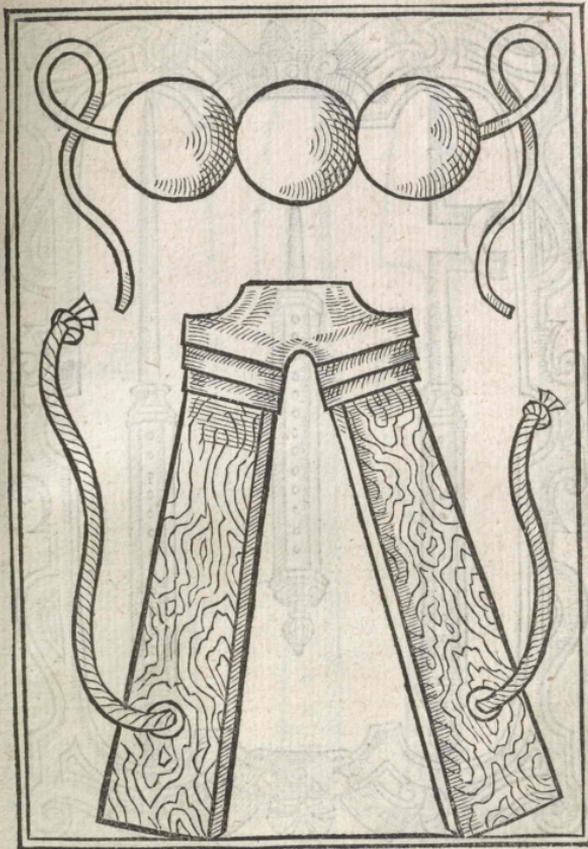
Neither doe I speake (as they saie) without booke herein. For if time, place, and occasion serue, I can shew so much herein, as I am sure Bodin, Spinæus, and Vairus, would sweare I were a witch, and had a familiar diuell at commandement. But truelie my studie and trauell herein hath onelie bene employed to the end I might proue them soles, and find out the fraud of them that make them soles, as whereby they may become wiser, and God may haue that witch to him belongeth.

Touching
the pat-
ternes of
diuerse iug-
gling in-
struments.

And because the maner of these tuggling conuiances are not easilie conceiued by discourse of words; I haue caused to be set downe diuerse formes of instruments vsed in this art; which may serue for patternes to them that would throughlie see the secrets thereof, and make them for their owne priuate practises, to trie the euent of such deuises, as in this tract of legierde-maine are shewed. Where note, that you shall find euerie instrument that is most necessarilie occupied in the working of these strange feats, to beare the iust and true number of the page, where the vse thereof is in ample words declared.

Now will I proceed with another coufening point of witchcraft, apt for the place, necessarilie for the time, and in mine opinion meet to be discouered, or at the least to be defaced among deceitfull arts. And because manie are abused heereby to their vtter vndowing, for that it hath had passage vnder the protection of learning, whereby they pretend to accomplish their works, it hath gone frælie wistly out generall controlment through all ages, nations & people.

¶ Heere follow patternes of certeine instruments to be vsed in the former iuggling knacks.



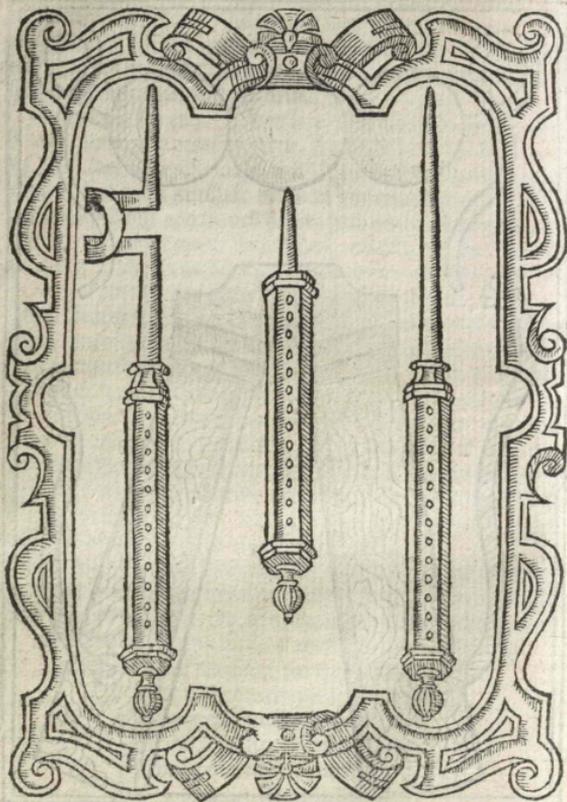
To pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remouing of your hand.

To draw a cord thorough your nose, mouth or hand, *fonye* which is called the bridle.

To be instructed in the right vse of the said beadstones, read page 337. and 338. As for the bridle, read page 351.

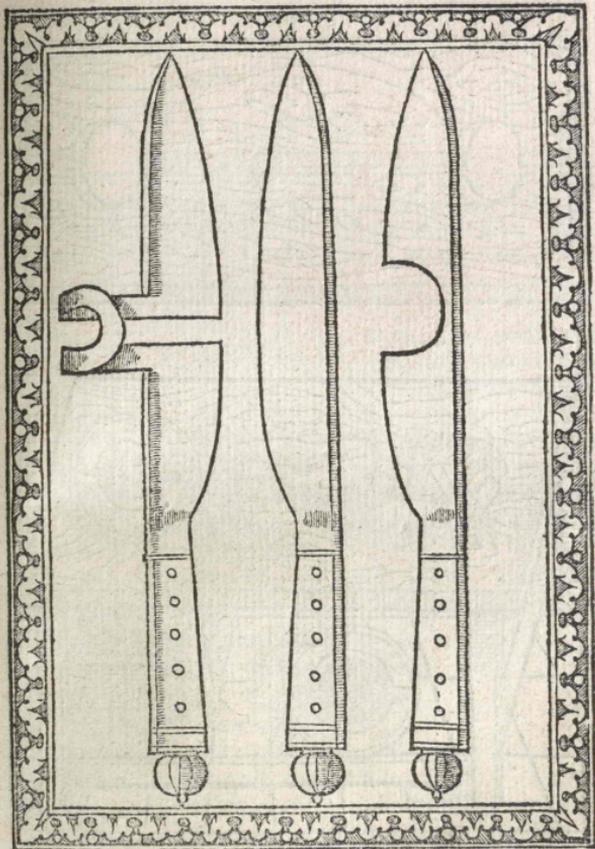
To thrust a bodkin into your head, and
through your tongue, &c.

The hether
most is the
bodkin w
the bowt: y
midlemost
is the bod
kin with the
holow haft:
the further
most is the
plaine bod
kin seruing
for shew.



To be instructed and taught in the right vse and readie pra
ctise of these bodkins, read page 347.

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

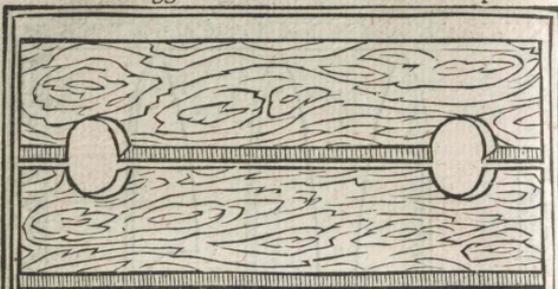


The mid-
dlemost
knife is to
serue for
shew; the
other two
be the
knives of
deuise.

To be readie in the vse and perfect in the practise of these
knives here portrayed, see page 347. and 348.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter,
which the jugglers call the decollation of Iohn Baptist.

The forme
of y^e planks,
&c.



The order
of the acti-
on, as it is
to be shew-
ed.



What order is to be obserued for the practising hereof
with great admiration, read page 349-350.

¶ The

¶ *The xiiij. Booke.*

Of the art of Alcumystrie, of their words of art and deuises to bleare mens eies, and to procure credit to their profession.

The first Chapter.



Here I thought it not impertinent to saie some what of the art or rather the craft of Alcumystrie, otherwise called Multipliation; which Chaucer, of all other men, most liuelie deciphereth. In the bowels herof doth both witchcraft and conturation lie hidden, as whereby some coulen others, and some are coufened themselues. For by this mysterie (as it is

Alcumystrie a craft, not an art.

saied in the chanons mans prolog)

They take vpon them to turne vpside downe,
All the earth betwixt Southwarke & Canturburie towne,
And to paue it all of siluer and gold, &c.
But euer they lacke of their conclusion,
And to much folke they doo illusion.
For their stufte slides awaie so fast,
That it makes them beggers at the last,
And by this craft they doo neuer win,
But make their pursse emptie, and their wits thin.

G. Chaucer
in the Chanons mans
prolog.

And bicause the practisers hereof would be thought wise, learned, cunning, and their crafts maisters, they haue deuised words of art, sentences and epithets obscure, and consecutions so innu-

C. e. f. merable

The termes
of the arte
alcumystri-
cal deuised
of purpose
to bring
credit to
coufenance.

merable (which are also compounded of strange and rare simp-
ples) as confound the capacities of them that are either set on
worke here in, or be brought to behold or expect their conclusions.
For what plaine man would not beleue, that they are learned
and tollie fellows, that haue in such readinesse so many mysti-
call termes of art: as (for a taff) their subliming, amalgaming,
englutning, imbibing, incorporating, cementing, rification,
terminations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, mat-
ters combust and coagulat, ingots, tests, &c. And who is able to
conceiue (by reason of the abrupt confusion, contrarietie, and
multitude of drugs, simples, and confectons) the operation and
mysterie of their stiffe and workmanship. For these things and
many more, are of necessitie to be prepared and used in the ere-
ction of this indeuor; namely oypment, sublimed Mercurie,
iron squames, Mercurie crude, groundlie large, bole armoniacke,
verdegrece, bozace, boles, gall, arsenicke, sal armoniacke, byn-
stone, salt, paper, burnt bones, vnlied lime, clae, salt peter,
vitriall, saltartre, alcalie, sal preparat, clae made with horle
dong, mans haire, osle of tartre, allum, glasse, wort, yest, argoll,
relagoz, gleir of an eie, powders, athes, dong, pisse, &c. Then
haue they waters corosiuue and lincall, waters of albification,
and waters rubsieng, &c. Also oiles, abluttons, and metals sus-
ble. Also their lamps, their bynalles, discentozies, sublimatozies,
atembecks, viols, crosetts, cucurbits, stillatozies, and their for-
nace of calcination: also their soft and subtil fiers, some of wood,
some of cole, composed speciallie of bech, &c. And because they
will not seeme to want ante point of coufenance to assontly the
simple, or to moue admiration to their enterpises, they haue (as
they affirme) foure spirits to worke withall, wherof the first is,
oypment; the second, quicksiluer; the third, sal armoniacke; the
fourth, bynstone. Then haue they seuen celestiaall bodies; name-
lie, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Saturne, Jupiter, and Venus; to
whome they applie seuen terrestriall bodies; to wit, gold, siluer,
iron, quicksiluer, lead, tinne, and copper, attributing vnto these
the operation of the other; speciallie if the terrestriall bodies be
qualified, tempered, and wrought in the houre and daie accor-
ding to the seats of the celestiaall bodies: with more like banitie.

The Alcumysters drift, the Chanons yeomans tale,
of alcumyticall stones and waters.

The second Chapter.

NOw you must vnderstand that the
end and drift of all their worke, is, to at-
teine to the composition of the phyloso-
phers stone, called Alixer, and to the stone
called Titanus; and to Magnatia, which
is a water made of the foure elements,
which (they saie) the philosophers are
sworne neither to discouer, nor to write
of. And by these they mortifie quicke siluer, and make it mallea-
ble, and to hold touch: hereby also they conuert any other met-
tall (but speciallie copper) into gold. This science (sozfoth) is the
secret of secrets; euen as Salomons conuration is said among
the coniarors to be so likewise. And thus, when they chance to
meete with yong men, or simple people, they boast and brag, and
saie wth Simon Magus, that they can worke miracles, and bring
mightie things to passe. In which respect Chaucer truelie haue
of saith:

Acts. 8.

Each man is as wise as Salomon,
When they are together euerichone:
But he that seemes wisest, is most foole in preese,
And he that is truest, is a verie theefe.
They seeme friendlie to them that knowe nought,
But they are friendlie both in word and thought,
Yet many men ride and seeke their acquaintance,
Not knowing of their false gouernance.

G. Chaucer
in the Cha-
nons mans
tale.

He also saith, and experience verifieth his assertion, that they
loke ill fauouredlie, & are alwaies beggerlie attired: his words
are these:

These fellows looke ill fauouredlie,
And are alwaies tired beggerlie.

Idem, ibid.

E c. ij.

So

So as by smelling and thredbare araic,
 These folke are knowne and discerned alwaie.
 But so long as they haue a sheet to wrap them in by
 Or a rag to hang about them in the day light, (night,
 They will it spend in this craft,
 They cannot stint till nothing be left.
 Here one may learne if he haue ought,
 To multiplie and bring his good to naught,
 But if a man aske them priuillie,
 Whie they are clothed so vnthriftilie,
 They will round him in the care and saie,
 If they espied were, men would them slaie,
 And all bicause of this noble science:
 Lo thus these folke beetraien innocence.

The points
 or parts of
 the art Al-
 cumysticall
 which may
 be called
 the mystic
 or smokie
 science.

The tale of the chanoys yroman published by Chaucer, dooth
 make (by waie of erample) a perfect demonstration of the art of
 Alcumystrie or multiplication: the effect whereof is this. A cha-
 non being an Alcumyster or coufenoꝝ, espied a couetous prest,
 whose purse he knew to be well lined, whom he assaulted with
 flatterie and subtill speech, two principall points belonging to
 this art. At the length he boꝝrowed monie of the prest, which is
 the thirde part of the art, without the which the professors can do
 no god, noꝝ indure in god estate. Then he at his daie repaid the
 monie, which is the most difficult point in this art, and a rare ex-
 periment. If in allie, to requite the prests courtesie, he promised
 vnto him such instructions, as therby with expedition he should
 become infinitelic rich, and all through this art of multiplicati-
 on. And this is the most common point in this science; for here
 in they must be skillfull befoze they can be famous, or attaine to
 anie credit. The prest disliked not his proffer; speciallie bicause
 it tended to his profit, and embraced his courtesie. When the cha-
 non willed him forthwith to send for thre ounces of quicke sil-
 uer, which he said he would transubstantiate (by his art) into per-
 feet siluer. The prest thought that a man of his profession could
 not dissemble, and therefore with great ioy and hope accompli-
 shed his request.

And

And now (forsooth) goeth this tollie Alcumyst about his busines and worke of multiplication, and causeth the priest to make a fier of coles, in the bottome whereof he placeth a crosset; and pretending onelie to helpe the priest to laie the coles handsomelie, he foisteth into the middle ward or lane of coles, a beechen cole, within the which was conueied an ingot of perfect siluer, which (when the cole was consumed) slipt downe into the crosset, that was (I saie) directlie vnder it. The priest perceiued not the fraud, but receiued the ingot of siluer, and was not a little ioyfull to see such certeine successe proceed from his owne handie worke wherein could be no fraud (as he surelie conceiued) and the refoze verie willinglie gaue the cannon fortye pounds for the receipt of this experiment, who for that summe of monie taught him a lesson in Alcumystrie, but he neuer returned to heare repetitions, or to see how he profited.

The Alcumysts bait to catch a scole.

Of a yeoman of the countrie coufened by
an Alcumyst.

The third Chapter.

I Could cite manie Alcumysticall coufenages wrought by Docto^r Burcor, Feates, and such other; but I will passe them ouer, and onelie repeate thre experiments of that art; the one practised vpon an honest yeoman in the countie of Kent, the other vpon a mightie prince, the third vpon a couetous priest. And first touching the yeoman, he was ouertaken and vsed in maner and forme following, by a notable coufening varlot, who professed Alcumystrie, iuggling, witchcraft, and confuration: and by meanes of his companions and confederats discussed the simplicitie and abilitie of the said yeoman, and found out his estate and humo^r to be conuenient for his purpose; and finallye came a wooing (as they saie) to his daughter, to whome he made loue cunninglie in words, though his purpose tended to another matter. And among other illusions and tales, concerning his owne

C. e. iij.

com-

commendation, for welth, parentage, inheritance, allsance, actiuitie, learning, pregnancie, and cunning; he boasted of his knowledge and experience in Alcumystrie; making the simple man beleue that he could multiplie, and of one angell make two or thre. Which seemed strange to the poore man, in so much as he became willing enough to see that conclusion: whereby the Alcumyster had more hope and comfort to attaine his desire, than if his daughter had yielded to haue married him. To be short, he in the presence of the said yeoman, did include within a litle ball of virgine wax, a couple of angels; and after certeine ceremonies and coniuring words he seemed to deliuer the same vnto him: but in truth (through legierdemaine) he conued in to the yeomans hand another ball of the same scantling, wherein were inclosed manie more angels than were in the ball which he thought he had receiued. Now (forsooth) the Alcumyster had bin laie by the same ball of wax, and also vse certeine ceremonies (which I thought good here to omit.) And after certeine daies, houres, and minuts they returned together, according to the appointment, and found great gaires by the multiplication of the angels. Inso much as he, being a plaine man, was hereby perswaded, that he should not onelie haue a rare and notable goddosome in lawe; but a companion that might helpe to adde vnto his welth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and felicitie. And to increase this opinion in him, as also to winne his further fauour; but speciallie to bring his cunning Alcumystrie, or rather his lewd purpose to passe; he told him that if were follie to multiplie a pound of gold, when as easilie they might multiplie a millian: and therefore counselled him to produce all the monie he had, or could borow of his neighbours and friends; and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiplie the same, and redouble it exceedinglie, euen as he sawe by experience how he delt with the small summe before his face. This yeoman, in hope of gaires and preferment, consented to this stouete motion, and brought out and laid before his sate, not the one halfe of his goods, but all that he had, or could make or borow anie maner of waie. When this suggling Alcumyster, hauing obtained his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantitie farre bigger than the other, and conueyng the same into his

Note the
conueining
of this al-
cumystical
practicio-
ner.

A notable
foole.

bofame

bosome or pocket, deliuered another ball (as befoze) of the like quanttie vnto the yeoman, to be reserued and safelie kept in his chest; whereof (bicause the matter was of impoztance) either of them must haue a key, and a seuerall locke, that no interruption might be made to the ceremonie, no; abuse by either of them, in defrauding ech other. Now (for sooth) these circumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the Alcumysters purpose therby performed; he told the yeoman that (vntill a certeine daie and houre limited to returne) either of them might emploie themselues about their busines, and necessarie affaires; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the citie of London, and in the meane time the gold shuld multiplie, &c. But the Alcumyster (belike) hauing other matters of moze impoztance came not iust at the houre appointed, no; yet at the daie, no; within the yeare: so as, although it were somewhat against the yeomans conscience to violate his promise, or bzeake the league; yet partlie by the longing he had to see, and partlie the desire he had to enioie the fruit of that excellent experiment, hauing (for his owne securitie) and the others satisfaction, some testimonie at the opening thereof, to witnesse his sincere dealing, he bzeake vp the coffer, and lo he sone espied the ball of war, which he himselve had laid vp there with his owne hand. So as he thought (if the hardest should fall) he should find his principall: and whie not as god increase hereof now, as of the other befoze. But alas! when the war was bzoken, and the metall discovered, the gold was much abated, and became per seet lead.

A coue-
ning deuise
by running
awaie to
saue the
credit of
the art.

Now who so list to vter his follie,
Let him come foorth, and learne to multiplie;
And euerie man that hath ought in his cofer,
Let him appeare, and waxe a philosopher,
In learning of this eluish nice lore,
All is in vaine, and pardee much more
Is to learne a lewd man this sutteltee,
Fie, speake not thereof it woll not bee:
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none,
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.

G. Chaucer
in the tale
of the cha-
nons yeo-
man.

A certeine king abused by an Alcumyft, and of
the kings soole a pretie iest.

The fourth Chapter.

A king cou-
fened by
Alcumy-
stric.



The second example is of another Alcumyft that came to a certeine king, promising to worke by his art manie great things, as well in compounding and transubstantiating of mettals, as in executing of other exploitcs of no lesse admiration. But before he beganne, he found the meanes to receiue by vertue of the kings warrant, a great summe of monie in prest, assuring the king and his counsell, that he would shortly returne, and accomplish his promise, &c. Some after, the kings sole, among other iestes, fell into a discourse and discouerie of soles, and handled that common place so pleasantlie, that the king began to take delight therein, & to like his merrie veine. Where vpon he would néedes haue the sole deliuer vnto him a schedull or scroll, containing the names of all the most excellent soles in the land.

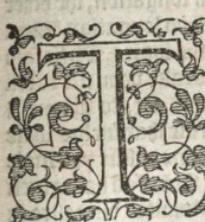
A wife
foole.

So he caused the kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of the lords of his priuie counsell. The king seeing him so sawcie and malepert, ment to haue had him punished: but some of his counsell, knowing him to be a fellow pleasantlie conceived, besought his maiestie rather to demand of him a reason of his libell, &c: than to proceed in extremitie against him. Then the sole being asked why he so sawcilie accused the king and his counsell of principall follie, answered; Because he sawe one foolish knaue beguile them all, and to cousten them of so great a masse of monie, and finallie to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the counsell) he maie returne and performe his promise, &c. Then (quoth the sole) I can helpe all the matter easilie. How (said the king) canst thou do that? Marie sir (said he) then I will blotte out your name, and put in his, as the most sole in the world. Marie other practises of the like nature might be here vnto annexed, for the detection of their knauerie

nerie and deceipts therevpon this art dependeth, whereby the readers maie be more delighted in reading, than the practisers benefited in simple vsing the same. For it is an art consistig wholie of subtiltie and deceipt, whereby the ignorant and plaine minded man through his too much credulitie is circumvented, and the humoz of the other lie coulener satisfied.

A notable storie written by Erasmus of two Alcumysts, also of longation and curtation.

The fift Chapter.



He thirder example is reported by Erasmus, whose excellent learning and wit is had to this date in admiration. He in a certeine dialog intituled *Alcumystica* doth finelie bewzaie the knauerie of this craftie art; wherein he propoeth one Balbine, a verie wise, learned, and deuout p̄eest, howbeit such a one as was bewitched, and mad vpon the art of Alcumystrie. Which thing another confensing p̄eest perceived, and dealt with him in maner and forme following.

¶ Doctor Balbine (said he) I being a stranger vnto you maie seeme verie saucie to trouble your woꝝship with my bold sute, who alwaies are busied in great and diuine studies. To whome Balbine, being a man of few woꝝds, gaue a nodde: which was more than he vsed to euerie man. But the p̄eest knowing his humoz, said; I am sure sir, if you knew my sute, you would pardon mine importunitie. I p̄rate thee god sir Iohn (said Balbine) shew me thy mind, and be bꝛiefe. What shall I do sir (said he) with a good will. You know ¶ Doctor, through your skill in philosophie, that euerie mans destinie is not alike; and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whether I maie be counted happie or infortunate. For when I weigh mine owne case, or rather my skate, in part I seeme fortunate, and in part miserable. But Balbine being a man of some furlinesse, alwaies willed him to draw his matter to a more compendious forme: which thing the p̄eest

*Eras. in col-
loq. de arte
alcumystica.*
A flattering
& clawing
preamble.

said:

said he would doe, and could the better performe; because Balbine himselfe was so learned and expert in the verie matter he had to repeat, and thus he began.

I have had, euen from my childhood, a great felicitie in the art of Alchymystrie, which is the verie marrow of all philosophie. Balbine at the naming of the word Alchymystrie, inclined and yielded himselfe moze attentiuellie to hearken vnto him: marie it was onelie in gesture of bodie; so; he was spare of speech, and yet he had him proceed with his tale. Then said the priest, Wretch that I am, it was not my lucke to light on the best waie: so; you sh. Balbine know (being so vniuersallie learned) that in this art there are two waies, the one called longation, the other curtation; and it was mine ill hap to fall vpon longation. When Balbine asked him the difference of those two waies; Wh sir said the priest, you might count me impudent, to take vpon me to tell you, that of all other are best learned in this art, to whome I come, most humble to beseech you to teach me that luckie waie of curtation. The cunninger you are, the moze easilie you maie teach it me: and therefore hide not the gift that God hath giuen you, from your brother, who maie perish so; want of his desire in this behalfe; and doubtlesse Iesus Christ will enrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

Balbine being abashed partlie with his impo;tunitie, and partlie with the strange circumstance, told him that (in truth) he neither knew what longation or curtation meant; and therefore required him to expound the nature of those words. Well (quoth the priest) since it is your pleasure, I will do it, though I shall thereby take vpon me to teach him that is indeed much cunninger than my selfe. And thus he began: Wh sir, they that haue spent all the daies of their life in this diuine facultie, doo turne one nature and forme into another, two waies, the one is verie bræse, but somewhat dangerous; the other much longer, marie verie safe, sure, and commodious. Howbeit, I thinke my selfe most vnhappie that haue spent my time and trauell in that waie which vtterlie misliketh me, and neuer could get one to shew me the other that I so earnestlie desire. And now I come to your worship, whom I know to be wholie learned and expert herein, hoping that you will (so; charities sake) comfort your brother,

whose

Longation
and curta-
tion in Al-
chymystric.

Note how
the conse-
ner circum-
uenteth
Balbine.

whose felicitie and well doing now resteth onelic in your hands; and therefore I beseech you reléue me with your counsell.

By these and such other woords when this couensing barlot had auoided suspicion of guile, and assured Balbine that he was perfect and cunning in the other waie: Balbine his fingers itched, and his hart tickled; so as he could hold no longer, but burst out with these woords: Let this eurtation go to the diuell, whose name I did neuer so much as once heare of before, and therefore do much lesse vnderstand it. But tell me in good faith, do you exactlie vnderstand longation? Pea said the prest, doubt you not hereof: but I haue no fanstie to that waie, it is so tedious. Why (quoth Balbine) what time is required in the accomplishment of this woрке by waie of longation? Too too much said the Alcumysfer, euen almost a whole yéere: but this is the best, the surest, and the safest waie, though it be for so manie moneths prolonged, before it yeld aduantage for cost and charges expended thereabouts. Set your hart at rest (said Balbine) it is no matter, though it were two yéeres, so as you be well assured to bring it then to passe.

Faire words
make tooles
faine, and
large offers
blind the
wife.

Finallie, it was there and then concluded, that presentlie the prest should go in hand with the woрке, and the other should beare the charge, the gaine to be indifferentlie diuided betwixt them both, and the woрке to be done pvtillie in Balbins house. And after the mutuall oth was taken for silence, which is vsuall and requisite alwaies in the beginning of this mysterte; Balbine deliuered monie to the Alcumysfer for bolles, glasses, coles, &c: which should serue for the ertion and furniture of the forge. Which monie the Alcumysfer had no sooner fingered, but he ran merittie to the dice, to the alchouse, & to the strewes, and who there so lustie as couensing sir Iohn: who indeed this waie made a kind of alcumysficall transformatton of monie. Now Balbine byged him to go about his businesse, but the other told him, that if the matter were once begun, it were halfe ended: for therein consisted the greatest difficultie.

Well, at length he began to furnish the fornace, but now forsooth a new supplie of gold must be made, as the seed and spawne of that which must be ingendred and grow out of this woрке of Alcumystrie. For euen as a fish is not caught without a bait, no

more is gold multiplied without some parcels of gold: and these gold must be the foundation and groundworke of that art, or else all the fat is in the fier. But all this while Balbine was occupied in calculating, and musing vpon his account; casting by arithmetiks, how that if one ounce yielded fiftene, then how much gaines two thousand ounces might yield: for so much he determined to employe that waie.

When the Alcumyst had also consumed this monie, shewing great trauell a moneth or twaine, in placing the bellows, the coles, and such other stuffe, and no whit of profit proceeding or comming thereof: Balbine demanded how the world went, our Alcumyst was as a man amazed. Whobeit he said at length; Forsooth euen as such matters of importance commonlie do go forward, wherinto there is alwaies verie difficult access. There was (saith he) a fault (which I haue now found out) in the choice of the coles, which were of oke, and should haue bene of beech. One hundred duckets were spent that waie, so as the dining house and the stetes were partakers of Balbines charges. But after a new supplie of monie, better coles were provided, and matters more circumspectlie handled. Whobeit, when the forge had trauelled long, and brought forth nothing, there was another excuse found out; to wit, that the glasses were not tempered as they ought to haue bene. But the more monie was disbursed hereabouts, the worse willing was Balbine to giue ouer, according to the diuers veine, whome frutelesse hope bringeth into a soles paradise.

Balbine
was bewit-
ched with
desire of
gold, &c.

The Alcumyst, to cast a good colour vpon his knauerie, toke on like a man monesticke, and protested with great words full of forgerie and lies, that he neuer had such lucke before. But hauing found the error, he would be sure enough neuer hereafter to fall into the like oversight, and that henceforward all should be safe and sure, and throughlie recompensed in the end with large increase. Herevpon the workehouse is now the thirde time repaired, and a new supplie yet once againe put into the Alcumysts hand; so as the glasses were changed. And now at length the Alcumyst vttered another point of his art and cunning to Balbine; to wit, that those matters would proceed much better, if he sent our Ladie a few French crownes in reward; for the art
being

Notable
counselnage.

being holie, the matter cannot prosperously proceed, without the fauour of the saints. Which counsell exceedinglie pleased Balbine, who was so deuout and religious, that no daie escaped him but he said our Ladie matters.

How our Alcumyster hauing receiued the offering of monie, goeth on his holie pilgrimage, euen to the next village, & there consumeth it euerie penie, among basards and knaues. And at his returne, he told Balbine that he had great hope of good lucke in his businesse; the holie virgine gaue such fauourable countenance, and such attentiu care vnto his praiers and vowes. But after this, when there had bene great trauell bestowed, and not a dram of gold yielded no; leuied from the forge; Balbine began to expostulate and reason somewhat roundlie with the counsening fellowe; who still said he neuer had such filthie lucke in all his life before, and could not deuise by what meanes it came to passe, that things went so ouerthwartlie. But after much debating betwixt them vpon the matter, at length it came into Balbines head to aske him if he had not foreslowed to heare masse, or to saie his houres: which if he had done, nothing could prosper vnder his hand. Without doubt (said the counsener) you haue hot the naile on the head. Wretch that I am! I remember once or twise being at a long feast, I omitted to saie mine *Aue Marie* after dinner. So so (said Balbine) no maruell then that a matter of such importance hath had so euill successe. The Alcumyster promised to do penance; as to heare twelue masses for two that he had foreslowed; and for euerie *Aue* ouerslipped, to render and reape twelue to our Ladie.

Some after this, when all our Alcumysters monie was spent, & also his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this deuise, as a man wonderfullie fraied and amazed, pitiouslie crieng and lamenting his misfortune. Whereat Balbine being astonished, desired to knowe the cause of his complaint. Wh (said the Alcumyster) the courtiers haue spied our enterprize; so as I for my part looke for nothing but present imprisonment. Whereat Balbine was abashed, because it was flat fellonie to go about that matter, without speciall licence. But (quoth the Alcumyster) I feare not to be put to death, I would it would fall out so; marrie I feare least I shall be shut vp in some

castell

The Alcumyster bringeth Balbin into a fooles paradise.

Here the Alcumyster vttereth a notorious point; of counsening knauerie.

castell or towre, and there shall be forced to tug about this worke and boile in this businesse all the daies of my life.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, Balbine, because he was cunning in the art of rhetorike, and not altogether ignorant in lawe, beat his baines in deuising how the accusation might be answered, and the danger auoided. Alas (said the Alcummyster) you trouble your selfe all in vaine, for you see the crime is not to be denied, it is so generallie bured in court: neither can the fact be defended, because of the manifest lawe published against it. To be short, when manie waies were deuised, and diuerse excuses alledged by Balbine, and no sure ground to stand on for their securitie; at length the Alcummyster hauing present want and need of monie, framed his speech in this sort; Sic said he to Balbine, we vse slowe counsell, and yet the matter requireth hast. For I thinke they are comming for me per this time to hale me awate to prison; and I see no remedie but to die valiantlie in the cause. In god faith (said Balbine) I knowe not what to saie to the matter. No more do I said the Alcummyster, but that I see these courtiers are hungrie for monie, and so much the readier to be corrupted and framed to silence, though it be a hard matter, to giue those rakehels till they be satisfied; yet I see no better counsell or aduise at this time. No more could Balbine, who gaue him thirtie ducats of gold to stop their mouthes, who in an honest cause would rather haue giuen so manie teeth out of his head, than one of them peeces out of his pouch. This coine had the Alcummyster, who for all his pretences & gate gloses was in no danger, other than for lacke of monie to leese his lemon or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not giue ouer, nor so beare his companie, for all the goods that he was able to get, were it by neuer such indirect dealing and vnlawfull meanes.

Well, yet now once againe doth Balbine newlie furnish the forge, a praier being made before to our Ladie to blesse the enterprise. And all things being provided and made readie according to the Alcummysters owne asking, & all necessaries largelie ministered after his owne liking; a whole yeare being likewise now consumed about this bottlesse businesse, and nothing brought to passe; there fell out a strange chance, and that by this meanes ensuing, as you shall heare.

Marke how this Alcummyster goeth from one degree of couenage to another.

Our Alcumyster forsooth vsed a little extraordinarie lewd companie with a courtiers wife, whiles he was from home, who suspecting the matter, came to the doze vnlooked for, and called to come in, threating them that he would breake open the dozes vpon them. Some present deuise (you see) was now requisite, and there was none other to be had, but such as the oportunitie offered; to wit, to leape out at a backe window: which he did not without great hazard, and some hurt. But this was some blazed abroad, so as it came to Balbines eare, who shewed in countenance that he had heard hereof, though he said nothing. But the Alcumyster knew him to be deuout, & somewhat superstitious: and such men are easie to be intreated to forgiue, how great soeuer the fault be, and deuised to open the matter in maner and forme following.

The mildest and softest nature is commonly abused.

Our Lord (saith he before Balbine) how infortunatlie goeth our businesse forward! I maruell what should be the cause. Whereat Balbine, being one other wise that seemed to haue vowed silence, toke occasion to speake, saing; It is not hard to knowe 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 Alcumyster fell vpon his knees, beating his breast, & lamentablie cried, saing; Oh maister Balbine, you saie most trulie, it is sinne that hath done vs all this displeasure; not your sinne sir, but mine owne, good maister Balbine. Neither will I be ashamed to discouer my filthinesse vnto you, as vnto a most holy and ghostlie father. The infirmitie of the flesh had overcome me, and the diuell had caught me in his snare. Oh wretch that I am! Oh a prée I am become an adulterer. Howbeit, the monie that erstwhile was sent to our Ladie, was not vtterlie lost: for if she had not bene, I had certeinlie bene slaine. For the god man of the house brake open the doze, and the window was lesse than I could get out thereat. And in that extremitie of danger it came into my mind to fall downe prostrate to the virgine; beseeching hir (if our gift were acceptable in hir sight) that she would, in consideration thereof, assist me with hir helpe. And to be short, I ran to the window, and found it bigge enough to leape out at. Which thing Balbine did not onelie beleue to be true, but in respect therof forgaue him, religioulsie admonishing him

En immensa
casi spirans
mendacia
folles.

him to shew himselfe thankfull to that pitifull and blessed Ladie. Now once againe more is made a new supplie of monie, and mutuall promise made to handle this diuine matter hence forward purelie and holilie. To be short, after a great number of such parts plaid by the Alcumyster; one of Balbins acquaintance espied him, that knew him from his childhod to be but a couensing merchant; and told Balbine what he was, and that he would handle him in the end, euen as he had vsed manie others: so: a kinaue he euer was, and so he would proue. But what did Balbine, thinke you? Did he complaine of this counterfet, or cause him to be punished? No, but he gaue him monie in his purse, and sent him awaie; desiring him, of all courtesse, not to blab abroad how he had couensed him. And as for the kinaue Alcumyster, he needed not care who knew it, or what came of it: for he had nothing in gods or fame to be lost. And as for his cunning in Alcumystrie, he had as much as an asse. By this discourse Erasmus would giue vs to note, that vnder the golden name of Alcumystrie there lieth lurking no small calamitie; wherein there be such seuerall thifts and sutes of rare subtilties and deceipts, as that not onelie welthie men are thereby manie times impouerished, and that with the swaete allurement of this art, through their owne couetousnesse; as also by the flatterring baits of hoped gaine: but euen wise and learned men hereby are shamefullie ouershot, partlie for want of due experience in the wiles and subtilties of the world, and partlie through the softnesse and pliablenesse of their god nature, which couensing kinaues doo commonlie abuse to their owne lust and commodie, and to the others vtter vndwong.

The opinion of diuerse learned men touching
the follie of Alcumystrie.

The sixt Chapter.

The substances of things are not transmutable.



Albert in his booke of minerals repositeth, that Auicenna treating of Alcumystrie, saith; Let the dealers in Alcumystrie vnderstand, that the vertie nature and kind of things cannot be changed, but

but rather made by art to resemble the same in shew and likeness: so that they are not the verie things indeed, but seeme so to be in appearance: as castles and towers doe seeme to be built in the clouds, whereas the representations there shewed, are nothing else but the resemblance of certeine objects below, caused in some bright and cleere cloud, when the aire is void of thicknes and grossenes. A sufficient pzoofe hercof maie be the looking glasse. And we see (saith he) that yellow or orange colour laid upon red, seemeth to be gold. Francis Petrarch treating of the same matter in forme of a dialogue, introduceth a disciple of his, who sanctified the foresaid fond pzoofession and practise, saieing; I hope for prosperous successe in Alchymistrie. Petrarch answereth him; It is a wonder from whence that hope should spring, sith the frute thereof did neuer yet fall to thy lot, nor yet at anie time chance to anie other; as the report commonlie goeth, that manie rich men, by this vanitie and madnes haue bene brought to beggerie, whyles they haue wearied themselues therewith, weakened their bodies, and wasted their wealth in trieing the means to make gold ingender gold. I hope for gold according to the workemans pzoofise, saith the disciple. He that hath promised thee gold, will runne awate with thy gold, and thou neuer the wiser, saith Petrarch. He promiseth me great good, saith the disciple. He will first serue his owne turne, and releue his priuate pouertie, saith Petrarch; for Alchymysters are a beggerlie kind of people, who though they confesse themselues bare and needie, yet will they make others rich and welthie: as though others pouertie did more molest and pittie them than their owne. These be the words of Petrarch, a man of great learning and no lesse experience; who as in his time he sawe the fraudulent fetches of this compassing craft: so hath there bene no age, since the same hath bene hoked, wherein some few wissemen haue not smelt out the euill meaning of these shifting merchants, and betrayed them to the world.

An ancient writer of a religious order, who liued about a thousand yeares since, discovering the diuersities of thesses, after a long enumeration, bringeth in Alchymysters, whom he calleth *Falsificantes metallorum & mineralium*, witches and counterfeiters of metals and minerals; and setteth them as deepe in the

Franc. Petrarch, lib. de remed. viii. fort. 1. cap. 10.

Goschalcus Bollordinis S. August. in suo pzoceptorio, fol. 244. col. b. c. d. & .i.

No certain
ground in
the art Al-
cunysticall.

degre of thēnes, as anie of the rest, whose inturious dealings are brought to open arraignment. It is demanded (saith he) why the art of Alcunystrie doth neuer proue that in effect, which it pretendeth in p̄cept and promise. The answer is readie; that if by art gold might be made, then were it behouefull to know the maner and p̄ceding of nature in generation; sith art is said to imitate and counterfet nature. Again, it is becaufe of the lameness and vnperfectnesse of philosophie. Speciallie concerning minerals: no such manner of p̄ceding being set downe by consent and agr̄ement of philosophers in writing, touching the true and vndoubted effect of the same. Where vpon one supposeth that gold is made of one kind of stufte this waie, others of another kind of stufte that waie. And therefore it is a chance if anie atteine to the artificiall applieng of the actiues and passiues of gold and siluer. Moreover, it is certeine, that quicke siluer and sulphur are the materials (as they terme them) of mettals, and the agent is heate, which directeth; howbeit it is verie hard to know the due p̄potion of the mixture of the materials; which p̄potion the generation of gold doth require. And admit that by chance they atteine to such p̄potion; yet can they not readilie resume or doe it againe in another worke, becaufe of the hidden diuersities of materials, and the vncerteintie of applieng the actiues and passiues.

Idem ibid.

*Avaritia
idolorum
cultus.*

The same ancient authoꝝ concluding against this vaine art, saith, that of all ch̄istian lawmakers it is foꝝbidden, and in no case tollerable in anie commonwelth: first becaufe it p̄sunneth to forge idols foꝝ couetousnes, which are gold and siluer; where vpon saith the apostle, Couetousnesse is idolwoꝝship; secondlie, foꝝ that (as Aristotle saith) coine should be skant and rare, that it might be deere; but the same would waie vile, and of small estimation, if by the art of Alcunystrie gold and siluer might be multiplied; thirdlie, becaufe (as experience p̄uoueth) wisemen are thereby bewitched, censurers increased, p̄ncers abused, the rich impouerished, the poꝝe beggered, the multitude made foles, and yet the craft and craftsmasters (oh madnes!) credited. Thus far he. Whereby in few woꝝds he discountenanceth that p̄fession, not by the imaginations of his owne braine, but by manifold circumstances of manifest p̄ofe. Touching the which practise I thinke

thinke inough hath bene spoken, and moze a great deale than needed; sith so plaine and demonstrable a matter requieth the lesse trauell in confutation.

That vaine and deceitfull hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that there labours therein are bootelesse, &c.

The seuenth Chapter.

Hitherto somewhat at large I haue detected the knauerie of the art Alchymysticall, partlie by reasons, and partlie by examples: so that the thing it selfe maie no lesse appeare to the iudiciall eie of the considerers; than the bones and sinewes of a bodie anatomized, to the eie porall eie of the beholders. Now it shall not be amisse nor impertinent, to treat some what of the nature of that vaine and frutelesse hope, which induceth and draweth men forward as it were with chozdes, not onelie to the admiration, but also to the approbation of the same: in such sort that some are compelled to sing (as one in old time did, whether in token of god or ill lucke, I do not now well remember) *Spes fortuna valere; Hope and god hap adieu.*

So meruell then though Alchymystrie allure men so sweetlie, and intangle them in snares of follie; sith the baits which it bleseth is the hope of gold, the hunger wherof is by the poet termed *sacris*, which some do English, Holie; not vnderstanding that it is rather to be interpreted, * Curled or detestable, by the figure Acyron, when a word of an vnproper signification is cast in a clause as it were a cloud: or by the figure Antiphrasis, when a word importeth a contrarie meaning to that which it commonlie hath. For what reason can there be, that the hunger of gold should be counted holie, the same hauing (as depending vpon it) so manie millions of mischeues and miseries: as treasons, theftes, adulteries, manslaughters, trucebreaking, perjuries, couenages, and a great trope of other enormities, which were here to long

ff. ij.

to

Of vaine hope.

* I. Cal. in
Comment.
vpon Deut.
serm. 127.
pa. 781. col. 1.
number. 40.

A maxime.

to rehearse. And if the nature of euerie action be determinable by the end thereof, then cannot this hunger be holie, but rather accursed, which pulleth after it as it were with iron chaines such a band of outrages and enozimities, as of all their laboz, charge, care and cost, &c. they haue nothing else left them in lieu of lucre, but onlie some few burned bzickes of a ruinous fornace, a peche or two of ashes, and such light stufke, which they are forced peraduenture in fine to sell, when beggerie hath arrested and laid his mace on their shoulders. As for all their gold, it is resolved in *primam materiam*, or rather *In leuem quendam fumulum*, into a light smoke or fumigation of vapors, than the which nothing is moze light, nothing lesse substantiall, spirits onelie excepted, out of whose nature and number these are not to be exempted.

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

The eight Chapter.



That which I haue declared before, by reasons, examples, and authorities, I will now prosecute and conclude by one other example; to the end that we, as others in former ages, maie iudge of vaine hope accordinglie, and be no lesse circumspect to avoid the inconueniences thereof, than *Vlyses* was warie to escape the incantations of *Circes* that old transforming witch. Which example of mine is drawne from *Lewes* the French king, the eleuenth of that name, who being on a time at *Burgundie*, fell acquainted by occasion of hunting with one *Conon*, a clownish but yet an honest and hartie good fellow. For princes and great men delight much in such plaine clubbatches. The king oftentimes, by meanes of his game, vsed the countrimans house for his refreshing; and as noble men sometimes take pleasure in homelie and course things, so the king did not refuse to eat turnips and rape rootes in *Conons* cotage. Shortly after king *Lewes* being at his pallace, both of troubles and disquietnesse, *Conons* wife

Erasmus in colloq. cui titulus Cononism fabulosum.

wild him to repaire to the court, to shew himselfe to the king, to put him in mind of the old intertainement which he had at his house, and to present him with some of the fairest and choicest rape rotes that she had in store. Conon seemed loth, alledging that he should but lose his labour: for princes (saith he) haue o- ther matters in hand, than to intend to thinke of such trifeling courtesies. But Conons wife ouercame him, and perswaded him in the end, chosing a certeine number of the best and goodliest rape rotes that she had: which when she had giuen hir husband to carrie to the court, he set forward on his iournie a good trading pafe. But Conon being tempted by the waie, partlie with desire of eating, and partlie with the toothsomnes of the meate which he bare, that by little and little he deuoured by all the rotes sauing one, which was a verie faire and a goodlie great one indeed. Now when Conon was come to the court, it was his lucke to stand in such a place, as the king passing by, and speng the man, did well remember him, and commanded that he should be brought in. Conon verie cherefullie followed his guide hard at the heels, and no soner sawe the king, but bluntlie comming to him, reached out his hand, and presented the gift to his maiestie. The king receiued it with more cherefulness than it was offered, and bad one of those that stood next him, to take it, and laie it by among those things which he esteemed most, & had in greatest account. Then he bad Conon to dine with him, and after dinner gaue the counttriman great thanks for his rape rote; who made no bones of the matter, but boldlie made challenge and claime to the kings promised courtesie. Whereupon the king commanded, that a thousand crownes should be giuen him in recompense for his rote.

A hungrie
bellie will
not be bri-
deled.

comest
edho. llo
shunawg

A princelie
largesse.

The report of this bountiffulness was spred in short space ouer all the kings household: in so much as one of his courtiers, in hope of the like or a larger reward gaue the king a verie proper ginnet. Whose distt the king perceiuing, and iudging that his former liberalitie to the clowne, prouoked the courtier to this couetous attempt, toke the ginnet verie thankfullie: and calling some of his noble men about him, began to consult with them, what meens he might make his seruant for his horse. Whiles this was a doing, the courtier conceiued passing good

hope of some princelie largesse, calculating and casting his cards in this maner; If his maiestie rewarded a sillie clotone to bountifullie for a simple rape rote, what will he do to a iollie 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 vaine hope, at last saith the king, euen vpon the sudden; I haue now bethought me what to bestowe vpon him; and calling one of his nobles to him, whispered him in the eare, and willed him to fetch a thing, which he should find in his chamber wrapped vp in silke. The rote is brought wrapped in silke, which the king with his owne hands gaue to the courtier, vsing these words therewithall, that he sped well, in so much as it was his good hap to haue for his horse a iewell that cost him a thousand crownes. The courtier was a glad man, and at his departing longed to be looking what it was, and his hart danced for ioy. In due time therefore he vntwapped the silke (a sort of his fellow courtiers flocking about him to testifie his good lucke) and hauing vnsolded it, he found therein a drie and withered rape rote. 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 pensifenes. Thus was the confidence of this courtier turned to vanitie, who vpon hope of good speed was willing to part from his horse for had I wist.

Sic ars delusionis arte.

The moral of the premises.

This storie doth teach vs into what follie and madnes vaine hope may giue vndiscreete and vnerpert men. And therefore no meruell though Alcumpsters dreame and dote after double advantage, saring like Aelops dog, who grauidlie coueting to catch and snatch at the shadowe of the flesh which he carried in his mouth ouer the water, lost both the one and the other: as they do their increafe and their principall. But to breake off abruptlye from this matter, and to leaue these hypocrits (for whie may they not be so named, who as Homer, speaking in detestation of such rakehelles, saith verie diuinelie and trulie;

Homer.

*Odi etenim seu claustra Erebi, quicunque loquuntur
Ore aliud, tacitoque aliud sub pectore claudunt:*

I hate euen as the gates of hell,
 Those that one thing with tooong doo tell,
 And notwithstanding closelie keepe,
 Another thing in hart full deepe)

Englished by
 Abraham
 Fleming.

To leaue these hypocrits (I saie) in the dregs of their dishon-
 orie, I will conclude against them peremptorie, that they, with
 the rable above rehearsed, and the rotte hereafter to be mentio-
 ned, are ranke couersers, and consuming cankers to the com-
 mon wealsh, and therefore to be reiected and excommunicated
 from the fellowship of all honest men. For now their art, which
 turneth all kind of metals that they can come by into mist and
 smoke, is no lesse apparent to the world, than the clere sunnie
 rates at none stied; in so much that I may saie wth the poet,

*Hos populus ridet, multumque torosa iuuentus
 Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos :*

*Aul. Persu-
 us, satyr. 3.*

All people laugh them now to scorne,
 each strong and lustie blood
 Redoubleth quauering laughers lowd
 with wrinkled nose a good.

Englished by
 Abraham
 Fleming.

So that, if antie be so addicted vnto the banitie of the art Al-
 cumpsticall (as euerie sole will haue his fanisie) and that (beside
 so manie experimented examples of diuers, whose wealth hath
 banished like a vapor, whiles they haue bene ouer rash in the
 practise hereof) this discourse will not moue to desist from such
 extreame dotage, I saie to him or them and that aptlie,

*dicique facitque quod ipse
 Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes :*

Idem, ibid.

He saith and dooth that verie thing,
 which mad Orestes might
 With oth auerre became a man
 becrest of reason right.

By Ab. Fle-
 ming.

¶ The xv. Booke.

The exposition of Iidoni, and where it is found, whereby the whole art of coniuration is deciphered.

The first Chapter.



The large
significati-
on of the
word Ii-
doni.

This word Iidoni is de-
riued of Iada, which proper-
lie signifieth to knowe: it is
sometimes translated, *Di-
uinus*, which is a diuino; or
soothsaier, as in Deut. 18. Le-
uit. 20: sometimes *Ariolus*,
which is one that also taketh
vpon him to foretell things
to come, and is found Leuit.
19. 2. Kings. 23. Esai. 19.
To be short, the opinion of
them that are most skilfull
in the tongues, is, that it com-

prehendeth all them, which take vpon them to knowe all things
past and to come, and to giue answers accordinglie. It alwaies
followeth the word *ob*, and in the scriptures is not named seue-
rallie from it, and differeth little from the same in sense, and do
both concerne oracles vttered by spirits, possessed people, or con-
seners. What will not conseners or witches take vpon them to
do? Wherein will they professe ignorance? Aske them anie que-
stion, they will undertake to resolue you, euen of that which
none but God knoweth. And to bring their purposes the better
to passe, as also to winne farther credit vnto the counterfet art
which they professe, they procure confederates, whereby they
wotke wonders. And when they haue either learning, eloquence,
or nimbleness of hands to accompanie their confederacie, or ra-
ther

ther knauerie, then (soz soth) they passe the degreé of witches, and
intitle themselues to the name of coniurozs. And these deale
with no inferiour causes: these fetch diuels out of hell, and an-
gels out of heauen; these raise vp what bodies they list, though
they were dead, buried, and rotten long before; and fetch soules
out of heauen or hell with much moze expedition than the pope
bringeth them out of purgatorie. These I saie (among the sim-
ple, and where they feare no law nor accusation) take vpon them
also the raising of tempests, and earthquakes, and to do as much
as God himselfe can do. These are no small soles, they go not to
wozke with a baggage tode, or a cat, as witches do; but with a
kind of maiestie, and with authoritie they call vp by name, and
haue at their commandement seuentie and nine p̄ncipall and
p̄ncielie diuels, who haue vnder them, as their ministers, a
great multitude of legions of pettie diuels; as for example.

*Vide Phi-
last Brix.
episc. h. c. r. e. s. t.
in catal. de
phitonissa.*

*I. Wierus in
Pseudomo-
narchia de
monum.*

An inuentarie of the names, shapes, powers, go-
uernement, and effects of diuels and spirits, of their
seuerall segnories and degrees: a strange discourse
worth the reading.

The second Chapter.

THeir first and principall king
(which is of the power of the east) is called
Baëll; who when he is coniured vp, appea-
reth with threë heads; the first, like a tode;
the second, like a man; the third, like a cat.
He speaketh with a hoarse voice, he ma-
keth a man go inuisible, he hath vnder his
obedience and rule firtie and six legions
of diuels.

Salomons
notes of
coniura-
tion,
Baëll.

The first duke vnder the power of the east, is named Agares,
he commeth vp mildlie in the likenes of a faire old man, riding
vpon a crocodile, and carrieng a hawke on his fist; hee teacheth
presentlie all maner of tonges, he fetcheth backe all such as runne
abwaie, and maketh them runne that stand still; he ouerthroweth
all dignities supernaturall and temporall, hee maketh earthy
quakes,

Agares.

quakes, and is of the order of vertues, hauing vnder his regiment thirtie one legions.

Marbas.

Marbas, *alias* Barbas is a great president, and appeareth in the forme of a mightie lion; but at the commandement of a coniuor commeth by in the likenes of a man, and answereth fullie as touching any thing which is hidden or secret: he bringeth diseases, and cureth them, he promoteth wisdom, and the knowledge of mechanicall arts, or handicrafts; he changeth men into other shapen, and vnder his presidentie or gouernement are thirtie six legions of diuels contained.

Amon.

Amon, or Aamon, is a great and mightie marques, and commeth abroad in the likenes of a wolfe, hauing a serpents taile, spitting out and breathing flames of fier; when he putteth on the shape of a man, he sheweth out dogs teeth, and a great head like to a mightie rauen; he is the strongest prince of all other, and vnderstandeth of all things past and to come, he procureth fauor, and reconcileth both friends and foes, and ruleth fourtie legions of diuels.

Barbatos.

Barbatos, a great countie or earle, and also a duke, he appeareth in *signo sagittarij sive stru*, with foure kings, which bring companies and great tropes. He vnderstandeth the singing of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowings of bullocks, and the voice of all liuing 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 gouerneth thirtie legions of diuels by his authoritie.

Buer.

Buer is a great president, and is scene in this signe; he absolutelie teacheth philosophie morall and naturall, and also logicke, and the vertue of herbes: he giueth the best familiars, he can heale all diseases, speciallie of men, and reigneth ouer fiftie legions.

Gusoin.

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

Botis.

Botis, otherwise Otis, a great president and an earle he commeth

meth forth in the shape of an ouglie viper, and if he put on hu mane shape, he sheweth great teeth, and two hoznes, carrieng a sharpe sword in his hand: he giueth answers of things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends, and foes, ruling sixtie legions.

Bathin, sometimes called Mathim, a great duke and a strong *Bathin.* he is seene in the shape of a verie strong man, with a serpents taile, sitting on a pale hozse, vnderstanding the vertues of hearbs and pretious stones, transferring men suddentlie from countrie to countrie, and ruleth thirtie legions of diuels.

Purson, *alias* Cursion, a great king, he commeth forth like a *Purson.* man with a lions face, carrieng a most cruell viper, and riding on a beare; and befoze him go alwaies trumpets, he knoweth things hidden, and can tell all things present, past, and to come: he betwzaileth treasure, he can take a bodie either humane or aerie; he answereth truelie of all things earthlie and secret, of the diuinitie and creation of the world, and bzingeth forth the best familiars; and there obeie him two and twentie legions of diuels, partlie of the order of vertues, & partlie of the order of thrones.

Eligor, *alias* Abigor, is a great duke, and appereeth as a god *Eligor.* lie knight, carrieng a lance, an ensigne, and a scepter: he answereth fullie of things hidden, and of swarres, and how souldiers should mæte: he knoweth things to come, and procureth the fauour of lords and knights, gouerning sirtie legions of diuels.

Leraie, *alias* Oray, a great marquesse, shewing himselfe in the *Leraie.* likenesse of a galant archer, carrieng a bowe and a quiter, he is authoz of all battels, he doth putriffe all such wounds as are made with arrowes by archers, *Quos optimos obicit tribus diebus,* and he hath regiment ouer thirtie legions.

Valefar, *alias* Malephar, is a strong duke, comming forth in *Valefar.* the shape of a lion, and the head of a sheefe, he is verie familiar with them to whom he maketh himselfe acquainted, till he hath brought them to the galloves, and ruleth ten legions.

Morax, *alias* Foraij, a great earle and a president, he is seene *Morax.* like a bull, and if he take vnto him a mans face, he maketh men wonderfull cunning in astronomie, & in all the liberall sciences: he giueth god familiars and wise, knowing the pover & vertue of hearbs and stones which are pretious, and ruleth thirtie six legions.

gions.

Ipos.

Ipos, alias Apporos, is a great earle and a prince, appearing in the shape of an angell, and yet indeed moze obscure and slylike than a lion, with a lions head, a gooses feet, and a hares taile: he knoweth things to come and past, he maketh a man wittie, and bold, and hath vnder his iurisdiction thirtie six legions.

Naberius.

Naberius, alias Cerberus, is a valiant marquesse, shewing himselfe in the forme of a crowe, when he speaketh with a hoarse voice: he maketh a man amiable and cunning in all arts, and speciallie in rhetozike, he procureth the losse of prelacies and dignities: ninetene legions heare and obeie him.

Glafya Labolas.

Glafya Labolas, alias Caacrinolaas, or Caasimolar, is a great president, who commeth forth like a dog, and hath wings like a griffen, he giueth the knowledge of arts, and is the captaine of all mansleiers: he vnderstandeth things present and to come, he gaineth the minds and loue of friends and foes, he maketh a man go inuisible, and hath the rule of six and thirtie legions.

Zepar.

Zepar is a great duke, appearing as a souldier, insaming women with the loue of men, and when he is bidden he changeth their shape, vntill they maie entoe their beloued, he also maketh them barren, and six and twentie legions are at his obeie and commandement.

Bileth.

Bileth is a great king and a terrible, riding on a pale horse, before whom go trumpets, and all kind of melodious musicke. When he is called by by an exorcist, he appeareth rough and furious, to deceiue him. Then let the exorcist or confuroz take heed to himself, and to allaie his courage, let him hold a hazell bat in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out toward the calf and south, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand vnto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirits; let the confuroz proceed to reading, and by and by he will submit himselfe, and come in, and do what soeuer the exorcist commandeth him, and he shal be safe. If *Bileth* the king be moze stubborn, and refuse to enter into the circle at the first call, and the confuroz shew himselfe fearfull, or if he haue not the chaine of spirits, certeinlie he will neuer feare nor regard him after. Also, if the place be vnapt for a triangle to be made without the circle, then set there a boll of wine, and the exorcist

orcist shall certeinlie knowe when he commeth out of his house, with his fellowes, and that the foresaid Bileth will be his helper, his friend, and obedient vnto him when he commeth forth. And when he commeth, let the orocist receiue him courteously, and glorie him in his pride, and therfore he shall adoze him as other kings do, because he saith nothing without other princes. Also, if he be cited by an orocist, alwaies a siluer ring of the middle finger of the left hand must be held against the orocists face, as they do for Amaimon. And the dominion and power of so great a prince is not to be pretermitted; for there is none vnder the power & dominion of the confuroz, but he that deteineth both men and women in doting loue, till the orocist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the seauenth throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eightie five legions.

Vide Amaimon.

Sitri, *alias* Bitru, is a great prince, appering with the face of a leopard, and hauing wings as a griffen: when he taketh human shape, he is verie beautifull, he inflameth a man with a womans lone, and also stirreth by women to loue men, being commanded he willinglie deteineth secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them lururioullie naked, and there obeie him sixtie legions.

Sitri a bawdie diuell.

Paimon is moze obedient to Lucifer than other kings are. Lucifer is here to be vnderstood he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge: he would needs be like God, and for his arrogancie was throwne out into destruction, of whome it is said; Curie pretious stone is thy couering. Paimon is constrained by diuine vertue to stand before the orocist; where he putteth on the likenesse of a man: he sitteth on a beast called a dzomedarie, which is a swift runner, and weareth a glorious crowne, and hath an effeminate countenance. There goeth before him an host of men with trumpets and well sounding cymbals, and all muscalle instruments. At the first he appereth with a great erie and rozing, as in *Circulo Salomonis*, and in the art is declared. And if this Paimon speake sometime that the confuroz vnderstand him not, let him not therfore be dismayed. But when he hath deliuered him the first obligation, to obserue his desire, he must bid him also answer him distincalie and plainelie to the questions:

Paimon.

Ezech. 88.

ons he shall aske you, of all philosophie, wisdom, and science, and of all other secret things. And if you will knowe the disposition of the world, and what the earth is, or what holdeth it vp in the water, or any other thing, or what is Abyssus, or where the wind is, or from whence it cometh, he will teach you about dantlie. Consecrations also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. He giueth dignities and confirmations; he bindeth them that resist him in his owne chaines, and subiecteth them to the contrary; he prepareth god familiars, and hath the vnderstanding of all arts. Note, that at the calling vp of him, the exorcist must looke towards the north-west, because there is his house. When he is called vp, let the exorcist receiue him confidently 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 he forget not the creator, for those things, which haue bene rehearsed before of Paimon, some saie he is of the order of dominations; others saie, of the order of cherubim. There follow him two hundred legions, partlie of the order of angels, and partlie of potestates. Note that if Paimon be cited alone by an offering or sacrifice, two kings followe him; to wit, Beball & Abalam, & other potentates; in his host are twentie fine legions, because the spirits subiect to them are not alwaies with them, except they be compelled to appeere by diuine vertue.

Cautions
for the Ex-
orcist or
coniuor.

The fall of
Beliall.

Some saie that the king Beliall was created immediatlie after Lucifer, and therefore they thinke that he was father and seducer of them which fell being of the orders. For he fell first among the worzhier and wiser sort, which went before Michael and other heauenlie angels, which were lacking. Although Beliall went before all them that were throwne downe to the earth, yet he went not before them that carried in heauen. This Beliall is constrained by diuine vertue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he againe may giue vnto the offerers true answers. But he carrieth not one houre in the truth, except he be constrained by the diuine powler, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautifull angell, sitting in a fire chariot; he speaketh faire, he distributeth preferments of senatorship, and the fauour of friends, and excellent familiars: he hath rule ouer eighty tie legions, partlie of the order of vertues, partlie 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 euerie thing assist his subiects. If he will not submit himselfe, let the bond of spirits be read: the spirits chaine is sent for him, wherewith wise Salomon gathered them together with their legions in a brazen vessel, where were inclosed among all the legions seuentie two kings, of whom the chiefe was Bileth, the second was Beliall, the third Asmoday, and aboue a thousand thousand legions. Without doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my maister Salomon; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them vp so: but I beleue it was for the pride of this Beliall. Certaine nigromancers doe saie, that Salomon, being on a certaine daie seduced by the craft of a certaine woman, inclined himselfe to praise before the same idoll, Beliall by name: which is not credible. And therefore we must rather thinke (as it is said) that they were gathered together in that great brazen vessel for pride and arrogancie, and throwne into a deepe lake or hole in Babylon. For wise Salomon did accomplish his workes by the diuine power, which neuer forsooke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshipped not the image Beliall; for then he could not haue constrained the spirits by diuine 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 quantitie of treasure, and therefore with one consent went downe into the lake, and vncouered and brake the vessel, out of the which immediatlie flew the captaine diuels, and were deliuered to their former and proper places. But this Beliall entred into a certaine image, and there gaue answer to them that offered and sacrificed vnto him: as Toc. in his sentences reporteth, and the Babylonians did worship and sacrifice therevnto.

Bune is a great and a strong Duke, he appeareth as a dragon with three heads, the third whereof is like to a man; he speaketh with a diuine voice, he maketh the dead to change their place, and directeth to assemble vpon the sepulchers of the dead: he greatlie enricheth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise, answering truth to all demands, and thirtie legions obiect him.

Fornes is a great marquisse, like vnto a monster of the sea, he maketh men wonderfull in rhetorike, he adorneth a man with

Salomon gathered all the diuels together in a brazen vessel.

The Babylonians disappointed of their hope.

Bune.

Fornes.

with a good name, and the knowledge of tongues, and maketh one beloued as well of foes as frēnds: there are vnder him nine and twentie legions, of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels.

Ronoue.

Ronoue a marquesse and an earle, he is resembled to a monster, he bringeth singular vnderstanding in rhetorike, faithfull seruants, knowledge of tongues, fauour of frēnds and foes; and ninetēne legions obete him.

Berich a golden diuell.

Berich is a great and a terrible duke, and hath three names. Of some he is called Beall; of the Ielues Berich; of Pigromancers Bolffy: he commeth forth as a red souldier, with red cloathing, and vpon a horse of that colour, and a crowne on his head. He answereth trulie of things present, past, and to come. He is compelled at a certeine houre, through diuine vertue, by a ring of art magicke. He is also a lier, he turneth all mettals into gold, he adozmeth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a cleare and a subtil voice, and six and twentie legions are vnder him.

Astaroth.

Astaroth is a great and a strong duke, comming forth in the shape of a fowle angell, sitting vpon an infernall dragon, and carteng on his right hand a viper: he answereth trulie to matters present, past, and to come, and also of all secrets. He talketh willinglye of the creatoz 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 fourtie legions. Let euerie exorcist take heed, that he admit him not to nere him, because of his stinking breath. And therefore let the coniuro: hold nere to his face a magicall ring, and that shall defend him.

Foras.

Foras, *alias* Forcas is a great president, and is sene in the forme of a strong man, and in humane shape, he vnderstandeth the vertue of hearbs and pretious spones: he teacheth fullie logicke, ethicke, and their parts: he maketh a man inuisible, witty, eloquent, and to lue long; he recouereth things lost, and discovereth treasures, and is lord ouer nine and twentie legions.

Furfur.

Furfur is a great earle, appearing as an hart, with a firme taile, he lieth in euerie thing, except he be brought by within a triangle; being bidden, he taketh angelicall forme, he speaketh
with

with a hoarse voice, and willinglie maketh loue betwene man and wife; he raiseth thunders and lightnings, and blasts. Where he is commanded, he answereth well, both of secret and also of diuine things, and hath rule and dominion ouer six and twentie legions.

Marchofias is a great marquesse, he sheweth himselfe in the shape of a cruell shee wolfe, with a griphens wings, with a serpents taile, and spetting I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans shape, he is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions trulie, he is faithfull in all the coniurozs busynesse, he was of the order of dominations, vnder him are thirtie legions: he hopeth after 1200. yeares to returne to the seuenth throne, but he is deceiued in that hope.

Marchofias.

Malphas is a great president, he is seene like a crowe, but being cloathed with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth houses and high towres wonderfullie, and quicklie bringeth artificers together, he throweth downe also the enemies edifications, he helpeth to good familiars, he receiueth sacrifices willinglie, but he deceiueth all the sacrificers, there obeie him fourtie legions.

Malphas.

Vepar, *alias* Separ, a great duke and a strong, he is like a mermaid, he is the guide of the waters, and of ships laden with armour; he bringeth to passe (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shalbe rough and stormie, and shall appeare full of shippes; he killeth men in thre daies, with putrifieng their wounds, and producing maggots into them; howbeit, they maie be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and twentie legions.

Vepar.

Sabnacke, *alias* Salmac, is a great marquesse and a strong, he cometh forth as an armed soldier with a lions head, sitting on a pale horste, he doth marueloulie change mans forme and fauor, he buildeth high towres full of weapons, and also castles and cities; he inflateth men thirtie daies with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists commandement, he prouideth god familiars, and hath dominion ouer fiftie legions.

Sabnacke.

Sidonay, *alias* Almoday, a great king, strong and mightie, he is seene with thre heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a man, the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of his mouth, he hath feete like a goose, he sitteth

Sidonay.

on an infernall dragon, he carrieth a lance and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, which are vnder the power of Amaymon. When the contuor exerciseth this office, let him be abroad, let him be warie and standing on his feete; if his cap be on his head, he will cause all his doings to be beluzaid, which if he do not, the exorcist shalbe deceiued by Amaymon in euerie thing. But so soone as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by his name, saying; Thou art Almoday: he will not denie it, and by and by he boweth downe to the ground; he giueth the ring of vertues, he absolutelie teacheth geometrie, arithmetike, astronomie, and handicrafts. To all demands he answereth fullie and fruitie, he maketh a man inuisible, he sheweth the places where treasure lieth, and gardeth it, if it be among the legions of Amaymon, he hath vnder his power seuentie two legions.

Gaap.

Gaap, *alias* Tap, a great president and a prince, he appeareth in a meridoionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of the foure principall kings, as mightie as Bilech. There were certeine necromancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings vnto him; and to call him by, they exercised an art, saying that Salomon the wise made it. Which is false: for it was rather Cham, the sonne of Noah, who after the flood began first to inuocate wicked spirits. He inuocated Bilech, and made an art in his name, and a booke which is knotone to manie mathematicians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts giuen, and much wickednes wrought by the exorcists, who mingled therewithall the holie names of God, the which in that art are euerie where exprest. Harie there is an epistle of those names written by Salomon, as also write Helias Hierosolymitanus and Helisus. It is to be noted, that if anie exorcist haue the art of Bilech, and cannot make him stand before him, nor see him, I may not beluzate how and declare the meanes to containe him, because it is abhominacion, and soz that I haue learned nothing from Salomon of his dignitie and office. But yet I will not hide this; to wit, that he maketh a man wonderfull in philosophie and all the liberall sciences: he maketh loue, hatred, insensibilitie, inuisibilitie, consecration, and consecracion of those things that are belonging vnto the domination of Amaymon, and deliuereth familiars out of the possession of other

Who was
the first necromancer.

ther coniuroꝝ, answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, & to come, & transfereth men most speedilie into other nations, he ruleth sixtie six legions, & was of the order of potestats.

Shax, *alias* Scox, is a darke and a great marquette, like unto *Shax* a hozke, with a hoarse and subtil voice: he doth marvellouslie take awaie the sight, hearing, and vnderstanding of anie man, at the commandement of the coniuroꝝ: he taketh awaie monie out of euerie kings house, and carrieth it backe after 1200. yeares, if he be commanded, he is a hozelstealer, he is thought to be faithfull in all commandements: and although he promise to be obedient to the coniuroꝝ in all things; yet is he not so, he is a liar, except he be bzought into a triangle, and there he speaketh diuinelie, and telleth of things which are hidden, and not kept of wicked spirits, he promiseth god familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceiuers, he hath thirtie legions.

Procell is a great and a strong duke, appearing in the shape *Procell* of an angell, but speaketh verie darlike of things hidden, he teacheth geometrie and all the liberall arts, he maketh great noises, and causeth the waters to roze, where are none, he warmeth waters, and dissempereth bathes at certeine times, as the exorcist appointeth him, he was of the order of potestats, and hath fourtie eight legions vnder his power.

Furcas is a knight and commeth forth in the similitude of a *Furcas* cruell man, with a long beard and a hoarie head, he sitteth on a pale hozle, carrieng in his hand a sharpe weapon, he perfectlie teacheth practike philosophie, rhetorike, logike, astronemie, chiromancie, pyromancie, and their parts: there obeie him twentie legions.

Murmur is a great duke and an earle, appearing in the shape *Murmur* of a souldier, riding on a grifhen, with a dukes crowne on his head: there go befoze him two of his ministers, with great trumpets, he teacheth philosophie absolutelie, he constraineth soules to come befoze the exorcist, to answer what he shall aske them, he was of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions.

Caim is a great president, taking the forme of a thuzsh, but *Caim* when he putteth on mans shape, he answereth in burning ashes, carrieng in his hand a most sharpe sword, he maketh the best

disputers, he giueth men the vnderstanding of all birds, of the lowing of bullocks, and barking of dogs, and also of the sound and noise of waters, he answereth best of things to come, he was of the order of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions of diuels.

Raim.

Raim, or Raim is a great earle, he is seene as a crowe, but when he putteth on humane shape, at the commandement of the crozic, he stealeth wonderfullie out of the kings house, and carrieth it whether he is assigned, he destroiet cities, and hath great despite vnto dignities, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends and foes, he was of the order of thrones, and gouerneth thirtie legions.

Halphas.

Halphas is a great earle, and commeth abroad like a stozke, with a hoarse voice, he notable buildeth by townes full of munition and weapons, he sendeth men of warre to places appointed, and hath vnder him six and twentie legions.

Focalor.

Focalor is a great duke comming forth as a man, with wings like a griphen, he killeth men, and dovneth them in the waters, and ouerturneth ships of warre, commanding and ruling both winds and seas, And let the coniuroz note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willinglie consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000. yeares to returne to the seuenth throne, but he is deceued, he hath three legions.

Vine.

Vine is a great king and an earle, he sheweth himselfe as a lion, riding on a blacke horse, and carrieth a viper in his hand, he gladlie buildeth large towres, he throweth downe stone walles, and maketh waters rough. At the commandement of the crozic he answereth of things hidden, of witches, and of things present, past, and to come.

Bifrons.

Bifrons is seene in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the image of a man, he maketh one wonderfull cunning in astrologie, absolutelie declaring the mansions of the planets, he doth the like in geometrie, and other admeasurements, he perfectly vnderstandeth the strength and vertue of hearbs, pretious stones, and woods, he changeth dead bodies from place to place, he seemeth to light candles vpon the sepulchres of the dead, and hath vnder him six and twentie legions.

Gamigin.

Gamigin is a great marquesse, and is seene in the forme of a little horse, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a hoarse

hoarse voice, disputing of all liberall sciences; he bringeth also to passe, that the soules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatorie (which is called Cartagra, that is, affliction of soules) shall take aierie bodies, and euidentlie appeare and answer to interrogatores at the coniurores commandement; he carrieth with the exorcist, vntill he haue accomplished his desire, and hath thirtie legions vnder him.

Zagan is a great king and a president, he commeth abroad like a bull, with griphens wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men wittie, he turneth all mettals into the coine of that dominion, and turneth water into wine, and wine into water, he also turneth blood into wine, & wine into blood, & a soule into a wise man, he is head of thirtie and thre legions.

Orias is a great marquesse, and is seene as a lion riding on a strong horse, with a serpents taile, and carrieth in his right hand two great serpents hissing, he knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectlie teacheth the vertues of the starres, he tranformeth men, he giueth dignities, prelacies, and confirmations, and also the fauour of friends and foes, and hath vnder him thirtie legions.

Valac is a great president, and commeth abroad with angels wings like a boie, riding on a twoheaded dragon, he perfectlie answereth of treasure hidden, and where serpents may be seene, which he deliuereth into the coniurores hands, void of anie force or strength, and hath dominion ouer thirtie legions of diuels.

Gomorj a strong and a mightie duke, he appeareth like a faire woman, with a duchesse crownet about hir middle, riding on a camell, he answereth well and truelie of things present, past, and to come, and of treasure hid, and where it lieth: he procureth the loue of women, especiallie of maids, and hath six and twentie legions.

Decarabia or Carabia, he commeth like a * and knoweth the force of herbes and pretious stones, and maketh all birds sicke before the exorcist, and to tarrie with him, as though they were faine, and that they shall drinke and sing, as their maner is, and hath thirtie legions.

Amduscias a great and a strong duke, he commeth forth as an vncoigne, when he standeth before his maister in humane shape,

shape, being commanded, he easlie bringeth to passe, that trum-
pets and all muscicall instruments may be heard and not seene,
and also that trees shall bend and incline, according to the con-
futores will, he is excellent among familiars, and hath nine and
twentie legions.

Andras.

Andras is a great marquette, and is seene in an angels shape
with a head like a blacke night rauen, riding vpon a blacke and
a verie strong wolfe, flourishing with a sharpe sword in his
hand, he can kill the maister, the seruant, and all assistants, he is
author of discords, and ruleth thirtie legions.

*Andreal-
phus.*

Andrealphus is a great marquette, appearing as a peccocke, he
raiseth great noises, and in humane shape perfectlie teacheth ge-
ometrie, and all things belonging to admeasurements, he ma-
keth a man to be a subtill disputer, and cunning in astronomie,
and transformeth a man into the likenes of a bird, and there are
vnder him thirtie legions.

Ose.

Ose is a great president, and commeth forth like a leopard,
and counterfeting to be a man, he maketh one cunning in the
liberall sciences, he answereth truelie of diuine and secret
things, he transformeth a mans shape, and bringeth a man to
that madness, that he thinketh himselfe to be that which he is not,
as that he is a king or a pope, or that he weareth a crowne on
his head, *Durâque id regnum ad horam.*

Aym.

Aym or Haborim is a great duke and a strong, he commeth
forth with threë heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a
man hauing two * the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper,
carrieng in his hand a light fier bzard, with the flame whereof
castles and cities are fiered, he maketh one wittie euerie kind
of wate, he answereth truelie of priuie matters, and reigneth
ouer twentie six legions.

Orobas.

Orobas is a great prince, he commeth forth like a horse, but
when he putteth on him a mans idol, he talketh of diuine vertue,
he giueth true answers of things present, past, and to come, and
of the diuinitie, and of the creation, he deceiueth none, nor suffe-
reth anie to be tempted, he giueth dignities and prelacies, and
the fauour of frends and foes, and hath rule ouer twentie le-
gions.

Vapula.

Vapula is a great duke and a strong, he is seene like a lion
with

with grithens wings, he maketh a man subtil and wonderfull in handicrafts, philosophie, and in sciences contained in booke, and is ruler ouer thirtie six legions.

Cimeries is a great marquesse and a strong, ruling in the parts of Africa; he teacheth perfectlie grammar, logicke, and rhetorike, he discovereth treasures and things hidden, he bringeth to passe, that a man shall seeme with expedition to be turned into a soldier, he rideth vpon a great blacke horse, and ruleth twentie legions.

Amy is a great president, and appeareth in a flame of fier, but hauing taken mans shape, he maketh one maruelous in astrologie, and in all the liberall sciences, he procureth excellent familiars, he bewraiceth treasures preserved by spirits, he hath the gouernement of thirtie six legions, he is partlie of the order of angels, partlie of potestats, he hopeth after a thousand two hundred yeares to returne to the seventh throne: which is not credible.

Flauros a strong duke, is scene in the forme of a terrible strong leopard, in humane shape, he sheweth a terrible countenance, and fierie eyes, he answereth trulie and fullie of things present, past, and to come; if he be in a triangle, he lieth in all things and deceiueth in other things, and beguileth in other busines, he gladly talketh of the diuinitie, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by diuine vertue, and so are all diuels or spirits, to burne and destroye all the coniurozs aduerfaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the coniuroz not to be templed, and he hath twentie legions vnder him.

Balam is a great and a terrible king, he cometh forth with three heads, the first of a bull, the second of a man, the third of a ram, he hath a serpents taile, and flaming eyes, riding vpon a furious beare, and carrieng a halowe on his fist, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, answering perfectlie of things present, past, and to come, he maketh a man inuisible and wise, he gouerneth fourtie legions; and was of the order of dominati-
ons.

Alloer is a strong duke and a great, he cometh forth like a soldier, riding on a great horse, he hath a lions face, verie red, and with flaming eyes, he speaketh with a big voice, he maketh a

man wonderfull in astronomie, and in all the liberall sciences, he bringeth god familiars, and ruleth thirtie six legions.

Salcos.

Salcos is a great earle, he appeareth as a gallant soldier, riding on a crocodile, and weareth a dukes crowne, peaceable, &c.

Vuall.

Vuall is a great duke and a strong, he is seene as a great and terrible dromedarie, but in humane foyme, he soundeth out in a base voice the Egyptian tong. This man about all other procureth the respectall loue of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, procuring the loue of friends and foes, he was of the order of potestats, and governeth thirtie seuen legions.

Haagenti.

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

Phenix.

Phenix is a great marquesse, appearing like the bird Phenix, hauing a childs voice: but before he standeth still before the confuoz, he singeth manie sweet notes. When the exorcist with his companions must beware he giue no care to the melodie, but must by and by bid him put on humane shape; then will he speake maruellouslie of all wonderfull sciences. He is an excellent poet, and obedient, he hopeth to returne to the seuenth throne after a thousand two hundred yeares, and governeth twentie legions.

Stolas.

Stolas is a great prince, appearing in the foyme of a nighttrauener, before the exorcist, he taketh the image and shape of a man, and teacheth astronomie, absolutelie vnderstanding the vertues of herbes and pretious stones; there are vnder him twentie six legions.

¶ Note that a legion is 6666. and now by multiplication count how manie legions doo arise out of euerie particular.

✠ Secre-

✠ Secretum secretorum,

The secret of secrets;

Tu operans sis secretus horum,

Thou that workst them, be secret in them.

The houres wherin principall diuels may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from dooing of hurt.

The third Chapter.



Maymon king of the east, Gorson king of the south, Zimimar king of the north, Goap king and prince of the west, may be bound from the third houre, till none, and from the ninth houre till evening. Marqueses may be bound from the ninth houre till compline, and from compline till the end of the daie. Dukes may be bound from the first houre till none; and cleare wether is to be obserued. Prelates may be bound in anie houre of the daie. Knights from daie dawning, till sunne rising; or from euensong, till the sunne set. A President may not be bound in anie houre of the daie, except the king, whome he obeieth, be inuocated; nor in the shutting of the euening. Counties or erles may be bound at anie houre of the daie, so it be in the woods or felde, where men resort not.

The forme of adiuring or citing of the spirits aforesaid to arise and appeare.

The fourth Chapter.



When you will haue anie spirit, you must know his name and office; you must also fast, and be cleane from all pollution, three or foure daies before; so will the spirit be the more obedient vnto you. Then make a circle, and call by the spirit with great intention, and holding a ring in your hand, rehearse in your owne name, and your companions (for one must alwaies be with you) this prayer

This was the work of one T. R. written in faire letters of red & blacke yppō parchment, and made by him, Ann. 1570. to the maintenance of his liuing, the edifying of the poore, and the glorie of gods holie name: as he himselfe saith.

prayer following, and so no spirit shall annoie you, and your purpose shall take effect. And note how this agreeth with popish charmes and coniurations.

In the name of our Lord Iesus Christ the Father and the sonne and the Holie-ghost holie trinitie and vnseparable vnitie, I call vpon thee, that thou maiest be my saluation and defense, and the protection of my bodie and soule, and of all my goods through the vertue of thy holie crosse, and through the vertue of thy passion, I beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, by the name of thy blessed mother S. Marie, and of all thy saints, that thou giue me grace and diuine power ouer all the wicked spirits, so as which of them soeuer I do call by name, they may come by and by from euerie coast, and accomplish my will, that they neither be hurtfull nor fearefull vnto me, but rather obedient and diligent about me. And through thy vertue streightlie commanding them, let them fulfill my commandments, Amen. Holie, holie, holie, Lord God of sabboth, which wilt come to iudge the quicke and the dead, thou which art α and ω , first and last, King of kings and Lord of lords, Ioth, Aglanabrath, El, Abiel, Anathiel, Amazim, Sedomel, Gayes, Heli, Messias, Tolimi, Elias, Idhiros, Athanatos, Imas. By these thy holie names, and by all other I do call vpon thee, and beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, by thy natiuitie and baptisme, by thy crosse and passion, by thine ascension, and by the comming of the Holie-ghost, by the bitterness of thy soule when it departed from thy bodie, by thy five wounds, by the blood and water which went out of thy bodie, by thy vertue, by the sacrament which thou gauest thy disciples the daie before thou sufferedst, by the holie trinitie, and by the inseparable vnitie, by blessed Marie thy mother, by thine angels, archangels, prophets, patriarchs, and by all thy saints, and by all the sacraments which are made in thine honour, I do worship and beseech thee, I blesse and desire thee, to accept these prayers, coniurations, and words of my mouth, which I will vse. I require thee O Lord Iesus Christ, that thou giue me thy vertue and power ouer all thine angels (which were throtone downe from heauen to decerne mankind) to drawe them to me, to tie and bind them, and so to lose them, to gather them together before me, and to command them to do all that they can, and that by no meanes they con-
temne

Note what names are attributed vnto Christ by the coniuor in this his exorcising exercisc.

fenne my voice, or the words of my mouth; but that they obeie me and my sayings, and feare me. I beseech thee by thine humanitie, mercie and grace, and I require thee Adonay, Amay, Horta, Vege dora, Mitai, Hel, Suranat, Ysion, Ysely, and by all thy holie names, and by all thine holie he saints and the saints, by all thine angels and archangels, powers, dominations, and vertues, and by that name that Salomon did bind the diuels, and shut them vp, Elhrach, Ebanher, Agle, Godh, Ioth, Othie, Venodh, Nabrat, and by all thine holie names which are written in this booke, and by the vertue of them all, that thou enable me to congregate all thy spirits throwne downe from heauen, that they may giue me a true answer of all my demands, and that they satisfie all my requests, without the hurt of my bodie or soule, or any thing else that is mine, through our Lord Iesus Christ thy sonne, which liueth and reigneth with thee in the vnitie of the Holie-ghost, one God world without end.

Oh father omnipotent, oh wise sonne, oh Holie-ghost, the searcher of harts, oh you three in persons, one true godhead in substance, which didst spare Adam and Eue in their sins; and oh thou sonne, which diedst for their sinnes a most filthie death, suffering it vpon the holie crosse; oh thou most mercifull, when I flie vnto thy mercie, and beseech thee by all the means I can, by these the holie names of thy sonne; to wit, A and Ω, and all other his names, grant me thy vertue and power, that I may be able to cite before me, thy spirits which were throwne downe from heauen, & that they may speake with me, & dispatch by & by without delate, & with a good will, & without the hurt of my bodie, soule, or gods, & as is contained in the booke called *Annulus Salomonis*.

Oh great and eternall vertue of the highest, which through disposition, these being called to iudgement, Vaideon, Stimulamaton, Elphares, Tetragrammaton, Oloram, Cryon, Elytion, Exiftion, Eriona, Onela, Brasim, Noym, Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabboth, Adonay, I worship thee, I inuocate thee, I imploie thee with all the strength of my mind, that by thee, my present prayers, consecrations, and coniurations be hallowed: and wher soeuer wicked spirits are called, in the vertue of thy names, they may come together from euery coast, and diligentlie fulfill the will of me the exorcist. *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

What wonderfull force coniuers doo beleue cōsisteth in these forged names of Christ.

obained A
-mch to
to amms
estall

A confutation of the manifold vanities contained in the precedent chapters, speciallie of commanding of diuels.

The fift Chapter.



Hat can be persuaded that these things are true, or wrought indeed according to the assertion of couleners, or according to the supposition of witchmongers & papists, may some be brought to beleue that the mone is made of greene cheese. You see in this which is called Salomons coniuration, there is a perfect inuentarie registred of the number of diuels, of their names, of their offices, of their personages, of their qualities, of their powers, of their properties, of their kingdomes, of their gouernments, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their subiection, of their submission, and of the waies to bind or loose them; with a note what wealth, learning, office, commoditie, pleasure, &c: they can giue, and may be forced to yeld in spight of their harts, to such (so: sooth) as are cunning in this art: of whome yet was neuer seene any rich man, or at least that gained any thing that waite; or any vnlearned man, that became learned by that meanes; or any happie man, that could with the helpe of this art either deliuer himselfe, or his friends, from aduersitie, or adde vnto his estate any point of felicitie: yet these men, in all world: lie happinesse, must needs exceed all others; if such things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed. For if they may learne of Marbas, all secrets, and to cure all diseases; and of Furcas, wisdom, and to be cunning in all mechanickal arts; and to change any mans shape, of Zepar: if Buncan make them rich and eloquent, if Beroth can tell them of all things, present, past, and to come; if Asmodaie can make them go inuisible and shew them all hidden treasure; if Salmacke will afflict whom they list, & Allocer can procure them the loue of any woman; if Amy can provide them excellent familiars, if Caym can make them vnderstand the voice of all birds and beasts, and Buer and Bisrons can make them liue long; and finally, if Orias

could

This is contrarie to the scripture, which saith that euerie good gift cometh from the father of light, &c.

A breuiarie of the inuentarie of spirits.

The disposition of the planetts.

h ♃ ♄ ♀ ☉ ☿ ♁ ☾					
Planets good, ♃ ♄ ☿. Indifferent, ☉ ☿ ♁. Euill, h ♀					
♃ h	←←	♄	♁	☿	☾
♃	♃ ♃	♃ ♄	♁ ☉	☿ ☿	☾ ☾
Asterie Triplie: tie.	♃ ♄	♃ ♄	☿ ☾	☿ ☾	An enemie Triplie: tie.
	♁ ☉	♁ ☉	☿ ☾	☿ ☾	
	♃ ♄	♃ ♄	☿ ☾	☿ ☾	
A waterie Triplie: tie.	☾ ☾	♃ ♄	☿ ☾	☿ ☾	An aerie Triplie: tie.
	♄	♃ ♄	☿ ☾	☿ ☾	
	☾ ☾	♃ ♄	☿ ☾	☿ ☾	

The aspects of the planetts.

The five
planetary
aspects:
Coniunct.
Sextil.
Trine.
Quartil.
Opposit.

♄ Is the best aspect, with god planetts, and worst with euill.

* Is a meane aspect in godnesse or badnesse.

△ Is verie good in aspect to god planetts, & hurteth not in euill.

□ This aspect is of enmitie not full perfect.

§ This aspect is of enmitie most perfect.

How the daie is diuided or distinguished.

A daie naturall is the space of foure and twentie houres, ac-
counting the night withall, and beginneth at one of the clocke
after midnight.

An artificall daie is that space of time, which is betwixt the
rising and falling of the ☉ &c. All the rest is night, & beginneth at
the ☉ rising.

Hereafter followeth a table, shewing how the daie and the night is di-
uided by houres, and reduced to the regiment of the planetts.

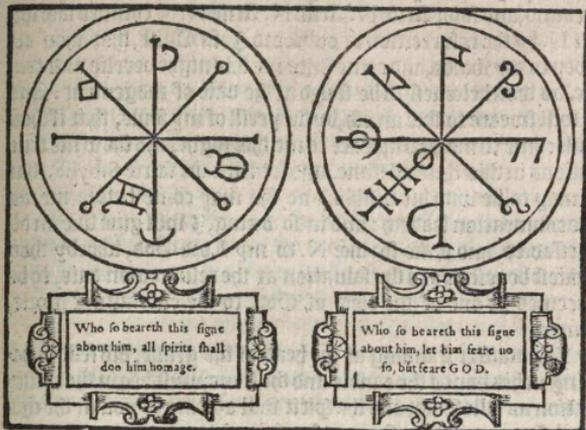
The diuision of the daie, and the
planetarie regiment.

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 diuision of the night, and the
planetarie 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	♅	♁	♂	♃	♁	♅	♁	♂	♃	☾	♄	♅
night	Lord	♁	♃	♅	♁	♂	♃	☾	♄	♅	♁	♂	♃

The



An experiment of the dead.

The eight Chapter.



First fast and praie three daies, and absteine thee from all filthinesse; go to one that is new buried, such a one as killed himselfe, or destroyed himselfe with fullie: or else get the promise of one that shall be hanged, and let him sweare an oth to thee, after his bodie is dead, that his spirit shall come to thee, and do the true service, at thy commandments, in all daies, houres, and minutes. And let no persons see thy doings, but thy fellow. And about eleven a clocke in the night, go to the place where he was buried, and saie with a bold faith & hartie desire, to haue the spirit come that thou dost call for, thy fellow hauing a candle in his left hand, and in his right hand a christall stone, and saie these words following, the maister hauing a hazell wand in his right hand, and these names of God writtten therevpon, Tetragramaton

Coniuring for a dead spirit.

*For the coulenor (the coniuor I should saie) can do nothing to any purpose without his confederate.

Vij.

Ado-

Note that
numerus
ternarius,
which is
counted
mysticall,
be obserued

Adonay ✕ Agla ✕ Craton ✕ Then strike thre strokes on the ground, and saie; Arise N. Arise N. Arise N. I coniure thee spirit N. by the resurrection of our Lord Iesu Christ, that thou do obey to my words, and come vnto me this night verelie and true lie, as thou belouest to be saued at the daie of iudgement. And I will sweare to thee an oth, by the perill of my soule, that if thou wilt come to me, and appeare to me this night, and shew me true visions in this christall stone, and fetch me the faire Sibylla, that I may talke with hir visiblie, and she may come befoze me, as the coniuration leadeth: and in so doing, I will giue thee an almeste deed, and praie for thee N. to my Lord God, wherby thou maiest be restozed to thy saluation at the resurrection daie, to be receiued as one of the elect of God, to the euerlasting glorie, Amen.

Ex inferno
nulla uedem-
ptio, saith
the scrip-
ture: Ergo
you lie
quothe Nora

The masser standing at the head of the graue, his fellow hauing in his hands the candle and the stone, must begin the coniuration as followeth, and the spirit will appeare to you in the christall stone, in a faire forme of a child of twelue 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 manie delusions, to dzyue you from your worke. Feare God, but feare him not. This is to constrain him, as followeth.

I coniure thee spirit N. by the liuing God, the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers which haue created both thee and me, and all the world. I coniure thee N. by these holie names of God, Tetragrammaton ✕ Adonay ✕ Algramay ✕ Saday ✕ Sabaoth ✕ Planaboth ✕ Panthon ✕ Craton ✕ Neupmaton ✕ Deus ✕ Homo ✕ Omnipotens ✕ Sempiternus ✕ Ysus ✕ Terra ✕ Vnigenitus ✕ Saluator ✕ Via ✕ Vita ✕ Manus ✕ Fons ✕ Origo ✕ Filius ✕ And by their vertues and powers, and by all their names, by the which God gaue power to man, both to speake or thinke; so by their vertues and powers I coniure thee spirit N. that now immediatlie thou do appeare in this christall stone, visiblie to me and to my fellow, without anie tarring or decept. I coniure thee N. by the excellent name of Iesus Christ A and Ω, the first and the last, for this hotie name of Iesus is aboue all names: for in this name of Iesus euerie kinde doth bow and obeie, both of heauenlie things,

Note what
these great
words may
do.

things, earthlie things, and infernall. And euerie tong doth confesse, that our Lord Iesus Christ is in the glorie of the father: neither is there anie other name giuen to man, whereby he must be saued. Therefore in the name of Iesus of Nazareth, and by his naturitie, resurrection, and ascension, and by all that apperteyneth vnto his passion, and by their vertues and powers I coniure thee spirit N. that thou do appeare visiblie in this christall stone to me, and to my fellow, without anie dissimulation. I coniure thee N. by the blood of the innocent lambe Iesus Christ, which was shed for vs vpon the crosse: for all those that do beleue in the vertue of his blood, shalbe saued. I coniure thee N. by the vertues and powers of all the riall names and words of the liuing God of me pronounced, that thou be obedient vnto me and to my words rehearsed. If thou refuse this to do, I by the holie trinitie, and their vertues and powers do condemne thee thou spirit N. into the place where there is no hope of remedie or rest, but euerlasting horroz and paine there dwelling, and a place where is paine vpon paine, dailie, horrible, and lamentable, thy paine to be there augmented as the starres in the heauen, and as the grauell or sand in the sea: except thou spirit N. do appeare to me and to my fellow visiblie, immediatlie in this christall stone, and in a faire forme and shape of a child of twelue yeares of age, and that thou alter not thy shape, I charge thee vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation. I coniure thee spirit N. by the golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Iesus Christ: so thou spirit N. be thou bound into the perpetuall paines of hell fier, for thy disobedience and vnreuerent regard, that thou hast to the holie names and words, and his precepts. I coniure thee N. by the two edged sword, which Iohn sawe proceed out of the mouth of the almightie; and so thou spirit N. be to rone and cut in peeces with that sword, and to be condemned into euerlasting paine, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worne dieth not. I coniure thee N. by the heavens, and by the celestiaall citie of Ierusalem, and by the earth and the sea, and by all things contained in them, and by their vertues & powers. I coniure thee spirit N. by the obedience that thou dost owe vnto the principall prince. And except thou spirit N. do come and appeare in this christall stone visiblie in my presence, here inme-

** Demonee
credendo
contremis-
cunt.*

A heauie
sentence
denounced
of the con-
iuror a-
gainst the
spirit in case
of disobedi-
ence, con-
tempt, or
negligence.

How can
that be,
when a spi-
rit hath
neither
flesh, blood,
nor bones?

statie as it is aforesaid. Let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of death, and of eternall condemnation be vpon the spirit N. for euer and euer; because thou hast denied thy faith, thy health, & saluation. For thy great disobedience, thou art worthy to be condemned. Therefore let the diuine trinitie, thrones, dominions, principats, potestats, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of saints, both of men and women, condemne thee for euer, and be a witness against thee at the date of iudgement, because of thy disobedience. And let all creatures of our Lord Iesus Christ, saie therevnto; *Fiat, fiat, fiat: Amen.*

And when he is appeared in the christall stone, as is said before, bind him with this bond as followeth; to wit, I coniure thee spirit N. that art appeared to me in this christall stone, to me and to my fellow; I coniure thee by* all the riall words aforesaid, the which did constrain thee to appeare therein, and their virtues; I charge thee spirit by them all, that thou shalt not depart out of this christall stone, vntill my will being fulfilled, thou be licenced to depart. I coniure and bind thee spirit N. by that omnipotent God, which commanded the angell S. Michael to driue Lucifer out of the heauens with a sword of vengeance, and to fall from top to paine; and for dreadd of such paine as he is in, I charge thee spirit N. that thou shalt not go out of the christall stone; no; yet to alter thy shape at this time, except I command thee otherwise; but to come vnto me at all places, and in all houres and minuts, when and wherefoeuer I shall call thee; by the vertue of our Lord Iesus Christ, or by anie coniuration of words that is written in this booke, and to shew me and my frends true visions in this christall stone, of anie thing or things that we would see, at anie time or times: and also to go and to fetch me the faire Sibylla, that I may talke with hir in all kind of talke, as I shall call hir by anie coniuration of words contained in this booke. I coniure thee spirit N. by the great wisdom and diuinitie of his godhead, my will to fulfill, as is aforesaid: I charge thee vpon paine of condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come. *Fiat, fiat, fiat: Amen.*

This done, go to a place salt by, and in a faire parlor or chamber, make a circle with thalke, as hereafter followeth; and make another

*The coniu-
rator impu-
teth the ap-
pearing of
a spirit by
constraine
vnto words
quoth Nota

another circle for the faire Sibylia to appeare in, foure foote from the circle thou art in, & make no names therein, nor cast ante ho- lie thing therein, but make a circle round with chalke; & let the maister and his fellowe sit downe in the first circle, the maister hauing the booke in his hand, his fellowe hauing the christall stone in his right hand, looking in the stone when the faire doth appeare. The maister also must haue vpon his brest this figure



here w^ritten in parchment, and beginne to worke in the new of the D and in the houre of V the O and the V to be in one of inhabitors signes, as S T X . This bond as followeth, is to cause the spirit in the christall stone, to fetch vnto thee the faire Sibylia. All things fulfilled, beginne this bond as followeth, and be bold, for doubtles they will come before thee, before the coniuration be read seven times.

I coniure thee spirit N. in this christall stone, by God the fa- ther, by God the sonne Iesus Christ, and by God the Holie-ghost, thee persons and one God, and by their vertues. I coniure thee spirit, that thou do go in peace, and also to come againe to me quicklie, and to bring with thee into that circle appointed, Sibylia faire, that I may talke with hir in those matters that shall be to hir honour and glorie; and so I charge thee declare vnto hir. I coniure thee spirit N. by the blood of the innocent lambe, the which redeemed all the world; by the vertue thereof I charge thee thou spirit in the christall stone, that thou do declare vnto hir this message. Also I coniure thee spirit N. by all angels and archan- gels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtues, che- rubin and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I coniure thee N. that thou do depart with speed, and also to come againe with speed, and to bring with thee the faire Sibylia, to appeare in that circle, before I do read the coniuration in this booke seven times. Thus I charge thee my will to be fulfilled, vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation: *Eiat, fiat, fiat; Amen.*

And whie
might not
he doo it
himselfe, as
well as ma-
dam Sibylia.

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brest, rehearse the words therein, and saie, ✠ Sorthie ✠ Sorthia ✠ Sorthios ✠ then beginne your coniuration as followeth here, and saie; I

The faire
Sibyllia
coniured
to appeare,
&c.

coniture thee Sibyllia, & gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercie of the Holie-ghost, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by their vertues and powers; I coniture thee Sibyllia, & gentle virgine of fairies, and by all the angels of γ and their characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of γ and ρ and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters that be in the firmament, and by the king and quene of fairies, and their vertues, and by the faith and obedience that thou bearest vnto them. I coniture thee Sibyllia by the blood that ranne out of the side of our Lord Iesus Christ crucified, and by the opening of heauen, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darkenes of the sunne in the time of his death, and by the rising vp of the dead in the time of his resurrection, and by the virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by the vnspeakeable name of God, Tetragrammaton. I coniture thee & Sibyllia, & blessed and beautifull virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid; I coniture thee Sibyllia by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the forme and shape of a beautifull woman in a bright and besture white, adorned and garnished most faire, and to appeare to me quicklie without deceit or tarrieng, and that thou faile not to fulfill my will & desire effectualle. For I will chose thee to be my blessed virgine, & will haue common copulation with thee. Therefore make hast & speed to come vnto me, and to appeare as I said before: to whome be honour and glorie for euer and euer. Amen.

The which done and ended, if thee come not, reapeate the conituration till they do come: for doubtles they will come. And when she is appeared, take your censers, and incense hir with frankincense, then bind hir with the bond as followeth. ¶ I do coniture thee Sibyllia, by God the Father, God the sonne, and God the Holie-ghost, thee persons and one God, and by the blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by all the whole and holie companie of heauen, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by all angels and archangels, thyones, dominations, principates, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I coniture thee, and bind thee Sibyllia, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeared, nor yet to alter thy shape, except I giue thee licence to depart. I coniture thee Sibyllia by the blood that ranne out of the side

The maner
of binding
the faire
Sibyllia at
hir appear-
ing.

of our Lord Iesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I coniure the Sibylia to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visiblie, as the coniuration of words leadeth, written in this booke. I coniure the Sibylia, O blessed virgine of fairies, by the opening of heauen, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darknes of the sunne at the time of his death, and by the rising of the dead in the time of his glorious resurrection, and by the unspeakable name of God I Tetragrammaton I and by the king and queene of fairies, & by their vertues I coniure the Sibylia to appeare, before the coniuration be read ouer foure times, and that visiblie to appeare, as the coniuration leadeth written in this booke, and to giue me god counsell at all times, and to come by treasures hidden in the earth, and all other things that is to doe me pleasure, and to fulfill my will, without anie deceipt or tarieng; nor yet that thou shalt haue anie power of my bodie or soule, earthlie or ghostlie, nor yet to perishe so much of my bodie as one haire of my head. I coniure the Sibylia by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues and powers, I charge and bind thee by the vertue thereof, to be obedient vnto me, and to all the words aforesaid, and this bond to stand betweene thee and me, vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

If all this will not fetch hir vp the diuell is a knaue.

A licence for Sibylia to go and come
by at all times.

The ninth Chapter.

I Coniure the Sibylia, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt haue no powers in thy going or comming vnto me, imagining anie euill in anie maner of waies, in the earth or vnder the earth, of euill doings, to anie person or persons. I coniure and command the Sibylia by all the riall words and vertues that be written in this booke, that thou shalt not go to the place from whence thou canest, but shalt remaine peaceablie inuisiblie, and loke thou be readie to come vnto me, when thou art called by anie coniuration of words that be written in this booke, to come (I saie) at my commandement, and to answer vnto me truelie and

andduelie of all things, my will quicklie to be fulfilled. *Vade in pace, in nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti.* And the holie ✠ crosse ✠ be betwene thee and me, or betwene vs and you, and the lion of Iuda, the roote of Iesse, the kindred of Dauid, be betwene thee & me ✠ Christ commeth ✠ Christ commandeth ✠ Christ giueth power ✠ Christ defend me ✠ and his innocent blood ✠ from all perils of bodie and soule, sleeping or waking: *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

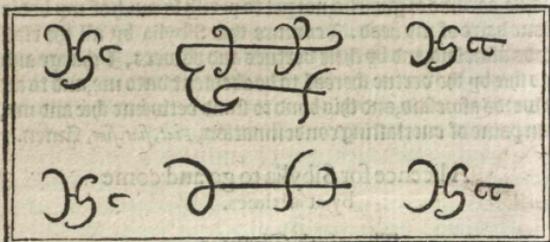
To know of treasure hidden in the earth.

The tenth Chapter.

This would
be much
practised if
it were not
a coufening
knacke.



Write in paper these characters following, on the saturday, in the houre of 11, and laie it where thou thinkest treasure to be: if there be any, the paper will burne, else not. And these be the characters.



This is the waie to go inuisible by these
three filters of faeries.

I In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holie
Aghest. First go to a faire parlor or chamber, & an euen ground,
and in no loff, and from people nine daies; for it is the better:
and let all thy clothing be cleane and swete. Then make a candle
of virgine waue, and light it, and make a faire fier of charcoles,
in a faire place, in the middle of the parlor or chamber. Then take
faire cleane water, that runneth against the east, and set it vpon
the fier: and per thou waldest thy selfe, saie these words, going a-
bout the fier, three times, holding the candle in the right hand ✠
Panthon ✠ Craton ✠ Muriton ✠ Biscognaton ✠ Siston ✠
Diaton

Diaton ✠ Maton ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ Agla ✠ Agarion ✠
 Tegra ✠ Pentessaron ✠ Tendicata ✠ Then reherse these names
 ✠ Sorthic ✠ Sorthia ✠ Sorthios ✠ Milia ✠ Achilia ✠ Sibylia
 ✠ *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.* I coniure you
 thre sisters of fairies, Milia, Achilia, Sibylia, by the father, by the
 sonne, and by the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues and powers,
 and by the most mercifull and living God, that will command
 his angell to blowe the trumpe at the date of iudgement; and he
 shall saie, Coune, come, come to iudgement; and by all angels,
 archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtu-
 tes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I
 coniure you thre sisters, by the vertue of all the riall words afoze-
 said: I charge you that you doe appeare before me visiblie, in
 forme and shape of faire women, in white bestures, and to bring
 with you to me, the ring of inuisibilitie, by the which I may go in-
 uisibile at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in all houres
 and minuts: *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.* ✠ We-
 ing appeared, saie this bond following.

The three
 sisters of
 the fairies,
 Milia, A-
 chilia, and
 Sibylia.

Blessed virgins ✠ Milia ✠ Achilia ✠ I coniure you in the
 name of the father, in the name of the sonne, and in the name of
 the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues I charge you to depart
 from me in peace, for a time. And Sibylia, I coniure the, by the
 vertue of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by the vertue of his
 flesh and pretious blood, that he toke of our blessed ladie the vir-
 gine, and by all the holie companie in heauen: I charge the Si-
 bylia, by all the vertues afozesaid, that thou be obedient vnto me,
 in the name of God; that when, and at what time and place I
 shall call the by this foresaid confuration witten in this booke,
 loke thou be readie to come vnto me, at all houres and minuts,
 and to bring vnto me the ring of inuisibilitie, whereby I may go
 inuisible at my will and pleasure, and that at all houres and mi-
 nuts; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

The ring of
 inuisibilitie.

And if they come not the first night, then doe the same the second
 night, and so the thred night, vntill they doe come: for doubtles
 they will come, and lie thou in thy bed, in the same parlor or cham-
 ber. And laie thy right hand out of the bed, and loke thou haue a
 faire silken kercher bound about thy head, and be not afraid, they
 will doe the no harme. For there will come before the three faire
 women,

* Such a ring it was that aduanced Giges to the kingdom of Lydia: *Plato, lib. 2. de iuris.*

women, and all in white clothing; and one of them will put * a ring vpon thy finger, wherewith thou shalt go inuisible. Then with speed bind them with the bond afoze said. When thou hast this ring on thy finger, looke in a glasse, and thou shalt not see thy selfe. And when thou wilt go inuisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and euerie new \triangleright renew it againe. For after the first time thou shalt euer haue it, and euer beginne this wo:ke in the new of the \triangleright and in the houre of \sphericalangle and the \triangleright in S F X .

An experiment following, of Citrael, &c:
angeli diei dominici.

The eleuenth Chapter.

¶ Saie first the praier of the angels euerie daie, for the space of seauen daies.

Michael.	○
Gabriel.	▷
Samael.	♂
Raphael.	♀
Sadhiel.	♃
Anael.	♀
Cassiel.	♄



Que glorious angels written in this square, be you my coadiu-
tozs & helpers in all questions and demands, in all my business, and o-
ther causes, by him which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the wo:ld by fier.
O angeli gloriosi in hac quadra scripti, estote coadiutores & auxiliatores in omnibus questionibus & interrogationibus, in omnibus negotijs, caterisque causis, per eum qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos, & mundum per ignem.

¶ Saie this praier fasting, called
** Regina lingua.*

* O queene or gouernelic of the tongue.

✠ Zemaac ✠ salmaac ✠ elmay ✠ gezagra ✠ raemaasin ✠ exierogo ✠
mial ✠ gegziephiaz ✠ Iofamin ✠ sabach ✠ ba ✠ aem ✠ are ✠ b ✠
sepha ✠ sephar ✠ ramar ✠ semois ✠ lemaso ✠ pberalon ✠ amic ✠ phiin
✠ gergoin ✠ letos ✠ Amin ✠ amin ✠.

In the name of the most pitifullest and mercifullest God of Israel and of paradise, of heauen and of earth, of the seas and of the

the infernalles, by thine omnipotent helpe may performe this worke, which liuest and reigneſt euer one God world without end, Amen.

A most strongest and mightiest God, without beginning or ending, by thy clemencie and knowledge I desire, that my questions, worke, and labour may be fullie and trulie accomplished, through thy worthines, god Lord, which liuest and reigneſt, euer one God, world without end, Amen.

O holie, patient, and mercifull great God, and to be worshipped, the Lord of all wisdom, cleare and iust; I most hartlie desire thy holines and clemencie, to fulfill, performe and accomplish this my whole worke, thorough thy worthines, and blessed power: which liuest and reigneſt, euer one God, *Per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.*

How to enclose a spirit in a
chriſtall stone.

The twelſe Chapter.



This operation following, is to haue a spirit inclosed into a chriſtall stone or berill glasse, or into anie other like instrument, &c. ¶ First thou in the new of the being clothed with all new, and fresh, & cleane arae, and shauen, and that day to fast with bread and water, and being cleane confessed, saie the seauen plalmes, and the letanie, for the space of two daies, with this praier following,

I desire thee O Lord God, my mercifull and most louing God, the giuer of all graces, the giuer of all sciences, grant that I thy welbeloued N. (although unworthie) may knowe thy grace and power, against all the decepts and craftines of diuels. And grant to me thy power, god Lord, to constrain them by this art: for thou art the true, and liuelie, and eternall GOD, which liuest and reigneſt euer one GOD through all worlds, Amen.

Thou must do this five daies, and the first daie haue in a redines, five bright swords: and in some secret place make one circle, with one of the said swords. And then write this name, Sitrael: which done, standing in the circle, thrust in thy sword into that name. And write againe Malanthon, with another sword; and

Thamaor,

Observations of cleanliness, abstinence, and deuotion.

An obseruation touching the vse of the five swords.

Thamaor, with another; and Falaur, with another; and Sitrami, with another: and do as ye did with the first. All this done, turne thee to Sitrael, and kneeling saie thus, hauing the christall stone in thine hands.

O Sitrael, Malantha, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami, written in these circles, appointed to this worke, I do coniure and I do exorcise you, by the father, by the sonne, and by the Holy-ghost, by him which did cast you out of paradise, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, that all you siue infernall maisters and princes do come vnto me, to accomplish and to fulfill all my desire and request, which I shall command you. Also I coniure you diuels, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Iesus Christ, the sonne of the most highest God, and by the blessed and gloriose virgine Marie, and by all the saints, both of men and women of God, and by all the angels, archangels, patriarches, and prophets, apostles, euangelists, martyrs, and confessors, virgins, and widowes, and all the elect of God. Also I coniure you, and euerie of you, ye infernall kings, by heauen, by the starres, by the ☉ and by the ☽ and by all the planets, by the earth, fier, aier, and water, and by the terrestriall paradise, and by all things in them contained, and by your vertue and power, and by all thatsoeuer, and with thatsoeuer it be, which maie constrain and bind you. Therefore by all these foresaid vertues and powers, I do bind you and constrain you into my will and power; that you being thus bound, may come vnto me in great humilitie, and to appeare in your circles before me visiblie, in faire forme and shape of mankind kings, and to obeye vnto me in all things, whatsoeuer I shall desire, and that you may not depart from me without my licence. And if you do against my precepts, I will promise vnto you that you shall descend into the profound deepenesse of the sea, except that you do obeye vnto me, in the part of the liuing sonne of God, which liueth and reigneth in the vnitie of the Holie-ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen.

Saie this true coniuration siue courses, and then shalt thou see come out of the nozthpart siue kings, with a maruelous companie:

A weightie charge of coniuration vpon the siue K. of the north.

A penaltie for not appearing, &c.

pante: which when they are come to the circle, they will allight
 do downe off from their ho:shes, and will kniee do downe before thee,
 saieing: Paissfer, command vs what thou wilt, and we will out
 of hand be obedient vnto thee. Unto whome thou shalt saie; See
 that ye depart not from me, without my licence; and that which
 I will command you to do, let it be done trulie, surelie, faithful-
 lie, and essentiallie. And then they all will sweare vnto thee to
 do all thy will. And after they haue swoyne, saie the coniuration
 immediatlie following.

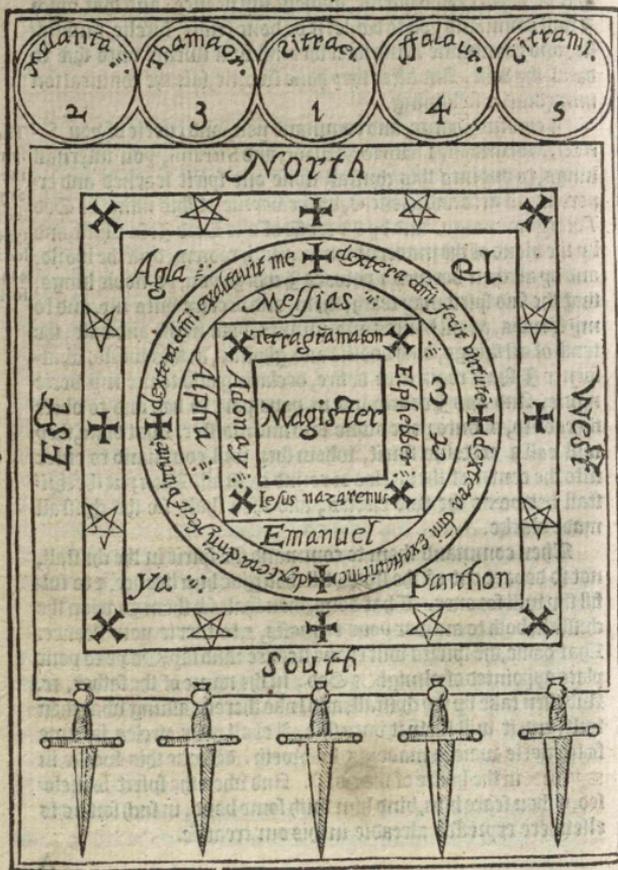
I coniure, charge, and command you, and euerie of you, Si-
 rrael, Malanthan, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami, you infernall
 kings, to put into this christall stone one spirit learned and ex-
 pert in all arts and sciences, by the vertue of this name of God
 Tetragrammaton, and by the crosse of our Lord Iesu Christ, and
 by the blood of the innocent lambe, which redeemed all the world,
 and by all their vertues & powers I charge you, ye noble kings,
 that the said spirit may teach, shew, and declare vnto me, and to
 my frends, at all houres and minuts, both night and daie, the
 truth of all things, both bodilie and gho:stie, in this world, what-
 soeuer I shall request or desire, declaring also to me my verte
 name. And this I command in your part to do, and to obeie
 therevnto, as vnto your owne lord and maister. That done, they
 will call a certeine spirit, whom they will command to enter
 into the centre of the circled or round christall. Then put the christall
 betwene the two circles, and thou shalt see the christall
 made blacke.

Then command them to command the spirit in the christall,
 not to depart out of the stone, till thou giue him licence, & to ful-
 fill thy will for euer. That done, thou shalt see them go vpon the
 christall, both to answer your requests, & to farrie your licence.
 That done, the spirits will craue licence: and say; So ye to your
 place appointed of almighty God, in the name of the father, &c.
 And then take vp thy christall, and looke therein, asking what thou
 wilt, and it will shew it vnto thee. Let all your circles be nine
 fote euerie waie, & made as followeth. Worke this worke in
 the houre of the 12. And when the spirit is inclo-
 sed, if thou feare him, bind him with some bond, in such sort as is
 elsewhere expressed already in this our treatise.

The five
 spirits of
 the north:
 as you shall
 see in the
 type expres-
 sed in pag.
 414. next
 following.

the
 first
 the
 second
 the
 third
 the
 fourth
 the
 fifth

A figure or type proportionall, shewing what forme must be obserued and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secer of in clofing a spirit in christall is to be accomplished, &c.



The names written within the five circles doo signifie the five infernall kings: See pag 411, 412, 413.

An experiment of Bealphares.

The xij. Chapter.



His is proued the noblest carrier that euer did serue anie man vpon the earth, & here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit, & how to haue a true answer of him, without anie craft or harme; and he will appeare vnto thee in the likenesse of a faire man, or faire woman, the which spirit will come to thee at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thee: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or siluer, he will bring it thee: or if thou wilt go from one countrie to another, he will beare thee without anie harme of bodie or soule. Therefore * he that will do this worke, shall abstaine from lecherousnes and dzonkennesse, and from false swearing, and doo all the abstinence that he may doo, and namelie thre daies befoze he go to worke, and in the third daie, when the night is come, and when the starres do shine, and the element faire and cleare, he shall bath himselfe and his fellows (if he haue anie) all together in a quicke welshpring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white cloathes, and he must haue another priuie place, and beare with him unke and pen, where with he shall write this holy name of God almightie in his right hand ✠ Agla ✠ & in his left hand this name ✠ H E V E ✠ And he must haue a drie thong of a lions or of a harts skin, and make thereof a girdle, and write the holie names of God all about, and in the end ✠ A and Ω ✠. And vpon his brest he must

*Memorandum with what vices the confessor (the coniuror I should saie) must not be polluted: therefore he must be no knaue, &c.



haue this present figure or marke written in virgine parchment, as it is here shewed. And it must be sewed vpon a peece of new linnen, and so made fast vpon thy brest. And if thou wilt haue a fellow to worke with thee, he must be appointed in the same maner. Thou must haue also a bright knife that was neuer occupied, and he must write on the one

The coniurors brest-plate.

side

Salomons
circle.

side of the blade of the knife. ✠ Agla ✠ and on the other side of the knives blade ✠ II E V E ✠ And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called Salomons circle. When that he is made, go into the circle, and close againe the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and saie; *Per crucis hoc signum ✠ fugiat procul omne malignum; Et per idem signum ✠ saluetur quodque benignum.* and make suffumigations to thy selfe, and to thy fellowe or fellowes, with frankincense, make *lignum aloes*: then put it in wine, and saie with god deuotion, in the worship of the high God almightie, all together, that he may defend you from all euils. And when he that is maister will close the spirit, he shall saie towards the east, with meeke and deuout deuotion, these psalmes and praers as followeth here in order.

¶ The two and twentieth psalme.

Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51. psalmes all ouer: or else rehearse them by hart: for these are counted necessarie, &c.

O My God my God, loke vpon me, whie 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 psalme, as it is to be found in the booke.

This psalme also following, being the fiftie one psalme, must be said three times ouer, &c.

H Aue mercie vpon me, O God, after thy great godnes, according to the multitude of thy mercies, do auerte mine offenses. ¶ And so forth to the end of the same psalme, concluding it with, Glozie to the Father and to the Sonne, and to the Holie ghost, As it was in the beginning, is now, and euer shall be, world without end, Amen. Then saie this verse: O Lord leaue not my soule with the wicked; nor my life with the bloudthirstie. Then saie a *Pater noster* an *Aue Maria*; and a *Credo*, & ne nos inducis. O Lord shew vs thy mercie, and we shall be saued. Lord heare our praer, and let our crie come vnto thee. Let vs praise.

O Lord God almightie, as thou warnedst by thine angell, the thre kings of Cullen, Iasper, Meldior, and Balthasar, when they came with worshipfull presents towards Bethleem: Iasper brought myrrh; Meldior, incense; Balthasar, gold; worshipping the high king of all the world, Iesus Gods sonne of heauen,

uen, the second person in trinitie, being bozne of the holie and cleane virgine S. Marie, quæne of heauen, empresse of hell, and ladie of all the woꝛld: at that time the holie angell Gabriel warned and bad the foresaid thre kings, that they should take another waie, for dread of perill, that Herod the king by his ordi- nance would haue destroyed these thre noble kings, that meeke- lie sought out our Lord and sauour. As truttie and truelie as these thre kings turned for dread, and toke another waie: so wiselie and so truelie, O Lord GOD, of thy mightfull mercie, blesse vs now at this time, for thy blessed passion saue vs, and keepe vs all together from all euill; and thy holie angell defend vs. Let vs praie.

O Lord, King of all kings, which containest the throne of hea- uens, and beholdest all deepes, weighest the hilles, and shuttest vp with thy hand the earth; heare vs, most meekest GOD, and grant vnto vs (being vnwoꝛthie) according to thy great mercie, to haue the veritie and vertue of knowledge of hidden treasures by this spirit inuocated, through thy helpe O Lord Iesus Christ, to whome be all honour and glozie, from woꝛlds to woꝛlds euer lastingly. Amen. Then saie these names ✠ Helie ✠ helyon ✠ esse- iere ✠ Deus aternus ✠ eloy ✠ clemens ✠ heloye ✠ Deus sanctus ✠ saba- oth ✠ Deus exercituum ✠ adonay ✠ Deus mirabilis ✠ iao ✠ verax ✠ anepheneton ✠ Deus ineffabilis ✠ sodoy ✠ dominator dominus ✠ on for- tissimus ✠ Deus ✠ qui, the which wouldest be praied vnto of sin- ners: receiue (we beseech thee) these sacrifices of praise, and our meeke praers, which we vnwoꝛthie do offer vnto thy diuine ma- iestie. Deliuer vs, and haue mercie vpon vs, and preuent with thy holie spirit this woꝛke, and with thy blessed helpe to followe after; that this our woꝛke begunne of thee, may be ended by thy mightie power. Amen. Then saie this anon after ✠ Homo ✠ sa- carnis ✠ miscolameas ✠ cherubozca ✠ being the figure vpon thy brest aforesaid, the girdle about thee, the circle made, blesse the circle with holie water, and sit downe in the middell, and read this conformation as followeth, sitting backe to backe at the first time.

Exorcise and confure Bealphares, the practiser and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heauens and of earth, and by his ver- tue, and by his vnspokeable name Tetragrammaton, and by all

Gaspar,
Balhsar,
and Mel-
chior, who
followed
the starre,
wherin was
y image of
a little babe
bearing a
crosse: if
Longa legē-
da Colonig
lic not.

* Which must be enuironed with a goodlie companie of crosses.

the holie sacraments, and by the holie maiestie and dettie of the liuing God. I conure and exorcise the Bealphares by the vertue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your maister, that you do come vnto vs, in faire forme of man or womankind, here visiblie, before this circle, and not terrible by anie manner of waies. This * circle being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull godnes of our Lord and Sautour Iesus Christ, and that you do make answer truelie, without craft or deceipt, vnto all my demands and questions, by the vertue and power of our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to lose him againe.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Now when he is appeared, bind him with these words which followe. ¶ I conure the Bealphares, by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the Holie ghost, and by all the holie companie in heauen; and by their vertues and powers I charge the Bealphares, that thou shalt not depart out of my sight, nor yet to alter thy bodilie shape, that thou art appeared in, nor anie power shalt thou haue of our bodies or soules, earthlie or ghostlie, but to be obedient to me, and to the words of my conuration, that be writtten in this booke. I conure the Bealphares, by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conure and charge, bind and confreine the Bealphares, by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues, that thou be obedient vnto me, and to come and appeare visiblie vnto me, and that in * all daies, houres, and minutes, wherfoeuer I be, being called by the vertue of our Lord Iesu Christ, the which words are writtten in this booke. Loke readie thou be to appeare vnto me, and to giue me god counsell, how to come by treasures hidden in the earth, or in the water, and how to come to dignitie and knowledge of all things, that is to saie, of the magike art, and of grammar, dialectike, rhetorike, arhythmetike, musike, geometrie,

* On sundays, festiual daies, and holie daies, none excepted.

metrie, and of astronomie, and in all other things my will quick-
lie to be fulfilled: I charge thee vpon paine of everlasting con-
demnation, *Fiat fiat fiat, Amen.*

When he is thus bound, aske him what thing thou wilt, and he
will tell thee, and giue 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, giue him licence to depart as followeth.

He dares
doe no o-
ther being
so coniu-
red
I trowe.

A licence for the spirit to depart.

Go into the place predestinated and appointed for thee, where thy Lord GOD
hath appointed thee, vntill I shall call thee againe. Be thou readie vnto me
and to my call, as often as I shall call thee, vpon paine of everlasting damna-
tion. And if thou wilt, thou maiest recite, two or three times, the last coniuration,
vntill thou doo come to this tearme, *In throno. I* he will not depart, and then say
In throno, that thou depart from this place, without hurt or damage of any bodie,
or of anye deed to be doone; that all creatures may knowe, that our Lord is of all
power, most mightiest, and that there is none other God but he, which is three, and
one, liuing for ever and ever. And the malediction of God the father omnipotent,
the sonne and the holie ghost, descend vpon thee, and dwell alwaies with thee, ex-
cept thou doo depart without damage of vs, or of any creature, or anye other euill
deed to be doone: & thou go to the place predestinated. And by our Lord Iesus
Christ I doo else send thee to the great pit of hell, except I saie that thou depart to
the place, whereas thy Lord God hath appointed thee. And see thou be readie to me
and to my call, at all times and places, at mine owne will and pleasure, daie or
night, without damage or hurt of me, or of anye creature, vpon paine of everlasting
damnation: *Fiat fiat fiat, Amen, Amen.* ¶ The peace of Iesus Christ bee be-
tweene vs and you; in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the Holie-
ghost: Amen. *Per crucis hoc signum, &c. Sate In principio erat verbum, & ver-
bum 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, stateng at these words, Full of grace and truth: to whom be all ho-
nour and glorie world without end, Amen.*



The fashion
or forme of
the coniu-
ring knife,
with the
names ther-
on to bee
grauen or
written.

A type or figure of the circle for the maister
and his fellowes to sit in, shewing how
and after what fashion it
should be made.



¶ This is the circle for the maister to sit in, and his fellowe
or fellowes, at the first calling, sit backe to backe, when
he calleth the spirit; and for the fairies make this circle
with chalie on the ground, as is said before. This spi-
rit Bealphares being once called and found, shall ne-
uer haue power to hurt thee. Call him in
the houre of 4 or 8 the 7 in
creasing.

The

The making of the holie water.

The xv. Chapter.



Exorciso te creaturam salis, per Deum vivum ✠ per Deum Absque ex-
✠ verum ✠ per Deum sanctum ✠ per Deum qui te per Elizeum oracismo sal
prophetam in aquam mirti iussit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aque, ut non sit san-
efficiaris sal exorcisatus in salutem credentium; ut sis omnibus te
Eius.
sumentibus sanitas anime & corporis, & effugiat atque discedat
ab eo loco, qui aspersus fuerit omnis phantasia & nequitia, vel
versutia diaboli cæ fraudis, omnisq; spiritus immundus, adiuratus per eum, qui ventu-
rus est iudicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:

Inmenam clementiam tuam, omnipotens æterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, ut
hanc creaturam salis, quam in usum generis humani tribuisti, bene ✠ dicere & san-
cti ✠ ficare tua pietate digneris, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis & corporis,
ut quicquid ex eo tactum fuerit, vel respersum, crearet omni immundicia, omni, im-
pugnatione spiritualis nequitie, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum,
qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula seculor-
um, Amen.

To the water saie also as followeth.

Exorciso te creaturam aque in nomine ✠ patris ✠ & Iesu Christi filij eius Domi-
ni nostri, & in virtute spiritus ✠ sancti ✠ ut fiat aqua exorcisata, ad effugan-
dam omnem potestatem inimici, & ipsum inimicum eradicare & explantare valeas,
cum angelis suis apostatis, per virtutem eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui
venturus est iudicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:

Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima queque sacramenta in aquarum
substantia condidisti, adeo propitius invocationibus nostris, & elemento huic multi-
modis purificationibus preparato, virtutem tue bene ✠ dictionis infunde, ut creatu-
ra tua mysticis tuis serviens, ad abigendos demones, morbosq; pellendos, diuine gratie
sumat effectum, ut quicquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium hæc unda resperserit, cre-
at omni immundicia, liberetur à noxa, non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non sura
corrumpens, discedant omnes insidie latentis inimici, & si quid est, quod aut incoloni-
tati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersione huius aque effugiat, ut salubritas per
invocationem sancti tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit impugnationibus defensa,
per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat, in
unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula seculorum, Amen.

Then take the salt in thy hand, and saie putting it
into the water, making in the maner of a Croffe.

Commixtio salis & aque pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti,
Amen. Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo, Oremus: Deus inuisibile vir-
tutis auctor, & insuperabilis imperij rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui ad-
versæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis seuitiam superas, qui hosti-
les nequitias potens expugnas, te Domine trementes & supplices deprecamur ac peti-
mus, ut hanc creaturam salis & aque aspicias, benignus illustres, pietatis tui rore
sancti ✠ fices, ubicumq; fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis in-
festatior immundi spiritus abiciatur, terrorq; venenosi serpentis procul pellatur, &
presentia

Oratio ad
Deum ut sa-
li exorcisato
vires addat.

presentia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubiq; adesse dignetur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui recipit uiuis & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.

Then sprinkle vpon anie thing, and saie as followeth.

Oratio, in qua dicenda, exorcista se se sacri laticis aspergere debet perorare.

Asperges me Domine byssopo, & mundabor, lauabis me, & supra niuem dealabor. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, & supra niuem dealabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in secula seculorum, Amen. Et supra niuem dealabor, asperges me, &c. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam, & saluare tuam da nobis; exaudi nos Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, eterne Deus, & misere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de caelis, qui custodiat, foueat, uisitet, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.

To make a spirit to appear in a christall.

The xvj. Chapter.

Loo coniure thee N. by the father, and the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, the which is the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of iudgement, that thou N. doo appeare, in this christall stone, or anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to mee and to my felow, gentlie and beautifullie, in faire forme of a boy of twelue yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodie or soules; and certeinlie to informe and to shew me, wthout anie guile or craft, all that we doo desire or demand of thee to know, by the vertue of him, which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen.

Marke how consonant this is wih poperie, &c.

Also I coniure and exorcise thee N. by the sacrament of the altar, and by the substance therof, by the wisdom of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, & by all things that are about the earth, and by their vertues, by the O and the y by H y J and Q and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessoys, and the virgins and widowes, and the chaste, and by all saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, uirtutes, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertues, & by the holie names of God, Tetragrammaton, El, Oufion, Agla, and by all the other holie names of God, and by their vertues, by the circumcision, passion, and resurrection of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the heauines of our ladie the virgine, and by the toy which she had when

when the saue hit some rise from death to life, that thou N. do appeare in this christfall stone, or in anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my felow, gentlie, and beautifullie, and vnsiblie, in faire forme of a child of twelue yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules, and trulie to in forme and shew vnto me & to my felow, without fraud or guile, all things according to thine oth and promise to me, whatsoeuer I shall demand or desire of thee, without anie hinderance or tarieng, and this coniuration be read of me thre times, vpon paine of eternall condemnation, to the last daie of iudgement:
Fiat fiat fiat, Amen.

And when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of the dead aboute written: then saie as followeth. ¶ I charge thee N. by the father, to shew me true visions in this christfall stone, if there be anie treasure hidden in such a place N. & wherein it lieth, and how manie foot from this peece of earth, east, west, north, or south.

For hidden
treasure.

An experiment of the dead.

The xvij. Chapter.



Irst go and get of some person that shalbe put to death, a promise, and sweare an oth vnto him, that if he will come to thee, after his death, his spirit to be with thee, and to remaine with thee all the daies of thy life, and will do thee true seruice, as it is contained in the oth and promise following. Then laie thy hand on thy booke, and sweare this oth vnto him. I N. do sweare and promise to thee N. to giue for thee an almesse euerie moneth, and also to praiue for thee once in euerie weeke, to saie the Lords praiue for thee, and so to continue all the daies of my life, as God me helpe and holie doome, and by the contents of this booke, Amen.

Promises &
oths inter-
changea-
ble made
betweene
the coniu-
rator & the
spirit.

Then let him make his oth to thee as followeth, and let him saie after thee, lateng his hand vpon the booke. ¶ I N. do sweare this oth to thee N. by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Iesus Christ, and by his pretious blood which hath redeemed all the world, by the which blood I do trust to be saued at the general date of iudgment, and by the vertues therof, I N. do sweare this oth to thee N. that my spirit that is within my bodie now,

I t. iij.

shall

shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to anie place of rest, but shall come to the N. and be verie well pleased to remaine with the N. all the daies of thy life, and so to be bound to the N. and to appeare to the N. in anie christall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so soone as my spirit is departed out of my bodie, streightwaie to be at your commandements, and that in and at all daies, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient vnto the N. being called of the N. by the vertue of our Lord Iesu Christ, & out of hand to haue common talke with the N. at all times, and in all houres & minutes, to open and declare to the N. the truth of all things present, past, and to come, and how to worke the magike art, and all other noble sciences, vnder the throne of God. If I do not performe this oth and promise to the N. but do stie from anie part thereof, then to be condemned for euer and euer, Amen.

Note the penaltie of breaking promise with the spirit.

Also I N. do sweare to the N. by God the Holie-ghost, and by the great wisdom that is in the diuine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by all the holie angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtues, cherubin and seraphim, and by all their vertues do I N. sweare, and promise the N. to be obedient as is rehearsed. And here, for a witnesse, do I N. giue the N. my right hand, and do plight the N. my faith and troth, as God me helpe and holiedome. And by the holie contents in this booke do I N. sweare, that my spirit shall be thy true seruant, all the daies of thy life, as is befoze rehearsed. And here for a witnesse, that my spirit shall be obedient to the N. and to those bonds of words that be written in this N. befoze the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thise; else to be damned for euer: and thereto saie all faithfull soules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

*Three times, in reuerence (peradventure) of the Trinitie, P. F. S. S.

Then let him sweare this oth* three times, and at euerie time kisse the booke, and at euerie time make marks to the bond. Then perceiuing the time that he will depart, get awaie the people from you, and get or take your stone or glasse, or other thing in your hand, and saie the *Pater noster*, *Aue*, 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 euerie bond, saie oftentimes; Remember thine oth and promise. And bind him strongly to the N. and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, reading

ding thy bond 24. times. And euerie daie when you do call him by your other bond, bind him strongly by the first bond: by the space of 24. daies applie it, & thou shalt be made a man for euer.

Now the Pater noster, Aue, and Credo must be said, and then the praier immediatlie following.

God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Iacob, God of Tobias; the which diddest deliuer the thre children from the hot burning ouen, Sidrac, Misac, and Abdenago, and Susanna from the false crime, and Daniel from the lions power: euen so O Lord omnipotent, I beseech thee, for thy great mercie sake, to helpe me in these my works, and to deliuer me this spirit of N. that he may be a true subiect to me N. all the daies of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this N. all the daies of my life. O glorious God, ffather, Sonne, and Holie-ghost, I beseech thee to help me at this time, and to giue me power by thine holie name, merits and vertues, whereby I may coniuere & constreine this spirit of N. that he may be obedient vnto me, and may fulfill his oth and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine hoines. 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 euerlasting kingdoms, & in the diuinitie of thine euerlasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glorie, now and for euer and euer, Amen, Amen.

A bond to bind him to thee, and to thy
N. as followeth.

The xviii. Chapter.

IN. coniuere and constreine the spirit of N. by the living God, by the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers I coniuere and constreine the spirit of thee N. that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy bodie, to no place of rest, but onelie to take thy resting place with N. and with this N. all the daies of my life, according to thine oth and promise. I coniuere and constreine the spirit of N. by these holie names of God **✠**Tetragrammaton **✠**Adonay **✠**Agla **✠**Saday **✠**Sabaoth **✠**planaborbe **✠**panthoon **✠**eraton **✠**eneupmaton **✠**Deus **✠**homo **✠**omnipotens **✠**sempiternus **✠**ysus **✠**terra **✠**unigenitus **✠**saluator **✠**via **✠**vita **✠**manus **✠**sons **✠**origo **✠**filius **✠**and by their vertues and powers I coniuere and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not rest nor remaine in the fier, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in anie priuite place of the earth, but onelie with me N. and with this N. all the daies

Note the summe of this obligation or bond.

*Scripture
as well ap-
plied of the
coniuor,
as that of
satan in
tempting
Christ,
Math. 4.6.

dates of my life. I charge the spirit of N. vpon paine of euertasting condemnation, remember thine oth and promise. Also I coniure the spirit of N. and constreine thee by the excellent name of Iesus Christ, A and O , the first and the last; for this holie name of Iesus is aboue all names, for* vnto it all knees doe bow and obey, both of heauenlie things, earthlie things, and infernalles. For is there anie other name giuen to man, whereby we haue anie saluation, but by the name of Iesus. Therefore by the name, and in the name of Iesus of Nazareth, and by his natiuitie, resurrection and ascension, and by all that apperteineth to his passion, and by their vertues and powers, I doe coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not take anie resting place in the O no; in the D no; in H no; in V no; in I no; in P no; in Q no; in anie of the twelue signes, no; in the concavities of the clouds, no; in anie other priuie place, to rest or staie in, but onelie with me N. or with this N. all the daies of my life. If thou be not obedient vnto me, according to thine oth and promise, I N. doe condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of hell for euer. Amen.

I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the blood of the innocent lambe Iesus Christ, the which was shed vpon the crosse, for all those that doe obeye vnto it, and beleue in it, shall be saued and by the vertue thereof, and by all the aforesaid riall names and words of the liuing God by mee pronounced, I doe coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou be obedient vnto me, according to thine oth and promise. If thou doe refuse to doe as is aforesaid, I N. by the holie trinitie, and by his vertue and power doe condemne the spirit of N. into the place whereas there is no hope of remedie, but euertasting condemnation, and horroz, and paine vpon paine, dailie, horrible, & lamentable the paines there to be augmented, so thicke as the stars in the firmament, and as the grauell sand in the sea: except thou spirit of N. obeye me N. as is afoze rehearsed; else I N. doe condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of euertasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.* Also I coniure thee, and constreine the spirit of N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim & seraphim, & by the foure euangelists, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, and by all things contained in the old lawe and the new, and by their vertues, and by the twelue apo-

Note what
fore penal-
ties the spi-
rit is inioi-
ned to suf-
fer for dis-
obedience.

stles,

sties, 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 coniure and constreine the spirit of N. strongly, to haue common talke with me, at all times, and in all daies, nights, houres, and minuts, and to talke in my mother tong plainelie, that I may heare it, and vnderstand it, declaring the truth vnto me of all things, according to thine oth and promise; else to be condemned for euer; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Also I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the* golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Iesus Christ, so thou spirit of N. be thou bound, and cast into the pit of euerlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and vnrerent regard that thou hast to the holie names and words of God almightie, by me pronounced: *Fiat, Amen.*

* There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was woorth a golden girdle.

Also I coniure, constreine, command, and bind the spirit of N. by the two edged sword, which Iohn saw proceed out of the mouth of God almightie: except thou be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thee in peeces, and condemne thee into the pit of euerlasting paines, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Bugs words

Also I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the throne of the Godhead, and by all the heauens vnder him, and by the celestiall citie new Ierusalem, 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 infernalles, and by their vertues and powers, and all things contained therein, and by their vertues and powers, I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that now immediatlie thou be obedient vnto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced, according to thine oth and promise: * else let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of euerlasting condemnation be vpon thee thou spirit of N. for euer and euer, because thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and saluation, for thy great disobedience thou art woorthie to be condemned. Therefore let the diuine trinitie, angels, and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Iesus

* Is it possible to be greater than S. Adalberts curse? See in Habar, lib. 12. ca. 17. pag. 263, 264, 265.

Christ,

Christ, at the generall daie of iudgement, to denie the spirit of N. for euer and euer, and be a witness against thee, because of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises, *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

Being thus bound, he must needs be obedient unto thee, when he will or no: proue this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your N. and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the houre of H to bind or inchant anie thing, and in the houre of V for peace and concord, in the houre of S to marre, to destroy, and to make sicke, in the houre of the O to bind tongues and other bonds of men, in the houre of P to increase loue, ioy, and good will, in the houre of Q to put awaie enimitie or hatred, to know of thest, in the houre of the D for loue, goodwill and concord, H lead 4 tinne S iron O gold P coppar Q quicksiluer D silver, &c.

These planetary
netarie
houres
must in
anie case
be obser-
ued.

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your christall stone, or glasse, &c.

The xix. Chapter.



Also I doe coniure the spirit N. by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holie-ghost, A and Ω, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of iudgement, of them which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, and by their vertues and powers I constraime the spirit N. to come to him that holdeth the christall stone in his hand, & to appeare visiblie, as hereafter soloweth. Also I conure the spirit N. by these holie names of God ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ Adonay ✠ El ✠ Ouslon ✠ Agla ✠ Iesus ✠ of Nazareth ✠ and by the vertues thereof, and by his natiuitie, death, buriall, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things appertaining unto his passion, and by the blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesu Christ, and by all the ioy which she had when she sawe hir sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers thereof I constraime the spirit N. to come into the christall stone, & to appeare visiblie, as hereafter shall be declared. Also I conure the N. thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by the O D H 4 S P S, and by the twelue signes, and by their vertues and powers, and

*A popish
supple-
ment.

and by all things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by their vertues & powers I conſtreine the Spirit N. to appeare viſible in that chriſtall ſtone, in faire forme and ſhape of a white angell, a greene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, a boie, a maiden virgine, a white grehound, a diuell with great hornes, without anie hurt or danger of our bodies or ſoules, and tralie to in forme and ſhew vnto vs, true viſions of all things in that chriſtall ſtone, according to thine oth and promiſe, and that without anie hinderance or farring, to appeare viſible, by this bond of words read ouer by mee three times, vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

*Belike he had the gift to appeare in ſundry ſhapes, as it is laid of Proteus in Ouid lib. metamor. 8. fab. 10. and of Vertumnus; lib metamor. 14. fab. 16.

Then being appeared, ſaie theſe words following.

I Coniure thee Spirit, by God the father, that thou ſhew true viſions in that chriſtall ſtone, where there be anie N. in ſuch a place or no, vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation, *Fiat, Amen.* Alſo I coniure thee Spirit N. by God the ſonne Jeſus Chriſt, that thou do ſhew true viſions vnto vs, whether it be gold or ſiluer, or anie other metalls, or whether there were anie or no, vpon paine of condemnation, *Fiat, Amen.* Alſo I coniure thee Spirit N. by God the Holie-ghoſt, the which doth ſanctifie all faithfull ſoules and ſpirits, and by their vertues and powers I conſtreine thee Spirit N. to ſpeake, open, and to declare, the true waie, how we may come by theſe treasures hidden in N. and how to haue it in our cuſtodie, & who are the keepers thereof, and how manie there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to ſhew me true viſions of what ſort and ſimilitude they be, and how long they haue kept it, and to knowe in what daies and houres we ſhall call ſuch a Spirit, N. to bring vnto vs theſe treasures, into ſuch a place N. vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation. Alſo I conſtreine thee Spirit N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, poſteſtats, virtutes, cherubim & ſeraphim, that you do ſhew a true viſion in this chriſtall ſtone, who did conuene or ſteale away ſuch a N. and where it is, & who hath it, and how farre off, and what is his or hir name, and how and when to come vnto it, vpon paine of eternall condemnation, *Fiat, Amen.* Alſo I coniure thee Spirit N. by the O D D H J Q Q and by all the characters in the firmament, that thou do ſhew vnto me a true viſion in this chriſtall ſtone, where ſuch N. and in what ſtate he is, and how long he hath bene there, and what time he will be in ſuch a place, what daie and houre: and this, and all other things to declare plainlie, in paine of hell fier; *Fiat, Amen.*

Note that the ſpirit is tied to o- bediēce vnder paine of condemnation and hell fier.

A licence to depart.

Depart out of the ſight of this chriſtall ſtone in peace for a time, and readie to appeare therein againe at anie time or times I ſhall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appeare viſible, as the words be reheard. I conſtreine thee Spirit N. by the diuinitie of the Godhead, to be obedient vnto theſe words reheard, vpon paine of euerlaſting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

When

When to talke with spirits, and to haue true
answers to find out a theefe.

The xx. Chapter.

This is condemned for
ranke follie
by the do-
ctors: as by
Chrysost. sup.
Math. Gre-
gor. in homil.
sup. *Epiphan.*
Dominij; and
others.



The daies and houres of $\text{h } \delta \text{ } \varphi$ and the D is
best to do all crafts of necromancie, & soz to speake
with spirits, and soz to find theff, and to haue true an-
swer thereof, or of anie other such like. ¶ And in the
daies and houres of $\text{O } \text{V } \text{Q}$ is best to do all experiments of loue,
and to purchase grace, and soz to be inuisible, and to do anie ope-
ration, whatsoeuer it be, soz anie thing, the D being in a conuent
ent signe. ¶ As when thou laborest soz theff, see the mone be in an
earthie signe, as $\text{v } \text{m } \text{w}$, or of the aier, as $\text{II } \text{z } \text{z}$. ¶ And if it be
soz loue, sauo: or grace, let the D be in a signe of the fier, as $\text{v } \text{O } \text{L } \text{F}$,
and soz hatred, in a signe of the water, as $\text{S } \text{M } \text{X}$. For anie other
experiment, let the D be in v . ¶ And if thou findest the O & the D in
one signe that is called in euen number, then thou maifest writte,
consecrate, coniure, and make readie all maner of things that
thou wilt do, &c.

To speake with spirits.

All these names, Orimoth, Belimoth, Lymocke, and say thus: **I** con-
iure you by the names of the angels Satur and Azimor, that you in-
tend to me in this houre, and send vnto me a spirit called Sagrigrit, that hee
do fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can vnderstand my
swords soz one or two peares, or as long as **I** will, &c.

A confutation of coniuration, especiallie of the raising, bin-
ding and dismissing of the diuell, of going inuisible, and other lewd
practises.

The xxj. Chapter.

All the for-
mer practi-
ses breechie
confuted.



Thus farre haue we waded in shewing at
large the vanitie of necromancers, coniurors, and
such as pretend to haue reall conference and consil-
tation with spirits and diuels: wherein (**I** trust) you
see what noztorious blasphemie is committed, besides other blind
superstitious ceremonies, a disordered heap, which are so far from
building by the endeuors of these blacke art practitioners, that
they do altogether ruinate & ouerthrow them, making them in
their follies and fallshoods as bare and naked as an anatomie.
As soz these ridiculous coniuations, last rehearsed, being of no
small reputation among the ignorant, they are soz the most part
made by T. R. (soz so much of his name he be wz:ateth) and John

Cokars,

Cokars, inuented and deuised for the augmentation and maintenance of their liuing, for the edifying of the poore, and for the propogating and enlarging of Gods glozie, as in the beginning of their booke of coniurations they protest; which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impietie, and of the witchmongers follie and credulitie, I thought god to insert, whereby the residue of their proceedings may be iudged, or rather detected. For if we serionlie behold the matter of coniuration, and the vizio of confuroers, we shall find them, in mine opinion, moze faultie than such as take vpon them to be witches, as manifest offenders against the maiestie of God, and his holie lawe, and as apparent violatoers of the lawes and quietnesse of this realme: although indeed they bring no such thing to passe, as is furnished and vized by credulous persons, coufeners, liers, and witchmongers. For these are alwaies learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselues by others abused.

But let vs see what appearance of truth or possibilitie is wrapped within these mysteries, and let vs vnfold the decept. They haue made choice of certeine words, whereby they saie they can woꝝke miracles, &c. And first of all, that they call diuels & soules out of hell (though we find in the scriptures manifest proofes that all passages are stopped concerning the egressie out of hell) so as they may go thither, but they shall neuer get out, for *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, out of hell there is no redemption. Well, when they haue gotten them by, they shut them in a circle made with chalk, which is so stronglie beset and inuironed with crosses and names, that they cannot for their liues get out; which is a verie probable matter. Then can they bind them, and lose them at their pleasures, and make them that haue bene liers from the beginning, to tell the truth: yea, they can compell them to do anie thing. And the diuels are forced to be obedient vnto them, and yet cannot be brought to due obedience vnto God their creator. This done (I saie) they can woꝝke all maner of miracles (sauiug blew miracles) and this is belæued of manie to be true:

Tam credula mens hominis, & arrecte fabulis aures,

So light of beleefe is the mind of man,

And attentiuē to tales his eares now and than.

But if Christ (onelie for a time) left the power of woꝝking miracles

See the title of the booke, with the authors intent, in a marginall note, pag. 393.

Luk. 16. &c.

An ironical-
call con-
futation.

Englished by
Abraham
Fleming.

racles among his apostles and disciples for the confirmation of his gospell, and the faith of his elect: yet I denie altogether, that he left that power with these knaues, which hide their confensing purposes vnder those lewd and foolish words, according to that which Peter saith; With feined words they make merchandize of you. And therefore the counsell is god that Paule giueth vs, when he biddeth vs take heed that no man deceiue vs with vaine words. Ifo: it is the Lord only that worketh great wonders, and bringeth mightie things to passe. It is also written, that Gods word, and not the words of conturoors, or the charmes of witches, healeth all things, maketh tempests, and stilleth them.

But put case the diuell could be fetched vp and fettered, and loosed againe at their pleasure, &c: I maruell yet, that anie can be so bewitched, as to be made to beleue, that by vertue of their words, anie earthlie creature can be made inuisible. We thinke it a lie, to saie that white is blacke, and blacke white: but it is a moze shamelesse assertion to affirme, that white is not, or blacke is not at all; and yet moze impudencie to hold that a man is a horse; but most apparent impudencie to saie, that a man is no man, or to be extenuated into such a quantitie, as therby he may be inuisible, and yet remaine in life and health, &c: and that in the cleare light of the daie, euen in the presence of them that are not blind. But surely, he that cannot make one haire white or blacke, whereof (on the other side) not one falleth from the head without Gods speciall pꝛouidence, can neuer bring to passe, that the visibible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace powꝛed therinto by God the creatoꝛ of all things.

If they saie that the diuell couereth them with a cloud or veile, as M. Mal. Bodin, & manie other doe affirme; yet (me thinks) we should either see the couer, or the thing couered. And though perchance they saie in their harts; Tush, the Lord seeth not, who indeed hath blinded them, so as seeing, they see not; yet they shall neuer be able to persuaade the wise, but that both God and man doo see both them and their knauerie in this behalfe. I haue heard of a sole, who was made beleue that he should go inuisible, and naked; while he was well whipt by them, who (as he thought) could not see him. Into which soles paradise they saie he was brought, that enterprised to kill the pince of Orenge.

18. after dinner vpon a fundaie this mischeefe was doone. Read the whole discourse hereof printed at London for Tho: Chard and Will: Brome booke sellers.

To denie
the subsi-
stence or
naturall
being of a
thing ma-
teriall and
visibible is
impudencie.

Ezec. 8. & 9.
Isai. 6. & 26.
and 30.

*John Lau-
reguifer.
uant to
Gasper A-
nastro both
Spaniards.
Ann. Dom.
1582. March

18. after dinner vpon a fundaie this mischeefe was doone. Read the whole discourse hereof printed at London for Tho: Chard and Will: Brome booke sellers.

A comparison betweene popish exorcists and other
coniurors, a popish coniuration published by a great
doctōr of the Romish church, his rules and cautions.

The xxij. Chapter.



See no difference betweene these
and popish coniurations; for they agree
in order, words, and matter, differing in
no circumstance, but that the papists do
it without shame openlie, the other do it
in hugger mugger secretlie. The papists
(I saie) haue officers in this behalfe, which
are called exorcists or coniurors, and they
loke narrowlie to other coufenoers, as hauing gotten the vpper
hand ouer them. And bicause the papists shall be without excuse
in this behalfe, and that the world may see their coufenance, impu-
ette, and follie to be as great as the others, I will cite one coniu-
ration (of which sort I might cite a hundred) published by Iaco-
bus de Chusa, a great doctōr of the Romish church, which serueth
to find out the cause of noise and spirituall rumberling in houses,
churches, or chappels, and to coniure walking spirits: which euer
more is knauerie and coufenance in the highest degree. Marke
the coufening deuise hereof, and conferre the impietie with the
others.

*Iac. de Chusa
in lib. de ap-
pauitionib.
quorundam
spirituum.*

First (forsooth) he saith it is expedient to fast three daies, and to
celebrate a certeine number of masses, and to reapeate the seuen
psalmes penitentiaall: then foure or fise prests must be called
to the place where the haunt or noise is, then a candle hallowed
on candlemas daie must be lighted, and in the lighting thereof
also must the seuen psalmes be said, and the gospell of S. Iohn.
Then there must be a crosse and a censel with frankincense, and
therewithall the place must be censel or perfumed, holie water
must be sprinkled, and a holie scoale must be vsed, and (after di-
uerse other ceremonies) a praier to God must be made, in ma-
ner and forme following:

*Observati-
ons for the
exorcising
preest.*

O Lord Iesus Christ, the knower of all secrets, which alwaies

In h. j.

reuca

reuealest all hoalsome and profitabie things to thy faithfull chyl-
dren, and which sufferest a spirit to shew himselfe in this place,
we beseech thee for thy bitter passion, &c: vouchsafe to command
this spirit, to reueale and signifie vnto vs thy seruants, without
our terro: or hurt, what he is, to thine honour, and to his comfort;
In nomine patris, &c. And then proceed in these words: We beseech
thee, for Christs sake, O thou spirit, that if there be anie of vs, or
among vs, whom thou wouldest answer, name him, or else ma-
nifest him by some signe. Is it frater P. or doctor D. or doctor
Bure. or sir Feats, or sir John, or sir Robert: *Et sic de ceteris circum-*
stantibus. If it is well tried (saith the glosse) he will not answer
euerie one. If the spirit make anie sound of voice, or knocking,
at the naming of anie one, he is the coufener (the coniuor: I
would saie) that must haue the charge of this coniuuration, or ex-
amination. And these so:sooth must be the interrogatozies, to
wit: Whose soule art thou: Wherefore camest thou: What woul-
dest thou haue: Whatzell thou anie suffrages, masses, or almes:
How manie masses will serue thy turne, thre, six, ten, twentie,
thirtie, &c: By what priest: Must he be religious or secular:
Wilt thou haue anie fasts: What: How manie: How great:
And by what persons: Among hospitalles: Lepres: Or beg-
gers: What shall be the signe of thy perfect deliuerance: Where-
fore liest thou in purgatorie: And such like. This must be done
in the night.

Memoran-
dum that
he must be
the veriest
knaue or
foole in all
the com-
panie.

These spi-
rits are not
so cunning
by daie as
by night.

*For so they
might be
bewraied.

For so the
coufenger
may be best
handled.

If there appeare no signe at this houre, it must be deferred
vntill another houre. Holie water must be left in the place.
There is no feare (they saie) that such a spirit will hurt the coniu-
ror: for he can sinne no more, as being in the meane state be-
twene good and euill, and as yet in the state of satisfaction. * If
the spirit do hurt, then it is a damned soule, and not an elect. E-
uerie man may not be present herat, speciallie such as be weak
of complexion. They appeare in diuersel maners, not alwaies in
bodie, or bodilie shape (as it is read in the life of S. Martine, that
the diuill did) but sometimes inuisible, as onelie by sound, voice,
or noise. Thus farre Iacobus de Chusa.

But because you shall see that these be not emptie woords, nor
standers; but that in truth such things are commonlie put in
practise in the Romish church, I will here set downe an instance,
latelie

Satellie and truelie, though lewdlie perfozmed : and the same in effect as followeth.

A late experiment, or coufening coniuration practised at Orleance by the Franciscane Friers, how it was detected, and the iudgement against the authors of that comedie.

The xxij, Chapter.

In the yeare of our Lord 1534. at Orleance in France, the Datoz wife died, willing and desiring to be buried without anie pompe or noise, &c. Her husband, who reuerenced the memoriall of hir, did euen as she had willed him. And because she was buried in the church of the * Franciscans, besides hir father and grandfather, and gaue them in reyard onelie six crownes, whereas they hoped for a greater price; shortly after it chanced, that as he selled certeine woods and sold them, they desired him to giue them some part thereof freele without monie : which he flatlie denied. This they tooke verie grieuouslie. And whereas before they mistiked him, now they conceived such displeasure as they deuised this meanes to be reuenged; to wit, that his wife was damned for euer. The chiefe workemen and framers of this tragedie were Colimannus, and Stephanus Aterbatensis, both doctors of diuinitie; this Coliman. was a great coniueroz, & had all his implements in a readines, which he was wont to vse in such busines. And thus they handled the matter. They place ouer the arches of the church, a yong nouice; who about midnight, when they came to mumble their praiers, as they were wont to do, maketh a great rumbling, and noise. Out of hand the monks beganne to coniure and to charme, but he answered nothing. Then being required to giue a signe, whether he were a dumme spirit or no, he beganne to rumble againe: which thing they tooke as a certeine signe. Having laid this foundation, they go vnto certeine citizens; chiefe men, and such as fauoured them, declar-

A coufening coniuration.

*Of this order read noble itutfe in a booke printed at Frankesford vnder the title of *Alcoran. Franciscanorum.*

Note how the Franciscans can not coniure without a confederate.

O notorius
impuden-
cie! with
such shame-
lesse faces
to abuse so
worship-
full a com-
panie.

ring that a heauie chance had happened at home in their mona-
strie; not shewing what the matter was, but desiring them to
come to their mattens at midnight. When these citizens were
come, and that praiers were begunne, the counterfet spirit be-
ginneeth to make a maruellous noise in the top of the church. And
being asked what he meant, and who he was, gaue signes that it
was not lawfull for him to speake. Therefore they commanded
him to make answer by tokens and signes to certeine things
they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in the
wall, through the which he might heare and vnderstand the
voice of the coniuro. And then had he in his hand a little boord,
which at euerie question, he strake, in such sort as he might easilie
be heard beneath. First they asked him, whether he were one of
them that had bene buried in the same place. Afterwards they
reckoning manie by name, which had bene buried there; at the
last also they name the Patores wife: and there by and by the spi-
rit gaue a signe that he was hir soule. He was further asked,
whether he were damned or no; and if he were, for what cause,
for what desert, or fault; whether for couetousnes, or wanton lust,
for pride, or want of charitie; or whether it were for heresie, or for
the sect of Luther newlie sprung vp: also what he meant by that
noise and strere he kept there; whether it were to haue the bodie
now buried in holie ground to be digged by againe, and laid in
some other place. To all which points he answered by signes, as
he was commanded, by the which he affirmed or denied ante
thing, according as he strake the boord twise or thrise together.
And when he had thus given them to vnderstand, that the verie
cause of his damnation was Luthers heresie, and that the bodie
must needs be digged by againe: the citizens requested the citi-
zens, whose presence they had vsed or rather abused, that they
would beare witnesse of those things which they had seene with
their eyes; and that they would subscribe to such things as were
doone a few daies before. The citizens taking god aduise on the
matter, leass they should offend the Patores, or bring themselues
in trouble, refused so to do. But the monks notwithstanding
take from thence the swete bread, which they called the host and
bodie of our Lord, with all the reliques of saints, and carrie them
to another place, and there late their masse. The bishops substi-
tute

* The con-
federate
spirit was
taught that
lesion be-
fore.

tute iudge (whome they called Officiall) vnderstanding that matter, cometh thither, accompanied with certeine honest men, to the intent he might knowe the whole circumstance more exactlie: and therefore he commandeth them to make conuirsation in his presence; and also he requireth certeine to be chosen to go by into the top of the bawt, and there to see whether any ghost appeared or not. Stephanus Aterbatensis stiffelie denied that to be lawfull, and maruellouslie perswading the contrarie, affirmed that the spirit in no wise ought to be troubled. And albeit the Officiall vjged them verie much, that there might be some conuirsing of the spirit; yet could he nothing preuaile.

For so
might the
confederate
be
found.

Whilist these things were doing, the Daioz, when he had shewed the other Iustices of the citie, what he would haue them to do, toke his iournie to the king, and opened the whole matter vnto him. And bicause the monks refused iudgement vpon plea of their owne lawes and liberties, the king choosing out certeine of the aldermen of Paris, giueth them absolute and full authoritie to make inquirie of the matter. The like doth the Chanceloz maister Anthonius Pratenfis cardinall and legat for the pope throughout France. Therefore, when they had no exception to alledge, they were conueied vnto Paris, and there constrained to make their answer. But yet could nothing be wzong out of them by confession, wherevpon they were put apart into diuers prisons: the notice being kept in the house of maister Fumanus, one of the aldermen, was oftentimes examined, and earnestlie requested to vtter the truth, but would notwithstanding confesse nothing; bicause he feared that the monks would afterwards put him to death for staining their order, and putting it to open shame. But when the iudges had made him sure promise that he should escape punishment, and that he should neuer come into their handling, he opened vnto them the whole matter as it was done: and being brought before his fellowes, auouched the same to their faces. The monks, albeit they were conuicted, and by these meanes almost taken tarde with the deed doing; yet did they refuse the iudges, bragging and vaunting themselues on their pntledges, but all in vaine. For sentence passed vpon them, and they were condemned to be carried backe againe to Orleans, and there to be cast in prison, and so should finallie be

An obstinate
and
wilfull
persisting
in
the
denying
or
not
confessing
of
a
fault
committed.

As h. iij.

brought

brought forth into the chiefe church of the citie openlie, and from thence to the place of execution, where they should make open confession of their trespasses.

A parecuafis or transfiguration of the author to matter further purposed.

Surelie this was most common among monks and fraters, who mainteined their religion, their lust, their liberties, their pompe, their wealth, their estimation and knauerie by such censuring practises. Now I will shew you moze speciall orders of popish coniurations, that are so shameleslie admitted into the church of Rome, that they are not onelie suffered, but commannded to be vsed, not by night secretlie, but by daie impudentlie. And these fo:sooth concerne the curing of bewitched persons, and such as are possessed; to wit, such as haue a diucll put into them by witches inchantments. And herewithall I will set downe certeine rules deliuered vnto vs by such popish doctozs, as are of greatest reputation.

Who may be coniuorors in the Romish church besides priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be vsed and not vsed in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to coniuere any thing, differences betweene holie water and coniuuration.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

In 4. di. ff.
23. sens.



Thomas Aquinas saith, that anie bodie, though he be of an inferio: o: superio: order, yca though of none order at all (and as Gulielmus Durandus glossator Raimundi affirmeth, a woman to the blesse not the girde o: the garment, but the person of the bewitched) hath power to exorcise the order of an exorcist o: coniuor, euen as well as any prest may saie masse in a house vnconsecrated. But that is (saith M. Mal.) rather through the godnesse and licence of the pope, than through the grace of the sacrament. Saie, there are examples set downe, where some being bewitched were cured (as M. Mal. taketh it) without any coniuuration at all. Parrie there were certeine *Pater nosters*, *Ames*, and *Credos* said,

said, and crosses made, but they are charmes, they saie, and no confutations. For they saie that such charmes are lawfull, because there is no superstition in them, &c.

And it is woorth my labour, to shew you how papists define superstition, and how they expound the definition thereof. *See Et glos. super illo ad coll. 2.* Superstition (saie they) is a religion obserued beyond measure, a religion practised with euill and vnperfect circumstances. Also, whatsoeuer vsurpeth the name of religion, thzough humane tradition, without the popes authoritie, is superstitious: as to adde or ioine anie hymnes to the masse, to interrupt anie diriges, to to abidge anie part of the creed in the singing thereof, or to sing when the organs go, and not when the quier singeth, not to haue one to helpe the priest to masse: and such like, &c.

These popish exorcists doo manie times forget their owne rules. For they should not direalie in their confutations call by on the diuell (as they doo) with intreatie, but with authoritie and commandement. Neither should they haue in their charmes and confutations anie vnknowne names. Neither should there be (as alwaies there is) anie falshood contained in the matter of the charme of confutation, as (saie they) old women haue in theirs, when they saie; The blessed virgine passed ouer Iordan, and then S. Steuen met hir, and asked hir, &c. Neither should they haue anie other vaine characters, but the crosse (for those are the words;) and manie other such cautions haue they, which they obserue not, for they haue made it lawfull elsewhere.

But Thomas their chiefe pillar proueth their confuting and charmes lawfull by S. Marke, who saith; *Signa eos qui crediderunt;* And, *In nomine meo demonia eijcient,* &c: whereby he also proueth that they maie confute serpents. And there he taketh paines to proue, that the words of God are of as great holinesse as relikes of saints, whereas (in such respect as they meane) they are both alike, and indeed nothing woorth. And I can tell them further, that so they maie be carried, as either of them maie doo a man much harme either in bodie or soule.

But they proue this by S. Augustine, saieing; *Non est minus verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi:* whereupon they conclude thus; *consequent* By all mens opinions it is lawfull to carrie about reuerentlie the relikes of saints; Ergo it is lawfull against euill spirits, to in-

*Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 2.*

vocate the name of God euerie waite; by the *Pater noster*, the *Aue*, the natiuitie, the passion, the five wounds, the tittle triumphant, by the feuen words spoken on the crosse, by the nailles, &c: and there maie be hope reposed in them. Yea, they saie it is lawfull to coniure all things, bicause the diuell maie haue power in all things. And first, alwaies the person or thing, wherein the diuell is, must be exorcised, and then the diuell must be coniured. Also they affirme, that it is as expedient to consecrate and coniure porrage and meate, as water and salt, or such like things.

Rites, cere-
monies, and
relikes of
exorcisme
in rebapti-
sing of the
possessed or
bewitched.

The right order of exorcisme in rebaptisme of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exufflation and abrenunciacion be done toward the west. Item, there must be erection of hands, confession, profession, oration, benediction, imposition of hands, denudation and unction, with holie oile after baptisme, communion, and induition of the surplis. But they saie that this needeth not, where the bewitched is exorcised: but that the bewitched be first confessed, and then to hold a candle in his hand, and in stead of a surplis to tie about his bare bodie a holie candle of the length of Christ, or of the crosse whereupon he died, which for monie maie be had at Rome. *Ergo* (saith M. Mal.) this maie be said; I coniure thee Peter or Barbara being sicke, but regenerate in the holie water of baptisme, by the living God, by the true God, by the holie God, by the God which redeemed thee with his precious blood, that thou maiest be made a coniured man, that euerie fantasie and wickednesse of diabolicall deceit doe auoid and depart from thee, and that euerie uncleane spirit be coniured through him that shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen: *Oremus*, &c. And this coniuration, with *Oremus*, and a praier, must be thise repeated, and at the end alwaies must be said; *Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam*, &c. And this order must alwaies be followed. And finally, there must be diligent search made, in euerie corner, and vnder euerie counterlet and pallet, and vnder euerie threshold of the doores, for instruments of witchcraft. And if anie be found, they must straightwaie be throwne into the fier. Also they must change all their bedding, their clothing, and their habitation. And if nothing be found, the partie that is to be exorcised or coniured, must come to the church rath in the morning: and the holier the daie is, the better,

Memoran-
dum that
this is for
one bewit-
ched.

better, speciallie our Ladie daie. And the priest, if he be shiuen himselfe and in perfect state, shall doe the better therein. And let him that is exorcised hold a holie candle in his hand, &c. Allwaies prouided, that the holie water be shiowne vpon him, and a stoale put about his necke, with *Deus in adiutorium*, and the Letanie, with inuocation of saints. And this order maie continue thriſe a weeke, so as (saie they) through multiplication of intercessors, or rather intercessions, grace maie be obtained, and fauor procured.

Note the
prouiso.

There is also some question in the Romish church, whether the sacrament of the altar is to be receiued before or after the exorcisme. Item in thrist, the confessor must learne whether the partie be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endure this veration. Thomas sheweth the difference betwixt holie water and coniuration, saing that holie water driueth the diuell awaie from the externall and outward parts; but coniurations from the internall and inward parts; and therefore vnto the bewitched partie both are to be applied.

Tho. Aquin.
supr. dist. 6.

The seuen reasons why some are not rid of the diuell with all their popish coniurations, why there were no coniuors in the primitiue church, and why the diuell is not so soone cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.

The xxv. Chapter.



The reason why some are not remedied for all their coniurations, the papists say is for seuen causes. First, for that the faith of the standers by is naught; secondlie, for that theirs that present the partie is no better; thirdlie, because of the sinnes of the bewitched; fourthlie, for the neglecting of meeke remedies; fifthlie, for the reuerence of vertues going out into others; sixthlie, for the purgation; seuenthlie, for the merit of the partie bewitched. And so, the first foure are proued by Matthew the 7. and Marke the 4.

when

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Proper
proofes of
the former
seuen rea-
sons.

When one presented his sonne, and the multitude wanted faith, & the father said, Lord helpe mine incredulitie or unbeliefe. Where vpon was said, Oh faithlesse and peruerse generation, how long shall I be with you? And where these words are written; And Iesus rebuked him, &c. That is to saie, saie they, the possessed or bewitched for his finnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appereth, that there were not with Christ god and perfect men: for the pillars of the faith; to wit, Peter, James; and Iohn were absent. Neither was there fasting and prayer, with out the which that kind of diuels could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith maie appeare; for that after wards the disciples asked the cause of their impotencie therein. And Iesus answered, it was for their incredulitie; saieing that if they had as much faith as a graine of mustard seed, they should moue mountaines, &c. The fifth is proued by *Vitaspectrum*, the liues of the fathers, where it appereth that S. Anthonie could not do that cure, when his scholar Paule could do it, and did it. For the p^oofe of the sixt excuse it is said, that though the fault be taken awaie therby; yet it followeth not that alwaies the punishment is released. Last of all it is said, that it is possible that the diuell was not coniuered out of the partie before baptis me by the exorcist, or the midwife hath not baptised him well, but omitted some part of the sacrament. If any object that there were no exorcists in the primitiue church, it is answered, that the church cannot now erre. And saint Gregorie would neuer haue instituted it in vaine. And it is a generall rule, that who or whatsoeuer is newlie exorcised, must be rebaptised: as also such as walke or talke in their sleepe; for (saie they) call them by their names, and presentlie they wake, or fall if they clime: whereby it is gathered, that they are not trulie named in baptisime. Item they saie, it is somewhat more difficult to conuere the diuell out of one bewitched, than out of one possessed: because in the bewitched, he is double; in the other single.

They haue a hundred such beggerlie, foolish, and stouolous notes in this behalfe.

Why there were no coniuorors in y^e primitiue church with other suball points.

Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers
in this matter of coniurations.

The xxvj. Chapter.

Wrelic I cannot see what difference or distinction the witchmongers doe put betwene the knowledge and power of God and the diuell; but that they think, if they praie, or rather talke to God, till their hearts ake, he neuer heareth them; but that the diuell doth knowe euerie thought and imagination of their minds, and both can and also will doe any thing for them. For if anie that meaneth god faith with the diuell read certeine coniurations, he commeth by (they saie) at a trice. Harrie if another that hath none intent to raise him, read or pronounce the words, he will not stirre. And yet I. Bodin confesseth, that he is afraid to read such coniurations, as John Wierus reciteth; least (belike) the diuell would come by, and scratch him with his sowle long nails. In which sort I wonder that the diuell dealeth with none other, than witches and coniurozs. I for my part haue read a number of their coniurations, but neuer could see anie diuels of theirs, except it were in a plaie. But the diuell (belike) knoweth my mind; so wit, that I would be loth to come within the compasse of his clawes. But lo what reason such people haue. Bodin, Bartholomeus Spineus, Sprenger, and Infortor, &c: doe konstantlie affirme, that witches are to be punished with more extremitie than coniurozs; 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 diuell, & so doe not coniurozs. How if coniurozs make no league by their owne confession, and diuels indeed know not our cogitations (as I haue sufficientlie proued) then would I wiet of our witchmongers the reason, (if I read the coniuration and perfozme the ceremonie) why the diuell will not come at my call: But oh absurd credulitie! Euen in this point manie wise & learned men haue bene & are abused: therreas

A coniuror
then belike
must not be
timorous or
fearefull.

Where a
witch cu-
reth by in-
cantation,
and the
coniuror
by coniu-
ration.

whereas, if they would make experience, or dultie expend the cause, they might be some resolved; specially when the whole art and circumstance is so contrarie to Gods word, as it must be false, if the other be true. So as you may vnderstand, that the papists do not onlie by their doctrine, in booke & sermons teach & publicly coniuurations, & the order thereof, whereby they may induce men to be stowe, or rather cast awaie their monie vpon masses and suffrages for their soules; but they make it also a parcell of their sacrament of orders (of the which number a coniuoro is one) and insert manie soymes of coniuurations into their diuine seruite, and not onelie into their pontificalls, but into their masse booke; yea into the verie canon of the masse.

Certaine coniuurations taken out of the pontificall and out of the missall.

The xxvij. Chapter.



Ut see yet a little moze of popish coniuurations, and conferre them with the other. In the pontificall you shall find this coniuuration, which the other coniuoro vsle as solemnelie as they: I coniuire thee thou creature of water in the name of the fa-ther, of the so-une, and of the Holie-ghost, that thou dzine awaie the diuell from the bounds of the iust, 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 vsed at the hallowing of churches. There must a crosse of athes be made vpon the pauement, 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 Græke alphabet, and on the other side the Latin alphabet. Durandus yeelbeth this reason thereof; to wit, It representeth the union in faith of the Jewes and Gentiles. And yet well agreeing to himselfe he saith euen there, that the crosse reaching from the one end to the other, signifieth that the people, which were in the he ad, shall be made the taile.

** Tit. de ecclesie dedicatione.*

Ibidem, fol. 108.

Durand. de ecclesie dedicatione lib. 1. fol. 12.

¶ A coniuration written in the masse
booke. Fol. 1.

I Coniure thee O creature of salt by God, by the God † that *In Missal.*
liueth, by the true † God, by the holie † God, which by *fol. 1.* Eliza:us
the prophet commanded, that thou shouldest be throwne into the *The maner*
water, that it thereby might be made whole and sound, that thou *of coniur-*
salt [here let the priest looke vpon the salt] maist be coniured fo: *ring salt.*
the health of all beleuers, and that thou be to all that take thee,
health both of bodie and soule; and let all phantasies and wicked-
nesse, or diabollicall craft or deceit, depart from the place where
on it is sprinkled; as also euerie vncleane spirit, being coniured
by him that iudgeth both the quicke and the dead by fier. Resp:
Amen. Then followeth a prater to be said, without *Dominus vobis-*
cum; but yet with *Oremus;* as folloiweth:

¶ Oremus.

A mightie and everlasting God, we humble desire thy cle- *A prater to*
mency [here let the priest looke vpon the salt] that thou woul- *be applied*
dest vouchsafe, through thy pietie, to bl:esse and sanc:tify *to the for-*
this creature of salt, which thou hast giuen fo: the ble of mankind, *mer exor-*
that it may be to all that receiue it, health of mind and bodie; so *cisme.*
as whatsoeuer shall be touched thereby, or sprinkled therewith,
may be void of all vncleannesse, and all resistance of spirituall
iniquitie, through our Lord, Amen.

What can be made but a coniuration of these words also,
which are written in the canon, or rather in the saccaring of
masse? This holie commirtion of the bodie and bloud of
our Lord Iesus Christ, let it be made to me, and to
all the receiuers thereof, health of mind and
bodie, and a wholesome preparatiue fo:
the deseruing and receiuing of
euerlasting life, through
our Lord Iesus,
Amen.

That

That popish priests leaue nothing vnconiuured,
a forme of exorcisme for incense.

The xxviij. Chapter.



Although the papists haue manie coniuurations, so as neither water, no: fier, no: bread, no: wine, no: waie, no: fallowe, no: church, no: churchyard, no: altar, no: altar cloath, no: ashes, no: coles, no: belles, no: bell ropes, no: copes, no: bestments, no: oile, no: salt, no: candle, no: candlesticke, no: beds, no: beds

flaues, &c. are without their forme of coniuuration: yet I will for hieuitie let all passe, and end here with incense, which they do coniuere in this sort: ✠ I coniuere thee most filthy and horrible spirit, and euerie vision of our enemie, &c: that thou go and depart from out of this creature of frankincense, with all thy deceit and wickednes, that this creature may be sanctified, and in the name of our Lord ✠ Iesus ✠ Christ ✠ that all they that taste, touch, or smell the same, may receiue the vertue and assistance of the Holie-ghost; so as wheresoeuer 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 vncleane spirit so euer thou be, that thou with all thy craft and subtiltie auoid and depart, being coniuured by the name of God the father almightie, &c. And that wheresoeuer the fume or smoke thereof shall come, euerie kind and sort of diuels may be diuened awaie, and expelled, as they were at the increase of the liuet of fish, which the archangell Raphaell made,

&c.

A coniu-
ration of
frankin-
cense set
foorth in
forme.

The rules and lawes of popish Exorcists and other
coniurors all one, with a confutation of their whole
power, how S. Martine coniured the diuell.

The xxix. Chapter.



The papists you see, haue their cer-
teine generall rules and lawes, as to ab-
steine from sinne, and to fast, as also o-
therwise to be cleane from all pollutions,
æc: and euen so likewise haue the other
coniurors. Some will saie that papists
vse diuine seruice, and pzaiers; euen so do
æcommon coniurors (as you see) euen in the
same papistcalle forme, no whit swaruing from theirs in faith
and doctrine, no; yet in vngodlie and vnrasonable kinds of pe-
titions. He thinks it may be a sufficient argument, to ouerthrow
the calling vp and miraculous works of spirits, that it is writ-
ten; God onelie knoweth and searcheth the harts, and onelie
worketh great wondrous. The which argument being pzosecu-
ted to the end, can neuer be answered; insomuch as that diuine
power is required in that acton.

Papists and
coniurors
coufening
competers.

1. Sam. 16, 7.
1. Reg. 8, 39.
Ierc. 17, 10.
Psal. 44, 21.
Psal. 72, 18.

And if it be said, that in this coniuration we speake to the spi-
rits, and they heare vs, & therefore need not know our thoughts
and imaginations: I first aske them whether king Baell, or A-
moimon, which are spirits reigning in the furthest regions of the
east (as they saie) may heare a coniurors voice, which calleth for
them, being in the extreamest parts of the west, there being such
noises interposed, where perhaps also they may be busie, and set
to worke on the like affaires. Secondlie, whether those spirits
be of the same power that God is, who is euerie where, filling all
places, and able to heare all men at one instant, æc. Thirdlie,
whence commeth the force of such words as raise the dead, and
command diuels. If sound do it, then may it be done by a taber
and a pipe, or any other instrument that hath no life. If the voice
do it, then may it be done by any beasts or birds. If words,
then a parret may do it. If in mans words onlie, there is the
force,

force, in the first, second, or third syllable? If in syllables, then not in words; If in imaginations, then the diuell knoweth our thoughts. But all this stufte is vaine and fabulous.

Sap. 1. 14.
Ecclesi. 9.
Gen. 1.

It is witten; All the generations of the earth were healthfull, and there is no poison of destruction in them. Why then do they coniure holosome creatures; as salt, water, &c: where no diuels are: God looked vpon all his woorks, and saue they were all god. What effect (I praise you) had the 7. tonnes of Scœua; which is the great obiection of witchmongers: They would needs take vpon them to coniure diuels out of the possessed. But what brought they to passe? Yet that was in the time, whilst God suffered miracles commonlie to be wrought. By that you may see what coniuers can do.

Act. 19.

Mark. 16. 17.

There is such a promise to coniuers or witches, as is made in the Gospell to the faithfull: where it is witten; In my name they shall cast out diuels, speake with new tongues: if they shall drinke any deadlie thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall take auaie serpents, they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall recouer. According to the promise, this grant of miraculous working was performed in the primitiue church, for the confirmation of Christs doctrine, and the establishing of the Gospell.

But as in another place I haue proued, the gift thereof was but for a time, and is now ceased; neither was it euer made to papist, witch, or coniuers. They take vpon them to call vp and cast out diuels; and to vndo with one diuell, that which another diuell hath done. If one diuell could cast out another, it were a kingdome diuided, and could not stand. Which argument Christ himselfe maketh; and therefore I maie the more boldlie saie euen with Christ, that they haue no such power. For^a besides him, there is no sauour,^b none can deliuer out of his hand. Who but hee can declare, set in order, appoint, and tell what is to come: He destroyeth the tokens of soothsaiers, and maketh the coniuersers soles, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot witches.

^a Iſai. 43. 11.
^b verſe. 13.
cap. 44.
verſe. 7.
verſe. 25.

Iſai. 46. 10.
cap. 47. verſe.
12. 13. &c.
Luke. 11. 20.
Mat. 12. 28.
Act. 8. 19.

There is no helpe in inchanters and soothsaiers, and other such vaine sciences. For diuels are cast out by the finger of God, which Matthew calleth the spirit of God, which is the mightie power of God, and not by the vertue of the bare name onlie, being spoken or pronounced: for then might euerie wicked man

do it. And Simon Magus needed not then to haue proffered monie to haue bought the power to do miracles and wonders: for he could speake and pronounce the name of God, as well as the apostles. Indeed they maie some throve out all the diuels that are in frankincense, and such like creatures, wherein no diuels are: but neither they, nor all their holie water can indeed cure a man possessed with a diuell, either in bodie or mind; as Christ did. *Paie*, why do they not cast out the diuell that possesseth their owne soules?

Let me heare anie of them all speake with new toongs, let them drinke but one dramme of a potion which I will prepare for them, let them cure the sicke by laieng on of hands (though witches take it vpon them, and witchmongers beleue it) and then I will subscribe vnto them. But if they, which repose such certaintie in the actions of witches and coniuroꝝ, would diligentlie note their deceit, and how the scope whereat they shote is monie (I meane not such witches as are falselie accused, but such as take vpon them to giue answers, &c: as mother Bungie did) they should apparentlie see the counsage. For they are abused, as are manie beholders of jugglers, which suppose they do miraculouſlie, that which is done by slight and subtiltie.

But in this matter of witchcrafts and coniurations, if men would rather trust their owne eyes, than old wiuues tales and lies, I dare vndertake this matter would soon be at a perfect point; as being easier to be perceiued than juggling. But I must needs confesse, that it is no great maruell, though the simple be abused therein, when such lies concerning those matters are maintained by such persons of account, and thrust into their diuine seruice. As for example: It is written that S. Martine thrust his fingers into ones mouth that had a diuell within him, and vsed to bite folke; and then did bid him deuoure them if he could. And bicause the diuell could not get out at his mouth, being stoppt with S. Martins fingers, he was saine to run out at his fundament. *W* King lie!

Monie is the marke whereat al witches & coniuroꝝ doo aime.

S. Martins cōiuration:
In die sancti Martini.
leſi. x.

That is a shame for papists to beleue other coniu-
rors doings, their owne being of so litle force, Hippo-
crates his opinion herein,

The xxx. Chapter.



And still me thinks papists (of all others) which indeed are most credulous, and do most mainteine the force of witches charmes, and of coniuers conu-
nages, should perceiue and iudge coniu-
ers doings to be void of effect. For when they see their owne stuffe, as holic water, salt, candles, &c: coniuery by their holic
bishop and prests; & that in the words of consecration o2 coniu-
ration (so2 so* their owne doctozs terme them) they adiuere the wa-
ter, &c: to heale, not onelic the soules infirmitie, but also euerie
maladie, hurt, o2 ach of the bodie; and do also command the can-
dles, with the force of all their authoritie and powler, and by the
effect of all their holic words, not to consume: and yet neither
soule no2 bodie anie thing recouer, no2 the candles last one mi-
nute the longer: with what face can they defend the others mira-
culous workes; as though the witches and coniuers actions
were moze effectuell than their owne: Hippocrates being but
a heathen, and not hauing the perfect knowledge of God, could
see and perceiue their couenage and knauerie well enough, who
saith; They which boast so, that they can remouie o2 helpe the in-
fections of diseases, with sacrifices, coniuurations, o2 other magi-
call instruments o2 meanes, are but needie fellowes, wanting
liuing; and therefore referre their words to the diuell: bicause
they would seeme to know somethat moze than the common
people. It is maruell that papists do affirme, that their holic
water, crosses, o2 bugges words haue such vertue and violence,
as to driue awaie diuels: so as they dare not appoch to anie
place o2 person besmèred with such stuffe; when as it appeareth
in the gospell, that the diuell presumed to assault and tempt
Christ himselfe. For the diuell indeed most ernestlie busied him-
selfe

* To wit,
*Vincens do-
minica in al-
bis: in octa,
pasch. sermo-
ne. 15.
Dumand. de
exorcif.*

selfe to seduce the godlie : as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and iust account of them, as of his owne alreadie. But let vs go forward in our refutation.

How coniurors haue beguiled witches, what bookes they carie about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Ioseph.

The xxxj. Chapter.

THUS you see that coniurors are no small soles. For whereas witches being poore and needie, go from doore to doore for reliefe, haue they neuer so manie todes or cats at home, or neuer so much hogs dung and charuill about them, or neuer so manie charmes in stowe: these coniurors (I saie) haue gotten them offices in the church of Rome, wherby they haue obtained authoritie & great estimation. And further, to adde credit to that art, these coniurors carrie about at this date, bookes intituled vnder the names of Adam, Abel, Tobie, & Enoch; which Enoch they repute the most diuine fellow in such matters. They haue also among them bookes that they saie Abraham, Aaron and Salomon made. Item they haue bookes of Zacharie, Paule, Honorius, Cyprian, Jerome, Ieremie, Albert, and Thomas: also of the angels, Riziel, Razael, and Raphael; and these doubtlesse were such bookes as were said to haue bene burnt in the lesser Asia. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be and are skilfull and learned in these arts; to wit, *Ars Almadel, ars Notoria, ars Bulaphie, ars Arthephy, ars Pomena, ars Reuelationis, &c.* Yea, these coniurors in coyners sticke not (with Iustine) to report and affirme, that Ioseph, who was a true figure of Christ that deliuered and redeemed vs, was learned in these arts, and thereby prophesied and expounded dreames: and that those arts came from him to Moses, and finally from Moses to them: which thing both Plinie and Tacitus affirme of Moses. Also Strabo in his cosmographie maketh the verie like blasphemous report. And likewise Apollonius Molon,

Afowle of
sente to
backbite
y absent
& to be-
lie the
dead.

Acts. 19.

Infl. lib. 16.

Plin. lib. 30.

cap. 2.

Strab. lib. 16.

Molon, Possidonius, Lisimachus, and Appian terme Moses both a magician and a coniuro: whom Eusebius confuteth with manie notable arguments. For Moses differed as much from a magician, as truth from falshood, and pietie from vanitie: for in truth, he confounded all magicke, and made the world see, and the cunningest magicians of the earth confesse, that their owne doings were but illussions, and that his miracles were wrought by the finger of God. But that the poore old witches knowledge reacheth thus farre (as Danæus affirmeth it doth) is untrue: for their furthest fetches that I can comprehend, are but to fetch a pot of milke, &c: from their neighbours house, halfe a mile distant from them.

Dan. in dialog. de sortiaris.

All magicall arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gallus haue left written thereof, and proued by experience.

The xxxij. Chapter.



Surelie Nero proued all these magicall arts to be vaine and fabulous lies, and nothing but couzenage and knauesrie. He was a notable prince, hauing gifts of nature enow to haue conceiued such matters, treasure enough to haue employed in the search thereof, he made no conscience therein, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would haue giuen halfe his kingdome to haue 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 booke also, and all other things necessarie for a magician; and neuer could find anie thing in it, but couzenage and legierdemaine. At length he met with one Tiridates, the great magician, who hauing with him all his companions, and fellowe magicians, witches, coniuroz, and couzeners, inuited Nero to certeine magicall bankets and exercises. Which when Nero required to learne, he

Tiridates the great magician biddeth the emperor Nero to a banquet, &c.

he (to hide his coufenage) answered that he would not, nor could not teach him, though he would haue giuen him his kingdom. The matter of his refusall (I saie) was, least Nero should espie the coufening deuises thereof. Which when Nero conceiued, and saue the same, and all the residue of that art to be vaine, lieng and ridiculous, hauing onelie shadowes of truth, and that their arts were onelie beneficall; he prohibited the same vtterlie, and made good and strong lawes against the vse and the practisers thereof: as Plinie and others do report. It is maruell that anie man can be so much abused, as to suppose that sathan may be commanded, compelled, or tied by the power of man: as though the diuell would yeld to man, beyond nature; that will not yeld to God his creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they confesse) god angels as well as bad; I would know whie they call by the angels of hell, and not call downe the angels of heauen. But this they answer (as Agrippa saith.) God angels (soz sozh) do hardlie appeare, and the other are readie at hand. Here I may not omit to tell you how Cor. Agrippa betwraeth, defeteth, and defaceth this art of coniuration, who in his youth trauelled into the bottome of all these magicall sciences, and was not onelie a great coniuroz and practiser thereof, but also wrote cunninglie *De occulta philosophia*. Howbeit, afterwards in his wiser age, he recanteth his opinions, and lamenteth his follies in that behalfe, and discouereth the impietic and vanities of magicians, and inchanters, which boast they can do miracles: which action is now ceased (saith he) and assigneth them a place with Iannes and Iambres, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vaine toies for a thew. Carolus Gallus also saith; I haue tried oftentimes, by the witches and coniuroz themselves, that their arts (especially those which do consist of charmes, impossibilities, coniurations, and witchcrafts, whereof they were wont to boast) to be mere foolishnes, dotting lies, and dreames. I for my part can saie as much, but that I delight not to alledge mine owne profes and authorities; for that mine aduersaries will saie they are parciall, and not indifferent.

Nero made lawes against conu- rors and coniu- rations.

C. Agrip. lib. de vanitat. scient.

Of Salomons coniurations, and of the opinion conceued of his cunning and practise therein.

The xxxij. Chapter.

IT is affirmed by sundrie authozs, that Salomon was the first inuentoꝝ of those coniurations; and thereof Iosephus is the first reporter, who in his sixth booke *De Iudeorum antiquitatibus*, cap. 22. rehearseth soberlie this storie following; which Polydore Virgil, and manie other repeat verbatim, in this wise, and seeme to credit the fable, wherof there is scant a true word.

Salomon was the greatest philosopher, and did philosophie about all things, and had the full and perfect knowlege of all their properties: but he had that gift giuen from aboue to him, for the profit and health of mankind: which is effectuell against diuels. He made also inchantments, wherewith diseases are diuen awaie; and left diuerse maners of coniurations written, therevnto the diuels giuing place are so diuen awaie, that they neuer returne. And this kind of healing is very common among my countrimen: for I saue 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 maner and order of his cure was this. He did put vnto the nose of the possessed a ring, vnder the seale wherof was inclosed a kind of roste, whose vertue Salomon declared, and the saueur thereof drew the diuell out at his nose; so as downe fell the man, and then Eleazar contured the diuell to depart, & to return no more to him. In the meane time he made mention of Salomon, reciting incantations of Salomons owne making. And then Eleazar being willing to shew the standers by his cunning, and the wonderfull efficacy of his art, did set not farre from thence, a pot or basen full of water, & commanded the diuell that went out of the man, that by the ouerthrowing thereof, he would giue a signe to the beholders, that he had vtterlie forsaken and leaft the man.

Probatum est
est vpon a
patient before
wienes:
Ergo no lie.

Which

Which thing being done, none there doubted how great Salomons knowledge and wisdom was. Wherin a juggling knacke was produced, to confirme a cogging cast of knaiverie or counterfeite.

Another storie of Salomons contrivation I find cited in the first lesson, read in the church of Rome upon S. Margarets daie, far more ridiculous than this. Also Peter Lombard master of the sentences, and Gratian his brother, the compiler of the golden decrees; and Durandus in his *Rationale divinarum*, doe all soberly affirme Salomons cunning in this behalfe; and spectallie this tale; to wit, that Salomon inclosed certeine thousand diuels in a brassen bowle, and left it in a deepe hole or lake, so as afterwards the Babylonians found it, and supposing there had bene gold or siluer therein, brake it, and out flew all the diuels, &c. And that this fable is of credit, you shall perceiue, in that it is thought worthy to be read in the Romish church as parcell of their diuine seruice. Loke in the lessons of S. Margarets daie the virgin, and you shall find these words verbatim: which I the rather recite, because it serueth me for diuers turnes; to wit, for Salomons contrivations, for the tale of the brassen vessel, and for the popes contrivations, which extended both to faith and doctrine, and to the shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefullie is stained with lies and fables.

Lib. 4. dist. 14
Decret. an-
renum. dist. 21
Rub. de ex-
orcist.

Leet. 5. & 6.

Lessons read in all churches, where the pope hath authoritie, on S. Margarets daie, translated into English word for word.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



Hie Margaret required of GOD, that she might haue a conflict face to face with hir secret enimie the diuell; and rising from prayer, she saue a terrible dragon, that would haue deuoured hir, but she made the signe of the crosse, and the dragon burst in the middell.

Afterwards, she saue another man

littj.

sitting

Leet. in die
sanctissime
Marg. vir. 5.

Leet. 6.

sitting like a peger, hauing his hands bound fast to his knees, she taking him by the haire of the head, threw him to the ground, and set hir foote on his head; and hir praier being made, a light shined from heauen into the prison where she was, and the crosse of Christ was seene in heauen, with a doone sitting thereon, who said; Blessed art thou O Margaret, the gates of paradise attend thy comming. Then she giuing thanks to God, said to the diuell, Declare to me thy name. The diuell said; Take a waite thy fate from my head, that I may be able to speake, and tell thee: which being done, the diuell said, I am Veltis, one of them whome Salomon shut in the bzafen vessell, and the Babylonians comming, and supposing there had bene gold therein, bzake the vessell, and then we flew out: euer since lieng in wait to annoie the iust. But seeing I haue recited a part of hir storie, you shall also haue the end thereof: for at the time of hir execution this was hir praier following.

Looke in
the word
Ildoni,
pag. 383.

Grant therefore O father, that whosoever writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or maketh memorizall of me, may deserue pardon for all his sinnes: whosoever calleth on me, being at the point of death, deliuer him out of the hands of his aduersaries. And I also require, O Lord, that whosoever shall build a church in the honor of me, or ministrereth vnto me anie candles* of his iust labour, let him obtaine whatsoeuer he asketh for his health. Deliuier all women in trauell that call vpon me, from the danger thereof.

* For the
preests pro-
fit, I war-
rant you.

This is com-
mon (they
saie) when
a witch or
coniuror
dieth.

Hir praier ended, there were manie great thunderclaps, and a doone came downe from heauen, saying; Blessed art thou O Margaret the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted vnto thee; therefore come thou into euerlasting rest, &c. Then the hangman (though he did bid him) refused to cut off hir head: to whome she said; Except thou do it, thou canst haue no part with me, and then lo he did it, &c. But sithens I haue bene, and must be tedious, I thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable storie, depending vpon the matter precedent, reported by manie graue autho:rs, word for word, in maner and forme following.

A delicate storie of a Lombard, who by S. Margarets example would needs fight with a reall diuell.

The xxxv. Chapter.

Here was (after a sermon made, wherein this storie of S. Margaret was recited, for in such stufte consisted not onelie their seruice, but also their sermons in the blind time of poperie:) there was (I saie) a certeine yong man, being a Lombard, whose simplicitie was such, as he had no respect vnto the commoditie of worldly things, but did altogether affect the saluation of his soule, who hearing how great S. Margarets triumph was, began to consider with himselfe, how full of sights the diuell was. And among other things thus he said; Oh that God would suffer, that the diuell might fight with me hand to hand in visible forme! I would then surelie in like maner ouerthrow him, and would fight with him till I had the victorie. And therefore about the twelue houre he went out of the towne, and finding a conuenient place where to praie, secretlie knœling on his knœes, he praied among other things, that God would suffer the diuell to appeare vnto him in visible forme, that according to the example of S. Margaret, he might overcome him in battell. And as he was in the middelt of his praiers, there came into that place a woman with a hoke in hir hand, to gather certeine hearbs which grew there, who was dumme boine. And when she came into the place, and saw the yong man among the hearbs on his knœes, she was afraid, and wared pale, and going backe, she rozed in such sort, as hir voice could not be vnderstood, and with hir head and fists made threatening signes vnto him. The yong man seeing such an illfaoured fowle queane, that was for age decrepit and full of wrinkles, with a long bodie, leane of face, pale of colour, with ragged clothes, crieng verie lowd, and hauing a voice not vnderstandable, threatening him with the hoke which she carried in hir hand, he thought surelie she had beene no woman, but a diuell appearing

Kakozelia.

Mutuell error by meanes of sudden sight.

ring vnto him in the shape of a woman, and thought God had heard his pzaiers. For the which causes he fell vpon hir lustilie, and at length threw hir downe to the ground, saieng; Art thou come thou cursed diuell, art thou come? No no, thou shalt not ouerthrow me in visiblie sight, whome thou hast often ouercome in trauisiblie temptation.

And as he spake these words, he caught hir by the haire, and drew hir about, beating hir sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his hæles, and sometimes with the hoke so long, and wounded hir so sore, that he left hir a dieng. At the noise whereof manie people came running vnto them, and seeing what was done, they apprehended the yong man, and thrust him into a vile prison. S. Vincent by vertue of his holines vnderstanding all this matter, caused the bodie that seemed dead to be brought vnto him, and there vpon (according to his maner) he laid his hand vpon hir, who immediatlie reuiued, and he called one of his chaplins to heare hir confession. But they that were present said to the man of God, that it were altogether in vaine so to do, for that she had bene from hir natiuitie dumbe, and could neither heare no; vnderstand the priest, neither could in words confesse hir sinnes. Notwithstanding, S. Vincent bad the priest heare hir confession, affirming that she should verie distinctlie speake all things vnto him. And therefore, what soeuer the man of God commanded, the priest did confidentlie accomplish and obeye: and as soone as the priest approached vnto hir, to heare hir confession, she, whome all Cathalonia knew to be dumbe borne, spake, and confessed hir selfe, pronouncing euerie word as distinctlie, as though she had neuer bene dumbe. After hir confession she required the eucharist and extreme vnction to be ministrèd vnto hir, and at length she commended hir selfe to God; and in the presence of all that came to see that miracle, she spake as long as she had any breath in hir bodie. The yong man that killed hir being saued from the gallowes by S. Vincents meanes, and at his intercession, departed home into Italie. This storie last rehearsed is found in *speculo exemplorum*, and repeated also by Robert Carocol: bishop of Aquinas, and manie others, and preached publickly in the church of Rome.

S. Vincent
raiseth the
dead wo-
man to life.

S. Vincent
maketh the
dumbe to
speake.

Dist. 8. ex-
empl. 17.
serm. 59.
cap. 20.

The storie of Saint Margaret prooued to be both
ridiculous and impious in euerie point.

The xxxvj. Chapter.



First, that the stoize of S. Margaret
is a fable, may be prooued by the incredi-
ble, impossible, foolish, impious, and blas-
phemous matters contained therein, and
by the ridiculous circumstance thereof.
Though it were cruellie done of hir to
beat the diuell, when his hands were
bound; yet it was courteouslie done of
hir, to pull a waie hir foot at his desire. He could not speake so long
as she tread on his head, and yet he said; Tread off, that I may
tell you what I am. She saue the heauens open, and yet she was
in a close prison. But hir sight was verie cleare, that could see a
little doue sitting vpon a crosse so farre off. For heauen is high-
er than the sunne; and the sunne, when it is nearest to vs, is
3966000. miles from vs. And she had a good paire of eares,
that could heare a doue speake so farre off. And she had good
lucke, that S. Peter, who (they saie) is porter, or else the pope, who
hath more doings than Peter, had such leisure as to skate the
gates so long for hir. Salomon provided no good place, neither
toke good order with his brazen bowle. I maruell how they es-
caped that let out the diuels. It is maruell also they melted it not
with their breath long before; for the diuels carrie hell and hell
fier about with them alwaies; in so much as (they saie) they leaue
athes euermore where they stand. Surelie she made in hir pater
an vnreasonable request. But the date of hir patent is out: for
I beleeue that whosoeuer at this date shall burne a pound of god
sandle before hir, shall be neuer the better, but the pence the
woorse. But now we may find in S. Margarets life, who it is that
is Christes wife: whereby we are so much wiser than we were
before. But loke in the life of S. Katharine, in the golden legend,
and you shall find that he was also married to S. Katharine, and
that our ladie made the marriage, &c. An excellent authoritie for
bigamie.

*Secundum
Bordinum
Corrigens.
Quasi.
Math. i. 17.
1. Ioh. 77.*

*Pfeller de
operatione
demonum.*

bigamie. Here I will also cite other of their notable stories, or miracles of authoritie, and so leaue shaming of them, or rather troubling you the readers thereof. Neither would I haue written these fables, but that they are authentike among the papists, and that we that are protestants may be satisfied, as well of conuicours and witches miracles, as of the others: for the one is as grosse as the other.

A pleasant miracle wrought by a
popish prest.

The xxxvij. Chapter.

*In speculo
exemplorum,
lib. 6. ex lib.
exemplorum,
Caesarys, ex-
empl. 69.*



What time the Waldenses heresies beganne to spring, certeine wicked men, being vpheld and maintained by diabollicall vertue, shewed certeine signes and wonders, wherby they strengthened and confirmed their heresies; and pruerted in faith many faithfull men; so they walked on the water and were not drowned.

Memorandum, it is confessed in poperie that true miracles cannot be ioined with false doctrine: Ergo neither papist, witch, nor conuicior can worke miracles.

But a certeine catholike prest seeing the same, and knowing that true signes could not be ioined with false doctrine, brought the bodie 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 coniure thee O diuell, by him, whom I carrie in my hands, that thou exercise not these great visions and phantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the prest in a rage threw the bodie of our Lord, with the pix into the riuer, and by and by, so soone as the sacrament touched the element, the phantasse gaue place to the veritie; and they being proued and made false, did sinke like lead to the bottome, and were drowned; the pix with the sacrament immediatlie was taken awate by an angell. The prest seeing all these things, was verie glad of the miracle, but for the losse of the sacrament he was verie peniue, passing awate the whole night in teares and moorning: in the moorning he found the pix with the sacrament vpon the altar.

The

The former miracle confuted, with a strange
storie of saint Lucie.

The xxxviij. Chapter.

How glad Sir John was now
it were folite for me to saie. How would
he haue plagued the diuell, that threw his
god in the riuer to be drowned: But if
other had had no moze power to desstroye
the Waldenses with swozd and fier, than
this præst had to drowne them with his
coniuering bore & couensing sacraments,
there should haue beene many a life saued. But I may not omit
one fable, which is of authozitie, wherein though there be no con-
furation exprested, yet I warrant you there was couensage both
in the doing and telling thereof. ¶ You shall read in the les-
son on saint Lucies daie, that she being condemned, could not be
remoued from the place with a teeme of oxen, neither could any
fier burne hir, insomuch as one was faine to cut off hir head with
a swozd, and yet she could speake after wards 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 bur-
ned, till a scroll was taken a waie from where she hid it, betwixt
hir skin and flesh.

Let. in die
sanctæ Lucie
7 & 8.

Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds,
and of other illusions, of wandering soules: with a con-
furation thereof.

The xxxix. Chapter.

Manie thorough melancholie doe
imagine, that they see or heare visions,
spirits, ghosts, strange noises, &c: as
I haue alreadye proued before, at large.
Manie againe thorough feare proceed
ding from a cowardlie nature and con-
plexion, or from an effeminate and fond
bringting vp, are timerous and afraid of
spirits.

See the sto-
rie of Simo
Dauiæ and
Ade his
wife, lib. 3.
cap. 10. pag.
55, 56, 57.

Spirits, and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their owne shadowes, and (as Aristotle saith) see themselues sometimes as it were in a glasse. And some through weakenesse of bodie haue such vnperfect imaginations. Dronken men also sometimes suppose they see trees walke, &c: according to that which Salomon saith to the drunkards; Thine eyes shall see strange visions, and meruelous appearances.

Against the counterfet visions of popish priests, & other countenancing deuises.

In all ages monks and priests haue abused and bewitched the world with counterfet visions; which proceeded through idleness, and restraint of marriage, wherby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore deuised such meanes to compass and obtaine their loues. And the simple people being then so superstitious, would neuer seeme to mistrust, that such holie men would make them cuckoldes, but forsooke their beds in that case, and gaue roome to the cleargie. Item, little children haue bene so scared with their mothers maids, that they could neuer after endure to be in the darke alone, for feare of bugs. Panie are deceived by glasse through art perspective. Panie hearkening unto false reports, conceiue and beleue that which is nothing so. Panie giue credit to that which they read in authoers. But how manie stories and bookes are written of walking spirits and soules of men, contrarie to the word of God; a reasonable volume cannot containe. How common an opinion was it among the papists, that all soules walked on the earth, after they departed from their bodies: In so much as it was in the time of poperie a vsuall matter, to desire sicke people in their death beds, to appeare to them after their death, and to reueale their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulous herein, &c. Therefoze no meruell, though the common simple sort of men, and least of all, that women be deceived herein. God in times past did send downe visible angels and appearances to men; but now he doth not so. Through ignozance of late in religion, it was thought, that euerie churchyard swarmed with soules and spirits: but now the word of God being moze free, open, and knowne, those conceipts and illusions are made moze manifest and apparent, &c.

The doctors, counsels, and popes, which (they saie) cannot erre, haue confirmed the walking, appearing, & raising of soules.

But

But where find they in the scriptures anie such doctrine? And who certified them, that those appearances were true? Trulie all they cannot bring to passe, that the lies which haue bene spread abroad herein, should now beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seale, and sweare therevnto neuer so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who heareth their noises? Who seeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such mone for trentals, whereby to be eased of the paines in purgatorie? Are they all gone into Italic, because masses are growne deere here in England? Marke well this illusion, and see how contrarie it is vnto the word of God. Consider how all papists beleue this illusion to be true, and how all protestants are diuened to saie it is and was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that wandered to haue buriall for their bodies? For manie of those walking soules went about their busines. Do you not thinke, that the papists shew not themselves godlie diuines, to preach and teach the people such doctrine; and to insert into their diuine seruice such fables as are read in the Romish church, all scripture giuing place thereto for the time? You shall see in the lessons read there vpon S. Steuens date, that Gamaliel Nichodemus his kinsman, and Abdias his sonne, with his friend S. Steuen, appeared to a certeine prest, called Sir Lucian, requesting him to remoue their bodies, and to burie them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of their death, vntill then, being in the reigne of Honorius the emperor; to wit, foure hundred yeeres buried in the field of Gamaliel, who in that respect said to Sir Lucian; *Non mei solennimodo causa sollicitus sum, sed potius pro illis qui mecum sunt*; that is, I am not onlie carefull for my selfe, but chæfelic for those my friends that are with me. Whereby the whole course may be perceiued to be a false practise, and a counterfet vision, or rather a lewd inuention. For in heauen mens soules remaine not in sorrow and care; neither studie they there how to compass and get a worshipfull buriall here in earth. If they did, they would not haue fozeallowed it so long. Now therefore let vs not suffer our selues to be abused anie longer, either with conturing prests, or melancholicall witches; but be thankfull to God that hath deliuered vs from such blindness and error.

This doctrine was not onlie preached, but also proued; note the particular instances following.

Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counter-
set visions grow to be credited, of popish appeerances,
of pope Boniface.

The xl. Chapter.

*H Card. lib.
de var. rer.
15. ca. 92.*



Arदान speaking of noises, among other things, saith thus; A noise is heard in your house; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among dishes; it may be a counterfet or these indeed, or the fault may be in your eares. I could recite a great number of tales, holy men haue euen forsaken their houses, because of such apparitions and noises: and all hath bene by mere and ranke knauerie. And wherefoeuer you shall heare, that there is in the night season such rumbling and fearefull noises, be you well assured that it is flat knauerie, performed by some that seemeth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And herof there is a verie art, which for some respects I will not discover. The diuell seeketh dailie as well as nightlie whome he may deuoure, and can do his feats as well by daie as by night, or else he is a yong diuell, and a verie bungler. But of all other confeners, these confutors are in the highest degre, and are most worthis of death for their blasphemous impietie. But that these popish visions and contrariations used as well by papists, as by the popes themselves, were mere couenages; and that the tales of the popes recited by Bruno and Platina, of their magicall deuises, were but plaine couenages and knaueries, may appeare by the histoie of Bonifacius the eight, who used this kind of enchantment, to get away the popedom from his predecessor Coelestinus. He counterfeted a voice through a cane reed, as though it had come from heauen, persuading him to yeeld by his authoritie of popeship, and to institute therein one Bonifacius, a worthier man: otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therefore the saue yeilded it by accordinglie, to the said Bonifacius, An. 1264. of whom it was said; He came in like a fox, liued like a wolfe, and died like a dog.

Pope Celestinus couened of his popedom by pope Bonifacius.

There

There be innumerable examples of such visions, which when they are not detected, go for true stories: and therefore when it is answered that some are true tales and some are false, vntill they be able to shew forth befoze your eyes one matter of truth, you may replie vpon them with this distinction; to wit: visions tried are false visions, vndecided and vntried are true.

Visions distinguished.

Of the noise or sound of eccho, of one that narrowlic escaped drowning thereby, &c.

The xli. Chapter.



Las! how manie naturall things are there so strange, as to manie seeme miraculous; and how manie counterfet matters are there, that to the simple seeme yet more wonderfull: Cardane telleth of one Comensis, who comming late to a riuers side, not knowing where to passe ouer, cried out aloud for some bodie to shew him the sozd: who hearing an eccho to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the waie, he passed through the riuer, euen there where was a deepe whirlepole, so as he hardlie escaped with his life; and told his friends, that the diuell had almost persuaded him to drowne himselfe. And in some places these noises of eccho are farre more strange than other, speciallie at Ticinum in Italie, in the great hall, where it rendereth sundrie and manifold noises or voices, which seeme to end so lamentable, as if were a man that laie a dieng; so as few can be persuaded that it is the eccho, but a spirit that answereth.

H. Card. lib. de subtilitat. 18.

Idem. ibid.

The noise at Winchester was said to be a vertie miracle, and much wondering was there at it, about the yeare 1569. though indeed a mere naturall noise ingendered of the wind, the concavittie of the place, and other instrumentall matters helping the sound to seeme strange to the hearers; speciallie to such as would adde new reports to the augmentation of the wonder.

Of Winchester noise.

Of Theurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter
sent to me concerning these matters.

The xliij. Chapter.

Here is yet another art professed by these censuring conturoors, which some fond diuines affirme to be more honest and lawfull than nectomancie, which is called Theurgie; wherein they worke by god angels. Howbeit, their ceremonies are altogether papisticall and superstitious, consisting in cleanliness partlie of the mind, partlie of the bodie; and partlie of things about and belonging to the bodie; as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in the vessell and household stuffe, in oblations and sacrifices; the cleanliness whereof, they saie, doth dispose men to the contemplation of heauenlie things. They cite these words of Esaiæ for their authoritie; to wit: Wash your selues and be cleane, &c. In so much as I haue knowne diuerse superstitious persons of god account, which vsuallie washed all their apparell vpon conerits ridiculouilie. For vncleanlinesse (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chaseth awaie cleane spirits. Here vnto belongeth the art of Almadel, the art of Paule, the art of Reuelations, and the art Potarte. But (as Agrippa saith) the more diuine 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 diuise phrases, their counterfet holines, their popish ceremonies, their foolish words mingled with impietie; their barbarous and vnclearned order of construction, their shameles practises, their paltrie stuffe, their secret dealing, their beggerlie life, their bargaining with woles, their censuring of the simple, their scope and drift for monie doth bewzaie all their art to be counterfet couisnage. And the more throughlie to satisfie you herein, I thought god in this place to insert a letter, vpon occasion sent vnto me, by one which at this present time lieth as a prisoner condemned for this verie matter in the kings bench, and reppriued by his maiesties mer-
cie,

Appen-
dents vn-
to the sup-
posed di-
uine art
of Theur-
gie.

doone in those wicked sciences, but onelie meere coule-
nings and illusions. And they, whome I thought to be
most skilfull therein, sought to see some things at my
hands, who had spent my time a dozen or fourteen years,
to my great losse and hinderance, and could neuer at anie
time see anie one truth, or sparkle of truth therein. Yet
at this present I stand worthilie condemned for the same;
for that, contrarie to my princes lawes, and the lawe of
God, and also to mine owne conscience, I did spend my
time in such vaine and wicked studies and practises: be-
ing made and remaining a spectacle for all others to re-
ceiue warning by. The Lord grant I may be the last (I
speake it from my hart) and I wish it, not onlie in my na-
tiue countrie, but also through the whole face of the earth,
speciallie among Christians. For mine owne part I la-
ment my time lost, & haue repented me fise yeares past:
at which time I sawe a booke, written in the old Saxon
toong, by one Sir Iohn Malborne a diuine of Oxenford,
three hundred yeares past; wherein he openeth all the
illusions & inuentions of those arts and sciences: a thing
most worthie the noting. I left the booke with the par-
son of Slangham in Suffex, where if you send for it in my
name, you may haue it. You shall thinke your labour
well bestowed, and it shall greatlie further the good enter-
prise you haue in hand: and there shall you see the whole
science throughlie discuffed, and all their illusions and
coulenages deciphered at large. Thus crauing pardon
at your hands for that I promised you, being verie feare-
full, doubtfull, and loth to set my hand or name vnder
any thing that may be offensiuie to the world, or hurtfull
to my selfe, considering my case, except I had the better
warrant from my L. of Leicester, who is my verie good
Lord, and by whome next vnder God (hir Maiestie one-
lie excepted) I haue beene preserued; and therefore loth
to doo any thing that may offend his Lordships cares.
And

S. Iohn
Malbornes
booke de-
tecting the
deuises of
coniuratio,
&c.

And so I leaue' your Worship to the Lords keeping, who bring you and all your actions to good end and purpose, to Gods glorie, and to the profit of all Christians. From the bench this 8. of March, 1582. Your Worships poore and desolate friend and seruant, T. E.

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of Slangham, and procured his best friends, men of great worship and credit, to deale with him, that I might bozrowe it for a time. But such is his follie and superstition, that although he confessed he had it; yet he would not lend it: albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire would haue giuen his word for the restitution of the same safe and sound.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, whatsoeuer heereof hath gone for currant, touching all these fallible arts, whereof hitherto I haue written in ample sort, be now counted counterfet, and therefore not to be allowed no not by common sense, much lesse by reason, which should sift such cloked and pretended practises, turning them out of their rags and patched clowts, that they may appeere discovered, and shew themselues in their nakednesse. Which will be the end of euerie secret intent, priuie purpose, hidden practise, and close deuise, haue they neuer such shrowds and shelters for the time: and be they with neuer so much cautelousnesse and subtile circumspection clouded and shadowed, yet will they at length be manifestlie detected by the light, according to that old rimed verse:

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne reuelat:

What thing soeuer shewe dooth hide,
Heat of the sunne dooth make it spide.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Parasite, who neuer told vntruth, but who is the substance and ground

wozke of truth it selfe, saieing; *Nihil est tam occultum*

quod non sit detegendum, Nothing is so se-

cret, but it shall be knowne
and reuealed.

Andreas
Garnierus
Mariemontanus, Eng.
by Ab. Fle.

Matt. 10, 26.

Mark. 4 22.

Luke. 8, 17.

And. 12, 20

Mm. iij.

¶ The

¶ *The xvj. booke.*

A conclusion, in maner of an epilog, repeating manie of the former absurdities of witch-mongers concepts, confutations thereof, and of the authoritie of James Sprenger and Henrie Institor inquisitors and compilers of M. Mal.

The first Chapter.



Therto you haue had deliuered vnto you, that which I haue conceiued and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principall parts wherof I can see no difference among the wryters here; vpon; of what countrie; condition, estate, or religion so euer they be; but I find almost all of them to agree in vncostancie, fables, and impossibilittes;

scratching out of M. Mal. the substance of all their arguments; so as their authoꝝ being disapꝝoued, they must coine newe stuffe, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wiuies tales, wherof this art of witchcraft is contriued. But you must know that James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, whome I haue had occasion to alledge manie times, were coparteners in the composition of that profound & learned booke called *Malleus Maleficarum*, & were the greatest doctoꝝ of that art: out of whom I haue gathered matter and absurditie enough, to confound the opinions conceiued of witchcraft; although they were allowed inquisitoꝝ and assigned by the pope, with the authoritie and commendation of all the doctoꝝ of the vniuersitie of Colen, &c: to call before them

The compilers or makers of the booke called *A Mallet* to braine witches.

their ghostlie father, or anie other moztow masse prest had in-
formed them; and finallie with whatsoeuer they haue swallowe
ed by through tract of time, or through their owne timorous na-
ture or igno:ant conceipt, concerning these matters of haggess
and witches: as they haue so settled their opinion and credit
thereupon, that they thinke it heresie to doubt in anie part of
the matter; speciallie bicause they find this word witchcraft ex-
pressed in the scriptures; which is as to defend praiesing to saints,
bicause *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus* is witten in *Te Deum*.

The defini-
tion or de-
scription of
witchcraft.

And now to come to the definition of witchcraft, which hither-
to I deferre and put off purposely: that you might perceiue the
true nature thereof, by the circumstances, and therefore the ra-
ther to allow of the same, seeing the varietie of other wilters.
Witchcraft is in truth a couensing art, wherein the name of God
is abused, profaned and blasphemed, and his power attributed
to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a su-
pernaturall worke, contriued betwæne a cozpozall old woman,
and a spirituall diuell. The maner thereof is so secret, mysticall,
and strange, that to this daie there hath neuer bene any credi-
ble witness therof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or
faithfull; a probable matter to children, soles, melancholike per-
sons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The ef-
fect and end thereof to be sometimes euill, as when thereby man
or beast, grasse, trees, or co:me, &c; is hurt: sometimes good, as
whereby sicke folkes are healed, thieues betwæied, and true men
come to their gods, &c. The matter and instruments, where-
with it is accomplished, are words, charmes, signes, images, cha-
racters, &c: the which words although any other creature

The formal
cause.

The finall
cause.

The mate-
riall cause.

do pronounce, in maner and forme as they do, lea-
uing out no circumstance requisite or vsuall
so: that action: yet none is said to haue
the grace or gift to performe the
matter, except she be a witch,
and so taken, either by hir
owne consent, or
by others in-
putation.

Reasons

Reasons to prooue that words and characters are but bables, & that witches cannot doo such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest wonders prooued trifles, of a yong gentleman coufened.

The third Chapter.

That words, characters, images, and such other trinkets, which are thought so necessarie instruments for witchcraft (as without the which no such thing can be accomplished) are but bables, deuised by coufeners, to abuse the people withall; I trust I haue sufficientlie prooued. And the same maie be further and more plainelie perceiued by these short and compendious reasons following.

First, in that the Turkes and infidels, in their witchcraft, vse both other words, and other characters than our witches doo, and also such as are most contrarie. In so much as, if ours be bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doo anie thing, ours can doo nothing. For as our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despise his sacraments: so doo the other forsake Mahomet, and his lawes, which is one large step to christianitie.

A necessa-
ric sequel.

It is also to be thought, that all witches are coufeners; when mother Bungie, a principall witch, so reputed, tried, and condemned of all men, and continuing in that exercise and estimation manie yeares (having coufened & abused the whole realme, in so much as there came to hir, witchmongers from all the furthest parts of the land, she being in diuerse booke set out with authoritie, registred and chronicled by the name of the great witch of Rochester, and reputed among all men for the chiefe ringleader of all other witches) by good profe is found to be a mere coufener; confessing in hir death bed truelie, without compulsion or inforcement, that hir cunning consisted onlie in deluding and deceiuing the people: sauing that she had (towards the maintenance of hir credit in that coufening trade) some sight in physicke and surgerie, and the assistance of a friend of hers, called

Probatum
est, by mo-
ther Bun-
gies con-
fessio that
al witches
are coufe-
ners.

led Heron, a profeſſor thereof. And this I know, partlie of mine owne knowledge, and partlie by the teſtimonie of hir husband, and others of credit, to whom (I ſaie) in hir death bed, and at ſundry other times ſhe proteſted theſe things; and alſo that the neuer had indeed anie materiall ſpirit or diuell (as the uice went) no; yet knew how to worke anie ſupernaturall matter, as ſhe in hir life time made men beleue ſhe had and could do.

The like may be ſaid of one T. of Canturburie, whoſe name I will not litterallie diſcouer, who wonderfullie abuſed manie in theſe parts, making them thinke he could tell where anie thing loſt became: with diuerſe other ſuch practiſes, whereby his fame was ſarre beyond the others. And yet on his death bed he confeſſed, that he knew nothing moze than anie other, but by ſlight and deuices, without the aſſiſtance of anie diuell or ſpirit, ſauing the ſpirit of couſenage: and this did he (I ſaie) proteſt before manie of great honeſtie, credit, & wiſedome, who can witneſſe the ſame, and alſo gaue him god commendations for his godlie and honeſt end.

Againe, who will mainteine, that common witchcrafts are not couſenages, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had ſtolne credit not onlie from all the common people, but from men of great wiſdome and authoritie, are diſcouered to be beggerlie ſights of couſenage barlots: Which otherwiſe might and would haue remained a perpetuall obiection againſt me. Were there not theſe images of late yeres found in a donghill, to the terror & aſtoniſhment of manie thouſands: In ſo much as great matters were thought to haue bene pretended to be done by witchcraft. But if the Lord preſerue thoſe perſons (whoſe deſtruction was doubted to haue bene intended thereby) from all other the lewd practiſes and attempts of their enimies; I feare not, but they ſhall eaſilie withſtand theſe and ſuch like deuices, although they ſhould indeed be practiſed againſt them. But no doubt, if ſuch bables could haue brought thoſe matters of miſchefe to paſſe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papifts; we ſhould long ſince haue bene deſtroyed of the moſt excellent iſwell and comfort that we enioy in this world. Howbeit, I confeſſe, that the feare, conceipt, and doubt of ſuch miſchefeous practices may breed inconuenience to them that ſtand in awe of the ſame.

I. Bodin in the preface before his booke of *Demonomania* reporteth this by a coniuering preſt late Curat of Illington: hee alſo ſheweth to what end: read the place you that vnderſtand Latine.

same. And I wish, that euen for such practises, though they neuer can or doo take effect, the practisers be punished with all extremitie: bicause therein is manifested a traiterous heart to the Duene, and a presumption against God.

But to returne to the discoverie of the aforesaid knauerie and witchcraft. So it was that one old coufener, wanting monie, deuised or rather practised (for it is a stale deuise) to supplie his want, by promising a yong Gentleman, whose humour he thought would that waie be well serued, that for the summe of fourtie pounds, he would not faile by his cunning in that art of witchcraft, to procure vnto him the loue of anie thre women whome he would name, and of whome he should make choise at his pleasure. The yong Gentleman being abused with his cunning deuises, and too hastilie yeelding to that motion, satisfied this cunning mans demand of monie. Which, bicause he had it not presentlie to disburste, prouided it for him at the hands of a friend of his. Finallie, this cunning man made the thre puppets of war, &c: leauing nothing vndone that appertained to the cowfenage, vntill he had burted them, as you haue heard. But I omit to tell what a doo was made herof, and also what reports and lies were huted; as what white dogs and blacke dogs there were seene in the night season passing through the watch, malwgre all their force and preparation against them, &c. But the yong Gentleman, who for a litle space remained in hope mixed with ioy and loue, now through tract of time hath thse his felicities powdered with doubt and despaire. For in steed of atchieuing his loue, he would gladlie haue obtained his monie. But bicause he could by no meanes get either the one or the other (his monie being in hucksters handling, and his sute in no better forwardnes) he reuealed the whole matter, hoping by that meanes to recouer his monie; which he neither can yet get againe, nor hath pated it where he borrowed. But till triall was had of his simplicitie or rather follie herein, he receiued some trouble himselfe hereabouts, though now dismissed.

Note this deuise of the waxen images found of late neere London.

Of one that was so bewitched that he could read
no scriptures but canonicall, of a diuel that could speake
no Latine, a prooue that witchcraft is flat coufenage.

The fourth Chapter.

A strange
miracle, if
it were
true.



Here I may aptlie insert another
miracle of importance, that happened
within the compasse of a childes remem-
brance, which may induce anie resonable
bodie to conceiue, that these supernatu-
rall actions are but fables & coufenages.
There was one, whom for some respects
I name not, that was taken blind, deafe,
& dumbe; so as no physician could helpe him. That man (for sooth)
though he was (as is said) both blind, dumbe & deafe, yet could he
read anie canonicall scriptures; but as for apocrypha, he could
read none: wherein a Gods name consisted the miracle. But a
leafe of apocrypha being extraordinarylie inserted among the ca-
nonicall scriptures, he read the same as authentike: wherein his
knauerie was betrayed. Another had a diuell, that answered
men to all questions, marie hie diuell could vnderstand no La-
tine, and so was she (and by such meanes all the rest may be) be-
trayed. Indeede our witching writers saie, that certeine diuels
speake onelie the language of that countrie where they are re-
siant, as French, or English, &c.

There the
hypocrite
was ouer-
matcht for
all his dis-
sembled
grauitie.

Furthermore, in my conceipt, nothing proueth more appa-
rentlie that witchcraft is coufenage, and that witches instru-
ments are but ridiculous bables, and altogether void of effect;
than when learned and godlie diuines, in their serious wy-
tings, produce experiments as wrought by witches,
and by diuels at witches commandements:
which they expound by miracles, although
indeed mere trifles. Whereof they
conceiue anisse, being ouer-
taken with credu-
lite.

Of the diuination by the siue and sheeres, and by the booke and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clocke, of certeine iugling knacks, manifold reasons for the ouerthrowe of witches and coniuors, and their couenages, of the diuels transformations, of *Ferrum candens*, &c.

The fift Chapter.



Passe ouer all the fables, which are vouched by the popish doctors, you shall heare the words of N. Hemingius, whose zeale & learning otherwise I might iustlie commend: howbeit I am soze and ashamed to see his ignorance and follie in this behalfe. Neither would I haue bewaried it, but that he himselve, among other absurdities concerning the maintenance of witches omnipotencie, hath published it to his great discredit. Popish priests (saith he) as the Chaldeans vsed the diuination by siue & sheeres for the detection of theft, do practise with a psalter and a keie fastned vpon the 49. psalme, to discover a theefe. And when the names of the suspected persons are orderlie put into the pipe of the keie, at the reading of these words of the psalme [If thou sawest a theefe thou diddest consent vnto him] the booke will wagge, and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the keie must be the theefe. Herevpon Hemingius inferreth, that although coniuring priests and witches bzing not this to passe by the absolute words of the psalme, which tend to a farre other scope; yet sathan doth nimble, with his inuisible hand, giue such a twitch to the booke, as also in the other case to the siue and the sheeres, that downe falles the booke and keie, siue and sheeres, by starts the theefe, and awaie runneth the diuell laughing, &c.

Heming. in lib. de superst. magis.

The greatest clarkes are not the wisest men.

But alas, Hemingius is deceiued, as not perceiuing the receipt, or rather the deceit hereof. For where he supposeth those actions to be miraculous, and done by a diuell; they are in truth
mere

A naturall
reason of
the former
knacke.

miere bables, wherein consisteth not so much as legierdemaine. For euerie carter may conceiue the slight hercof: because the booke and keie, sine and thieres, being staid vp in that order, by naturall course, of necessitie must within that space (by meanes of the aire, and the pulse beating at the fingers end) turne and fall downe. Which experience being knowne to the witch or conuincor, she or he do forme and frame their prophesie accordingly: as whosoever maketh profe thereof shall manifestlie perceiue it. By this art, practise, or experience, you shall knowe what it is a clocke, if you hold betwene your finger and your thumbe a thred of six or seuen inches long, vnto the other end whereof is tied a gold ring, or some such like thing: in such sort as vpon the beating of your pulse, and the mouing of the ring, the same may strike vpon either side of a goblet or glasse. These things are (I confesse) witchcraft, because the effect or euent proceedeth not of that cause which such coulers saie, and others belæue they do. As when they laie a medicine for the ague, &c: to a childes wrists, they also pronounce certeine words or charmes, by vertue whereof (they saie) the child is healed: whereas indeed the medicine onelic dooth the feate. And this is also a sillie jugglers knacke, which wanteth legierdemaine, whom you shall see to thrust a pinne, or a small knife, through the head and braine of a chicken or pullet, and with certeine mysticall words seeme to cure him: whereas, though no such words were spoken, the chicken would lue, and do well enough; as experience teacheth and declareth.

Againe, when such as haue mainteined the art and profession of conuring, and haue witten therevpon most cunninglie, haue published recantations, and confessed the deceits thereof, as Cornelius Agrippa did, which should we defend it: Also, when heathen princes, of great renowne, authoritie, & learning, haue searched, with much industrie and charge, the knowledge & secrecie of coniuuration and witchcraft, & finallie found by experience all to be false and vaine that is repoized of them, as Nero, Iulianus apostata, and Valence did; which should we seeke for further trial, to proue witchcraft and coniuuration to be coutenage?

Also, when the miracles imputed vnto them, exceed in quantitie, qualitie and number, all the miracles that Christ wrought here vpon earth, for the establishing of his gospell, for the confir-

mation

C. Agripp. in
lib. de vanis
sciens. & in
epistola ante
librum de
ocultra phi-
lophobia.

Plin. lib.
natural. hist.

30. cap. 1.
Pet. Marr.
in locis com-
munibus.

and in fine all is not onelie found false, and to haue bene accom-
plished by couenage, but that there hath bene therein a set pur-
pose to defame honest matrones, as to make them be thought to
be witches: whie should we beleue Bodin, M. Mal. &c: in their
couensing tales and fables? When they saie that witches can
flie in the aire, and come in at a little coane, or a hole in a glasse
windowe, and steale alwaie sucking children, and hurt their mo-
thers; and yet when they are brought into prison, they cannot es-
cape out of the grate, which is farre bigger: who will not es-
demne such accusations or confessions to be frivolous, &c: When
(if their assertions were true) concerning the diuels vsual tak-
king of shapes, and walking, talking, conferring, hurting, and
all manner of dealing with mortall creatures, Christs argument
to Thomas had bene weake and easilie answered; yea the one
halfe, or all the whole world might be inhabited by diuels, euerie
poore mans house might be hired ouer his head by a diuell, he
might take the shape and fauor of an honest woman, and plaie
the witch; or of an honest man, and plaie the theefe, and so bring
them both, or whome he list to the gallowes: who seeth not the va-
nitie of such assertions? For then the diuell might in the likenes
of an honest man commit ante criminall offense; as Lauater
in his nineteenth chapter *De Spectris* reporteth of a graue wise ma-
gistrate in the territorie of Tigurie, who affirmed, that as he and
his seruant went through certeine pastures, he espied in a moor-
ning, the diuell in likenes of one whome he knew verie well,
wickedlie dealing with a mare. Upon the sight whereof he im-
mediatlie went to that fellowes house, and certeinlie learned
there, that the same person went not out of his chamber that
daie. And if he had not wiselie bolted out the matter, the good ho-
nest man (saith he) had surelie bene cast into prison, and put on
the racke, &c.

But Christs
argument
was vn-
doubted:
Ergo, &c.

I maruell
for what
purpose the
magistrate
went to that
fellowes
house.

Albertus
Cranzius in
lib. 4. metro-
polis. cap. 4.

Prou. 6.

The like storie we read of one Cunegunda, wife to Henrie
the second emperor of that name, in whose chamber the diuell (in
the likenes of a pongman, with whome she was suspected to be
too familiar in court) was often seene comming in and out. How
beit, she was purged by the triall *Candentis ferri*, and proued in-
nocent: for she went vpon glowing iron without hurt, &c. And yet Sa-
lomon saith; Spate a man carrie fier in his bosome, and his
clothes

clothes not be burned : Or can a man go vpon coles, & his feete not scorched : And thus might the diuell get him vp into euerie pulpit, and spred heresies, as I doubt not but he doth in the mouth of wicked preachers, though not so grosselie as is imagined and reported by the papists and witchmongers. And because it shall not be said that I belie them, I will cite a storie creditible reported by their chiefeest doctozs ; namelie James Sprenger, and Henric Institor, who saie as followeth, euen word for word.

Mal. malef. par. 2. que. 1. cap. 9.

How the diuell preached good doctrine in the shape of a prest, how he was discovered, and that it is a shame (after confutation of the greater witchcrafts) for anie man to giue credit to the lesser points thereof.

The sixt Chapter.



On a time the diuell went by into a pulpit, and there made a verie catholike sermon : but a holie prest comming to the god spæd, by his holinesse perceiued that it was the diuell. So he gaue god eare vnto him, but could find no fault with his doctrine. And therefore so soone as the sermon was done, he called the diuell vnto him, demanding the cause of his sincere preaching; who answered : Behold I speake the truth, knowing that while men be hearers of the word, and not followers, God is the more offended, and my kingdome the more enlarged. And this was the strangest deuise I thinke that euer anie diuell vsed : for the apostles themselues could haue done no more. Againe, when with all their familiars, their ointments, &c : whereby they ride inuisible, nor with all their charmes, they can neither conuie themselves from the hands of such as laie wait for them ; nor can get out of prison, that otherwise can go in and out at a mouse hole ; nor finallie can saue themselves from the gallowes, that can transubstantiate their own and others bodies into flies or fleas, &c : who seech not, that either they lie, or are belied in their miracles : When they are said to transfer their neighbors coine into
P. n. s. their

He should rather haue asked who gaue him orders and licence to preach.

their owne ground, and yet are perpetuall beggers, and cannot enrich themselues, either with monie or otherwise: who is so foolish as to remaine longer in doubt of their supernaturall power: When neuer any yet from the beginning of the world till this daie, hath openlie shewed any other tricke, conceipt, or cunning point of witchcraft, than legier demaine or cousenage: who will carrie any longer for further triall: When both the common law and also the iniunctions do condemne prophesying, & likewise false miracles, and such as beléue them in these daies: who will not be afraid to giue credit to those knaueries: When héereby they make the diuell to be a god that heareth the praers, and vnderstandeth the minds of men: who will not be ashamed, being a christian, to be so abused by them: When they that do write most franklie of these matters, except lieng Sprenger & Institor, haue neuer séene any thing héerin, inso much as the most credible profe that Bodin byingeth of his wonderfull tales of witchcraft, is the report of his host at an alehouse where he baited: who will giue further care vnto these incredible fables: When in all the new testament, we are not warned of these bodilie appearances of diuels, as we are of his other subtilties, &c: who will be afraid of their bugs: When no such bargaine is mentioned in the scriptures, why should we beléue so incredible and impossible couenants, being the ground of all witchmongers religion, without the which they haue no probabilitie in the rest of their foolish assertions: When as, if any honest mans conscience be appealed vnto, he must confesse he neuer saw triall of such witchcraft or conturation to take effect, as is now so certeinlie affirmed: what conscience can condemne poze soules that are accused by wrongfullie, or beléue them that take vpon them impioullie to do or worke those impossible things: When the whole course of the scripture is vtterlie repugnant to these impossible opinions, sauing a few sentences, which neuertheless rightlie vnderstood, reléue them nothing at all: who will be seduced by their fond arguments: When as now that men haue spied the knauerie of oracles, & such yesse, and that there is not one oracle in the world remaining: who cannot perceiue that all the residue héerefoze of those deuises, haue béene couenages, knaueries, and lies: When the power of God is so impudentlie transferred to a base creature,

Ioh. Bodin.

Yet manie
that beare
the shew of
honest men
are verie
credulous
heerein.

ture, what good chriſtian can abide to yeeld vnto ſuch miracles wrought by ſoules: When the old women accuſed of witchcraft, are bitterlie inſenſible, and unable to ſaie for themſelues; and much leſſe to bring ſuch matters to paſſe, as they are accuſed of: who will not lament to ſee the extremitie uſed againſt them: When the ſouther ſort of people are alwaies moſt miſtruſtfull of hurt by witchcraft, and the ſimpleſt and dottingeſt people miſtruſted to do the hurt: what wiſe man will not conceiue all to be but follie: When it were an eaſie matter for the diuell, if he can do as they affirme, to giue them great ſtoze of monie, and make them rich, and doth it not; being a thing which would procure him moze diſciples than any other thing in the world: the wiſe muſt needs condemne the diuell of follie, and the witches of peccatiſhneſſe, that take ſuch paines, and giue their ſoules to the diuell to be tormented in hell fier, and their bodies to the hangman to be truſſed on the gallowes, for nichels in a bag.

Witches are comonlie verie beggers.

A concluſion againſt witchcraft, in maner and forme of an Induction.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

By this time all kentishmen know (a few ſoules excepted) that Robin goodfel-
lowe is a knaue. All wiſemen vnderſtand that witches miraculous enterpriſes, being contrarie to nature, probabilitye and reaſon, are void of truth or poſſibilitye. All proteſtants perceiue, that popiſh charmes, conſurations, execrations, and benedictions are not effectuall, but be toies and deuifes onelie to keepe the people blind, and to enrich the cleargie. All chriſtians ſee, that to confeſſe witches can do as they ſaie, were to attribute to a creature the power of the Creator. All children well brought by conceiue and ſpie, or at the leaſt are taught, that iuglers miracles do conſiſt of legierdemaine and confederacie. The verie heathen people are dzinen to confeſſe, that there can be no ſuch conference betweene a ſpiritual diuell and a corporall witch, as is ſuppoſed. For no doubt, all the heathen would
¶ n. y. then

A generall concluſion againſt them who the ſubiect of this book concerneth

then haue euerie one his familiar diuell, for they would make no conscience to acquaint themselues with a diuell that are not acquainted with God.

I haue dealt, and conferred with manie (marrie I must confesse papists for the most part) that mainteine euery point of these absurdities. And surelie I allow better of their iudgements, than of others, vnto whome some part of these couenages are discovered and séne; and yet concerning the residue, they remaine as wise as they were before; speciallie being satisfised in the highest and greatest parts of confuring and couensing; to wit, in poperie, and yet will be abused with beggerlie iugling, and witchcraft.

Of naturall witchcraft or
fascination.

The eight Chapter.

Wit bicause I am loth to oppose my selfe against all the wryters hereín, or altogether to discredit their stoies, or wholie to deface their reports, touching the effects of fascination or witchcraft; I will now set downe certeine parts thereof, which although I my selfe cannot admit, without some doubts, difficulties and exceptions, yet will I giue free libertie to others to beleue them, if they list; for that they do not directlie oppugne my purpose.

Manie great and graue authozs wryte, and manie fond wryters also affirme, that there are certeine families in Aphrica, which with their voices bewitch whatsoeuer they passe. Inso much as, if they commend either plant, coine, infant, horse, or anie other beasts, the same presentlie withereth, decayeth and dieth. This mysterie of witchcraft is not vnknowne or neglected of our witchmongers, and superstitious soles here in Europa. But to shew you examles néere home here in England, although our voice had the like operation: you shall not heare a butcher or horsecourser cheapen a bullocke or a fade, but if he

buite

Isgonus.
Memphradorus.
Solan, &c.
Vairus.
L. Bodinus.
Mal. malef.

buie him not, he saith, God saue him; if he do forget it, and the horse or bullocke chance to die, the fault is imputed to the charman. Certainelie the sentence is godlie, if it do proceed from a faithfull and a godlie mind: but if it be spoken as a superstitious charme, by those words and syllables to compound with the fascination and misadventure of infortunate words, the phrase is wicked and superstitious, though there were farre greater shew of godlinesse than appereth therein.

Of enchanting or bewitching eies.

The ninth Chapter.



Manie writers agree with Virgil and Theocritus in the effect of witching eies, affirming that in Scythia, there are women called Bithia, hauing two balles or rather blacks in the apple of their eies. And as Didymus reporteth, some haue in the one eie two such balles, and in the other the image of a horse. These (so:sooth) with their angrie lookes do bewitch and hurt not onelie yong lambs, but yong children. There be other that reteine such beuome in their eies, and send it forth by beames and streames so violentlie, that therewith they annoie not onlie them with whom they are conuersant continuallie; but also all other, whose companie they frequent, of what age, strength, or complexion soeuer they be: as Cicero, Plutarch, Philarchus, and manie others giue out in their writings.

With the like propertie were the old Illyrian people inuaded: if we will credit the words of Sabinus grounded vpon the report of Aul. Gell.

This fascination (saith Iohn Baptista Porta Neapolitanus) though it begin by touching or bzeathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the eie, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits through the eies, approaching to the hart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Wherby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a yong man endued with a cleare, whole, subtil and sweet bloud, yeldeth the like spirits, bzeath, and vapors springing from the purer bloud of the hart. And the lightest and finest

I. Bap. Neapol. in lib. de naturali magia.

¶ n. iij.

Spirits,

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 bodie the most cleare, and fullest of veines and pores, and with the verie spirit or vapor proceeding thence, is conuied out as it were by beames and streames a certeine fierie force; whereof he that beholdeth soze eyes shall haue good experience. For the poison and disease in the eye infecteth the aire next vnto it, and the same proceedeth further, carrieng with it the vapor and infection of the corrupted blood: with the contagion whereof, the eyes of the beholders are most apt to be infected. By this same meanes it is thought that the cockatrice depriueth the life, and a wolfe taketh awaie the voice of such as they suddenlie méete withall and behold.

This is held
of some for
truth.

*Non est in
speculo res
que specu-
latur in eo.*

Old women, in whome the ordinarie course of nature faileth in the office of purging their naturall monethlie humors, shew also some proofe hereof. For (as the said I. B. P. N. repositeth, alledging Aristotle for his author) they leaue in a looking glasse a certeine froth, by meanes of the grosse vapors proceeding out of their eyes. Which commeth so to passe, because those vapors or spirits, which so abundantly come from their eyes, cannot pearse and enter into the glasse, which is hard, and without pores, and therefore resisteth: but the beames which are carried in the chariot or conueiance of the spirits, from the eyes of one bodie to another, do pearse to the inward parts, and there breed infection, whilst they search and seeke for their proper region. And as these beames & vapors do proceed from the hart of the one, so are they turned into blood about the hart of the other: which blood disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched partie, infecteth the rest of his bodie, and maketh him sicke: the contagion whereof so long continueth, as the distempred blood hath force in the members. And because the infection is of blood, the feuer or sickness will be continuall; whereas if it were of choler, or flegme, it would be intermitted or alterable.

Of naturall witchcraft for
loue, &c.

The tenth Chapter.



As there is fascination and
witchcraft by malicious and angrie
eies vnto displeasure: so are there wit-
ching aspects, tending contrariwise to
loue, or at the least, to the procuring of
good will and liking. For if the fascina-
tion or witchcraft be brought to passe or
prouoked by the desire, by the withing
and coueting of antie beautifull shape or fauor, the venome is
strained through the eies, though it be from a far, and the imagi-
nation of a beautifull foyme resteth in the hart of the louer, and
kindleth the fier wherewith it is afflicted. And bicause the most de-
licate, swæte, and tender bloud of the beloued doth there wan-
der, 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 slipeth
into the wounder, according to the saieng of Lucretius the poet
to the like purpose and meaning in these verses:

*Idque petit corpus, mens vnde est saucia amore,
Namque omnes plerunque cadunt in vulnus, & illam
Emicat in partem sanguis, vnde icimur icetu;
Et si cominus est, os tum ruber occupat humor:*

And to that bodie tis rebounded,
From whence the mind by loue is wounded,
For in a maner all and some,
Into that wound of loue doo come,

*Nescio quis ocu-
lus teneros mi-
hi fascinat ag-
nos, sicut Virgil
and thus Engli-
shed by Abra-
ham Fleming:*

*I wrote not I
What witching eie
Doth use to haue
My tender lasses
Sucking their deans
And Keens incant,*

*Englised by
Abraham
Fleming.*

And to that part the bloud doth flee
 From whence with stroke we stricken bee,
 If hard at hand, and neere in place,
 Then ruddie colour fills the face.

Thus much may seeme sufficient touching this matter of naturall magicke; wherevnto though much more may be annexed, yet for the auoiding of tediousnes, and for speedier passage to that which remaineth; I will breake off this present treatise. And now somewhat shall be said concerning diuels and spirits in the discourse following.





A Discourse vpon diuels and spirits,
and first of philosophers opinions, also the
maner of their reasoning herevpon ;
and the same confuted.

The first Chapter.



Here is no question nor theme (saith Hierome Cardane) so difficult to deale in, nor so noble an argument to dispute vpon, as this of diuels and spirits. For that being confessed or doubted of, the eternitie of the soule is either affirmed or denied. The heathen philosophers reason hereof amongst themselves in this sort. First, they that mainteine the perpetuittie of the soule, saie that if

H. Card. lib.
de var. rer.
16. cap. 93.

The Platonists and Stoicks.

the soule died with the bodie; to what end should men take paines either to liue well or die well, when no reward for vertue nor punishment for vice insueth after this life, the which other wise they might spend in ease and securitie? The other sort saie that vertue and honestie is to be pursued, *Non spe premijs, sed virtutis amore,* that is, not for hope of reward, but for loue of vertue. If the soule liue euer (saie the other) the least portion of life is here. And therefore we that mainteine the perpetuittie of the soule, may be of the better comfort and courage, to susteine with more constancie the losse of children, yea and the losse of life it selfe: whereas, if the

The Epicureans and Peripateticks.

soule

soule were mortall, all our hope and felicitie were to be placed in this life, which manie Atheists (I warrant you) at this date do. But both the one and the other missed the cushion. For, to do anie thing without Christ, is to wearie our selues in vaine; sith in him onelie our corruptions are purged. And therefore the follie of the Gentils, that place *summum bonum* in the felicitie of the bodie, or in the happines or pleasures of the mind, is not onelie to be derided, but also abhorred. For, both our bodie and minds are intermedled with most miserable calamities; and therefore therein cannot consist perfect felicitie. But in the word of God is exhibited and offered vnto vs that hope which is most certeine, absolute, sound & sincere, not to be answered or denied by the iudgement of philosophers themselues. For they that preferre temperance before all other things as *summum bonum*, must needs see it to be but a witnessse of their naturall calamitie, corruption and wickednes; and that it serueth for nothing, but to restrain the dissolutenes, which hath place in their minds infected with vices; which are to be bridled with such corrections: yea and the best of them all faileth in some point of modestie. Wherefore serueth our philosophers prudence, but to prouide for their owne follie and miserie; whereby they might else be vtterlie ouerthrowne: And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should haue no need of such circumspection. The iustice whereof they speake, serueth but to keepe them from rauine, theft, and violence: and yet none of them all are so iust, but that the verie best and brightest of them fall into great infirmities, both doing and suffering much wrong and iniurie. And what is their fortitude, but to araine them to endure miserie, græse, danger, and death it selfe: But what happinesse or goodnesse is to be reposed in that life, which must be waited vpon with such calamities, and finally must haue the helpe of death to finish it? I saie, if it be so miserable, why do they place *summum bonum* therein? S. Paule to the Romans sheweth, that it cannot be that we should attaine to iustice, through the morall and naturall actions and duties of this life: because that neuer the Jewes nor the Gentiles could expresse so much in their liues, as the verie lawe of nature or of Moses required. And therefore he that worketh without Christ, doth as he that reckoneth without his host.

Summum bonum cannot consist in the happines of the bodie or mind.

Morall temperance.

Morall prudence.

Morall iustice.

Morall fortitude.

Rom. 2.

Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to
the disproofe of some writers herevpon.

The second Chapter.

FOR my part doe also thinke this
argument, about the nature & substance
of diuels and spirits, to be difficult, as I
am perswaded that no one authoꝝ hath in
anie certeine or perfect sort hitherto writ-
ten thereof. In which respect I can neither
allow the ungodly and prophane sects and
doctrines of the Sadduces & Peripatetiks,
who denie that there are any diuels or spirits at all; noꝝ the fond &
superstitious treatises of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyrie; noꝝ
yet the vaine & absurd opinions of Pselus, Nider, Sprenger, Cu-
manus, Bodin, Michaël, Andraas, Ianus Matthaus, Laurentius
Ananias, Iamblichus, &c: who with manie others write so ridi-
culouslie in these matters, as if they were babes fraied with
bugges; some affirming that the soules of the dead become spi-
rits, the good to be angels, the bad to be diuels; some that spirits
or diuels are onelic in this life; some, that they are men; some,
that they are women; some, that diuels are of such gender as they
list themselues; some, that they had no beginning, noꝝ shall haue
ending, as the Manicheis mainteine; some, that they are moꝝ tall
& die, as Plutarch affirmeth of Pan; some, that they haue no bodies
at all, but receiue bodies, according to their phantasies & imagi-
nations; some, that their bodies are giuen vnto them; some, that
they make themselues. Some saie they are wind; some, that
they are the breath of liuing creatures; some, that one of them
begins another; some, that they were created of the least part of
the masse, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are
substances betwene God and man, and that of them some are
terrestriall, some celestiaall, some waterie, some airie, some fierie,
some starrie, and some of each and euerie part of the elements,
and that they know our thoughts, and carrie our god worlks
and pꝛayers to God, and returne his benefits backe vnto vs,

The que-
stion about
spirits
doubtfull
and diffi-
cult.

Plotinus.

The Greks.

Law. Ana-
mas.

The Mani-
cheis.

Plutarch.

Pselus.

M. al. malef.

Auicena, and

the Cabal-
lists.

The Thal-
mudists.

Pselus, &c.

The Plato-
nists.

The Pa-
pists.

and

and that they are to be worshipped: therein they méte and agréé iumpe with the papists; as if you read the notes vpon the second chapter to the Colossians, in the Seminarie's testament printed at Rhemes, you shall manifestlie see, though as contrarie to the word of God as blacke to white, as appeareth in the Apocalypse, where the angell expresselie forbod Iohn to worship him.

Apoc. 19. 10
Ibid. 22. 8. 9.

The Sad-
duces.

Againe, some saie that they are meane betwixt terre striall and celestially bodies, communicating part of each nature; and that although they be eternall, yet that they are moued with affecti- ons: and as there are birds in the aire, fishes in the water, and wormes in the earth; so in the fourth element, which is the fier, is the habitation of spirits and diuels. And least we should thinke them idle, they saie they haue charge ouer men, and gouernement in all countries and nations. Some saie that they are onelie imaginations in the mind of man. Tertullian saith they are birds, and flie faster than anie fowle of the aire. Some saie that diuels are not, but when they are sent; and therefore are called euill angels. Some thinke that the diuell sendeth his angels abroad, and he himselfe maketh his continuall abode in hell, his mansion place.

The opinion of Pfellus touching spirits, of their feuerall orders, and a confutation of his errors therein.

The third Chapter.

Pfellus de
operatione
demonum,
cap. 8.



Sellus being of authoritie in the church of Rome, and not impugnable by anie catholike, being also instructed in these supernaturall or rather diabollicall matters by a monke called Marcus, who had béene familiarlie conuersant a long time, as he said, with a certeine diuell, reporteth vpon the same diuels owne word, which must néeds vnderstand best the state of this question, that the bodies of angels and diuels consist not now of all one element, though perhaps it were otherwise before the fall of Lucifer,

fer; and that the bodies of spirits and diuels 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 fier are burnt, and yet that they themselues burne continuallie, in such sort as they leaue ashes behind them in places where they haue bene; as manifest triall thereof hath bene (if he saie truelie) in the borders of Italie. He also saith vpon like credit and assurance, that diuels and spirits do auoid and shed from out of their bodies, such sexd or nature, as whereby certeine vermine are ingendered; and that they are nourished with food, as we are, sauing that they receiue it not in to their mouthes, but sucke it vp into their bodies, in such sort as sponges soke by water. Also he saith they haue names, shapes, and dwelling places, as indeed they haue, though not in temporall and corporall sort.

Ifurthermore, he saith, that there are six principall kind of diuels, which are not onelie corporall, but temporall and woorldlie. The first sort consist of fier, wandering in the region nere to the mone, but haue no power to go into the mone. The second sort consist of aire, haue their habitation moze lowe and nere vnto vs: these (saith he) are proud and great boasters, verie wise and deceitfull, and when they come downe are seene shining with streames of fier at their taile. He saith that these are commonlie coniuured by to make images laugh, and lamps burne of their owne accord; and that in Assyria they vse much to prophesie in a bason of water. Which kind of incantation is vsuall among our coniuers: but it is here commonlie performed in a pitcher or pot of water; or else in a violl of glasse filled with water, where in they say at the first a litle sound is heard without a voice, which is a token of the diuels comming. Anon the water seemeth to be troubled, and then there are heard small voices, wherewith they giue their answers, speaking so foolishly as no man can well heare them: because (saith Cardane) they would not be argued or rebuked of lies. But this I haue else-where more largelie described and confuted. The third sort of diuels Pfellus saith are earthlie; the fourth waterie, or of the sea; the fift vnder the earth; the sixt sort are Lucifugi, that is, such as delight in darkenes, & are scant indued with sense, and so dull, as they can scarce be moued with charmes or coniuurations.

Such are spirits walking in white sheetes, &c.

Pfellus, *ibid.* cap. 9.

Idem. cap. 10.

Idem. *ibid.* cap. 11.

Oh heathenish, nay oh papisticall follie!

The opinions of all papists.

A counselling knauerie.

H. Card. lib. de var. ser. 16. cap. 93.

Diuels of
diuerſe na-
tures, and
their ope-
rations.

The ſame man ſaith, that ſome diuels are worſe than other, but yet that they all hate God, and are enimies to man. But the worſer moitie of diuels are *Aquei*, *Subterranei*, and *Lucifugi*; that is, waterie, vnder the earth, and ſtunners of light: becauſe (ſaith he) theſe hurt not the ſoules of men, but deſtroie mens bodies like mad and rauening beaſts, moleſting both the inward and outward parts thereof. *Aquei* are they that raiſe tempeſts, and dyoune ſeaſaring men, and do all other miſcheſes on the wa- ter. *Subterranei* and *Lucifugi* enter into the bowels of men, and torment them that they poſſeſſe with the phrenſie, and the falling euill. They alſo aſſault them that are miners or pioners, which be to worke in deepe and darke holes vnder the earth. Such diuels as are earthie and aierie, he ſaith enter by ſubtiltie into the minds of men, to deceiue them, prouoking men to aſurd and vnlawfull affections.

The for-
mer opini-
on conſu-
red.

But herein his philoſophie is verie vnprobable, ſo: if the diuell be earthie, he muſt needs be palpable; if he be palpable, he muſt needs kill them into whoſe bodies he entereth. Item, if he be of earth created, then muſt he alſo be viſible and vtrancſormable in that point: ſo: Gods creation cannot be annihilated by the creature. So as, though it were granted, that they might adde to their ſubſtance matter and forme, &c: yet is it moſt certaine, that they cannot diminiſh or alter the ſubſtance whereof they conſiſt, as not to be (when they liſt) ſpirituall, or to relinquish and leaue earth, water, fier, aier, or this and that element where of they are created. But howſoener they imagine of water, aier, or fier, I am ſure earth muſt alwaies be viſible and palpable; pea, and aier muſt alwaies be inuiſible, and fier muſt be hot, and water muſt be moiſt. And of theſe thre latter bodies, ſpeciallie of water and aier, no forme nor ſhape can be exhibited to mortall eyes naturallie, or by the power of anie creature.

More absurd assertions of Pfellus and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein.

The fourth Chapter.



Moreouer, 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 dissolued; making an example by lowd speaking a farre off, and a comparison of soft whispering neere hand, so as the diuell entred so neere to the mind as the eare need not heare him; and that euerie part of a diuell or spirit seeth, heareth, and speaketh, &c. But here in I will believe Paule better than Pfellus, or his monke, or the monks diuell. For Paule saith; If the whole bodie were an eye, there were hearing: If the whole bodie were hearing, there were smelling, &c. Whereby you may see what accord is betwixt Gods word and witchmongers.

The papists proceed in this matter, and saie, that these spirits vse great knauerie and vspeakeable balderie in the breach and middle parts of man and woman, by tickeling, and by other lecherous deuises; so that they fall iumpe in iudgement and opinion, though verie erroneously, with the foresaid Pfellus, of whose doctrine also this is a parcell; to wit, that these diuels hurt not cattell for the hate they beare vnto them, but for loue of their naturall and temperate heate and moisture, being brought vp in deepe, drie and cold places: marie they hate the heate of the sun and the fier, because that kind of heate drieth too fast. They throwe downe stones vpon men, but the blowes thereof do no harme to them whome they hit, because they are not cast with anie force: for (saith he) the diuels haue little and small strength, so as these stones do nothing but fraie and terrifie men, as scarecrows do birds out of the cozne fields. But when these diuels enter into the pores, than do they raise wonderfull tumults in the bodie

Pfellus lib. de operas. dem. cap. 12.

If this were spoken of the temptations, &c. of satan, it were tolerable.

1. Cor. 12.

Pfellus. ibid. cap. 13.

If a babe of two yeeres old throwe stones from Powles steeple, they will doo hurt, &c.

Howbeit I thinke the spirit of

temptation
to be that
diuell; &
therefore
Christ bid-
deh vs
watch and
praie, leaft
we be reme-
red, &c.
*Pfellus in ope-
rat. dem.
cap. 14.*

Idem. cap. 17

Beastlike
diuels.

But *Pfellus*
sawe no-
thing him-
selfe.

and mind of man. And if it be a subterranean diuell, it doth writhe and bow the possessed, and speaketh by him, vsing the spirit of the patient as his instrument. But he saith, that when Lucifugus possesseth a man, he maketh him dumbe, and as it were dead; and these be they that are cast out (saith he) onelie by fasting and praier.

The same *Pfellus*, with his mates *Bodin* and the penners of *M. Mal.* and others, doe find fault with the physicians that affirme such infirmities to be cureable with diet, and not by incantments; saieing, that physicians doe onlie attend vpon the bodie, & that which is perceivable by outward sense; and that as touching this kind of diuine philosophie, they haue no skill at all. And to make diuels and spirits seeme yet more corporall and terrene, he saith that certein diuels are belonging to certein countries, and speake the languages of the same countries, and none other; some the Assyrian, some the Chaldaean, & some the Persian tongue, and that they keele stripes, and feare hurt, and speciallie the dint of the sword (in which respect coniurors haue swords with them in their circles, to terrifie them) and that they change shapes, euen as suddenlie as men doe change colour with blushing, feare, anger, and other moods of the mind. He saith yet further, that there be byte beasts among them, and yet diuels, and subiect to ante kind of death; insomuch as they are so foolish, as they may be compared to flies, fleas, and woymes, who haue no respect to any thing but their food, not regarding or rememb'ing the hole from out of whence they came last. Harrie diuels compounded of earth, cannot often transforme themselues, 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 *Dreida* inhabited (as some write) the islands beside Scotland called *Druidax*, which by that meanes had their denomination and name. Other diuels that dwell in drier places transforme themselues into the masculine kind. Finally *Pfellus* saith they know our thoughts, and can prophesie of things to come. His definition is, that they are perpetuall minds in a passible bodie.

To verifie these totes he saith, that he himselfe sawe in a certein night a man brought by *Aletus Libius* into a mountaine,

taine, and that he toke an hearbe, and spat thysie into his mouth, and annointed his eyes with a certeine ointment, so as thereby he sawe great tropes of diuels, and perceiued a crowe to flie into his mouth; and since that houre he could prophesie at all times, sauing on god fridaie, and easter sundaie. If the end of this tale were true, it might not onelie haue satisfied the Greeke church, in keeping the date of easter, together with the church of Rome; but might also haue made the pope (that now is) content with our christmas and easter daie, and not to haue gathered the minuts together, and reformed it so, as to theto howe falselie he and his predecessors (whome they saie could not erre) haue obserued it hitherto. And trulie this, and the dancing of the sunne on easter daie moorning sufficientlie or rather miraculousslie proueth that computation, which the pope now beginneth to doubt of, and to call in question.

Probable
and likelie
stuffe.

The opinion of Fascius Cardanus touching spirits, and of his familiar diuell.

The fift Chapter.

Fascius Cardanus had (as he himselfe and his sonne Hierome Cardanus report) a familiar diuell, consisting of the fierie element, who, so long as he vsed coniuration, did giue true answers to all his demands: but when he burned by his booke of coniurations, though he resorted still vnto him, yet did he make false answers continuallie. He held him bound twentie & eight yeares, and lose five yeares. And during the time that he was bound, he told him that there were manie diuels or spirits. He came not alwaies alone, but sometimes some of his fellows with him. He rather agreed with Pselus than with Plato: for he said they were begotten, borne, died, and liued long; but how long, they told him not: howbeit as he might coniecture by his diuels face, who was 42. yeares old, and yet appeared verie yong, he thought they liued two or three hundred yeares; and they said that their soules

Fasc. Card.
operas. de
demon.

and ours also died wth their bodies. They had scholes and vniuersities among them; but he conceiued not that anie were so dull headed, as P^{hellus} maketh them. But they are verie quicke in credit, that beleue such fables, w^{ch} indeed is the ground worke of witchcraft and coniuration. 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 Fr^{ier} Rush, Adam Bell, or the golden Legend.

The opinion of Plato concerning spirits, diuels and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of Socrates his familiar diuell.

The sixt Chapter.

The Platonists opinion.



Plato and his followers hold, that god spirits appeare in their owne likeness; but that euill spirits appeare and shew themselves in the forme of other bodies; and that one diuell reigneth ouer the rest, as a p^{rin}ce doth in euerie perfect commonwelth ouer men. Item, they obteine their purposes and desires, onelie by intreatie, of men and women; because in nature they are their inferiours, and vse authoritie ouer men none otherwise than priests by vertue of their function, and because of religion, where in (they saie) they execute the office of God. Sometimes they saie that the fierie spirits or supreme substances enter into the purtie of the mind, and so obtaine their purpose; sometimes otherwise, to wit, by vertue of holie charmes, and euen as a poore man obtaineth for Gods sake anie thing at a p^{rin}ces hand as it were by importunatnesse.

What kind of sacrifices each spirit liketh best.

The other sort of diuels and defiled soules are so conuertant on earth, as that they do much hurt vnto earthlie bodies, speciallie in lecherie. Gods and angels (saie they) because they want all materiall and grosse substance, desire most the pure sacrifice of the mind. The grosser and moze terrestriall spirits desire the grosser sacrifices; as beasts and cattell. They in the middle or
meane

meane region delight to haue frankincense, and such meane stufte offered vnto them: and therefore (saie they) it is necessarie to sacrifice vnto them, all maner of things, so the same be slaine, and die not of their owne accord: for such they abhorre. Some saie that spirits feare wonderfullie vaine threats, and there vpon will depart; as if you tell them that you will cut the heauens in peeces, or reueale their secrets, or complaine of them to the gods, or saie that you will doe anie impossibilitie, or such things as they cannot vnderstand; they are so timorous, as they will presentlie be gone: and that is thought the best waie to be rid of them. But these be most commonlie of that sort or compaignie, which are called *Principatus*, being of all other the most easie to be conuired.

They saie Socrates had a familiar diuell: which Plato relieth much vpon, vsing none other argument to proue that there are such spirits, but because Socrates (that would not lye) said so; and partlie because that diuell did euer dissuade and prohibit, not onelie in Socrates his owne cases, but sometimes in his friends behalfe; who (if they had bene ruled) might throughe his admonition haue saued their liues. His disciples gathered that his diuell was Saturnall, and a principall fierie diuell; and that he, and all such as doe naturallie know their diuels, are onlie such as are called *Demonij viri*, otherwise, Couisers. Item, they saie that fierie spirits vze men to contemplation, the aserie to busines, the waterie to lust; and among these there are some that are Partiall, which giue fortitude; some are Iustall, giuing wisdom; some Saturniall, alwaies vsing dissuasion and deborting. Item, some are borne with vs, and remaine with vs all our life; some are mere strangers, who are nothing else but the soules of men departed this life, &c.

Of Socrates his private diuell or familiar spirit.

Platos nine orders of spirits and angels, Dionysius his diuision thereof not much differing from the same, all disproued by learned diuines.

The seuenth Chapter.



Dionysius 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 Ideas, which giue all things to all men; the third are the soules of heauenlie bodies which are mortall; the fourth are angels; the fifth archangels; the sixt are diuels, who are ministers to infernall powers, as angels are to supernall; the seuenth are halfe gods; the eight are principallities; the ninth are princes. From which diuision Dionysius doth not much swarue, sauing that he dealeth (as he saith) onelie with good spirits, whome he likewise diuideth into nine parts or offices. The first he calleth Seraphim, the second Cherubin, the third thrones, the fourth dominations, the fifth vertues, the sixt powers, the seuenth principalities, the eighth archangels, the ninth and inferiour sozt he calleth angels. Howbeit, some of these (in my thinking) are euill spirits; or else Paule gaue vs euill counsell, when he willed vs to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spirituall wickednes.

*Dionys. in
caleff. hierarch. cap.
9. 10.*

Ephes. 6.

*Dionys. in
caleff. hierarch.*

*J. Calu. lib.
de Fis. l. c. 14.*

But Dionysius in that place goeth further, impropriating to euerie countrie, and almost to euerie person of antie account, a peculiar angell; as to Iewrie, he assigneth Michael; to Adam, Razel; to Abraham, Zakiel; to Isaac, Raphael; to Iacob, Peliel; to Moses, Metraton, &c. But in these discourses he either soloted his owne imaginations and conceipts, or else the corruptions of that age. Neuertheles, I had rather confute him by M. Caluine, and my kinseman M. Deering, than by my selfe, or mine owne words. For M. Caluine saith, that Dionysius herein speaketh not as by hearefate, but as though he had slipped downe from heauen, and told of things which he had seene. And yet (saith he)

Paule

Paule was rapt into the third heauen, and reporteth no such matters. But if you read *pp.* Deering vpon the first chapter to the Hebrewes, you shall see this matter notable handled; where he saith, that whensoever archangell is mentioned in the scriptures, it signifyeth our saviour Christ, and no creature. And certeine it is that Christ himselfe was called an angell. The names also of angels, as Michael, Gabriel, &c: are giuen to them (saith Caluine) according to the capacite of our weaknesse. But because the decision of this question is neither within the compasse of mans capacite, nor yet of his knowledge, I will proceed no further to discusse the same, but to shew the absurd opinions of papists and witchmongers on the one side, and the most sober and probable collections of the contrarie minded on the other side.

Edw. Deering, in 1602, vpon the Hebrewes reading. 6.

Mal. 3. 1.

The commensment of diuels fondlie gathered out of the 14. of Isaie, of Lucifer and of his fall, the Cabalists the Thalmudists and Schoolemens opinions of the creation of angels.

The eight Chapter.

THe witchmongers, which are most commonlie baslard diuines, doe fondlie gather and falselie conceiue the commensment of diuels out of the fourteenth of Isaie; where they suppose Lucifer is cited, as the name of an angell; who on a time being desirous to be checkemate with God himselfe, would needs (when God was gone a litle a little) be sitting downe, or rather pirking by in Gods owne principall and cathedrall chaire; and that therefore God cast him and all his confederates out of heauen: so as some fell downe from thence to the bottome of the earth; some hauing descended but into the middle region, and the taile of them hauing not yet passed through the higher region, staid euen then & there, when God said, Ho. But God knoweth there is no such thing ment nor mentioned in that place. For there is onlie foretold the deposing and depriuation of king Nabuchadnezzar,

Isai. 14.

Do. itj.

who

who exalting himselfe in pride (as it were about the starres) esteemed his glorie to surmount all others, as farre as Lucifer the bright morning starre shineth more gloriouſlie than the other common starres, and was punished by eric, untill such time as he had humbled himselfe; and therefore metaphoricallie was called Lucifer.

The opinion
of the
Thalmu-
dists.

Laure. Anan.
lib. de natur.
dem. 1.
Creatis cae-
lum & ter-
ram.

Laure. Anan.
lib. de natur.
dem. 1.

But forsooth, bicause these great clarkes would be thought methodicall, and to haue crept out of wisdomes bosome, who rather cralled out of follies breeches; they take vpon them to shew vs, first, whereof these angels that fell from heauen were created; to wit, of the left side of that massie mold, whereof the world was compounded, the which (saie they) was *putredo terre*, that is, the rottenesse of the earth. The Cabalists, with whome Auicen seemeth to agree, saie that one of these begat another; others saie, they were made all at once. The Grækes do write that angels were created before the world. The Latinitis saie they were made the fourth daie, when the starres were made. Laurence Ananias saith, they were made the first daie, and could not be made the fourth daie, bicause it is written; *Quando facta sunt sidera, laudauerunt me angeli*: so as (saith he) they were made vnder the name of the heauens.

There is also a great question among the scholemen, whether more angels fell downe with Lucifer, or remained in heauen with Michael. Danie hauing a bad opinion of the angels honesties, affirme that the greater part fell with Lucifer: but the better opinion is (saith Laurentius Ananias) that the most part were cast downe, some the ninth; and some gather vpon S. Iohn,

that the third part were onelie damned; bicause it is written, that the dragon with his taile plucked downe with him the third part of the starres.

Of the contention betweene the Greeke and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselues herein, a conflict betweene Michael and Lucifer,

The ninth Chapter.

Here was also another contenti-
on betwene the Greeke church and the
Latine; to wit, of what orders of angels
they were that did fall with Lucifer. Our
scholemen saie they were all of the nine
orders of angels in Lucifers conspiracie.
But bicause the superioꝝ order was of the

more noble constitution and excellent e-
state, and the inferioꝝ of a lesse woꝝthie nature, the more part of
the inferioꝝ orders fell as guiltie and offenders with Lucifer.

Some saie the diuell himselfe was of the inferioꝝ order of an-
gels, and some that he was of the highest order: bicause it is
written, *In cherubim extentus & protegens possus te in monte sancto Dei.*

And these saie further, that he was called the dragon, bicause of
his excellent knowledg. Finallie, these great doctoꝝ conclude,
that the diuell himselfe was of the order of seraphim, which is the
highest, bicause it is written, *Quomodo enim mane oriebaris Lucifer?*
They of this sect affirme, that Cacodæmones were they that re-
belled against Ioue; I meane they of Plato his sect, himselfe also
holding the same opinion. Our scholemen differ much in the
cause of Lucifers fall. For some said it was for speaking these
woꝝds, *Ponam sedem meam in aquilone, & similis ero altissimo*: others

saie, bicause he vtterlie refused felicitie, and thought soone ther-
of; others saie, bicause he thought all his strength proceeded
from himselfe, and not from God; others saie that it was, bicause
he attempted to do that by himselfe, and his owne abilitie, which
he should haue obtained by the gift of another; others saie, that
his condemnation grew herevpon, for that he challenged the
place of the Messias; others saie, bicause he detracted the time
to adoeꝝ the maiestie of God, as other angels did; others saie, bicause

*Lau. Anan.
lib. de. nasse.
c. m. x.*

I will settle
my selfe in
the north,
and will be
like the
highest.

cause he utterly refused it. Scotus and his disciples saie that it was, because he rebelliouslie claimed equall omnipotencie with God: with whom lightlie the Thomists neuer agree. Others saie it was for all these causes together, and manie more: so as hereupon (saith Laurentius Ananias) grew a wonderfull conflict betwene Michaël and the good angels on the one side, and Lucifer and his friends on the other: so as, after a long and doubtfull skirmish, Michaël ouerthrew Lucifer, and turned him and his fellows out of the doores.

*Laur. Anan.
lib. de nativ.
dem. 1.*

Where the battell betwene Michael and Lucifer was fought, how long it continued, and of their power, how fondlie papists and infidels write of them, and how reuerentlie Christians ought to thinke of them.

The tenth Chapter.

NOW where this battell was fought, and how long it continued, there is as great contention among the scholemens, as was betwixt Michaël and Lucifer. The Thomists saie this battell was fought in the imperciall heauen, where the abode is of blessed spirits, and the place of pleasure and felicitie. Augustine and manie others saie, that the battell was fought in the highest region of the aier; others saie, in the firmament; others in paradise. The Thomists also saie it continued but one instant or picke of time; for they tarried but two instants in all, even from their creation to their expulsion. The Scotists saie, that betwene their production and their fall, there were iust foure instants. Neuertheles, the greatest number of scholemens affirme, that they continued onelie three instants: because it stood with Gods iustice, to giue them three warnings; so as at the third warning Lucifer fell downe like led (for so are the words) to the bottom of hell; the rest were left in the aier, to tempt man. The Sadduces were as grosse the other waie: for they said, that by angels was ment nothing else, but the motion that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens

*Instant, vix
punctum
temp. nemp
individu-
um Quoc.*

tokens of his power. He that readeth Eusebius shall see manie more absurd opinions and asseuerations of angels: as how manie thousand yeares they serue as angels, befoze they come to the promotion of archangels, &c.

Monseieur Bodin, M. Mal. and manie other papists gather vpon the seventh of Daniel, that there are iust ten millions of angels in heauen. Manie saie that angels are not by nature, but by office. Finallie, it were infinite to shew the absurd and curious collections hereabout. I for my part thinke with Caluine, that angels are creatures of God; though Moses spake nothing of their creation, who onelie applied himselfe to the capacite of the common people, reciting nothing but things seene. And I saie further with him, that they are heauenlie spirits, whose ministracion and seruice God bleth; and in that respect are called angels. I saie yet againe with him, that it is verie certeine, that they haue no shape at all; for they are spirits, who neuer haue anie: and finallie, I saie with him, that the scriptures, for the capacite of our wit, doth not in vaine paint out angels vnto vs with things; because we should conceiue, that they are readie swifflie to succour vs. And certeinlie all the sounder diuines do conceiue and giue out, that both the names and also the number of angels are set downe in the scripture by the Holie-ghost, in termes to make vs vnderstand the greatnesse and the manner of their messages; which (I saie) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

Further more, the schole doctors affirme, that foure of the superior orders of angels neuer take anie forme or shape of bodies, neither are sent of anie arr and at anie time. As for archangels, they are sent onelie about great and secret matters; and angels are common hacknies about euerie trifle; and that these can take what shape or bodie they list: marie they neuer take the forme of women or childzen. Item they saie that angels take most terrible shapes: for Gabriel appeared to Marie, when he saluted hir, *Facie rutilante, veste coruscante, ingressu mirabili, aspectu terribili, &c.*: that is, with a bright countenance, shining at tire, wonderfull gesture, and a dreadfull visage, &c. But of apparitions I haue spoken somewhat befoze; and will saie more hereafter. It hath bene long, and continueth yet a constant opinion, not onelie

Euseb. in eccl. hist. lib. 10.

10000000.

Iohannes Cassianus in confessione, one theolog. scriptura.

I. Cal. lib. in sit. 1. cap. 14. sc. 7. 8.

Mich. And. thes. 107. 108. Idem thes. 103. 108.

lie among the papists; but among others also, that euer he hath assigned him, at the time of his natiuitie, a good angell and a bad. For the which there is no reason in nature, nor authoritie in scripture. For not one angell, but all the angels are said to reuolue moze of one conuert, than of ninetie and nine iust. Neither did one onelie angell conuete Lazarus into Abrahams bosome. And therefore I conclude with Caluine, that he which referreth to one angell, the care that GOD hath to euerie one of vs, doth himselfe great wrong: as may appeare by so manie fierie charters shewed by Elizabeth to his seruant. But touching this mysterie of angels, let vs reuerentlie thinke of them, and not curiouslie search into the nature of them, considering the vileness of our condition, in respect of the glorie of their creation. And as for the foresaid fond imaginations and fables of Lucifer, &c: they are such as are not onelie ridiculous, but also accomptable among those impious curiosities, and vaine questions, which Paule speaketh of: neither haue they anie tittle or letter in the scripture for the maintenance of their grosse opinions in this behalfe.

Whether they became diuels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Iude and Peter; of the fond opinions of the Rabbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Iud. ver. 6.
2. Pet. 2. 4.



¶ We read in Iude, and find it confirmed in Peter, that the angels kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation, and sinned, and (as Iob saith) committed follie: and that God therefore did cast them downe into hell, reseruing them in euerlasting chaines vnder darkenes, vnto the iudgement of the great date.

But manie diuines saie, that they find not anie where, that God made diuels of them, or that they became the princes of the world, or else of the aire; but rather prisoners. Whose doctrine diuers doctors affirme, that this Lucifer, notwithstanding his fall, hath greater

Mal. malef.
per. 2. quæ. 1.
cap. 2. 3.

greater power than any of the angels in heaven: marrie they say that there be certeine other diuels of the inferiour sort of angels, which were then thrust out for smaller faults, and therefore are tormented with little paines, besides eternall damnation: and these (saie they) can doo little hurt. They affirme also, that they onelie vse certeine iugling knacks, delighting thereby to make men laugh, as they trauell by the high waies: but other (saie they) are much more churlish. For proofe hereof they alledge the eighth of Matthew, where he would none otherwise be satisfied but by exchange, from the annoyng of one man, to the destruction of a whole heard of swine. The Rabbines, and name-
 lie Rabbi Abraham, writing vpon the second of Genesis, doo say, that God made the fairies, bugs, Incubus, Robin good fellow, and other familiar or domesticall spirits & diuels on the fridaie: and being preuented with the euening of the sabboth, finished them not, but left them vnperfect: and therefore, that euer since they vse to flie the holinesse of the sabboth, seeking darke holes in mountaines and woods, wherein they hide themselues till the end of the sabboth, and then come abroad to trouble and molest men.

But as these opinions are ridiculous and fondlie collected; so if we haue onelie respect to the bare word, or rather to the letter, where spirits or diuels are spoken of in the scriptures, we shall run into as dangerous absurdities as these are. For some are so carnallie minded, that a spirit is no sooner spoken of, but immediatlie they thinke of a blacke man with clouen feet, a paire of hornes, a taile, clawes, and eyes as broad as a bason, &c. But surely the diuell were not so wise in his generation, as I take him to be, if he would terrifie men with such vglie shap'es, though he could doo it at his pleasure. For by that meanes men should haue god occasion & oportunitie to flie from him, & to run to God for succour; as the maner is of all them that are terrified, though perchance they thought not vpon God of long time before. But in truth we neuer haue so much cause to be afraid of the diuell, as when he flatteringlie insinuate th himselfe into our hearts, to satisfie, please, and serue our humors, entising vs to persecute our owne appetits and pleasures, without anie of these externall terrors. I would wöete of these men, where they doo find in the scrip-
 tures,

*Mal. malef.
part. 2. cap. 3.
quest. 1.*

*Mich. And.
Lawr. Anan.
Mal. malef.
&c.*

*Author lib.
Zeor hammor
in Gen. 2.*

The grosse
dulnesse of
manic at
the hearing
of a spirit
named.

tures, that some diuels be spirituall, and some cozpozall; or how these earthie or waterie diuels enter into the mind of man. Auguſtine ſaith, and diuerſe others affirme, that ſathan or the diuell while we ſleed, allureth vs with gluttonie: he thruſteth luſt into our generation; and ſloth into our exerciſe; into our conuerſation, enuie; into our traſhike, auarice; into our correction, wrath; into our government, pride: he putteth into our hearts euill cogitations; into our mouthes, lies, &c. When we wake, he moueth vs to euill woꝝks; when we ſleepe, to euill and filthie dreames; he pꝛouoketh the merrie to loſeneſſe, and the ſad to deſpaire.

*Aug. in ſer. 4.
Greg. 29.
ſup. Iob.
Leo pont. ſer.
8. Natiniir.*

That the diuels assaults are spirituall and not temporal, and how grosselie some vnderstand those parts of the scripture.

The twelſe Chapter.



Vpon that, which hitherto hath bene ſaid, you ſee that the aſſaults of ſathan are ſpirituall, and not tempoꝝall: in which reſpect Paule wiſheth vs not to pꝛouide a cozpelet of ſcale to defend vs from his clawes; but biddeſh vs put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to ſtand againſt the inuaſions of the diuell. For we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood; but againſt principalties, powꝛs, and ſpirituall wickedneſſe. And therefore he aduiſeth vs to be ſober and watch; for the diuell goeth about like a rozing lion, ſeeking whome he may deuoure. He meaneth not with carnall teeth: for it followeth thus, Whome reſiſt ye ſtedfaſtly in faith. And againe he ſaith, That which is ſpirituall onelie diſcerneth ſpirituall things: for no carnall man can diſcerne the things of the ſpirit. Why then ſhould we thinke that a diuell, which is a ſpirit, can be knowne, or made tame and familiar by to a naturall man; or contrarie to nature, can be by a witch made cozpozall, being by God ordeined to a ſpirituall pꝛopoztion?

The cauſe of this groſſe conceipt is, that we hearken more diligently to old wiues, and rather giue credit to their fables, than

*Eph. 6, 11,
12.*

2. Tim. 2, 8, 9

Idem ibid.

1. Cor. 2, 14.

to the word of God; imagining by the tales they tell vs, that the diuell is such a bulbegger, as I haue befoze described. For what soeuer is proposed in scripture to vs by parable, or spoken figuratiuelie or significantiuelie, 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 befoze the true sense and meaning of the word. For I dare saie, that when these blockheads read Iothans parable in the ninth of Judges to the men of Sichern; to wit, that the trees went out to anoint a king ouer them, saieing to the oliue tree, Reigne thou ouer vs: who answered and said, Should I leaue my fateresse, &c? They imagine that the wooden trees walked, & spake with a mans voice: or else, that some spirit entred into the trees, and answered as is imagined they did in the idols and oracles of Apollo, and such like; who indeed haue eyes, and see not; eares and heare not; mouthes, and speake not, &c.

Iudg. 9, 7, 8,
9, 10, 11, 12,
13, 14.

The equiuocation of this word spirit, how diuerslie it is taken in the scriptures, where (by the waie) is taught that the scripture is not alwaies literallie to be interpreted, nor yet allegoricallie to be vnderstood.

The xiiij. Chapter.



Such as search with the spirit of wisdome and vnderstanding, shall find, that spirits, as well good as bad, are in the scriptures diuerslie taken: yea they shall well perceiue, that the diuell is no horned beast. For sometimes in the scriptures, spirits and diuels are taken for infirmities of the bodie; sometimes for the vices of the mind; sometimes also for the gifts of either of them. Sometimes a man is called a diuell, as Judas in the first of Iohn, and Peter in the first of Matthew. Sometimes a spirit is put for the Gospell; sometimes for the mind or soule of man; sometimes for the will of man, his mind and counsell; sometimes for teachers and prophets; sometimes for zeale towards

^a Exod. 31, 1
^b Acts. 8, 19.
Gal. 3.
^c Iohn. 6.
Marth. 16.
^d 1. Cor. 3.
Gal. 3.
1. Cor. 2.
2. Cor. 7.
^e Luke. 9.
1. Cor. 5.
Philip 1.
1. Thel. 5.
^f 1. Iohn. 4.
^g 1. Tim. 4.

- ^a Ephes. 5. wards God; sometimes ^b for ioye in the Holie-ghost, &c.
 Isai. 11, 2. And to interpret vnto vs the nature and signification of spirits, we find these words written in the scripture; to wit, The spirit of the Lord shall rest vpon him; The spirit of counsell and strength; The spirit of wisdom and vnderstanding; The spirit of knowledge and the feare of the Lord. Again, I will poure out my spirit vpon the house of Dauid, &c. The spirit of grace and compassion. Again, He haue not receiued the spirit of bondage, but the spirit of adoption. And therefore Paule saith, To one is giuen, by the spirit, the word of wisdom; 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 diueritie of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues; and all these things woorketh one and the selfesame spirit. Thus farre the words of Paule. And finally, He saie faith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of error. And in another place, The Lord hath couered you with a spirit of slumber.
- As for the spirits of diuination spoken of in the scripture, they are such as was in the woman of Endor, the Phillipian woman, the wench of Westwell, and the holte maid of Kent; who were indued with spirits or gifts of diuination, whereby they could make shift to gaine monie, and abuse the people by sights and craftie inuentions. But these are possessed of horrowed spirits, as it is written in the booke of Wisdom; and spirits of méere couenage and deceipt, as I haue sufficientlie proued elsewhere. I denie not therefore that there are spirits and diuels, of such substance as it hath pleased GOD to create them. But in what place soeuer it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or diuell is to be vnderstood spirituallie, and is neither a corporall nor a visible thing. Where it is written, that God sent an euill spirit betwéene Abimelech, and the men of Sichem, we are to vnderstand, that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bulbeegger.
- Also where it is said; If the spirit of gelosie come vpon him: it is as much to saie as; If he be moued with a gelous mind: and not that a corporall diuell assaulteth him. It is said in the Gospell; There was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmitie 18. yeeres,
- tho

who was bowed together, &c: whom Christ, by laiening his hand upon him, deliuered of his disease. Wherby it is to be seene, that although it be said, that sathan had bound him, &c: yet that it was a sickness or disease of bodie that troubled him; for Christs owne words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some saie was the cause thereof.

There were seuen diuels cast out of Marie Magdalen. Which is not so grosselie vnderstood by the learned, as that there were in him iust seuen corporall diuels, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seuen diuels, a great multitude, and an vncertaine number of vices is signified: which figure is vsuall in diuers places of the scripture. And this interpretation is more agreeable with Gods word, than the papisticall paraphrase, which is; that Christ, vnder the name of the seuen diuels, recounteth the seuen deadlie sinnes onelic. Others allow neither of these expositions; because they suppose that the efficacy of Christs miracle should thus waie be confounded: as though it were not as difficult a matter, with a touch to make a good Christian of a vicious person; as with a word to cure the ague, or any other disease of a sicke bodie. I thinke not but any of both these cures may be wrought by meanes, in proesse of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physician. But I saie that Christs worke in both was apparentlie miraculous: for with power and authoritie, enen with a touch of his finger, and a word of his mouth, he made the blind to see, the halt to go, the lepers cleane, the deafe to heare, the dead to rise againe, and the poore to receiue the Gospell, out of whom (I saie) he cast diuels, and miraculoustie conformed them to become good Christians, which before were dissolute liuers; to whom he said, Go your waies and sinne no more.

Mark. 16, 9.

Leuit. 26.

Prou. 24.

Luk. 17.

Math. 8, 16.

Luk. 4, 36.

Luk. 7, 21.

John. 8, 12.

That

That it pleased God to manifest the power of his
sonne and not of witches by miracles.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Luke. 8, 14.



Iesus Christ, to manifest his Di-
vine power, rebuked the winds, and they
ceased; and the waues of water, and it
was calme: which if neither our diuines
nor physicians can do, much lesse our con-
iuroꝝ, and least of all our old witches can
bring anie such thing to passe. But it plea-
sed God to manifest the power of Christ
Jesus by such miraculous & extraordinary meanes,
and as it were preparing diseases, that none otherwise could be
cured, that his sonnes glorie, and his peoples faith might the
more plainelie appere; as namelie, leprosie, lunacie, and blind-
nesse: as it is apparent in the Gospell, where it is said, that the
man was not stricken with blindnesse for his owne sinnes, nor
for any offense of his ancestors; but that he was made blind, to
the intent the works of God should be shewed vpon him by the
hands of Iesus Christ. But witches with their charmes can cure
(as witchmongers affirme) all these diseases mentioned in the
scripture, and manie other more; as the gout, the tothach, &c:
which we find not that euer Christ cured.

Leuit. 14, 7, 8

Luk. 7, 17, 4.

Iohn. 9.

Matt. 4, 17,
&c.

As touching those that are said in the Gospell to be possessed of
spirits, it seemeth in manie places that it is indifferent, or all
one, to saie; He is possessed with a diuell; or, He is lunatike or
phrenzicke: which disease in these daies is said to proceed of me-
lancholie. But if euerie one that now is lunatike, be possessed
with a reall diuell; then might it be thought, that diuels are to
be thrust out of men by medicines. But who saith in these times
with the woman of Canaan; My daughter is bered with a diuell,
except it be presupposed, that she meant hir daughter was trou-
bled with some disease? Indeed we saie, and saie truelie, to the
witched, The diuell is in him: but we meane not thereby, that a
reall diuell is gotten into his guts. And if it were so, I marvell

in

in what shape this reall diuell, that possesseth them, remaineth. Entresth he into the bodie in one shape, and into the mind in another: If they grant him to be spirituall and inuisible, I agree with them.

Some are of opinion, that the said woman of Chanaan ment indeed that hir daughter was troubled with some disease; because it is witten in sted of that the diuell was cast out, that hir daughter was made whole, euen the selfesame houre. According to that which is said in the 12. of Marthew; There was brought vnto Christ one possessed of a diuell, which was both blind and dumbe, and he healed him: so as, he that was blind and dumbe both spake and sawe. But it was the man, and not the diuell, that was healed, and made to speake and see. Whereby (I saie) it is gathered, that such as were diseased, as well as they that were lunatike, were said sometimes to be possessed of diuels.

Of the possessed with
diuels.

The xv. Chapter.

Ere I cannot omit to shew, how fondlie diuerse writers; and namelie, James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor do gather and note the cause, why the diuell maketh choise to possesse men at certeine times of the mone; which is (saie they) in two respects: first, that they may defame so good a creature as the mone; secondly, because the braine is the moistest part of the bodie. The diuell therefore considereth the aptnesse and conueniencie thereof (the mone hauing dominion over all moist things) so as they take aduantage therby, the better to bring their purposes to passe. And further they saie, that diuels being conured and called by, appeere and come sooner in some certeine constellations, than in other some: thereby to induce men to thinke, that there is some godhead in the starres. But when Saule was releued with the sound of the harpe, they saie that the departure of the diuell was

Mal. malef. quest. 5. pa. 1.

* A maxime in philosophie, as the sunne in aridis & siccis.

by meanes of the signe of the crosse imprinted in Dauids beines; Whereby we maie see how absurd the imaginations and deuises of men are, when they speake according to their owne fancies, without warrant of the word of God. But me thinks it is very absurd that Iosephus affirmeth; to wit, that the diuell should be thrust out of anie man by vertue of a root. And as vaine it is, that Ælianus writeth of the magickall herbe Cynospaltus, otherwise called Baaros, as hauing force to drive out anie diuell from a man possessed.

Ioseph. de antiquitat. Iud. item de bello Iud. lib. 7. ca. 35.

That we being not throughlie informed of the nature of diuels and spirits, must satisfie our selues with that which is deliuered vs in the scriptures touching the same, how this word diuell is to be vnderstood both in the singular and plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the diuell, of tame spirits, of Ahab,

The xvj. Chapter.



The nature therfore and substance of diuels and spirits, bicause in the scripture it is not so set down, as we may certeinlie know the same: we ought to content and frame our selues faithfullie to beleue the words and sense there deliuered vnto vs by the high spirit, which is the Holie-ghost, who is Lord of all spirits; abwaies considering, that euermore spirits are spoken of in scripture, as of things spirituall; though for the helpe of our capacities they are there sometimes more grosselie and corporallie expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indeed they are. As for example (and to omit the historie of Iob, which elswhere I handle) it is written; The Lord said, Who shall entise Ahab, that he maie fall at Ramoth Gilead, &c? Then came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said; I will entise him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said; I will go and be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then he said; Go forth, thou shalt preuaile, &c.

Num. 27, 16.

1. Reg. 18. vers. 23. vers. 4.

This storie is here set forth in this wise, to beare with our capacities, and speciallie with the capacite of that age, that could not otherwise conceiue of spirituall things, than by such corporall demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted, that one spirit, and not manie or diuerse, did possesse all the false prophets at once. Then as in another place, manie thousand diuels are said to possesse one man: and yet it is also said euen in the selfe same place, that the same man was possessed onelie with one diuell. For it is there said that Christ met a man, which had a diuell, and he commanded the foule spirit to come forth of the man, &c. But Caluine saith; Where sathan or the diuell is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse, that standeth against the kingdome of iustice. And where manie diuels are named in the scriptures, we are thereby taught, that we must fight wth an infinite multitude of enemies; least despising the feewnesse of them, we should be moze slacke to enter into battell, and so fall into securitie and idlenes.

On the other side, it is as plainelie set downe in the scripture, that some are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the diuell. Yea sometimes we read, that one god spirit was put into a great number of persons; and againe, that diuerse spirits rested in and vpon one man: and yet no reall or corporall spirit meant. As for example; The Lord toke of the spirit that was vpon Moses, and put it vpon the seuentie elders, and when the spirit rested vpon 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 vpon him. We read also that the spirit of the Lord came vpon ^a Othniel, vpon ^b Gedeon, ^c Ieptha, ^d Samson, ^e Balaam, ^f Saule, ^g Dauid, ^h Ezechiel, ⁱ Zacharie, ^k Amasay: yea it is written, that Caleb had another spirit than all the Israelits beside: & in another place it is said, that ^l Daniel had a moze excellent spirit than anie other. So as, though the spirits, as well good as bad, are said to be giuen by number and proportion; yet the qualitie and not the quantitie of them is alwaies thereby ment and presupposed. Holdbeit I must confesse, that Christ had the spirit of God without measure,

Luke. 8.
27. 28.
Mark. 5. 9.
Luk. 8.

1. Cal. lib. in-
fir. lib. 1. cap.
14. sect. 14.

Num. 11.

Ibid. vers. 15

Acts. 16.

2. Reg. 2.

Iudg. 3. 10.

Iudg. 11. 39.

Ibid. 14. 6.

Ibid. 14. 6.

Num. 24. 2.

1. Sam. 16.

13.

1. Sam. 18.

14.

Ezec. 11. 5

2. Chr. 14.

1. Ch. 12. 18.

Numb. 14.

Dan. 5. 11.

Iohn. 3, 34.

sure, as it is written in the euangelist Iohn. But where it is said that spirits can be made tame, and at commandement, I saie to those grosse conceiuers of scripture with Salomon, who (as they falslie affirme was of all others the greatest coniuero) saith thus in expresse words; No man is lord ouer a spirit, to reiteine a spirit at his pleasure.

Eccl. 8.

Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doe extremelic contend and varie.

The xvij. Chapter.



Some hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume & take vnto 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 haue said) some affirme that they consist of fier, some thinke of aier, and some of the starres and other celestiaall powers. But if they be celestiaall, then (as Peter Martyr saith) must they follow the circular motion: and if they be elementarie, then must they follow the motions of those elements, of which their bodies consist. Of aier they cannot be: for aier is *Corpus homogenium*; so as euerie part of aier is aier, whereof there can be no distinct members made. For an organiceall bodie must haue bones, sinewes, veines, flesh, &c: which cannot be made of aier. Neither (as Peter Martyr affirmeth) can an aierie bodie receiue or haue either shape or figure. But some ascend by into the clouds, where they find (as they saie) diuerse shapes and formes euen in the aier. Vnto which objection P. Martyr answereth, saing, and that trulie, that clouds are not altogether aier, but haue a mixture of other elements mingled with them.

For euerie naturall motion is either circular or elementarie.

Certeine

Certeine popish reasons concerning spirits made of aier, of daie diuels and night diuels, and why the diuell loueth no salt in his meate.

The xvij. Chapter.

Manie affirme (vpon a fable cited by M. Mal.) that spirits are of aier, because they haue bene cut (as he saith) in sunder, and closed presentlie againe; and also because they vanish awaie so sudderlie. But of such apparitions I haue already spoken, and am shortlie to saie more; which are rather seene in the imagination of the weake and diseased, than in veritie and truth. Which sights and apparitions, as they haue bene common among the vnfaithfull; so now, since the preaching of the gospell they are most rare. And as among fainthearted people; namely, women, children, and sicke folkes, they vsuallie swarmed: so among strong bodies and good stomachs they neuer vsed to appeare; as elsewhere I haue proued: which argueth that they were onelie fantastick and imaginarie. Now saie they that imagine diuels and spirits to be made of aier, that it must needs be that they consist of that element; because otherwise when they vanish sudderlie awaie, they should leaue some earthie substance behind them. If they were of water, then should they moisten the place where they stand, and must needs be shed on the floze. If they consisted of fier, then would they burne anie thing that touched them: and yet (saie they) Abraham and Lot washed their feete, Gen. 18, 19. and were neither scalded nor burnt.

I find it not in the Bible, but in Bodin, that there are daie diuels, and night diuels. The same fellow saith, that Deber is the name of that diuell, which hurteth by night; and Cheleb is he that hurteth by daie: howbeit, he confesseth that Sathan can hurt both by daie and by night; although it be certeine (as he saith) that he can do more harme by night than by daie; producing for example, how in a night he slew the first borne of Ægypt.

P. ij.

And

*1. Bod. lib. de
dem. 3. ca. 4.*

Exod. 12. 29. And yet it appeareth plainelie in the text, that the Lord himselfe did it. Whereby it seemeth, that Bodin putteth no difference betwene God and the diuell. For further confirmation of this his foolish assertion, that diuels are more valiant by night than by daye, he alledgeeth the 104. Psalme, wherein is written, Thou makest darknesse, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest creepe forth, the lions rore, &c: when the sunne riseth, they retire, &c. So as now he maketh all beasts to be diuels, or diuels to be beasts. Oh barbarous blindness! This Bodin also saith, that the diuell loueth no salt in his meate, for that it is a signe of eternitie, and vsed by Gods commandement in all sacrifices; abusing the scriptures, which he is not ashamed to quote in that behalfe. But now I will declare how the scripture teacheth our dull capacities to conceiue what maner of thing the diuell is, by the verie names appropriated vnto him in the same.

1. Bod. lib. de
dem. 3. ca. 5.

Leuit. 1.

That such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures, haue in their names their nature and qualities expressed, with instancies thereof.

The six. Chapter.

Such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures by name, haue 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 euerie simple thing in his web, was an idol or oracle erected at Ekron, to whom Ahaziah sent to know whether he should recouer his disease: as though there had bene no God in Israel. This diuell Beelzebub was among the Iewes reputed the principall diuell. The Grecians called him Pluto, the Latines *Sumanus, quasi summum deorum manium*, the cheefe ghost or spirit of the dead whom they supposed to walke by night: although they absurdly beleued also that the soule died with the bodie. So as they did put a difference betwene

2. Reg. 13.

Matth. 10.
& 12.
Mark. 3.
Luk. 11.

twaine the ghost of a man and the soule of a man : and so do our papists ; howbeit, none otherwise, but that the soule is a ghost, when it walketh on the earth, after the dissolution of the bodie, or appeareth to anie man, either out of heauen, hell, or purgatorie, and was worshipped by Senacherib in Assyria. ^bTarcat is in English, fettered, and was the diuell or idoll of the Vites. ^cBeelphegor, otherwise called Priapus, the gaping or naked god was worshipped among the Moabits. ^dAdramelech, that is, the cloke or power of the king, was an idoll at Sepharuais, which was a citie of the Assyrians. ^eChamos, that is feeling, or departing, was worshipped among the Moabits. ^fDagon, that is, corne or grasse, was the idoll of the Philistines. ^gAstarte, that is, a fold or focke, is the name of a thee idoll at Sydonia, whom Salomon worshipped : some thinke it was Venus. ^hMelchom, that is, a king, was an idoll or diuell, which the sonnes of Ammon worshipped.

Sometimes also we find in the scriptures, that diuels and spirits take their names of wicked men, or of the houses or states of abominable persons : as Astaroth, which (as Iosephus saith) was the idoll of the Philistines, whom the Iewes toke from them at Salomons commandement, and was also worshipped of Salomon. Which though it signifie riches, flocks, &c: yet it was once a citie belonging to Og the king of Basan, where they saie the giants dwelt. In these respects Astaroth is one of the speciall diuels named in Salomons confutation, and greatlie employed by the confutors. I haue sufficientlie proued in these quotations, that these idols are *Dij gentium*, the gods of the Gentiles: and then the prophet Dauid may satisfie you, that they are diuels, who saith *Dij gentium demonia sunt*; The gods of the Gentiles are diuels. What a diuell was the rood of grace to be thought, but such a one as before is mentioned and described, who toke his name of his courteous and gracious behauiour towards his worshippers, or rather those that offered vnto him? The idolatrous knauerie wherof being now bewaied, it is among the godlie reputed a diuell rather than a god: and so are diuerse others of the same
 stamp.

^a2. Reg. 19.
^b2. Reg. 17.
^cOlé 9, 11.
 Num. 25.
^dDeut. 3, & 4.
 Iolu. 22.
^e2. Reg. 17.
^fNumb. 21.
 1. Reg. 11.
^g2. Reg. 23.
^hJudg. 16.
 1. Macc. 10.
ⁱ1. Reg. 11.
 2. Reg. 23.
^j2. Reg. 23.
 1. Chro. 20.
 Ierem. 49.
 Ioseph. lib. de
 antiquit.
 Iudaeor. 6.
 cap. 14.
 1. Sam. 7.
 2. Reg. 23.

Psal. 96.

Diuersē names of the diuell, whereby his nature
and disposition is manifested.

The xx. Chapter.

Thath also pleased **G O D** to in-
forme our weake capacities, as it were
by similitudes and examples, or rather by
comparisons, to vnderstand what man-
ner of thing the diuell is, by the verie
names appropriated and attributed vnto
him in the scriptures: wherein sometimes

^a Iob. 40.
Iob. 3.
Isai. 27.
^b Matth. 6.
Matt. 4. &c.
Marc. 16.
^c Iam. 2.
^d Matth. 4.
Iohn. 8.
Apoc. 12.
^e Apoc. 9.
^f Marc. 5.
Luce 8.
^g Eph. 2.
^h Iohn. 8. 12.
14. 16.
ⁱ Iob. 41.
^j 1. Pet. 5.
^k Iohn. 8.
^l 1. Iohn. 3.
^m Acts. 16.
ⁿ Ose. 4.
^o Psal. 34.
1. Chr. 21.
^p Prou. 17.
^q 2. Cor. 12.
^r Apoc. 9.
^s Apoc. 12.
^t Iob. 41.
^u Gen. 3.
^v Apoc. 12.
^w Isai. 27.
Isai. 13. 34.

he is called by one name, sometimes by
another, by metaphors according to his conditions, ^a Elephas
is called in Iob, Behemoth, which is, Bruta; whereby the greatnes
and brutishnes of the diuell is figured. Leuiathan is not much
different from Elephas; whereby the diuels great subtiltie and
power is shewed vnto vs. ^b Mammon is the couetous desire of
monie, therewith the diuell ouercommeth the reprobate. ^c Dæ-
mon signifieth one that is cunning or craftie. Cacodæmon is
peruerse knowing. All those which in ancient times were tooz
stypped as gods, were so called. ^d Diabolus is Calumniator, an
accuser, or a slanderer. Sathan is Aduersarius, an aduersarie,
that troubleth and molesteth. ^e Abaddon a destroyer. ^f Legio, be-
cause they are manie. ^g Prince of the aire. ^h Prince of the world.
ⁱ A king of the sonnes of pride. ^k A roving lion. ^l An homicide or
manslayer, a liar, and the father of lies. The ^m author of sinne. ⁿ A
spirit. ^o Pea sometimes he is called the spirit of the Lord, as the ere-
cutioner and minister of his displeasure, &c. Sometimes, the ^p spi-
rit of fornication, &c. And manie other like epithets or additions
are giuen him for his name. He is also called ^q the angell of the
Lord. ^r The cruell angell. The ^s angell of sathan. The ^t an-
gell of hell. The ^u great dragon, for his pride and
force. The ^v red dragon for his blouddines.

A ^w serpent. An ^x owle, a ^y kite, a
satyre, a crowe, a pellicane,
a hedgehog, a grish, a
stozke, &c.

That

That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are diuels, their diuerse names, and in what affaires their labours and authorities are employed, wherein also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discouered.

The xxj. Chapter.



As for so much as the idols of the gentiles are called diuels, and are among the vblearned confounded and intermedled with the diuels that are named in the scriptures; I thought it convenient here to giue you a note of them, to whome the Gentiles gaue names, according to the offices vnto them assigned. Penates are the domestickall gods, or rather diuels that were said to make men liue quietlie within doores. But some thinke these rather to be such, as the Gentiles thought to be set ouer kingdomes: and that Lares are such as trouble private houses, and are set to ouerseë crosse waies and cities. Laræ are said to be spirits that walke onelie by night. Genij are the two angels, which they supposed were appointed to wait vpon each man. Manes are the spirits which oppose themselues against men in the waie. Dæmones were feigned gods by poets, as Iupiter, Iuno, &c. Virunculi terrei are such as was Robin god fellowe, that would supplie the office of seruants, speciallie of maids; as to make a fier in the morning, swæpe the house, grind mustard and malt, dræwe water, &c: these also rumble in houses, dræwe latches, go by and downe staires, &c. Dij geniales are the gods that euerie man did sacrifice vnto at the daie of their birth. Tetrici be they that make folke afraid, and haue such ouglie shape, which manie of our diuines doe call Subterranei. Cobali are they that followe men, and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, tuggling, and such like toies. Virunculi are dwarfes about three handfulls long, and doe no hurt; but seeme to dig in mineralles, and to be verie busse, and yet doe nothing. Gureli or Trulli are spirits (they saie) in the likenes of women, shewing great kinde-
nesse

Psal. 96.

Iuno and
Mincrua.

Coufening
gods or
knaues.

Terra, aqua,
aer, ignis, sol
& Luna.

Hudgin of
Germanic,
and Rush
of England.

nesse to all men : & hercof it is that we call light women, frills, Dæmones montani are such as woꝝke in the mineralles, and further the woꝝke of the labourers wonderfullie, who are nothing afraid of them. Hudgin is a verie familiar diuell, which will do no bodie hurt, except he receiue iniurie : but he cannot abide that, noꝝ yet be mocked : he talketh with men iteꝛnolie, sometimes visiblie, and sometimes inuisiblie. There go as manie tales vpon this Hudgin, in some parts of Germanic, as there did in England of Robin good fellowe. But this Hudgin was so called, because he alwaies ware a cap oꝝ a hood ; and therefore I thinke it was Robin hood. Frier Rush was foꝝ all the woꝝld such another fellow as this Hudgin, and brought by enen in the same schoole ; to wit, in a kitchen : in so much as the selfe-same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skollian, which is said to haue bene slaine, &c. foꝝ the reading whereof I referre you to Frier Rush his stoꝝie, oꝝ else to Iohn Wierus *De prestigijs demonum*.

I Wier. lib.
de prestigijs dem.
I. cap. 23.

There were also Familiares dæmones, which we call familiars : such as Socrates and Cæsar were said to haue ; and such as Feats sold to doctoꝝ Burcot. Quintus Sertorius had Diana hir selfe foꝝ his familiar ; and Numa Pompilius had Aegeria : but neither the one noꝝ the other of all these could be preserued by their familiars from being destroyed with vntimelie death. Simon Samareus boasted, that he had gotten by conturation, the soule of a little child that was slaine, to be his familiar, and that he told him all things that were to come, &c. I maruell what priuilege soules haue, which are departed from the bodie, to know things to come more than the soules within mans bodie. There were spirits, which they called Albæ mulieres, and Albæ Sibyllæ, which were verie familiar, and did much harme (they saie) to women with child, and to sucking children. Deumus as a diuell is worshipped among the Indians in Calecute, who (as they thinke) hath power giuen him of God to iudge the earth, &c. his image is horrible pictured in a most ouglie shape. Theuet saith, that a diuell in America, called Agnan, beareth swate in that countrie. In Ginnie one Grigrie is accounted the great diuell, and keepeth the woods : these haue præsts called Charoibes, which prophesie, after they haue lien by the space of one houre prostrate vpon a wench

Bawdie
preests in
Ginnie.

of twelue yeares old, and all that while (saie they) he calleth by on a diuell called Houioulfira, and then commeth forth and uttereth his prophesie. For the true successe whereof the people praise all the while that he lieth groueling like a lecherous knaue. There are a thousand other names, which they saie are attributed unto diuels; and such as they take to themselues are moze ridiculous than the names that are giuen by others, which haue moze leasure to deuise them. In litle booke containing the coufening possessed, at Maidstone, where such a wonder was wrought, as also in other places, you may see a number of counterfett diuels names, and other trish trash.

Looke in
the word
(Ob)lib. 7.
cap. 3. pag.
132, 133.

Of the Romanes cheefe gods called *Dij selecti*, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.

The xxij. Chapter.

Here were among the Romans twentie idolatrous gods, which were called *Dij selecti sine electi*, chosen gods; whereof twelue were male, and eight female, whose names doe thus followe: Ianus, Saturnus, Iupiter, Genius, Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, Vulcanus, Neptunus, Sol, Orcus and Vibar, which were all hē gods: Tellus, Ceres, Iuno, Minerua, Luna, Diana, Venus, and Vesta, were all the gods. No man might appropriate anie of these vnto himselfe, but they were less common and indifferent to all men dwelling in one realme, prouince, or notable citie. These heathen gentiles had also their gods, which serued for sundrie purposes; as to raise thunder, they had Statores, Tonantes, Ferriij, and Iupiter Elicius. They had Cantius, to whome they prayed for wise children, who was moze apt for this purpose than Minerua that issued out of Iupiters owne braine. Lucina was to send them that were with child safe deliuerie, and in that respect was called the mother of childwiues. Opis was called the mother of the babe new borne, whose image women with child hanged vpon their girdles befoze their bellies, and bare it so by
the

A good god
and god-
desse for
women.

the space of nine moneths; and the midwife alwaies touched the child therewith, befoze the or any other laied hand thereon.

If the child were well borne, they sacrificed ther vnto, although the mother miscaried: but if the child were in any part vnperfect, or dead, &c: they vsed to beate the image into powder, or to burne it. Vagianus was he that kept their children from cri-

The names
of certein
heathenish
gods, and
their pecu-
liar offices.

eng, and therefore they did alwaies hang his picture about babes necks: for they thought much crieng in youth portended ill fortune in age. Cuninus, otherwise Cunius, was he that preferred (as they thought) their children from misfortune in the cradell. Ruminus was to keepe their dugs from corruption. Volumnus and his wife Volumna were gods, the one for yong men, the other for maids that desired marriage: for such as prayed deuotlie vnto them, should soone be married. Agrestis was the god of the fields, and to him they prayed for fertilitie. Bellus was the god of warre & warriors, and so also was Victoria, to whome the greatest temple in Rome was built. Honorius was he that had charge about inkēpers, that they should well intreat pilgrimes. Berecynthia was the mother of all the gods. Aesculanus was to discouer their mines of gold and siluer, and to him they prayed for good successe in that behalfe. Aesculapius was to cure the sicke, whose father was Apollo, and serued to keepe wēds out of the coine. Segacia was to make sēds to growe. Flora preferred the vines from frosts and blasts. Syluanus was to preserve them that walked in gardens. Bacchus was for drom-kards, Paur for colwēds; Meretrix for whores, to whose honour there was a temple built in Rome, in the middelt of fortie and foure streets, which were all inhabited with common harlots. Ifinallie Colatina, *alies* Clotina, was goddess of the stole, the sakes, and the priute, to whome as to euerie of the rest, there was a peculiar temple edified: besides that notable temple called Pantheon, wherein all the gods were placed to-

A verie
homelic
charge.

gether; so as euerie man and woman, according to their follies and deuotions, might go thither and worship what gods they list.

Of diuerse gods in diuerse countries.

The xxiiij. Chapter.



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 approacheth nere to these in anie kind of idolatrie.) The Aegyptians worshipped Anubis in the likeness of a dog, because he loued dogs and hunting. Beas they worshipped all liuing creatures, as namelie of beasts, a bullocke, a dog, & a cat; of slieng fowles, Ibis (which is a bird with a long bill, naturallie deuouring by venomous things and noisome serpents) and a sparrowhawk; of fishes they had two gods; to wit, Lepidotus piscis; and Oxyrinthus. The Saitans and Thebans had to their god a sheepe. In the citie Lycopolis they worshipped a wolfe; in Herinopolis, the Cynocephalus; the Leopolitans, a lion; in Latopolis, a fish in Nilus called Latus. In the citie Cynopolis they worshipped Anubis. At Babylon, besides Memphis, they made an onion their god; the Thebans an eagle; the Mændeseans, a goate; the Persians, a fier called Orimafda; the Arabians, Bacchus, Venus, and Diafa- ren; the Bæotians, Amphiarus; the Aphricans, Mopsus; the Scythians, Minerua; the Naucratis, Serapis, which is a serpent; Astartes (being as Cicero writeth the fourth Venus, who was she, as others affirme, whom Salomon worshipped at his concubines request) was the goddesse of the Assyrians. At Noricum, being a part of Bauaria, they worship Tibilenus; the Moores worship Iuba; the Macedonians, Gabirus; the Pœnians, Vranius; at Samos Iuno was their god; at Paphos, Venus; at Lemnos, Vulcan; at Naxos, Liberus; at Lampfacke, Priapus with the great genitals, who was set vp at Hellespont to be adozed. In the Ile Diomedea, Diomedes; at Delphos, Apollo; at Ephesus, Diana was worshipped. And because they would plaie small game rather

Beasts, birds, vermine, fishes, herbs and other trumperie worshipped as Gods.

Imperiall
gods and
their as-
stants.

The num-
ber of gods
among the
gentiles.

ther than sit out, they had Achatus Cyrenaicus, to keepe them from flies and sicblowes; Hercules Canopijs, to keepe them from fleas; Apollo Parnopeius, to keepe their chafes from being mouseaten. The Greeks were the first, that I can learne to haue assigned to the gods their principall kingdomes and offices: as Iupiter to rule in heauen, Pluto in hell, Neptune in the sea, &c. To these they ioined, as assistants, diuers commissioners; as to Iupiter, Saturne, Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Minerua: to Neptune, Nereus, &c. Tutilina was onelie a mediatrix to Iupiter, not to destroie corne with thunder or tempests, before whom they vsuallie lighted candels in the temple, to appease the same, according to the popish custome in these dates. But I may not repeate them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by god recozd, as Varro and others report, to the number of 30. thousand, and upward. Whereby the reasonable reader may iudge their superstitious blindnesse.

Of popish prouinciall gods, a comparison betweene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation euerie popish god is.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

NOW if I thought I could make an end in anie reasonable time, I would begin with our antichristian gods, otherwise called popish idols, which are as ranke diuels as *Dij gentium* spoken of in the psalmes: or as *Dij montium* set forth & rehearsed in the first booke of the kings; or as *Dij terrarum* or *Dij populorum* mentioned in the second of the Chronicles 32. & in the first of the Chronicles 16. or as *Dij terra* in Iudges 3. or as *Dij filiorum Seir* in the second of the Chronicles 25. or as *Dij alieni*, which are so often mentioned in the scriptures.

Surelie, there were in the popish church more of these in number, more in common, more private, more publike, more for lewd purposes, and more for no purpose, than among all the heathen, eather heretofore, or at this present time: for I dare vnder take, that

1. Reg. 20.
2. Chr. 32.
1. Chr. 16.
Iudg. 3.
2. Chr. 33.
2. Reg. 23.
&c.

that for euerie heathen idoll I might produce twentie out of the popish church. For there were proper idols of euerie nation : Popish gods of nations. as S. George on horsebacke for England (excepting whome there is said to be no more horsemen in heauen saue onelie saint Martine) S. Andrew for Burgundie and Scotland, S. Michael for France, S. James for Spaine, S. Patrike for Ireland, S. Dauid for Wales, S. Peter for Rome, and some part of Italie. Had not euerie citie in all the popes dominions his seuerall patrone? As Paule for London, Denis for Paris, Ambrose for Millen, Louen for Gaunt, Romball for Mackline, S. Marks lion for Venice, the three magician kings for Cullen, and so of other. Yea, had they not for euerie small towne, and euerie village and parish, (the names wherof I am not at leisure to repeat) a seuerall idoll: As S. Sepulchre, for one; S. Bride, for another; S. All halowes, All saints, and our Ladie for all at once: which I thought meeter to rehearse, than a bedroll of such a number as are in that predicament. Had they not hee idols and thee idols, some for men, some for women, some for beasts, and some for fowles, &c? Do you not thinke that S. Martine might be opposed to Bacchus? If S. Martine be too weake we haue S. Urbane, S. Clement, and manie other to assist him. Was Venus and Meretrix an aduocate 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 verie 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 borne; wherevnto the pope hath great respect in canonizing of his saints. For (as I haue said) he canonizeth the rich for saints, and burneth the poore for witches. But I doubt not, Magdalen, and manie other godlie women are verie saints in heauen, and should haue bene so, though the pope had neuer canonized them: but he doth them wrong, to make them the patronesses of harlots and strong strumpets.

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 patrone for ours. Our painters had Luke, our weavers had.

Parish gods
or popish
idols.

See the
golden Legend
for
the life of
S. Bridget.

These faints & these faints of the old stamp with their peculiar vertues touching the curing of discales.

had Steuen, our millers had Arnold, our tasselors had Goodman, our solters had Crispine, our potters had S. Gore with a diuell on his shoulder and a pot in his hand. Was there a better horse-leech among the gods of the Gentiles than S. Loy? Or a better sologelder than S. Anthonie? Or a better toothdrawer than S. Apolline? I beleue that Apollo Parnopeius was no better a rat-catcher than S. Gertrude, who hath the popes patent and commendation therefoze. The Thebans had not a better shepherd than S. Wendeline, nor a better gissard to keepe their geese than Gallus. But foze physicke and surgerie, our idols exceeded them all. Foze S. Iohn, and S. Valentine excelled at the falling euill, S. Roch was good at the plague, S. Petronill at the ague. As foze S. Margaret, she passed Lucina foze a midwife, and yet was but a maid: in which respect S. Marpurg is ioined with hir in commendation.

Foze mad men, and such as are possessed with diuels, S. Roman was excellent, & frater Ruffine was also prettie skilfull in that art. Foze botches and bites, Cosmus and Damian; S. Clare foze the eyes, S. Apolline foze teeth, S. Iob foze the * pox. And foze bzefts S. Agatha was as good as Ruminus. Whosoeuer serued Seruatius well, should be sure to lose nothing: if Seruatius failed in his office, S. Vinden could supplie the matter with his cunning; foze he could cause all things that were lost to be restored againe. But here laie a strawe foze a while, and I will shew you the names of some, which exceed these verie far, and might haue bene canonized foze archsaints, all the other saints or idols being in comparison of them but bunglers, and benchwhifflers. And with your leave, when all other saints had giuen over the matter, and the saints vtterlie forsaken of their seruitors, they repaired to these that I shall name vnto you, with the good content of the pope, who is the sautor, or rather the patrone of all the saints, diuels, and idols liuing or dead, and of all the gods saue one. And whereas none other saint could cure aboue one disease, in so much as it was idolatrie, follie I should haue said, to go to Iob foze anie other maladie than the pox; nothing commeth amisse to these. Foze they are good at anie thing, and neuer a whit nice of their cunning: yea greater matters are said to be in one of their powers, than is in all the other saints. And these are they: S. mo- ther

New faints.

* For the Frésh pox or the common kind of pox, or both? This would be knownc.

ther Bungie, S. mother Paine, S. Feats, S. mother Still, S. mother Dutton, S. Kytrell, S. Viriula Kempe, S. mother Newman, S. doctor Heron, S. Rosimund a good old father, & diuerse more that deserue to be registred in the popes kalender, or rather the diuels rubzike.

A comparison betweene the heathen and papists,
touding their excuses for idolatrie.

The xxv. Chapter.



And bicause I know, that the papists will saie, that their idols are saints, and no such diuels as the gods of the Gentiles were: you may tell them, that not onelie their saints, but the verie images of them were called Diui. Which though it signifie gods, and so by consequence idols or seends: yet put but an (ll) thereunto, and it is Diuill in English. But they will saie also that I do them wrong to gibe at them; bicause they were holie men and holie women. I grant some of them were so, and further from allowance of the popish idolatrie emploied vpon them, than grieued with the derision vsed against that abuse. Yea euen as siluer and gold are made idols vnto them that loue them too well, and seeke too much for them: so are these holie men and women made idols by them that worship them, and attribute vnto them such honor, as to God onelie apperteinceth.

The heathen gods were for the most part good men, and profitable members to the commonwealth wherein they liued, and deserued fame, &c: in which respect they made gods of them when they were dead; as they made diuels of such emperors and philosophers as they hated, or as had deserued ill among them. And is it not euen so, and worse, in the commonwealth and church of poperie? Doth not the pope excommunicate, curse, and condemn for heretikes, and driue to the bottomlesse pit of hell, proclaiming to be verie diuels, all those that either write, speake or thinke contrarie to his idolatrous doctrine? Cicero, when he de-

*Diuisio-
cant Gram-
matici eos
qui ex ho-
minibus di
facti sunt.*

*Cic. de natu.
deorum.*

rided the heathen gods, and inuicied against them that yelded such seruile honoz vnto them, knew the persons, vnto whom such abuse was committed, had well deserued as ciuill citizens; and that god same was due vnto them, and not diuine estimation. Psea the infidels that honozed those gods, as hoping to receiue benefits for their deuotion employed that waie, knew and conceiued that the statues and images, before whome with such reuerence they powred forth their praiers, were stockes and stones, and onelic pictures of those persons whom they resembled: yea they also knew, that the parties themselues were creatures, and could not doo so much as the papists and witchmongers thinke the Kede of grace, or mother Bungie could doo. And yet the papists can see the abuse of the Gentils, and may not heare of their stone idolatrie more grosse and damnable than the others.

The papists see a moth in the cie of others, but no beame in their owne.

The concept of the heathen and the papists all one in idolatric, of the counsell of Trent, a notable storie of a hangman arraigned after he was dead and buried, &c.

The xxvj. Chapter.

WH papists perchance will denie, that they attribute so much to these idols as I report; or that they thinke it so meritorious to praie to the images of saints as is supposed, affirming that they worship God, and the saints themselues, vnder the formes of images. Which was also the concept of the heathen, and their excuse in this behalfe; whose eyesight and insight herein reached as farre as the papisticall distinctions published by popes and their counells. Neither do any of them admit so grosse idolatrie, as the counsell of Trent hath done, who alloweth that worship to the Kede that is due to Iesus 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 Ladie, in which booke doo remaine (besides this) ninetie and eight examples to this effect: which are of such authoritie in the

The idolatrous counsell of Trent.

the church of Rome, that all scripture must giue place vnto them. And these are either read there as their speciall homilies, or preached by their chiefe doctors. And this is the sermon for this date verbatim translated out of the said Kosarie, a booke much esteemed and reuerenced among papists.

A certeine hangman passing by the image of our Ladie, say *Exempl. 4.* luted hir, commending himselfe to hir protection. Afterwards, while he prayed before hir, he was called awaie to hang an offender: but his enemies intercepted him, and slew him by the waie. And lo a certeine holie priest, which nightlie walked about euerie church in the citie, rose vp that night, and was going to his ladie, I should saie to our ladie church. And in the churchyard he saw a great manie dead men, and some of them he knew, of whome he asked what the matter was, &c. Who answered, that the hangman was slaine, and the diuell challenged his soule, the which our ladie said was his: and the iudge was euen at hand comming thither to heare the cause, & 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 iudiciall seat readie prepared and furnished, where the iudge, to wit Iesus Christ, sat, who toke vp his mother vnto him. Sone after the diuels brought in the hangman pinnioned, and proued by godd evidence, that his soule belonged to them. On the other side, our ladie pleaded for the hangman, prouing that he, at the houre of death, commended his soule to hir. The iudge hearing the matter so well debated on either side, but willing to obcie (for these are his words) his mothers desire, and loath to do the diuels anie wrong, gaue sentence, that the hangmans soule should returne to his bodie, vntill he had made sufficient satisfaction; or beining that the pope should set forth a publike forme of praier for the hangmans soule. It was demanded, who should do the arrand to the popes holines: Marie quoth our ladie, that shall ponder priest that lurketh behind the tree. The priest being called forth, and intoined to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope to take the paines to do according to this decre, asked by what token he should be directed. Then was deliuered vnto him a rose of such beautie, as when the pope saw it, he knew his message was true. And so, if they do not well, I praise God we may.

But our ladie spied him well enough: as you shall read.

The priests arse made buttons.

A confutation of the fable of the hangman, of manie other feined and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproof thereof.

The xxvij. Chapter.

Our B. la-
dies fauor.

By the tale about mentioned you see what it is to worship the image of our ladie. For though we kneele to God himselfe, and make neuer so humble petitions vnto him, without faith and repentance, it shall doe vs no pleasure at all. Yet this hangman had great friendship shewed him for one point of courtesie vsed to our ladie, hauing not one dramme of faith, repentance, nor yet of honestie in him. For the lesse, so credulous is the nature of man, as to beleue 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 beleue these totes, being so apparentlie popish: yet we credit and report other appearances, and assuming of bodies by soules and spirits; though they be as prophane, absurd, and impious as the other. We are sure the holie maide of Kents vision was a verie coufenage: but we can credit, impzint, and publish for a true possession or historice, the kinde used by a coufening varlot at Maidstone; and manie other such as that was. We thinke soules and spirits may come out of heauen or hell, and assume bodies, beleuing manie absurd tales told by the scholmen and Romish doctozs to that effect: but we discredit all the stozies that they, and as graue men as they are, tell vs vpon their knowledge and credit, of soules condemned to purgatorie, wandering for succour and release by trentals and masses said by a popish prest, &c: and yet they in probability are equall, and in number farre exceed the other.

We thinke that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fathered vpon Luther; to wit, that he knew the diuell, and was verie conuersant with him, and had eaten manie bushels of salt and made tollie god there with him; and that he was confuted in a disputation

Greg. 4. dia-
log. cap. 51.

Alexand. lib.

5. cap. 23. &

lib. 2. cap. 9.

&c.

Greg. lib. 4.

dialog. ca. 40.

idem cap. 55,

and in o-

ther places

elsewhere

innumera-

ble.

Micha. And.

thes. 151.

disputation with a reall diuell about the abolishing of priuate masse. Neither do we beleue this report, that the diuell in the likeness of a tall man, was present at a sermon openlie made by Caroloftadius; and from this sermon went to his house, and told his sonne that he would fetch him awaie after a daie or twaine: as the papists saie he did in deed, although they lie in euerie point thereof most malicioulie. But we can beleue Platina and others, when they tell vs of the appearances of pope Benedict the eight, and also the ninth; how the one rode vpon a blacke horse in the wilderness, requirring a bishop (as I remember) whom he met, that he would distribute certeine monie for him, which he had purloined of that which was giuen in almes to the poore, &c: and how the other was seene a hundred yeares after the diuell had killed him in a wood, of an heremite, in a beares skinne, and an asses head on his shoulders, &c: himselfe saieing that he appeared in such sort as he liued. And diuerse such stufte rehearseth Platina.

Alex. ab Alexand. lib. 4. genealog. diuorum. cap. 19. Plutarcb. oratione ad Apollonium. Item. Basiliens. in epi. Platina de vitis pontificum. Nauclerus. 2. generat. 3. 5.

Now because S. Ambrose writeth, that S. Anne appeared to Constance the daughter of Constantine, and to hir parents watching at hir sepulchre: and because Eusebius and Nicephorus saie, that the Pontamian virgine, Origins disciple, appeared to S. Basil, and put a crowne vpon his head, in token of the glorie of his martyrdome, which should shortly followe: and because Hierome writeth of Paules appearance; and Theodoret, of S. John the Baptist; and Achanasius, of Ammons, &c: manie do beleue the same stozies and miraculous appearances to be true. But few protestants will giue credit vnto such shamefull fables, or anie like them, when they find them written in the Legendarie, Festiuall, Kolaries of our Ladie, or anie other such popish authors. Whereby I gather, that if the protestant beleue some few lies, the papists beleue a great number. This I write, to shew the imperfection of man, how attentiu our eares are to hearken to tales. And though herein consist no great point of faith or infidelitie; yet let vs that profess the gospell take warning of papists; not to be carried awaie with euerie vaine blast of doctrine: but let vs cast awaie these prophane and old wiuces fables. And although this matter haue passed so long with generall credit and authoritie: yet manie * graue authors haue condemned

Ambros. ser. 90 de passione Agn. Euseb. lib. eccles. hist. 5. Niceph. lib. 5 cap. 7. Hieronym. in vita Pat. Theodor. lib. hist. 5. ca. 24. Athan. in vita Ansb.

** Melancthon. in Calendar. Manly. 23. April.*

*Marbach.
lib. de mira-
cul. aduersus
Inf.*

*Iohannes Ri-
nim de ve-
rer superstit.
Athan. lib.
99. que. II.
Augusti. de
cura pro
mortu. ca. 13.
Luk. 16.*

long since all those vaine visions and apparitions, except such as haue bene shewed by God, his sonne, and his angels. Adianafius saith, that soules once losed from their bodies, haue no more so- cietie with mortall men. Augustine saith, that if soules could walke and visit their friends, &c: or admonish them in sleepe, or otherwise, his mother that followed him by land and by sea would shew hir selfe to him, and reueale hir knowledge, or giue him warning, &c. But most true it is that is written in the gos- pell; We haue Moses and the prophets, who are to be hearkened vnto, and not the dead.

A confutation of Iohannes Laurentius, and of ma- nie others, mainteining these fained and ridiculous tales and apparitions, and what driueth them awaie: of Moses and Helias appearance in mount Thabor.

The xxviii. Chapter.



Furthermore, to prosecute this matter in more words; if I saie that these apparitions of soules are but knaueries and coucnages; they obiect that Moses and Helias appeared in mount Thabor, and talked with Christ, in the presence of the principall apostles: yea, and that God appeared in the bush, &c. As though spirits and soules could do what soeuer it please th the Lord to do, or ap- point to be done for his owne glorie, or for the manifestation of his sonne miraculously. And therefore I thought good to giue you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this be- halfe.

*Matth 17.
Luce. 9.*

*Iohan. Law.
lib. de natu.
demon.*

*Mich. Andr.
thes. 222. &c*

*Idem thes.
235. & 136.*

And first you shall vnderstand, that they hold, that all the soules in heauen may come downe and appeare to vs when they list, and assume anie bodie sauing their owne: otherwise (saie they) such soules should not be perfectlie happie. They saie that you may know the good soules from the bad verie easilie. For a dam- ned soule hath a verie heaue and sowre looke; but a saints soule hath a cherefull and a merrie countenance: these also are white
and

and shining, the other cole blacke. And these damned soules also maie come vp out of hell at their pleasure; although Abraham made Diues beléue the contrarie. They affirme that damned soules walke ofteneft; next vnto them the soules of purgatorie; and most seldome the soules of saints. Also they saie that in the old lawe soules did appeare seldome; and after domes daie they shall neuer be séene moze: in the time of grace they shall be most frequent. The walking of these soules (saith Michael Andr.) is a most excellent argument for the prooue of purgatorie: for (saith he) those soules haue testified that which the popes haue affirmed in that behalfe; to wit, that there is not onelie such a place of punishment, but that they are released from thence by masses, and such other satisfactorie woꝝks; whereby the godnes of the masse is also ratified and confirmed.

These heauenlie or purgatorie soules (saie they) appeare most commonlie to them that are bozne vpon ember daies, and they also walke most vsuallie on those ember daies: because we are in best state at that time to praie for the one, and to keepe company with the other. Also they saie, that soules appeare ofteneft by night; because men may then be at best leasure, and most quiet. Also they neuer appeare to the whole multitude, seldome to a few, and most commonlie to one alone: for so one may tell a lie without controlment. Also they are ofteneft séene by them that are readie to die: as Trasilla saue pope Foelix; Vrsine, Peter and Paule; Galla Romana, S. Peter; and as Mula the maid saue our Ladie: which are the most certeine appearances, credited and allowed in the church of Rome: also they may be séene of some, and of some other in that presence not séene at all; as Vrsine saue Peter and Paule, and yet manie at that instant being present could not see anie such sight, but thought it a lie: as I do. Michael Andræus confesseth, that papists see moze visions than protestants: he saith also, that a good soule can take none other shape than of a man; marie a damned soule may and doth take the shape of a blacke moze, or of a beast, or of a serpent, or speciellie of an heretike. The christian signes that driue awaie these euill soules, are the crosse, the name of Iesus, and the reliques of saints: in the number whereof are holiwater, holie bread,

Agnes Dei, &c. For Andrew saith, that notwithstanding Iulianus was

Idem thes.
226.
Tb. Ag. 1. pa.
que. 89. ar. 8.

Gregor. in
dial. 4.

Mich. And.
thes. 313.
316. 317.

Idem thes.
346.
Leo serm. de
ieiuim. 10.
mens.

Gelas. in epi-
stola ad episc.

Mich. Andr.
thes. 345.

Greg. dial. 4.
cap. 1. 12. 14.

Mich. And.
thes. 347.

Greg. dial. 4.
cap. 11.
Mich. And.
thes. 347.

Mich. And.
thes. 341.
Ide. thes. 388.

Ide. thes. 411.
Mal. malef.
I. Bod. &c.
Mich. And.
thes. 412.

Idem. thef.
414.

an Apostata, and a betrayer of christian religion: yet at an extremitie, with the onelie signe of the crosse, he vvaue awaie from him manie such euill spirits; whereby also (he saith) the greatest diseases and sicknesses are cured, and the sorest dangers auoided.

A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced Eue.

The xxix. Chapter.

They that contend so earnestlie for the diuels assuming of bodies and visible shapes, do thinke they haue a great advantage by the words bitered in the third of Genesis, where they saie, the diuell entered into a serpent or snake: and that by the curse it appeareth, that the whole displeasure of God lighted vpon the poore snake onlie. How those words are to be considered may appeare, in that it is of purpose so spoken, as our weake capacities may thereby best conceiue 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 wouderfullie informeth our vnderstanding; though it seeme contrarie to the spirituall course of spirits and diuels; and also to the nature and diuinitie of God himselfe; who is infinite, and whome no man euer saue with corporall eyes, and liued. And doubtles, if the serpent there had not bene taken absolutelie, nor metaphoricallie for the diuell, the Holie-ghost would haue informed vs thereof in some part of that storie. But to affirme it sometimes to be a diuell, and sometimes a snake; whereas there is no such distinction to be found or scene in the text, is an inuention and a fetch (me thinks) beyond the compasse of all diuinitie. Certainlie the serpent was he that seduced Eue: now whether it were the diuell, or a snake; let anie wise man (or rather let the word of God) iudge. Doubtles the scripture in manie places expoundeth it to be the diuell. And I haue (I am sure) one wise man on my side for

Gen. 3. 14.
15.

Gen. 3. 1.
1, Cor. 11. 3.

for the interpretation hereof, namely Salomon; who saith, Though enuie of the diuell came death into the world: referring that to the diuell, which Moses in the letter did to the serpent. But a better expofitor hereof needeth not, than the text it selfe, euen in the same place, where it is written; I will put enmitie betwene thee and the woman, and betwene thy seed and hir seed: he shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruse his heele. What christian knoweth not, that in these words the mysterie of our redemption is comprised and promised: Wherein is not meant (as many suppose) that the common seed of woman shall tread vpon a snakes head, and so breake it in peeces, &c: but that speciall seed, which is Christ, should be borne of a woman, to the utter overthrow of sathan, and to the redemption of mankind, whose heele or flesh in his members the diuell should bruse and assault, with continuall attempts, and carnall prouocations, &c.

The obiection concerning the diuels assuming
of the serpents bodie answered.

The xxx. Chapter.



This word Serpent in holie scripture is taken for the diuell: The serpent was more subtil than all the beasts of the field. It likewise signifieth such as be euill speakers, such as haue slandering tongues, also heretiks, &c: They haue sharpened their tongues like serpents. It dooth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of Christ: As Moses lifted vp the serpent in the wilderness, so must the sonne of man be lifted vp upon the crosse. Moreover, it is taken for wicked men: Oye serpents and generation of vipers. Whereby also is signified as well a wise as a subtle man: and in that sense did Christ himselfe vse it; saing, Be ye wise as serpents, &c. So that by this bréfe collection you see, that the word serpent, as it is equiuocall, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the god and sometimes in the euill part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceit: me thinks

Gen. 3, 1.

Psal. 139, 4.

Num. 8. & 9.

Iohn. 3, 14.

Matt. 23, 33.

Matt. 10, 16.

*I. Cal. in Ge-
nes. cap. 3. 1.*

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the allegorie. True it is Caluines opinion is to be liked and reuerenced, and his example to be embraced and followed, in that he offereth to subscribe to them that hold, that the Holie-ghost in that place did of purpose vse obscure figures, that the cleare light thereof might be deferred, till Christs comming. He saith also with like commendation (speaking hereof, and writing vpon this place) that Moses doth accommodate and fitten so: the vnderstanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there deliuereth; forbearing once to rehearse the name of Satan. And further he saith, that this order may not be thought of Moses his owne deuise; but to be taught him by the spirit of God: for such was (saith he) in those daies the childish age of the church, which was vnable to receiue higher or profounder doctrine. Finally, he saith euen here vpon, that the Lord hath supplied, with the secret light of his spirit, whatsoeuer wanted in plainenes and clearenes of eternall words.

If it be said, according to experience, that certeine other beasts are farre more subtil 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 (we thinke) than need be granted in that behalfe. *Mat. 10. 16.* For Christ saith not; Be ye wise as serpents were before their transgression: but, Be wise as serpents are. I would learne what impietie, absurditie, or offense it is to hold, that Moses, vnder the person of the poisoning serpent or snake, describeth the diuell that poisoned Eue with his deceitfull words, and venomous assault. Whence commeth it else, that the diuell is called so often, *The viper, The serpent, &c.* and that his children are called the generation of vipers; but vpon this first description of the diuell made by Moses? For I thinke none so grosse, as to suppose, that the wicked are the children of snakes, according to the letter; no more than we are to thinke and gather, that God keepeth a booke of life, written with penne and inke vpon paper; as citizens record their free men.

Isai. 30. 6.

March 3.

12. 13.

Luk. 3. &c.

Gen. 3.

Of the curſſe rehearſed Gen. 3. and that place right-
lie expounded, Iohn Caluines opinion of the diuell.

The xxxj. Chapter.



THe curſſe rehearſed by God in
that place, whereby witchmongers la-
bour ſo buſilie to proue that the diuell en-
tered into the bodie of a ſnake, and by
conſequence can take the bodie of anie
other creature at his pleaſure, &c. reacheth
(I thinke) further into the diuels matters,
than we can comprehend, or is needfull
for vs to know, that vnderſtand not the waies of the diuels creé-
ping, and is farre vnlikelie to extend to plague the generation
of ſnakes: as though they had béene made with legs befoze
that time, and through this curſſe were deſtroyed of that benefit.
And yet, if the diuell ſhould haue entred into the ſnake, in maner
and forme as they ſuppoſe; I cannot ſee in what degré of ſinne
the poze ſnake ſhould be ſo guiltie, as that God, who is the moſt
righteous iudge, might be offended with him. But although I
abhorre that lewd interpretation of the familie of loue, and ſuch
other heretikes, as would reduce the whole Bible into allegories:
yet (me thinkes) the creéping there is rather metaphoricallie or
ſignificatiuelie ſpoken, than literallie; euen by that figure, which
is there proſecuted to the end. Wherein the diuell is reſembled to
an odious creature, who as he creépeth vpon vs to annoie our bo-
dies; ſo doth the diuell there creépe into the conſcience of Eue, to
abufe and deceiue hir: whoſe ſeed neuertheles ſhall tread downe
and diſſolue his power and malice. And through him, all god
chriſtians (as Caluine ſaith) obteine power to do the like. For we
may not imagine ſuch a materiall tragedie, as there is deſcribed,
for the eaſe of our feeble and weake capacities.

Familie of
loue.

1. Cal. lib. in-
ſtit. 1. cap. 14.
ſect. 18.

For whenſoeuer we find in the ſcriptures, that the diuell
is called, god, the prince of the world, a ſtrong armed man,
to whom is giuen the power of the aier, a rozing lion, a ſer-
pent, &c: the Holie-ghoſt moued vs thereby, to beware of the
moſt ſubtil, ſtrong and mightie enimie, and to make prepara-
tion,

*I. Cal. li. inf.
1. cap. 14. sect.
13.*

tion, and arme our selues with faith against so terrible an aduer-
sarie, And this is the opinion and counsell of Caluine, that we see-
ing our owne weakenes, & his force manifested in such termes,
may beware of the diuell, and may flie to God for spirituall aid
and comfort. And as for his corporal assaults, or his attempts
vpon our bodies, his nightwalkings, his visible appearings, his
dancing with witches, &c: we are neither warned in the scrip-
tures of them, nor willed by God or his prophets to flie them; nei-
ther is there any mention made of them in the scriptures. And
therefore thinke I those witchmongers and absurd writers to be
as grosse on the one side, as the Sadduces are impious and fond
on the other; which saie, that spirits and diuels are onlie motions
and affections, and that angels are but tokens of Gods power.
I for my part confesse with Augustine, that these matters are
aboue my reach and capacitie: and yet so farre as Gods word
teacheth me, I will not sticke to saie, that they are liuing crea-
tures, ordeined to serue the Lord in their vocation. And although
they abode not in their first estate, yet that they are the Lords
ministers, and executioners of his wrath, to trie and tempt in
this world, and to punish the reprobate in hell fier in the world to
come.

*Aug. de ciuita
pro mort. &c.*

Mine owne opinion and resolution of the nature of
spirits, and of the diuell, with his properties.

The xxxij. Chapter.

*P. Mars. in
loc. com. 9.
sect. 14.*

^a 1. Sam. 22.
Luk. 8.
Iohn. 8.
Eph. 6.
1. Tim. 2.
1. Pet. 5.
^b Coloss. 1.
verse. 16.



Ut to vse few words in a long
matter, and plaine termes in a doubtfull
case, this is mine opinion concerning
this present argument. First, that diuels
are spirits, and no bodies. For (as Peter
Martyr saith) spirits and bodies are by
antithesis opposed one to another: so as
a bodie is no spirit, nor a spirit a bodie.
And that the diuell, whether he be manie or one (for by the waie
you shall vnderstand, that he is so spoken of in the scriptures, as
though there were but ^a one, and sometimes as though ^b one
were

were manie legions, the sense whereof I haue already declared according to Caluins opinion, he is a creature made by God, and that for vengeance, as it is written in Eccl. 39. verse. 28: and of himselfe naught, though employed by God to necessarie and good purposes. For in places, where it is written, that all the creatures of God are good; and againe, when God, in the creation of the world, sawe all that he had made was good: the diuell is not comprehended within those words of commendation. For it is written that he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him; but when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his owne, as being a liar, and the father of lies, and (as Iohn saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was his creation (so farre as I can find) in that weeke that God made man, and those other creatures mentioned in Genesis the first; and yet God created him purposelie to destroye. I take his substance to be such as no man can by learning define, nor by wisdom search out. M. Deering saith, that Paule himselfe, reckoning by principalities, powers, &c: addeth, Curie name that is named in this world, or in the world to come. A cleere sentence (saith he) of Paules modestie, in confessing a holie ignorance of the state of angels: which name is also giuen to diuels in other places of the scripture. His essence also and his forme is so proper and peculiar (in mine opinion) vnto himselfe, as he himselfe cannot alter it, but must needs be content therewith, as with that which God hath ordeined for him, and assigned vnto him, as peculiaritie as he hath giuen to vs our substance without power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that a spirit can make a bodie, more than a bodie can make a spirit: the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Nevertheless, I learne that their nature is prone to all mischief: for as the verie signification of an enimie and an accuser is wrapped vp in Sathan and Diabolus; so doth Christ himselfe declare him to be in the thirtenth of Matthew. And therefore he broketh well his name: for he lieth daile in wait, not onelie to corrupt, but also to destroye mankind; being (I saie) the verie tormentor appointed by God to afflict the wicked in this world with wicked temptations, and in the world to come with hell fier. But I may not here forget how M. Mal. and the residue of that crew do

1. Cor. 10.
 Math. 8,
 & 10.
 Luke. 4.
 Sap. 1.
 Apocal. 4.
 1. Tim. 4. 4
 Gen. 1.

Gen. 8. 44.

1. Ioh. 3. 8.
 Iai. 54. 16.

Edw. Deering, in his
 read, vpon
 the Hebr. I.
 reading
 the 6.

Eph. 6, 12.
 Col. 2, 16.
 Math. 25.

1. Pet. 5.

Idem ibid.

Mat. 25. 41.

Mal. malef.
 par. 1. que. 5.

pound

The ety-
mon of the
word *Di-*
bolus,

pound this word Diabolus: for Dia (saie they) is Duo, and Bolus is Morcellus; whereby they gather that the diuell eateth by a man both bodie and soule at two morcellles. Whereas in trusty the wicked may be said to eate by and swallowe downe the diuell, rather than the diuell to eate by them; though it may well be said by a figure, that the diuell like a rozing lion seeketh whome he may deuoure: which is ment of the soule and spirituall deuouring, as verie nouices in religion may iudge.

Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions
concerning corporall diuels.

The xxxij. Chapter.

NOw, hobo Brian Darcies he spirits and the spirits, Littie and Liffin, Suckin and Wiggin, Liard and Kobin, &c: his white spirits and blacke spirits, graie spirits and red spirits, diuell tode and diuell lambe, diuels cat and diuels dam, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of GOD, or true philosophie, let heauen and earth iudge. In the meane time, let anie man with good consideration peruse that booke published by W. W. and it shall suffice to satisfie him in all that may be required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions: where, though the tale be told onlie of the accusers part, without anie other answer of theirs than their aduersarie setteth downe; mine assertion will be sufficientlie proued true. And because it seemeth to be perfozmed with some kind of authoritie, I will saie no more for the confutation thereof, but referre you to the booke it selfe; whereto if nothing be added that may make to their reach, I dare warrant nothing is left out that may serue to their condemnation. See whether the witnesses be not single of what credit, sex and age they are; namelie lewd, miserable, and enuious poore people; most of them which speake to anie purpose being old women, & children of the age of 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. or 9. yeares.

And note how and what the witches confesse, and see of what weight and importance the causes are; whether their confessions be

The booke
of W. W.
published,
&c.

be not wonne through hope of fauour, and excozted by flatterie
or threats, without profe. But in so much as there were not pass
seuenteene or eightene condemned at once at S. Ofces in the
countie of Essex, being a whole parish (though of no great quanti-
tie) I will saie the lesse: trusting that by this time there remaine
not manie in that parish. If anie be yet behind, I doubt not, but
Brian Darcie will find them out; who, if he lacke aid, Richard
Gallis of Windesore were meete to be associated with him; which
Gallis hath set forth another booke to that effect, of certeine wit-
ches of Windfore executed at Abington. But with what impu-
dencie and dishonestie he hath finished it, with what lies and for-
geries he hath furnished it, what follie and frensie he hath vtte-
red in it; I am ashamed to reposit: and therefore being but a two
pennie booke, I had rather desire you to buie it, and so to peruse
it, than to fill my booke with such beastlie stufte.

At S. Ofces
17. or 18.
witches con-
demned at
once.

A conclusion wherein the Spirit of spirits is described,
by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tri-
ed: with a confutation of the Pneumatomachi flatlie de-
nieng the diuinitie of this Spirit.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.



Duching the manifold significati-
on of this word [Spirit] I haue elsewhere
in this bzeefe discourse told you my mind:
which is a word nothing differing in He-
bzeue from bzeath or wind. For all these
words following; to wit, *Spiritus, Ventus,*
Flams, Halitus, are indifferently used by

the Holie-ghost, and called by this Hebzue
word רִיחַ in the sacred scripture. For further profe where-
of I cite vnto you the words of Ihaie; For his spirit (or bzeath) Iſai. 30, 28.
is as a riuer that ouerfloweth vnto the necke, &c: in which place
the prophet describeth the comming of God in heate and indig-
nation vnto iudgement, &c. I cite also vnto you the words of
Zacharie; These are the foure spirits of the heauen, &c. Likewise Zach. 6, 5.
in Genesis; And the spirit of G O D moued vpon the waters. Gen. 1, 2.
Moreover, I cite vnto you the words of Chriſt; The spirit (or Ioh. 3, 8.
wind)

wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said places infinite moze might be added out of holie writ, tending all to this purpose; namelye, to giue vs this fo: a note, that all the sayings a- boue cited, with manie moze that I could alledge, where menti- on is made of spirit, the Hebzue text vseth no word but one; to wit, רוח which significth (as I said) *spiritum, ventum, flatum, ha- litum*; which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

But before I enter vpon the verie point of my purpose, if I shall not be amisse, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certeine Schoole diuine, who distinguisheth and diuideth this word [Spirit] into six significations; sayeng that it is some- times taken fo: the aier, sometimes fo: the wind, sometimes fo: the bodies of the blessed, sometimes fo: the soules of the blessed, sometimes fo: the powler imaginatiue o: the mind of man; and sometimes fo: God. Againe he saith, that of spirits there are two so:ts, some created and some vncreated.

A spirit vncreated (saith he) is God himselte, and it is essenti- allie taken, and agreeth vnto the thre: persons notionallie, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost personallie. A spirit created is a creature, and that is likewise of two so:ts; to wit, bodilie, and bodiless. A bodilie spirit is also of two so:ts: fo: some kind of spirit is so named of spiritualnes, as it is distinguis- shed from bodilinesse: otherwise it is called *spiritus á spirando, id est, á stando*, of breathing o: blowing, as the wind doeth.

A bodiless spirit is one wate so named of spiritualnes, and then it is taken fo: a spirituall substance; and is of two so:ts: some make a full and complet kind, and is called complet o: per- fect, as a spirit angelicall: some do not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incomplet o: vnperfect, as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certeine subtile o: verie fine sub- stance necessarilie disposing and tending vnto life. There be mozeouer spirits naturall, which are a kind of subtile and verie fine substances, disposing and tending vnto equall complexions of bodies. Againe there be spirits animall, which are certeine sub- tile and verie fine substances disposing and tempering the bodie, that it might be animated of the forme, that is, that it might be perfected of the reasonable soule. Thus farre he. In whose diuision you see a philosophicall kind of proceeding, though not altogether
to

*Eras. Sar-
cer. in distio.
Scholast.
doctr. lit. S.*

to be condemned, yet in euerie point not to be approued.

Now to the spirit of spirits, I meane the principall and holie spirit of God, which one defineth or rather describeth to be the third person in trinitie issuing from the father and the sonne, no more the charitie dilection and loue of the father and the sonne, than the father is the charitie dilection and loue of the sonne and Holie-ghost. An other treating vpon the same argument, proceedeth in this reuerent manner: The holie spirit is the vertue or powder of God, quickening, nourishing, fostering and perfecting all things: by whose onlie breathing it commeth to passe that we both know and loue G O D, and become at the length like vnto him: which spirit is the pledge and earnest pennie of grace, and beareth witness vnto our heart, whiles wee crie Abba, Father. This spirit is called the spirit of G O D, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of him which raised by Iesus from the dead.

Erasm. Sar. in lib. loc. & lit. predictis.

Lastent. & Villanicensis in phrasib. script. lit. S. pag. 176.

Rom. 8, 15. 2. Cor. 6, 5.

Iesus Christ, for that he receiued not the spirit by measure, but in fulnesse, doth call it his spirit; saing: When the comforter shall come, whom I will send, euen the holie spirit, he shall testify of me. This spirit hath diuerse metaphoricall names attributed therevnto in the holie scriptures. It is called by the name of water, because it washeth, comforteth, moisteneth, softeneth, and maketh fruitfull with all godlinesse and vertues the minds of men, which otherwise would be vncleane, comfortlesse, hard, drie, and barren of all godnesse: wher vpon the prophet Isaie saith; I will poyse water vpon the thirstie, and floods vpon the drie ground, &c. Wherewithall the words of Christ doe agree; Hee that belieueth in me, as saith the scripture, out of his bellie shall flowe riuers of waters of life. And else where; Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shall neuer be more a thirst. Other places likewise there be, wherein the holie spirit is signified by the name of water and flood: as in the 13. of Isaie, the 29. of Ezech. the 146. Psalme, &c. The same spirit by reason of the force and vehemencie thereof is termed fier. For it doth purifie and cleanse the whole man from top to toe, it doth burne out the soile and dross of sinnes, and setteth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeale to preferre and further Gods glorie. Which plainelie appeared in the apostles, who when they had re-

Iohn. 15, 26.

Isai. 44.

Iohn. 7, 38.

Iohn. 4, 14.

Ier. 23. 29.

ceived the spirit, they spake fierie words, yea such words as were uncontrollable, in so much as in none more than in them this saying of the prophet Ieremie was verified, *Nunquid non verba mea sunt quasi ignis?* Are not my words euen as it were fier? This was declared and shewed by those fierie tongues, which were saide vpon the apostles after they had receiued the holie spirit.

1. Ioh. 2. 20.

Moreouer, this spirit is called anointing, or ointment, by cause that as in old time priests and kings were by anointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and seruicable for the same: euen so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training by of the holie spirit, both to liue well and also to glorifie God. Wherevpon dependeth the saying of Ioh. n; And yee haue no need that anie should teach you, but as the same ointment doth teach you. It is also called in scripture, The oile of gladnesse and reioysing, whereof it is said in the booke of Psalmes; God euen thy God hath anointed thee with the oile of ioy & gladnesse, &c. And by this goodlie and comfortable name of oile in the scriptures is the mercie of God oftentimes expresse d, because the nature of that doth agree with the propertie and qualitie of this. For as oile doth stote and swim aboute all other liquors, so the mercie of God doth surpasse and ouerreach all his works, and the same doth most of all disclose it selfe to miserable man.

Psal. 44.

Cyrrill. in e-
uang. Ioh. lib.
3. cap. 14.

Exod. 8.

It is like wise called the finger of God, that is, the might and powler of God: by the vertue whereof the apostles did cast out diuels; to wit, euen by the finger of God. It is called the spirit of truth, because it maketh men true and faithfull in their vocation: and for that it is the touchstone to trie all counterfet deuisies of mans bryaine, and all vaine sciences, prophane practises, deceitfull arts, and circumuentioning inuentiones; such as be in generall all sorts of witchcrafts and enchantments, within whose number are comprehended all those wherewith I haue had some dealing in this my discouerie; to wit, charmes or incantations, diuinations, augurie, iudiciall astrologie, natiuitie casting, alchymystric, coniuuration, lotshare, poperic which is meere paltrie, with diuerse other: not one wherof no nor all together are able to stand to the triall and examination, which this spirit of truth shall and will take of those false and euill spirits. For aie, they shalbe found, when they

they are laid into the balance, to be lighter than vanitie: verie drossle, when they once come to be tried by the seruent heate of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth vpon them, diuen awaie with a violent whirlewind: such is the perfection, integritie, and effectuall operation of this spirit, whose working as it is manifold, so it is maruellous, and therefore may and is called the spirit of spirits.

This spirit withdrawing it selfe from the harts of men, so that it will not inhabit and dwell where sinne hath dominion, giueth place vnto the spirit of erroꝝ and blindnesse, to the spirit of seruitude and compunction, which biteth, gnaweth, and wettereth their harts with a deadie hate of the gospel; in so much as it graeueth their minds and irketh their eares either to heare or vnderstand the truth; of which disease properlie the phariseis of old were, and the papists euen now are sicke. Yea, the want of this good spirit is the cause that manie fall into the spirit of peruerse-nes and frowardnes, into the spirit of giddinesse, lieng, drowzines, and dulnesse: according as the prophet Isaie saith; For the Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slumber, and hath shut vp your eyes: and againe else where, *Dominus miscuit in medio, &c.* The Lord hath mingled among them the spirit of giddinesse, and hath made Aegypt to erre, as a drunken man erreth in his vomit: as it is said by Paule; And their foolish hart was blinded, and God gaue them ouer vnto their owne harts lusts. Which punishment Moses threateneth vnto the Iewes; The Lord shall smite thee with madnesse, with blindnesse and amazednesse of mind, and thou shalt grope at high none as a blind man vseth to grope, &c.

In summe, this word [Spirit] dooth signifie a secret foze and power, wherewith our minds are moued and directed; if vnto holie things, then is it the motion of the holie spirit, of the spirit of Christ and of God; if vnto euill things, then is it the suggestion of the wicked spirit, of the diuell, and of satan. Wherevpon I inferre, by the waie of a question, with what spirit we are to suppose such to be moued, as either practise anie of the vanities treated vpon in this booke, or through credulitie addit themselves therevnto as vnto diuine oracles, or the voice of angels beakeing through the clouds: We cannot impute this motion vnto

The holie spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and vn-cleane.

Isai. 29, 10.
Isai. 19, 14.

Ro. 1, 21, 23.

Deuter. 28,
28, 29.

A question,

An answer.

the good spirit; for then they should be able to discern betwene the nature of spirits, and not swaue in iudgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindness and error doth seduce them; so that it is no meruell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadows for substances, fancies for verities, &c: for it is likelie that the good spirit of God hath forsaken them, or at leastwise absented it selfe from them: else would they detest these diuinely deuises of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vaine practises, whereof (I suppose) this my booke to be a sufficient discouerie.

Iudgement
distingui-
shed.

It will be said that I ought not to iudge, for he that iudgeth shall be iudged. Whereto I answer, that iudgement is to be vnderstood of three kind of actions in their proper nature; whereof the first are secret, and the iudgement of them shall appertaine to God, who in time will disclose what so euer is done in couert, and that by his iust iudgement. The second are mixed actions, taking part of hidden and part of open, so that by reason of their vncerteintie and doubtfulness they are discussable and to be tried; these after due examination are to haue their competent iudgement, and are incident to the magistrate. The third are manifest and euident, and such as doe no lesse apparentlie shew themselves than an inflammation of blood in the bodie: and of these actions euerie priuate man giueth iudgement, because they be of such certeintie, as that of them a man may as well conclude, as to gather, that because the sunne is risen in the east, Ergo it is morning: he is come about and is full south, Ergo it is high none; he is declining and closing vp in the west, Ergo it is euening. So that the obiection is answered.

Howbeit, letting this passe, and spirituallie to speake of this spirit, which whiles manie haue wanted, it hath come to passe that they haue proued altogether carnall; & not saouring heauenlie diuinitie haue tumbled into worse than philosophicall barbarisme: & these be such as of writers are called Pneumatomachi, a sect so iniurious to the holie spirit of God, that condemning the sentence of Christ, wherein he forgetteth that the sinne against the holie spirit is neuer to be pardoned, neither in this world nor in the world to come, they doe not onelie denie him to be God, but also pull from him all being, and with the Sadduces main-
teine

^a Iohannes Sim-
derus li. 4. ca.
3. aduersus
veteres &
notos Anti-
arimarios,
&c.

feine there is none such; but that vnder and by the name of holie spirit is ment a certaine diuine force, wherewith our minds are moued, and the grace and fauour of God whereby we are his beloued. Against these shamelesse enemies of the holie spirit, I will not vse materiall weapons, but syllogisticall charmes. And first I will set downe some of their paralogysmes or false arguments; and vpon the necke of them inferre fit confutations grounded vpon sound reason and certaine truth.

Their first argument is knit ty in this manner. The holie spirit is no where expresselie called God in the scriptures; Ergo he is not God, or at leastwise he is not to be called God. The antecedent of this argument is false; because the holie spirit hath the title or name of God in the fist of the Acts. Againe, the consequent is false. For although he were not expresselie called God, yet should it not ther vpon be concluded that he is not verie God; because vnto him are attributed all the properties of God, which vnto this doe equallie belong. And as we denie not that the father is the true light, although it be not directlie written of the father, but of the sonne; He was the true light giuing light to euerie man that cometh into this world: so likewise it is not to be denied, that the spirit is God, although the scripture doth not expresselie and simplie note it; sithence it ascribeth equall things there vnto; as the properties of God, the works of God, the seruice due to God, and that it doth interchangeablie take the names of Spirit and of God oftentimes. They therefore that see these things attributed vnto the holie spirit, and yet will not suffer him to be called by the name of God; doe as it were refuse to grant vnto Eue the name of *Homo*, whome notwithstanding they confesse to be a creature reasonable and mortall.

The second reason is this. Hilarie in all his twelue booke of the Trinitie doth no where write that the holie spirit is to be worshipped; he neuer giueth ther vnto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are vsuall praiers of the church commonlie called the Collects, whereof some are made to the father, some to the sonne, but none to the holie spirit; and yet in them all mention is made of the three persons. * Herevnto I answer, that although Hilarie doth not openlie call the holie spirit, God;

1. Obiectio.
The scripture doth neuer call the holie spirit God.

* The first answer.
A refutation of the antecedent, &c.

2. Obiectio.
Hilarie doth not call the spirit God, neither is he so named in the common collects.

* The 2. answer.

R. iij.

yet

Hilarius lib.
12. de Triade

The place
is long, and
therefore
I had rather
referre the
reader vnto
the booke
than heere
to insert so
many lines.

Colleta in die
domin. sanc-
te Trinit.

yet doth he constantly denie it to be a creature. Now if any aske me why Hilarie was so coie & nice to name the holie spirit, God, whom he denieth to be a creature, when as notwithstanding he twéene God and a creature there is no meane: I will in god sooth saie what I thinke. I suppose that Hilarie, for himselfe, thought well of the godhead of the holie spirit: but this opinion was thrust and forced vpon him of the Pneumatomachi, who at that time rightlie déeming of the sonne did erthiles toine them selues to those that were found of iudgement. There is also fir the ecclesiasticall historie a little booke which they gaue Liberius a bishop of Rome, whereinto they foisted the Nicene creed. And that Hilarie was a frénd of the Pneumatomachi, it is persecuted in his booke *De synodis*, where he writeth in this maner; *Nihil autem mirum vobis videri debet, fratres charissimi, &c.* It ought to seeme no wonder vnto you déere brethren, &c. As for the obiection of the praiers of the church called the collects, that in them the holie spirit is not called vpon by name: we oppose and set against them the songs of the church, wherein the said spirit is called vpon. But the collects are more ancient than the songs, hymnes, and anthems. I will not now contend about ancientnesse, neither will I compare songs and collects together; but I say thus much onelie, to wit, that in the most ancient times of the church the holie spirit hath béene openlie called vpon in the congregati on. Now if I be charged to giue an instance, let this serue. In the collect vpon trinitie sundate it is thus said: Almighty and euerlasting God, which hast giuen vnto vs thy seruants grace by the confession of a truth to acknowledge the glorie of the eternall trinitie, and in the powler of the diuine Paierie to worship the vnitie: we beseech thee that thorough the stedfastnesse of this faith, we may euermore be defende from all aduersitie, which liuest and reignest one God world without end. Now because that in this collect, where the trinitie is expresselie called vpon, the names of persons are not expresse; but almighty and euerlasting God inuocated, who abideth in trinitie and vnitie; it doth easilie appeare elsewhere also that the persons being not named, vnder the name of almighty and euerlasting God, not onelie the father to be vnderstood, but God which abideth in trinitie and vnitie, that is the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost.

A third obiection of theirs is this. The sonne of G D D oftentimes praieing in the gospels, speaketh vnto the father, promiseth the holie spirit, and doth also admonish the apostles to praie vnto the heauenlie father, but yet in the name of the sonne. Besides that, he prescribeth them this forme of praier: Our father which art in heauen. Ergo the father onlie is to be called vpon, and consequentlie the father onelic is that one and verie true God, of whom it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onelic shalt thou serue.

* Where to I answer first by denieng the consequent; The sonne praied to the father onelic, Ergo the father onlie is of vs also to be praied vnto. For the sonne of G D D is distinguished of vs both in person and in office: he as a mediator maketh intercession for vs to the father: and although the sonne and the holie spirit do both together receiue and take vs into fauour with God; yet is he said to intreat the father for vs; because the father is the fountaine of all counsels & diuine works. Furthermore, touching the forme of praieing prescribed of Christ, it is not necessarie that the fathers name shuld personallie be there taken, sith there is no distinction of persons made: but by the name of father indefinitely we vnderstand God or the essence of God, the father, the son, and the Holie-ghost. For this name hath not alwaies a respect vnto 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 sonne of God, in whom we be adopted: but yet so adopted, that not the father onelic receiveth vs into his fauour; but with him also the sonne and the holy spirit doth the same. Therefore when we in the beginning of praier do aduertise our selues of Gods godnesse towards vs; we do not cast an eye to the father alone, but also to the sonne, who gaue vs the spirit of adoption; and to the holie spirit, in whom we crye Abba, Father. And if so be that inuocation and praier were restrained to the father alone, then had the saints done amisse, in calling vpon, inuocating, and praieing to the sonne of God, and with the sonne the holy spirit, in baptisme, according to the forme by Christ himselfe assigned and deliuered.

Another obiection is out of the fourth of Amos, in this maner. For so it is I that make the thunder, and create the spirit, and

A r. iij.

Iheto

3. Obiectio.

The spirit is not to be praied vnto but the father onlie.

* 3. Answer.

The consequent is denied.

4. Obiectio.

Amos saith

that the spi-
rit was cre-
ated.

* 4. Answer.
Spirit in
this place
signifieth
wind.

To create is
not him to
be made
that was
not.

Euseb. Cesa-
riensis. li. 3. ad-
uersus Mar-
cellum.

shew vnto men their Christ, making the light and the clouds, and mounting above the hie places of the earth, the Lord God of hostis is his name. Now bicause it is read in that place, Shewing vnto men their Christ; the Pneumatomachi contended that these woords are to be vnderstood of the holie spirit.

But Ambrose in his booke *De spiritu sancto, lib. 2. cap. 7.* doth rightlie answer, that by spirit in this place is ment the wind: for if the prophets purpose and will had beene to speake of the holie spirit, he would not haue begunne with thunder, nor haue ended with light and clouds. Howbeit, the same father saith; If anie suppose that these woords are to be drawne vnto the interpretation of the holie spirit, bicause the prophet saith, Shewing vnto men their Christ; he ought also to draw these woords vnto the misterie of the Lords incarnation: and he expoundeth thunder to be the woords of the Lord, and spirit to be the reasonable and perfect soule. But the former interpretation is certeine and conuenient with the woords of the prophet, by whom there is no mention made of Christ; but the power of God is set forth in his woorks. Behold (saith the prophet) he that formeth the mountaines, and createth the wind, and declareth vnto man what is his thought, which maketh the morning darknesse, and walketh vpon the hie places of the earth, the Lord God of hostis is his name. In this sort Santes a right skillfull man in the Hebrew tong tranlateth this place of the prophet. But admit this place were writen of the holie spirit, & were not appliable either to the wind or to the Lords incarnation: yet doth it not follow that the holie spirit is a creature; bicause this woord of Creating doth not alwaies signifie a making of something out of nothing; as Eusebius in expounding these woords (The Lord created me in the beginning of his waies) writeth thus. The prophet in the person of God, saing; Behold I am he that made the thunder, and created the spirit, and shewed vnto men their Christ: this woord Created is not so to be taken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, sithence by the same he hath shewed & declared his Christ vnto all men. Neither was it a thing of late beginning vnder 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

fi om heaven, as it had béene the comming of a mightie wind : this word Created being vlsed foꝛ sent downe, foꝛ appointed, oꝛ deined, &c: and the word thunder signifieng in another kind of maner the preaching of the gospels. The like saieing is that of the Psalmist, A cleane hart create in me **D** God: wherein he prayed not as one hauing no hart, but as one that had such a hart as needed purifieng, as needed perfecting: & this phrase also of the scripture, That he might create two in one new man; that is, that he might ioine, couple, oꝛ gather together, &c.

Furthermore, the Pneumatomachi by these testimontes insuing endeuoꝛ to pꝛoue the holie spirit to be a creature. Out of John the 1. chap. By this word were all things made, and with out it nothing was made. Out of 1. Cor. 8. Wee haue one God the father, euen he from whome are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Iesus Christ, through whome are all things, and we by him. Out of the 1. Coloss. By him were all things made, things in heauen, and things in earth, visibie and inuisibie, &c. Now if all things were made by the sonne, it followeth that by him the holie spirit was also made.

* Whereto I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that same vniuersall proposition is restrained by John himselfe to a certeine kind of things: Without him (saith the euangelist) was nothing made that was made. Therefore it is first to be shewed that the holie spirit was made, and then will we conclude out of John, that if he were made, he was made of the sonne. The scripture doth no where saie that the holie spirit was made of the father oꝛ of the sonne, but to proceed, to come, and to be sent from them both. Now if these vniuersall propositions are to suffer no restraint, it shall follow that the father was made of the sonne: than the which what is moze absurd and wicked:

Againe, they object out of Matth. 11: None knoweth the sonne but the father, and none the father but the sonne; to wit, of and by himselfe: foꝛ other wise both the angels, & to whomsoever else it shall please the sonne to reueale the father, these doe know both the father and the sonne. Now if so be the spirit be not equall with the father and the sonne in knowledge, he is not onelie vnequall and lesser than they, but also no God: foꝛ ignorance is not incident.

5. Obiectio.
All things were made by the son, Ergo the spirit was also made by him.

* 5. Answer.
Vniuersall Propositions or speeches are to be restrained.

6. Obiectio.
The spirit knoweth not the father & the sonne.

incident vnto God.

* 6. Answer.
How ex-
clusiue pro-
positions or
speeches
are to be
interpre-
ted.

* Whereto I answer, that where in holie scripture we doe meeete with vniuersall propositions negatiue or exclusiue, 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 whatsoeuer else is without or beside the essence and being of God. Reasons to proue and confirme this interpretation, I could bring verie manie, whereof I will adde some for example. In the seauenth of Iohn it is said; When Christ shall come, none shall knowe from whence he is: notwithstanding which words the Iewes thought that neither God nor his angels should be ignorant from whence Christ should be. In the fourth to the Galathians; A mans couenant or testament confirmed with authoritie no bodie doth abrogate, or adde anie thing therevnto. No iust man doth so; but tyrants and truce-breakers care not for couenants. In Iohn eight; Iesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the middell. 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 auaie euerie one, and departed. In the first of Marke; When it was euening, the ship was in the middell of the sea, and he alone vpon land: he was not alone vpon land or thore, for the same was not vtterlie void of dwellers: but he had not anie of his disciples with him, nor anie bodie to carrie him a shipboard vnto his disciples. Manie phrases or formes of speeches like vnto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures, and in authors both Greeke and Latine, whereby we vnderstand, that neither vniuersall negatiue nor exclusiue particles are straitlie to be vsed, but to be explained in such sort as the matter in hand will beare. When as therefore the sonne alone is said to knowe the father, and it is demanded whether the holie spirit is debarred from knowinge the father; out of other places of scriptures iudgment is to be giuen in this case. In some places the holie spirit is counted and reckoned with the father and the sonne iointlie; wherefore he is not to be separated. Else where also it is attributed to the holie spirit that he alone doth knowe the things which be of God, and searcheth the deepe secrets of God: wherefore from him the knowinge of God is not to be excluded.

They

They do yet further object, that it is not conuenient or fit for God after the manner of suters to humble and cast downe himselfe: but the holie spirit dooth so, praeseng and intreating for vs with vnspeakeable grones; Rom. 8. *Ergo* the holie spirit is not God.

7. Objectio.
The spirit
praiech for
vs.

* Wherefo I answer that the holie spirit dooth praie and intreat, in so much as he prouoketh vs to praie, and maketh vs to grone and sigh. Oftentimes also in the scriptures is that action or deed attributed vnto God, which we being stirred by and moued by him do bring to passe. So it is said of God vnto Abraham; Now I know that thou fearest God: and yet before he would haue sacrificed Isaac, God knew the verie heart of Abraham: and therefore this word *Cognoui*, I know, is as much as *Cognoscere feci*, I haue made or cauled to know. And that the spirit to praie and intreat, is the same that, to make to praie and intreat, the apostle teacheth euen there, writing that we haue receiued the spirit of adoption, in whome we crie Abba Father. Where it is manifest that it is we which crie, the Holie-ghost prouoking and forcing vs therevnto.

7. Answer,
The spirit
dooth pro-
uoke vs to
praie.

Howbeit they go further, and frante this reason. Whosoever is sent, the same is inferiour and lesser than he of whome he is sent, and furthermore he is of a comprehensible substance, because he passeth by locall motion from place to place: but the holie spirit is sent of the father and the sonne, John. 14, 15, & 16. It is powred forth and shed vpon men, Acts. 10. *Ergo* the holie spirit is lesser than the Father and the Sonne, and of a comprehensible nature, and consequentlie not verie God.

8. Objectio.
The spirit
is sent from
the father
and the son.

* Wherefo I answer first, that he which is sent is not alwaies lesser than he that sendeth: to proue which position anie manie wit may inferre manie instances. Furthermore, touching the sending of the holie spirit, we are here to imagine no changing or shifting of place. For if the spirit when he goeth forth from the father and is sent, changeth his place, then must the father also be in a place, that he may leaue it and go to another. And as for the incomprehensible nature of the spirit, he cannot leauing his place passe vnto another. Therefore the sending of the spirit is the eternall and vnuariable will of God, to do something by the holie spirit; and the reuealing and executing of this will by the

8. Answer.
How the
spirit is
sent.

operati

operation and working of the spirit. The spirit was sent to the apostles; which spirit was present with them, sith it is present euery where: but then according to the will of God the father hee shewed himselfe present and powerfull.

Some man may saie; If sending be a reuealing and laing open of presence and power, then may the father be said to be sent, because he himselfe is also reuealed. I answer, that when the spirit is said to be sent, not onlie the reuealing, but the order also of his reuealing is declared; because the will of the father and of the sonne, of whom he is sent, going before, not in time, but in order of persons, the spirit doth reueale himselfe, the father, and also the sonne. The father reuealeth himselfe by others, the sonne and the holie spirit, so that his will goeth before. Therefore sending is the common worke of all the three persons; howbeit, for order of doing, it is distinguished by diuerse names. The father will reueale himselfe vnto men with the sonne and the spirit, and be powerfull in them, and therefore is said to send. The sonne and the spirit doe assent vnto the will of the father, and will that to be done by themselves, which God will to be done by them; these are said to be sent. And because the will of the sonne doth go before the spirit in order of persons, he is also said to send the spirit.

9. Obiectio.
The spirit
speakech
not of him-
selfe.

¶ Yet for all this they allege, that if the spirit had perfection, then would he speake of himselfe, and not stand in need alwaies of anothers admonishment; but he speaketh not of himselfe, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expresselie testifieth Iohn. 16. Ergo he is vnperfect, and whatsoeuer he hath it is by partaking, and consequentlie he is not God.

* The 9. an-
swer.
Cyrill lib. 13.
de sacra. cap. 3

¶ Whereto I answer, that this argument is false: for it was objected by heretikes long ago against them that held the true opinion, as Cyrill saith; who answereth, that by the words of Christ is rather to be gathered, that the son and the spirit are of the same substance. For, the spirit is named the mind of Christ, 1. Cor. 2, and therefore he speaketh not of his owne proper will, or against his will in whom and from whom he is; but hath all his will and working naturallie proceeding from the substance as it were of him.

10. Obiec-
tion,

¶ Lastly they argue thus: Cuerie thing is either vnbegotten or vnbodne, or begotten and created; the spirit is not vnbegotten, for

for then he were the father; & so there should be two without be-
ginning: neither is he begotten, for then he is begotten of the
father, and so there shall be two sonnes, both brothers; or he is
begotten of the sonne, 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 diuision or distribution is vnper-^{10. Anf.}
fect: for that member is omitted which is noted of the verie best
diuine that euer was, euen Iesus Christ our sauiour; namelie,
to haue proceeded, or proceeding: That same holie spirit (saith he)
which proceedeth from the father. Which place Nazanzen doth
thus interpret. The spirit, because he proceedeth from thence, is
not a creature: and because he is not begotten, he is not the son;
but because he is the meane of begotten and vnbegotten, he shall
be God, &c.

And thus hauing auoided all these cauls of the * Pneumato-
machi, a sect of heretikes too iniurious to the holie spirit, inso-
much as they seeke what they can, to rob and pull from him the
right of his diuinitie; I will all Christians to take heed of their
pestilent opinions, the poison whereof though to them that be re-
solved in the truth it can do little hurt, yet to such as stand vpon
a waivering point it can do no great good. Hauing thus far wa-
ded against them, and ouerthrowne their opinions; I must needs
exhort all to whom the reading hereof shall come, that first they
consider with themselues what a reuerend mysterie all that he-
therto hath bene said in this chapter concerneth; namelie, the spi-
rit of sanctification, and that they so ponder places to and fro, as
that they reserue vnto the holie spirit the glorious title of diuini-
tie, which by nature is to him appropiate: esteeming of these
Pneumatomachi or Theomachi, as of swine, delighting more in
the durtie drasse of their deuises, than in the faire fountaine wa-
ter of Gods word: yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance
than the old philosophers, who though they sauoured little of hea-
uenlie theologie, yet some illumination they had of the holie and
diuine spirit, marrie it was somewhat mistie, darke, lame and
limping; neuerthelesse, what it was, and how much or little soe-
uer it was, they gaue thereunto a due reuerence, in that they ac-
knowledged and intituled it *Animam mundi*, The soule or life of
the world, and (as Nazanzen witnesseth) τὸν τῆς παρ' ἑσῶν νοῦν, The
mind

* Such were
the Arians,
Tritheists,
Samosate-
nians, &c.

*Sus magis in-
cerno gaudere
quam fonte
Ieremo.*

The heth-
enish philo-
sophers ac-
knowledg-
ed the ho-
lie spirit.

*Cyrril. lib. 1.
contra Iu-
lianum.*

mind of the vniuersall, and the outward breath, or the breath that commeth from without. Porphyrie expounding the opinion of Plato, who was not vtterlie blind in this mysterie, saith that the diuine substance doth proceed and extend to threë subsistencies and beings: and that God is chieflie and principallie god, next him the second creator, and the third to be the soule of the world: for he holdeth that the diuinitie doth extend euen to this soule. As for Hermes Trimegistus, he saith that all things haue need of this spirit: for according to his worthinesse he supporteth all, he quickeneth and susseineth all, and he is deriued from the holie fountaine, giuing breath and life vnto all, and euermore remaineth continuall, plentifull, and vnemptied.

*Marfilus Fi-
cinus in arg.
in Crayh.
Plat.*

And here by the waie I giue you a note worth reading and considering; namelie, how all nations in a manner, by a kind of heauenlie influence, agree in writing and speaking the name of God with no more than foure letters. As for example, the Egyptians do call him Theut, the Persians call him Syre, the Iewes expresse his vnspeakable name as well as they can by the word Adonai consisting of foure bowels; the Arabians call him Alla, the Mahometists call him Abdi, the Greekes call him Theos, the Latines call him Deus, &c. This, although it be not so proper to our present purpose, yet (because we are in hand with the holie spirits deitie) is not altogether impertinent. But why **G D D** would haue his name as it were vniuersallie bounded within the number of foure letters, I can giue sundrie reasons, which require too long a discourse of words by digression: and therefore I will conceale them for this time. These opinions of philosophers I haue willingly remembred, that it might appeare, that the doctrine concerning the holie spirit is verie ancient; which they hauing taken either out of Moses writings, or out of the works of the old fathers, published and set forth in booke, though not wholly, fullie, and perfectlie vnderstood and knowne: and also that our Pneumatomachi may see themselves to be more dolish in diuine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essentiall and working power of the diuinitie whereby all things are quickened: which the heathen did after a sort see; after a sort (I saie) because they separated the soule of the world (which they also call the begotten mind) from the most soueraigne and vnbegotten

gotten God, and imagined certaine differences of degrees, and (as Cyrill saith) did Arrianize in the trinitie.

So then I conclude against these Pneumatomachi, that in so much as they imitate the old giants, who piling by Pelion vpon Ossa, and them both vpon Olympus, attempted by scaling the heauens to pull Iupiter out of his throne of estate, & to spoile him of his principlitie, and were notwithstanding their strength, whereby they were able to carrie huge hilles on their shoulders, ouerwhelmed with those mountaines, and squized under the weight of them euen to the death: so these Pneumatomachi, being enemies both to the holie spirit, and no friends to the holie church (for then would they confesse the trinitie in vnitie, and the vnitie in trinitie, and consequentlie also the deitie of the holie spirit) deserue to be consumed with the fier of his mouth, the heate whereof by no meanes can be slaked, quenched, or auoided. For there is nothing more vnnatural, nothing more monstrous, than against the person of the deitie (I meane the spirit of sanctification) to oppose mans power, mans wit, mans policie, &c: which was well signified by that poetickall fiction of the giants, who were termed *Anguipedes*, Snakefooted: which as Ioadimus Camerarius expoundeth of wicked counsellors, to whose filthie perswasion tyrants doo trust as vnto their fate; and James Sadoler interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting ouer much vnto their owne wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisdom, that in fine all turneth to follie and confusion: so I expound of heretikes and schismatikes, who either by corrupt doctrine, or by mainteining precise opinions, or by open violence, &c: assaie to ouerthrow the true religion, to breake the vnitie of the church, to denie Caesar his homage, and **G D D** his dutie, &c: and therefore let *Iouis fulmen*, wherewith they were slaine, assure these that there is *Diuina vltio* due to all such, as dare in the sicklenes of their faulces arreare themselves against the holie spirit; of whom sith they are ashamed here vpon earth (otherwise they would confidentlie and boldlie confesse him both with mouth and pen) he will be ashamed of them in heauen, where they are like to be so farre from hauing anie societie with the saints, that their portion shalbe euen in full and shaken measure with miscreants and infidels. And therefore let vs,

*Ouid lib. me-
tamorph. 1.
fab. 5. de gi-
gantis. ca-
sum obsident.*

*Jacob. Sadol.
in lib. de
laud. philo-
soph. inscrip-
Phedrus.*

if we will discern and trie the spirits whether they be of God or no, seeke for the illumination of this inlightning spirit, which as it bringeth light with it to discover all spirits, so it giueth such a fierie heat, as that no false spirit can abide by it for feare of burning. Whobey the holie spirit must be in vs, other wise this prerogative of trieng spirits will not fall to our lot.

*Peter Mart.
in loc. com.
part. 2. cap.
18. sect. 33.
pag. 628.*

But here some will peradventure moue a demand, and doe aske how the holie spirit is in vs, considering that *Infiniti ad finitum nulla est proportio, neque loci angustia quod immensum est potest circumscribi*: of that which is infinite, to that which is finite there is no proportion; neither can that which is vntmeasurable be limited or bounded within anie pectinct of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent father for Christs sake sendeth him vnto vs, according as Christ promised vs in the person of his apostles; The comforter (saith he) which is the holie spirit, whome my father will send in my name. And as for proportion of that which is infinite to that which is finite, &c: I will in no case haue it thought, that the holie spirit is in vs, as a bodie placed in a place terminable; but to attribute there vnto, as due belongeth to the deitie, an vbiqutie, or vniuersall presence; nor corpozallie and palpable; but effectualtie, mightlie, mysticallie, diuinelie, &c. Yea, and this

*John. 16. 14.
& 14. 16.*

I may boldlie adde, that Christ Iesus sendeth him vnto vs from the father: neither is he giuen vs for anie other end, but to enrich vs abundantlie with all god gfts and excellent graces; and (among the rest) with the discerning of spirits aright, that we be not deceiued. And here an end.

F J N J S.

The summe of euerie chapter contained in the sixteene bookes of this discouerie, with the discourse of diuels and spirits annexed thereto.

¶ The first Booke.

Although the power in meteors and elementarie bodies, tending to the rebuke of such as attribute too much vnto them. pag. 1.
The inconuenience growing by mens creditie herein, with a reproofe of some churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceiued opinion of witches omnipotencie, and a familiar example thereof. pag. 4.

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that moueth men so commonlie to thinke, & witches themselues to beleue that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations: and of wolsing witches. pag. 7.

What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets. pag. 9.

Confutation of the common conceiued 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. 11.

A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by inuincible reasons and authorities, with disquisitions from such fond creditie. pag. 12.

By what meanes the name of witches becometh so famous, & how diuerslie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions. pa. 14.

Causes that moue as well witches themselues as others to thinke that they can worke impossibilities, with answers to certeine obiections:

where also their punishment by law is touched. pag. 16.

A conclusion of the first booke, wherein is foreshewed the tyrannicall crueltie of witchmongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same. pag. 17.

¶ The second Booke.

What testimonies and witnessneses are allowed to giue euidence against reputed witches, by the report and allowance of the inquisitors themselues, & such as are speciall writers herein. pag. 19.

The order of examination of witches by the inquisitors. pag. 20.

Matters of euidence against witches. pag. 22.

Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned. pag. 24.

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned. pag. 25.

Particular interrogatories vsed by the inquisitors against witches. pa. 27.

The inquisitors trial of sleeping by coniuration. pag. 29.

Certeine cautions against witches, and of their tortures to procure confession. pag. 29.

The 15. crimes laid to the charge of witches, by witchmongers, speciallie by Bodin, in Demonomania. 32.

A refutation of the former surmised crimes patched together by Bodin, and the onelie waie to escape the inquisitors hands. pag. 34.

The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading

The Contents.

- for a poore woman accused of witchcraft, and how he conuicted the inquittores. pag.35.
- What the feare of death and feeling of tormentes may force one to do, and that it is no maruell though witches condemne themselves by their owne confessions so tyrannicallie extorted. pag.37.
- ¶ The third Booke.
- T**he witches bargaine with the diuell, according to H. Wal. Bodin, Spider, Dancus, Pselus, Eraslus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartholomeus Spireus, &c. pag.40.
- The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquittores and pœnith witchmongers) to the diuell in person; of their songs and dances, and nameite of Aa botta, and of other ceremonies, also of their exorcises. pag.41.
- How witches are summoned to appeere before the diuell, of their riding in the aire, of their accounts, of their conference with the diuell, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell and sacrifices: according to Daneus, Pselus, &c. p.43.
- That there can no real league be made with the diuell the first authoz of the league, and the weake proofes of the aduerfaries for the same. pag.44.
- Of the private league, a notable tale of Bodins concerning a French ladie, with a confutation. pag.46.
- A disproofe of their assemblies, and of their bargaine. pag.47.
- A confutation of the obiection concerning witches confessions. pag.49.
- What follie it were for witches to enter into such desperate perill, and to endure such intollerable tortures for no gaine or commoditie, and how it comes to passe that witches are overthowne by their confessions. 51.
- How melancholie abuseth old women, and of the effects thereof by sundrie examples. pag.52.
- That voluntarie confessions may be vtruie made, to the bndowing of the confessores, and of the strange operation of melancholie, pꝛoued by a familiar and late example. pag.55.
- The strange and diuers effects of melancholie, and how the same humoz abounding in witches, or rather old women, filleth them full of meruelous imaginations; that their confessions are not to be credited. p.57.
- A confutation of witches confessions, especiallie concerning their league. pag. 59.
- A confutation of witches confessions, concerning making of tempests and raine: of the naturall cause of raine, and that witches or diuels haue no power to do such things. pag.60.
- What would ensue, if witches confessions or witchmongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witchcraft, inchantments, &c. pag.63.
- Examples of foren nations, who in their warres vsed the assistance of witches; of cbiting witches in Ireland, of two archers that shot with familiars. pag.64.
- Authozities condemning the fantastical confessions of witches, and how a popish doctoz taketh vpon him to disproue the same. pag.65.
- Witchmongers reasons, to pꝛoue that witches can woꝛke wonders, Bodins tale of a Friseland pꝛest transported, that imaginations proceeding of melancholie do cause illusions. pag.67.
- That the confession of witches is insufficient in ciuill and common law to take awaie life. What the sounder diuines, and decrees of councils determine in this case. pag.68.
- Of foure capitall crimes objected against witches, all fullie answered & confuted as friuolous. pag.70.

The Contents.

A request to such readers as loath to
heare or read filthy & bawdie mat-
ters (Which of necessitie are here to
be inserted) to passe ouer eight chap-
ters. pag.72.

¶ The fourth Booke.

Of witchmongers opinions
concerning euill spirits, how they
frame themselves in moze excellent
sort than God made vs. pag.73.

Of bawdie Incubus and Succubus,
and whether the action of venere
may be performed betwixene wit-
ches and diuels, and when witches
first peided to Incubus. pag.74.

Of the diuels visible and invisible dea-
ling with witches in the waie of le-
cherie. pag.76.

That the power of generation is both
outwardie and inwardie impea-
ched by witches, and of diuers that
had their genitals taken from them
by witches, and by the same means
again restored. pag.77.

Of bishop Syluanus his lecherie o-
pened & couered againe, how maids
hauing yellow haire are most com-
bzed with Incubus, how married
men are bewitched to vse other
mens woues, and to refuse their
owne. pag.79.

How to procure the dissolving of be-
witched loue, also to enforce a man
(how proper so euer he be) to loue an
oid hag: and of a bawdie tricke of a
priest in Gelderland. pag.80.

Of diuers saints and holie persons,
which were exceeding bawdie and
lecherous, and by certeine miracu-
lous meanes became chaste. pag.81.

Certeine popish and magicall cures,
for them that are bewitched in their
vniuites. pag.82.

A strange cure done to one that was
molested with Incubus. pag.83.

Confutation of all the former follies
touching Incubus, which by exam-

ples and proses of like stufte is
shewed to be flat knauerie, wherein
the carnall copulation with spirits
is ouerthrowne. pag.85.

That Incubus is a naturall disease,
with remedies for the same, besides
magicall cures herewithall expre-
sed. pag.86.

The censure of G. Chaucer, vpon the
knauerie of Incubus. pag.88.

¶ The fift Booke.

Of transformations, ridicu-
lous examples brought by the ad-
uerfaries for the confirmation of
their foolish doctrine. pag.89.

Absurd reasons brought by Wodin, &
such others, for confirmation of
transformations. pag.93.

Of a man turned into an asse, and re-
turned againe into a man by one of
Wodins witches: S. Augustines
opinion thereof. cap.94.

A summariie of the former fable, with a
refutation thereof, after due exami-
nation of the same. pag.97.

That the bodie of a man cannot be
turned into the bodie of a beast by a
witch, is proued by strong reasons,
scriptures, and authorities. pag.99.

The witchmongers obiections con-
cerning Nabuchadnez-zar answer-
red, & their error concerning Ly-
canthozia confuted. pag.101.

A speciall obiection answered concer-
ning transpizations, with the con-
sent of diuers writers therevpon.
pag. 103.

The witchmongers obiection concer-
ning the historie of Job answered.
pag. 105.

What seuerall sortes of witches are
mentioned in the scriptures, & how
the word witch is there applied.
pag. 109.

¶ The sixth Booke.

The exposition of this Hebrue
word Chalaph, wherein is answer-
ed

The Contents.

- red the obiection contained in Exodus 22. to wit: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to liue, and of Simon Magus. Acts 8. pag. 111.
- 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 vnto them. pag. 113.
- That women haue bled poisoning in all ages more than men, & of the inconuenience of poisoning. pag. 116.
- Of diuers poisoning practises, otherwise called beneficia, committed in Italie, Genua, Millen, Wittenberge, also how they were discouered and executed. pag. 119.
- A great obiection answered concerning this kind of witchcraft called Beneficium. pag. 120.
- In what kind of confectiōs that witchcraft, which is called Beneficium, consisteth: of loue cups, and the same confuted by poets. pag. 121.
- It is proued by more credible writers, that loue cups rather ingender death through venom, than loue by art: and with what toies they destroie cattell, and procure loue. p. 123.
- John Bodin triumphing against I. wier is ouertaken with false grieke & false interpretation thereof. p. 125.
- ¶ The seventh Booke.
- Of the Hebrew word Ob, what it signifieth where it is found, of Pythonistes called Ventriloque, who they be, & what their practises are, experience and examples thereof shewed. pag. 126.
- How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whome she was examined; and that all hir diabolicall speech was but ventriloque and plaine counsellage, which is proued by hir owne confession. pag. 130.
- Bodins stufte concerning the Pythonist of Endor, with a true storie of a counterfeit Dutchman. pag. 132.
- Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythonist, and how men of all sorts haue bene deceived, and that euen the apostles haue mistaken the nature of spirits, with an vniuersible argument, that spirits can take no shapes. pag. 133.
- Why Apollo was called Python where of those witches were called Pythonists: Gregorie his letter to the diuell. pag. 136.
- Apollo, who was called Python, compared to the King of grace: Gregories letter to the diuell cofuted. p. 137.
- How diuerse great clarkes and god authoers haue bene abused in this matter of spirits through false reports, and by means of their credulitie haue published lies, which are confuted by Aristotile and the scriptures. pag. 138.
- Of the witch of Endor, and whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel trulie, or by deceipt: the opinion of some diuines hereupon. p. 139.
- That Samuel was not raised indeed, and how Bodin and all papists dote herein, and that soules cannot be raised by witchcraft. pag. 140.
- That neither the diuell nor Samuel was raised, but that it was a mere counsellage, according to the guise of our Pythonists. pag. 142.
- The obiection of the witchmongers concerning this place fullie answered, and what circumstances are to be considered for the vnderstanding of this storie, which is plainlie opened from the beginning of the 28. chapt. of the 1. Samuel, to the 12. verse. pag. 143.
- The 12. 13. & 14. verses of 1. Sam. 28. expounded: wherein is shewed that Hauie was counsell'd and abused by the witch, & that Samuel was not raised, is proued by the witchs owne

The Contents.

- owne talke. pag. 146.
The residue of 1. Sam. 28. expounded :
 wherein is declared how cunninglie
 this witch brought Saule resolute
 to beleue that she raised Samu-
 el, what words are vsed to colour
 the couisage, & how all might also
 be wrought by ventriloquie. p. 148.
Opinions of some learned men, that
 Samuel was indeed raised, not by
 the witches art or power, but by the
 speciall miracle of God, that there
 are no such visions in these our
 daies, and that our witches cannot
 do the like. pag. 151.
Of vaine apparitions, how people haue
 bene brought to feare bugs, which
 is partie reformed by preaching of
 the gospel, the true effect of Chasties
 miracles. pag. 152.
Witches miracles compared to Christs,
 that God is the creator of all things,
 of Apollo, and of his names and por-
 traiture. pag. 154.

¶ The eight Booke.

- T**hat miracles are ceased. 156.
 That the gift of prophesie is ce-
 sed. pag. 158.
That Oracles are ceased. pag. 160.
A tale written by manie graue au-
 thors, and beleued by manie wise
 men of the diuels death. In other
 storie written by papists, and bele-
 ued of all catholikes, approving the
 diuels honestie, conscience, and cour-
 tesie. pag. 162.
The iudgments of the ancient fathers
 touching oracles, and their abolish-
 ment, and that they be now transfer-
 red from Delphos to Rome. p. 164.
Where and wherein couisers, wit-
 ches, and priests were wont to giue
 oracles, and to worke their feats.
 pag. 165.

¶ The ninth Booke.

- T**he Hebrue word Kasam ex-
 pounded, and how farre a Chyt-

- rian may coniecture of things to
 come. pag. 167.
Protes by the old and new testament,
 that certaine obseruations of the
 weather are lawfull. pag. 168.
That certeine obseruations are indis-
 ferent, certeine ridiculous, and cer-
 teine impious, whence that cunning
 is deriued of Apollo, and of Tru-
 pices. pag. 169.
The predictions of soothsaiers & iew
 priests, the prognostications of a-
 stronomers and physicians allow-
 able, diuine prophesies hoie and
 god. pag. 171.
The diuersitie of true prophets, of A-
 rin, and of the propheticall vse of the
 twelue pretious stones contained
 therein, of the diuine voice called
 Echo. pag. 172.
Of prophesies conditionall : wherof
 the prophesies in the old testament
 be intreat, and by whom they were
 published; witchmongers answers
 to the obiections against witches su-
 pernaturall actions. pag. 173.
What were the miracles expressed in
 the old testament, and what are they
 in the new testament : and that we
 are not now to looke for anie moze
 miracles. pag. 175.

¶ The tenth Booke.

- T**he interpretation of the He-
 brue word Onen, of the vanitie of
 dreames, and diuinations thereon.
 pag. 177.
Of diuine, naturall, & casuall dreames,
 with the differing causes and ef-
 fects. pag. 178.
The opinion of diuers old writers
 touching dreames, and how they bar-
 rie in noting the causes therof. p. 179.
Against interpreters of dreames, of
 the ordinarie cause of dreames, He-
 mingius his opinion of diabolical
 dreames, the interpretation of
 dreames ceased. pag. 180.
That

The Contents.

- T**hat neither *witches*, nor any other, can either by *words* or *herbs*, thrust into the mind of a sleeping-man, *what cogitations* or *dreames* they list; and whence *magickall dreames* come. pag. 181.
- H**ow men have beene bewitched, *consecrated* or *abused* by *dreames* to dig and search for *monie*. pag. 182.
- T**he art & order to be used in digging for *monie*, revealed by *dreames*, how to procure pleasant *dreames*, of *morning* and *midnight dreames*. p. 183.
- S**undry receipts & ointments, made and used for the transportation of *witches*, and other *miraculous effects*: an instance thereof reported and credited by some that are learned. pag. 184.
- A** consultation of the former *foolies*, as well concerning ointments, *dreams*, &c. as also of the assemble of *witches*, and of their consultations and bankets at sundrie places, and all in *dreames*. pag. 185.
- T**hat most part of *prophecies* in the old testament were revealed in *dreams*, that we are not now to looke for such *revelations*, of some who have dreamt of that which hath come to passe, that *dreames* prove *contrarie*, *Nabuchadnezzars* rule to know a true expozitor of *dreames*. pag. 187.
- ¶ The eleventh Booke.
- T**he *Hebriue* word *Nabas* expounded, of the art of *augurie*, who invented it, how *slowlie* a science it is: the multitude of *sacrifices* and *sacrificers* of the *heathen*, and the causes thereof. pag. 189.
- O**f the *Jewes* sacrifice to *Holoch*, a discourse thereupon, and of *Purgatorie*. pag. 190.
- T**he *Canibals* *crueltie*, of *popish* sacrifices exceeding in *tyrannie* the *Jewes* or *Gentiles*. pag. 191.
- T**he *superstition* of the *heathen* about the element of *fire*, and how it grew in such reuerence among them, of their *corruptions*, and that they had some *inkling* of the *godlie fathers* doings in that behalf. pag. 191.
- O**f the *Romane* sacrifices, of the estimation they had of *augurie*, of the lawe of the *twelve tables*. pag. 192.
- C**olleges of *augurors*, their office, their number, the signification of *augurie*, that the *practisers* of that art were *consecrers*, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparil, their *superstition*. pag. 193.
- T**he times and seasons to exercise *augurie*, the maner and order thereof, of the ceremonies thereunto belonging. pag. 195.
- U**pon what signes and tokens *augurors* did prognosticate, observations touching the inward and outward parts of *beasts*, with notes of *beasts* behaviour in the slaughterhouse. pag. 196.
- A** consultation of *augurie*, Plato his reuerend opinion thereof, of *contrarie* cients, & false predictions. p. 196.
- T**he *consecring* art of *sozniege* or *lotarie*, practised especially by *Aegyptian* *vagabonds*, of allowed lots, of *Pythagoras* his lot, &c. pag. 197.
- O**f the *Cabaisticall* art, consisting of traditions and *unwritten verities* learned without booke, and of the division thereof. cap. 198.
- W**hen, how, and in what sort sacrifices were first ordained, and how they were *prophaned*, and how the pope corrupteth the sacraments of *Christ*. pag. 200.
- O**f the *obiects* whereupon the *augurors* used to prognosticate, with certaine cautions and notes. pag. 201.
- T**he division of *augurie*, persons admissible into the colleges of *augurie*, of their *superstition*. pag. 202.
- O**f the common peoples fond and *superstitious* collections and observations. pag. 203.
- How

The Contents.

How old writers varie about the matter, the maner, and the meanes, whereby things augurificall are inuocid. pag.205.

How ridiculous an art augurie is, how Cato mocked it, Aristotles reason against it, fond collections of augurors, who allowed, and who disallowed it. pag.206.

Fond distinctions of the heathen writers, concerning augurie. pag.208.

Of naturall and casuall augurie, the one allowed, and the other disallowed. pag.208.

A confutation of casuall augurie which is more witchcraft, and vpon what vncerteintie those diuinations are grounded. pag.209.

That figure-casters are witches, the vncerteintie of their art, and of their contradictions, Cornelius Agrippas sentence against iudiciall astrologie. pag.210.

The subtiltie of astrologers to maintaine the credit of their art, why they remaine in credit, certeine impieties contained in astrologers assertions. pag. 212.

Who haue power to driue awaie diuels with their onlie presence, who shall receiue of God whatsoeuer they aske in praier, who shall obtaine euerlasting life by meanes of constellations, as natiuitie-casters asserme. pag.214.

¶ The twelue Booke.

The Hebrue word Habar expounded, where also the supposed secret force of charmes and enchantments is shewed, and the efficacy of words is diuersly waies declared. pag. 216.

What is forbidden in scriptures concerning witchcraft, of the operation of words, the superstition of the Cabalists and papists, who createth substances, to imitate God in some

cases is presumption, words of sanctification. pag.217.

What effect & offense witches charmes bring, how vnapt witches are, and how vnlikelie to worke those things which they are thought to do, what would follow if those things were true which are laid to their charge. pag. 218.

Why God forbade the practise of witchcraft, the absurditie of the law of the twelve tables, wherevpon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their wonderous works. pag.220.

An instance of one arraigned vpon the law of the twelve tables, whereby the said law is proued ridiculous, of two witches that could do wonders. pag.221.

Lawes prouided for the punishment of such witches as worke miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certeine popish lawes published against them. pag.222.

Poeticall authorities commonlie alledged by witchmongers, for the praise of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernaturall power. pag.223.

Doctrine and poperie compared in enchantments, popish witchmongers haue more aduantage herein than protestants. pag.229.

Popish periapts, amulets & charmes, agnus Dei, a walkcote of praise, a charme for the falling euill, a writing brought to S. Leo from heauen by an angel, the vertues of S. Sauiors epistle, a charme against theues, a writing found in Christs wounds, of the crosse, &c. pag.230.

¶ **A** charme against shot, or a walkcote of praise. Against the falling euill. p. 231. A popish periapt or charme, which must neuer be laid, but carried about one, against theues. Another amulet. pag.233. A papissicall charme. A charme found in the canon

The Contents.

- mon of the masse. Other papisticall charmes. pag. 234. A charme of the holie crosse. pag. 235. A charms taken out of the Winter. pag. 236.
- How to make holie water, and the vertues thereof. S. Rufus charme, of the swearing & bearing of the name of Iesus, that the sacrament of confession & the eucharist is of as much efficacy as other charmes, and inaugurated by L. Nairus. pag. 237.
- Of the noble balme vsed by Moses, aposthlic counterfeited in the church of Rome. pag. 238.
- The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periapts, appensions, amulets, &c. Of Homerical incantations, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof. pag. 239.
- Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Arguerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charmes, &c: foure sorts of Homericall medicines, and the choice thereof; of imagination. pag. 241.
- Choice of charmes against the falling euill, the biting of a mad dog, the stinging of a scorpion, the toothach, for a woman in trauell, for the kings euill, to get a thorne out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charmes to be said fasting, or at the gathering of hearbs, for soze eyes, to open locks, against spirits, for the bots in a horse, and speciallie for the Duke of Albas horse, for sooze wines, &c. pag. 242.
- ¶ For the falling euill. pa. 242. Against the biting of a mad dog. pag. 243. Against the biting of a scorpion. Against the toothach. A charme to release a woman in trauell. To heale the Kings or Queenes euill, or anie other sozenesse in the throte. A charme read in the Romish church, vpon saint Blazes daie, that will fetch a thorne out of anie place of ones bodie, a bone out of the throte, &c: Act. 3. pag. 244. A charme for
- the headach. A charme to be said eche morning by a witch fasting, or at least before she go abroad. Another charme that witches vse at the gathering of their mediacinable hearbs. An old womans charme, swicewith she did much good in the countrie, and grew famous thereby. pag. 245. Another like charme. A charme to open locks. A charme to driue away spirits that haunt anie house. pag. 246. A prettie charme or conclusion for one possessed. Another for the same purpose. Another to the same effect. Another charme or witchcraft for the same. pag. 247. A charme for the bots in a horse. p. 248. A charme against vineger. pa. 249.
- The incanting of serpents & snakes, oblations answered concerning the same; fond reasons whie charmes take effect therein, Mahometts pidgeon, miracles wrought by an Asse at Memphis in Egypt, poppish charmes against serpents, of miracle-workers, the taming of snakes, Wodins lie of snakes. pag. 249.
- Charmes to carrie water in a sine, to know what is spoken of vs behind our backs, for bicare eyes, to make seeds to growe well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang hir vp, notable authorities against waxen images, a stroie bewaicieng the knauerie of woxen images. pag. 256.
- ¶ A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list with images of wax, &c. pag. 257.
- Sundrie sorts of charmes tending to diuerse purposes, and first, certeine charmes to make taciturnitie in tortures. pag. 259.
- ¶ Counter charmes against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saing also wherof witches are vexed, &c. A charme for the choine cough. For corporall or spiritual rest. Charmes to find out a thiefe. pag. 260. Another

The Contents.

waie to find out a theefe that hath
 staine any thing from you. pag. 261.
 To put out the theeues etc. Another
 waie to find out a theefe. pag. 262. A
 charme to find out or spoile a theefe.
 S. Adberts curse or charme a-
 gainst theeues. pag. 263. Another in-
 chantment. pag. 266.
 A charme or experiment to find out a
 witch. pag. 266.
 ¶ To spoile a theefe, a witch, or any o-
 ther enemie, and to be deliuered from
 the euill. pag. 269. A notable charme
 or medicine to pull out an arrow-
 head, or any such thing that sticketh
 in the flesh or bones, and cannot o-
 therwise be had out. Charms a-
 gainst a quotidian ague. For all man-
 ner of agues intermittant. Peri-
 apts, characters, &c. for agues, and
 to cure all diseases, and to deliuer
 from all euill. p. 270. More charmes
 for agues. pag. 271. For a bloudie
 fluxe, or rather an issue of bloud.
 Cures commended and finished by
 witchcraft. pa. 273. Another witch-
 craft or knaerie, practised by the
 same surgion. pag. 275. Another ex-
 periment for one bewitched. Other-
 wise. A knacke to know whether
 you be bewitched, or no, &c. pag. 276.
 That one witchcraft may lawfullie
 meete with another. pag. 277.
 Who are privileged from witches,
 what bodies are aptest to be bewit-
 ched, or to be witches, why women
 are rather witches than men, and
 what they are. pag. 277.
 What miracles witchmongers report
 to haue been done by witches words
 &c. contradictions of witchmongers
 among themselues, how beasts are
 cured hereby, of bewitched butter, a
 charme against witches, & a counter
 charme, the effect of charmes and
 words proued by L. Cairus to be
 wonderful. pag. 279.
 ¶ A charme to find hit that bewitched
 your kine. Another, for all that haue

bewitched any kind of cattell. p. 281.
 A speciall charme to preserue all
 cattell from witchcraft. pag. 282.
 Lawfull charmes, rather medicinable
 cures for diseased cattell. The
 charme of charmes, and the power
 thereof. pag. 283.
 ¶ The charme of charmes. Other-
 wise. pag. 284.
 A confutation of the force and vertue
 falselie ascribed to charmes and a-
 mulets, by the authorities of anti-
 ent writers, both diuines and phy-
 sicians. pag. 285.

¶ The xij. Booke.

The signification of the He-
 bryc woord Hartumim, where it
 is found written in the scriptures,
 and how it is diuerslie translated:
 wherby the obication of Pharaos
 magicians is afterward answered
 in this booke; also of naturall ma-
 gicke not euill in it selfe. pag. 287.
 How the philosophers in times past
 travelled for the knowledge of natu-
 rall inagicke, of Salomons know-
 ledge therein, who is to be called a
 naturall magician, a distinctio ther-
 of, and why it is condemned for
 witchcraft. pag. 288.
 What secrets doe lie hidden, and what
 is taught in naturall inagicke, how
 Gods glorie is magnified therein,
 and that it is nothing but the worke
 of nature. pag. 290.
 What strange things are brought to
 passe by naturall inagicke. pag. 291.
 The incredible operation of waters,
 both standing and running; of wells,
 lakes, riuers, and of their wonder-
 full effects. pag. 292.
 The vertues and qualities of sundrie
 pretious stoues, of coustening A. pi-
 daries, &c. pag. 293.
 Whence the pretious stoues receiue
 their operations, how curious Ma-
 gicians vse them, and of their
 seals.

The Contents.

- leades. pag. 297.
- T**he Sympathie and antipathie of naturall and elementarie bodies declared by diuerse examples of beasts, birds, plants, &c. pag. 301.
- T**he former matter proued by manie examples of the liuing and the dead. pag. 303.
- T**he bewitching venome contained in the bodie of an harlot, how hir eie, hir tong, hir beautie and behauior bewitcheth some men : of bones and hoznes peelding great vertue. pag. 304.
- T**wo notorious wondrous and yet not maruelled at. pag. 305.
- D**iffusions, confederacies, and legierdemaine, and how they may be well or ill bcd. pag. 307.
- D**iffinate confederacie, and of Chandons pigeon. pag. 308.
- D**iff publike confederacie, and whereof it consisteth. pag. 309.
- H**ow men haue beene abused with swords of equiuocation, with sundrie examples thereof. pag. 309.
- H**ow some are abused with naturall magike, and sundrie examples thereof, of wohen illusion is added therevnto, of Jacobs pied sheepe, and of a blacke Woze. pag. 311.
- T**he opinion of witchmongers, that diuels can create bodies, & of Dharaos magicians. pag. 312.
- H**ow to produce or make monsters by art magike, and why Dharaos magicians could not make lice. pa. 313.
- T**hat great matters may be wrought by this art, when princes esteeme and mainteine it : of diuers wondrous experiments, and of strange conclusions in glasses, of the art perspective, &c. pag. 315.
- A** comparison betwixt Dharaos magicians and our witches, and how their cunning consisted in iuggling knacks. pag. 317.
- T**hat the serpents and frogs were smilie presented, and the water poisoned indeed by James and Jameses, of false prophets, and of their miracles, of Salams alle. pag. 318.
- T**he art of iuggling discovered, and in what points it doth principally consist. pag. 321.
- O**f the ball, and the manner of legierdemaine therewith, also notable feats with one or diuerse balles. pag. 322.
- T**o make a little ball swell in your hand till it be verie great. p. 323. **T**o consume (or rather to conuie) one or manie balles into nothing. pag. 324. **H**ow to rap a swag vpon the knuckles. pag. 324.
- O**f conuiance of monie. pag. 324.
- T**o conuie monie out of one of your hands into the other by legierdemaine. pag. 325. **T**o conuert or transubstantiate monie into counters, or counters into monie. pag. 325. **T**o put one testoz into one hand, and another into the other hand, and with swordz to bring them together. pag. 325. **T**o put one testoz into a strangers hand, and another into your owne, and to conuie both into the strangers hand with swordz. pag. 326. **H**ow to do the same or the like feat otherwise. pa. 326. **T**o throwe a peece of monie awaie, and to find it againe where you list pag. 326. with swordz to make a groat or a testoz to leape out of a pot, or to run alongst vpon a table. pag. 327. **T**o make a groat or a testoz to sinke through a table, and to banish out of a handkercher verie stranglie. pag. 327.
- A** notable tricke to transforme a counter to a groat. pag. 328.
- A**n excellent feat, to make a two penie peece lie plaine in the palme of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you list. pag. 329.
- T**o conuie a testoz out of ones hand that holdeth it fast. pag. 329. **T**o throwe a peece of monie into a deepe pond, and to fetch it againe from whence you list. pag. 330.

The Contents.

- To conuete one shilling being in one hand into an other, holding your armes abroad like a rood.** pag. 330. **How to rap a swag on the knuckles.** pag. 330.
- To transforme anie one small thing into anie other forme by folding of paper.** pag. 331.
- Of cards, with good cautions how to auoid coulenage therein: spectall rules to conuete and handle the cards, and the maner and order how to accomplish all difficult and strange things wrought by cards.** pag. 331.
- How to deliuer out foure aces, and to conuert them into foure knaues.** pag. 333. **How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stocke.** pag. 334. **An other waie to doe the same, hauing your selfe indeed neuer seene the card.** pag. 334. **To tell one without confederacie what card he thinketh.** pag. 334.
- How to tell what card anie man thinketh, how to conuete the same into a kernell of a nut or cheristone, &c: and the same againe into ones pocket: how to make one drawe the same or anie card you list, and all vnder one deuise.** pag. 335.
- Of fast or lose, how to knit a hard knot vpon a handkercher, and to vndo the same with words.** p. 336.
- A notable feat of fast or lose, namely, to pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remouing of your hand.** pag. 337.
- Juggling knacks by confederacie, and how to know whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.** pag. 338.
- To make a shoale of gossings drawe a timber log.** pag. 338. **To make a pot or anie such thing standing fast on the cupboard, to fall downe therise by vertue of words.** pag. 338. **To**
- one banke naked.** pag. 339. **To transforme or alter the colour of ones cap or hat.** pag. 339. **How to tell where a stollen horse is become.** pag. 339.
- How to alter one graine into another, or to confuine the graine or corne to nothing.** pag. 340.
- How to conuete (with words or charmes) the corne contained in one boxe into an other.** pag. 340. **Of an other boxe to conuert wheat into flower with words, &c.** pag. 341. **Of diuerse petie iuggling knacks.** pag. 341.
- To burne a thzed, and to make it whole againe with the ashes thereof.** pag. 341.
- To cut a lace asunder in the midst, and to make it whole againe.** pag. 342. **How to pull laces immunerabable out of your mouth, of what colour or length you list, and neuer anie thing seene to be therein.** pag. 343.
- How to make a booke, wherein you shall shew euerie leaf therein to be white, blacke, blew, red, yellow, greene, &c.** pag. 343.
- Desperate or dangerous iuggling knacks, wherein the simple are made to thinke, that a sachie iuggler with swords can hurt and helpe, kill and reuiue anie creature at his pleasure: and first to kill anie kind of pulen, and to giue it life againe.** pag. 346.
- To cate a knife, and to fetch it out of anie other place.** pag. 346. **To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt.** pag. 347. **To thrust a bodkin through your tong, and a knife through your arme: a pittifull sight, without hurt or danger.** pag. 347. **To thrust a peece of lead into one eie, and to bziue it about (with a stick) betweene the skin and fish of the forehead, vntill it be brought to the other eie, and there thrust out.** pag. 348. **To cut halfe your nose asunder, and to heale it againe presentlie without an e salue.** pag. 348.

The Contents.

To put a ring through your cheek, pag. 348. To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, &c: which the iuglers call the decollation of John Baptist. pag. 349. To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts verie stranglie, and to recouer immediatlie. pag. 350. To draw a cord through your nose, mouth or hand, so sensible as it is wonderfull to see. pag. 351. The conclusion wherein the reader is referred to certeine patterns of of instruments wherewith diuerse feats here specified are to be executed. pag. 351.

¶ The xiiij. Booke.

OF the art of Alcumphyrie, of their words of art and deuises to blear mens eyes, and to procure credit to their profession. Pag. 353. The Alcumphers dust, the Chanons peomans tale, of alcumphyical bones and waters. pag. 355. Of a peoman of the countrie coulensed by an Alcumph. pag. 357. A certeine king abused by an Alcumph, and of the kungs soyle a pretie iest. pag. 360. A notable storie written by Erasmus of two Alcumphs, also of longation and curtation. pag. 361. The opinion of diuerse learned men touching the follie of Alcumphyrie. pag. 368. That baine and deceitfull hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that there labours therein are bootlesse, &c. pag. 371. A continuation of the former matter, with a conclusion of the same. p. 372.

¶ The xv. Booke.

The exposition of Aldons, and where it is found, whereby the whole art of coniuration is deciphe-

red. Pag. 376.
In inuentarie of the names, shapcs, powers, gouernement, and efficacy of diuels and spirits, of their severall segnorities and degrees: a strange discourse worth the reading. p. 377.
The houres wherein pncipall diuels may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from doing of hurt. p. 393.
The forme of adiuuring or citing of the spirits aforesaid to arise & appear. page. 393.
Confutation of the manifold banities contained in the precedent chapters, speciallie of commanding of diuels. pag. 396.
The names of the planets, their characters, together with the twelue signes of the zodiacke, their dispositions, aspects, and gouernment, with other obseruations. pag. 397.
The twelue signes of the zodiacke, their characters and denominations, &c. pag. 397. Their dispositions or inclinacions. 397. The disposition of the planets. pag. 398. The aspects of the planets. 398. How the daie is diuided or distinguished. 398. The diuision of the daie, and the planetarie regiment. pag. 399. The diuision of the night, and the planetarie regiment. pag. 399.
The characters of the angels of the seuen daies, with their names: of figures, scales and periapts. pag. 400.
In experiment of the dead. pag. 401.
Licence for Sibylla to go and come by at all times. pag. 407.
To know of treasure hidden in the earth. pag. 408.
This is the waie to go inuisible by these three sisters of faeries. 408.
An experiment of Citrael, &c: *angeli diei dominici.* pag. 410.
The seuen angels of the seuen daies, with the prayer called *Regina lingue.* pag. 410.
How to inclose a spirit in a chrystall stone. pag. 411.

The Contents.

- A figure of type proportionall, shewing what forme must be obserued and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in chistall is to be accomplished, &c.** pag. 414.
- An experiment of the spirit Bealphares.** pag. 415.
- ¶ The two and twentieth Psalm.** pag. 416.
- ¶ This psalme also following, being the fiftie one psalme, must be said three times ouer, &c.** pag. 416.
- ¶ To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to lose him againe.** pag. 418.
- ¶ A licence for the spirit to depart.** pag. 419. **¶ A type or figure of the circle for the maister and his fellowes to sit in, shewing how & after what fashion it should be made.** pag. 420.
- ¶ The making of the holie water.** pag. 421.
- ¶ To the water saie also as followeth.** pag. 421. **¶ Then take the salt in thy hand, and saie putting it into the water, making in the maner of a crosse.** pag. 421. **¶ Then sprinkle vpon aue thing, and saie as followeth.** pag. 422.
- ¶ To make a spirit to appeare in a chistall.** pag. 422.
- ¶ An experiment of the dead.** pag. 423.
- ¶ How the Vater noster, Ave, and Credo must be said, and then the praier immediatly following.** p. 425.
- ¶ A bond to bind him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.** pag. 425.
- ¶ This bond following, is to call him into your chistall stone, or glasse, &c.** pag. 428. **¶ Then being appeared, saie these words following.** pag. 429. **¶ A licence to depart.** pag. 429.
- ¶ When to talke with spirits, and to haue true answers to find out a theefe.** pag. 430.
- ¶ To speake with spirits.** pag. 430.
- ¶ A confutation of coniuration, especiallye of the raising, binding and dismissing of the diuell, of going invisible and other lewd practises.** pag. 430.
- ¶ A comparison betweene popish exorcists and other coniuers, a popish coniuuration published by a great doctor of the Romish church, his rules and cautions.** pag. 433.
- ¶ A late experiment, or censuring coniuuration practised at Orleans by the Franciscane friers, how it was detected, and the iudgement against the authozs of that comedie.** pag. 435.
- ¶ Who may be coniuers in the Romish church besides priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be vsed and not vsed in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to conuere any thing, differences betweene holie water and coniuuration.** pag. 438.
- ¶ The seuen reasons why some are not rid of the diuell with all their popish coniuations, why there were no coniuers in the primitive church, and why the diuell is not so some cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.** pag. 441.
- ¶ Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers in this matter of coniuations.** pag. 443.
- ¶ Certaine coniuations taken out of the pontificall and out of the missall.** pag. 444.
- ¶ A coniuuration written in the masse booke. Fol. 1.** pag. 445. **¶ Orrenus.** pag. 445.
- ¶ That popish priests leaue nothing but coniuersed, a forme of exorcisme for incense.** pag. 446.
- ¶ The rules and lawes of popish Exorcists and other coniuers all one, with a confutation of their whole power, how S. Martine coniuersed the diuell.** pag. 447.
- ¶ That it is a shame for papists to belieue other coniuers davings, their owne being of so little force. Hippocrates his opinion herein.** pag. 450.
- How

The Contents.

- How coniurors haue beguiled witches, what bookes they carie about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Joseph. pag.451.
- All magickal arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gailus haue left written thereof, and proued by experience. pag.452.
- Of Salomons coniuurations, and of the opinion conceiued of his cunning and practise therein. pag.454.
- Lessons read in all churches, where the pope hath authoritie, on Saint Margarets daie, translated into English word for word. pag.455.
- A delicate stozie of a Lombard, who by saint Margarets example would needs fight with a reall duell. p.457.
- The stozie of S. Margaret proued to be both ridiculous and impious in euerie point. pag.459.
- A pleasant miracle wrought by a popish priest. pag.460.
- The former miracle confuted, with a strange stozie of S. Lucie. pag.461.
- Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds, and of other illusions, of wandering soules: with a confutation thereof. pag.461.
- Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfet visions grow to be credited, of popish appeerances, of pope Boniface. pag.464.
- Of the noise or sound of echo, of one that narrowlie escaped drowning thereby. &c. pag.465.
- Of Therurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter sent to me concerning these matters. pag.466.
- ¶ The copie of a letter sent vnto me R. S. by C. C. Maister of art, and practiser both of physicke, and also in times past, of certeine vaine sciences; now condemned to die for the same: wherein he openeth the truth touching these deceits. pag.467.
- ¶ The xvii. Booke.
- A** Conclusion, in maner of an Epilog, repeating manie of the former absurdities of witchmongers concepts, confutations thereof, and of the authoritie of Iames Sprenger and Henric Institor inquisitors and compilers of M. Mal. Da.470.
- ¶ Why what meanes the common people haue bene made beleue in the miraculous works of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof. pag.471.
- Reasons to prouue that words and characters are but babies, and that witches cannot do such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest wonders proued trifles, of a young gentleman censured. pag. 473.
- ¶ Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no scriptures but canonical, of a duell that could speake no Latine, a proufe that witchcraft is flat coulenage. pag.476.
- ¶ Of the diuination by the succ & herres, and by the booke and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a babble to know what is a clocke, of certeine iugling knacks, manifold reasons for the ouerthrowe of witches and coniurors, and their coulenages, of the diuels transformations, of Ferrus candens, &c. pag.477.
- How the duell 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 anie man to giue credit to the lesser points thereof. pag.481.
- ¶ A conclusion against witchcraft, in maner and forme of an Inducti- on. pag.483.
- ¶ Of naturall witchcraft or fascination. pag. 484.
- ¶ Of inchanting or bewitching eies. pag. 485.
- ¶ Of

The Contents.

- Of naturall witchcraft for loue, &c. pag. 487.
- A** Discourse vpon diuels and spirits, and first of philosophers opinions, also the maner of their reasoning herevpon, and the same confuted. pag. 489.
- Whine owne opinion concerning this argument, to the dislike of some writers herevpon. pag. 491.
- The opinion of Pselius touching spirits, of their severall orders, and a confutation of his errors therein. pag. 492.
- Howe absurd assertions of Pselius and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein. pag. 495.
- The opinion of Flacius Cardanus touching spirits, and of his familiar diuell. pag. 497.
- The opinion of Plato concerning spirits, diuels and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of Socrates his familiar diuell. pag. 498.
- Platos nine orders of spirits and angels, Dionysius his diuision thereof not much differing from the same, all disproued by learned diuines. pag. 500.
- The commensment of diuels fondlie gathered out of the 14. of Istaie, of Lucifer and of his fall, the Cabalists the Chaldeists and Scholomens opinions of the creation of angels. pag. 501.
- Of the cōtention betwene the Greeke and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselues herein, a consist betwene Michael and Lucifer. pag. 503.
- Where the battell betwene Michael and Lucifer was fought, how long it continued, and of their power, how sundrie papists and infidels write of them, and how reuerentlie Christians ought to thinke of them. p. 504.
- Whether they became diuels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Jude and Peter, of the fond opinions of the Abbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof. pag. 506.
- That the diuels assaults are spirituall and not temporall, and how grosselie some vnderstand those parts of the scripture. pag. 508.
- The equiuocation of this word spirit, how diuerlie it is taken in the scriptures, where (by the waie) is taught that the scripture is not alwaies literallie to be interpreted, nor yet allegoricallie to be vnderstood. pa. 509.
- That it pleased God to manifest the power of his sonne and not of witches by miracles. pag. 512.
- Of the possessed with diuels. pag. 513.
- That we being not thoroughlie informed of the nature of diuels and spirits, must satisfie our selues with that which is deliuered vs in the scriptures touching the same, how this word diuell is to be vnderstood both in the singular & plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the diuell, of tame spirits, of Ahab. pag. 514.
- Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doe extremitie contend and varie. pag. 516.
- Certeine popish reasons concerning spirits made of aier, of daie diuels and night diuels, and why the diuell toucheth no salt in his meate. pag. 517.
- That such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures, haue in their names their nature and qualities expressed, with instances thereof. pag. 518.
- Diuerse names of the diuell, whereby his nature and disposition is manifested. pag. 520.
- That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are diuels, their diuerse names, and

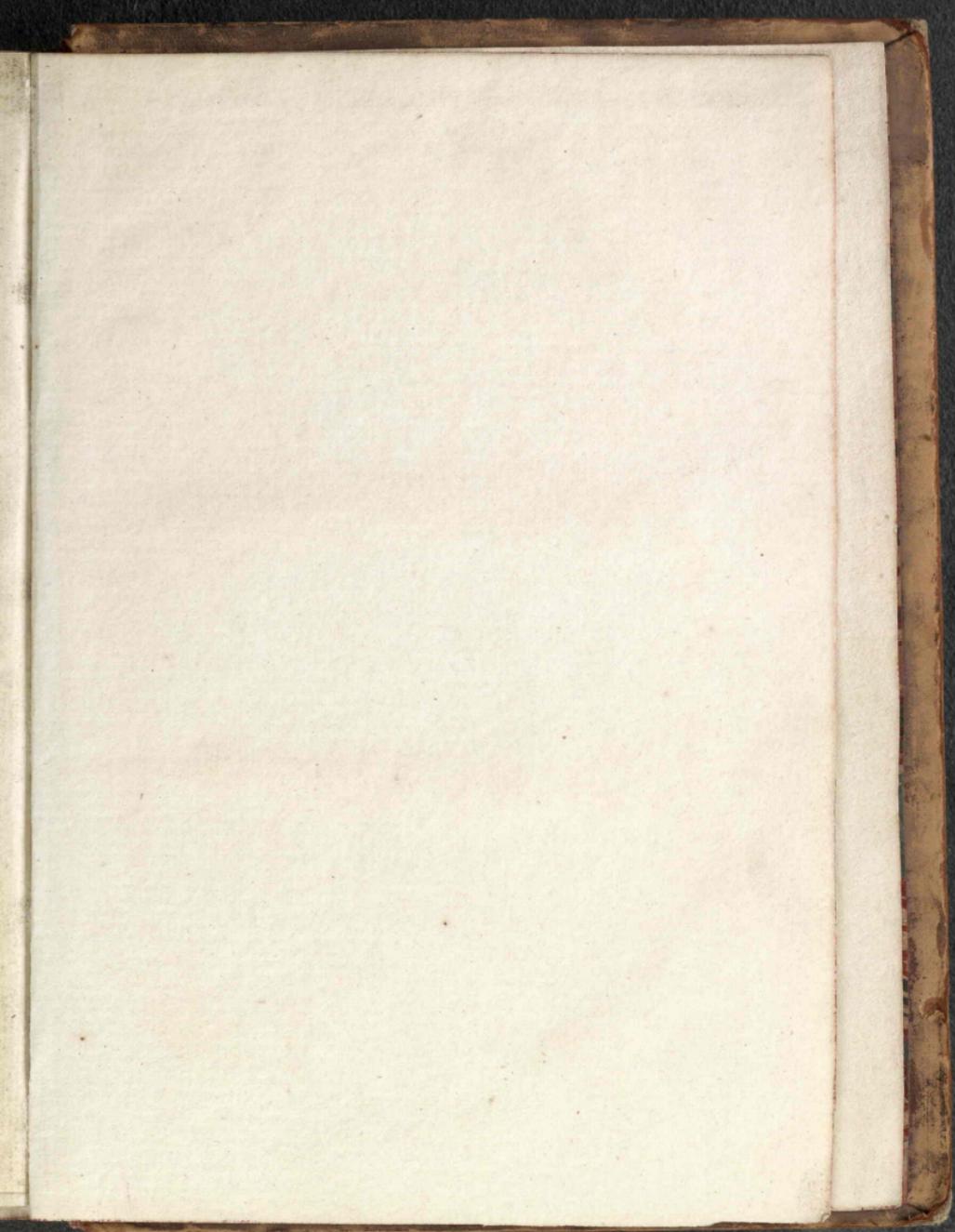
The Contents.

- in what affaires their labours and authorities are employed, wherem also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discovered. pag. 521.
- Of the Romans cheefe gods called *Dij seleti*, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices. pag. 523.
- Of diuerse gods in diuerse countries. pag. 525.
- Of popish prouinciall gods, a comparison betwene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation euerie popish god is. pag. 526.
- A comparison betwene the heathen and papists, touching their excuses for idolatrie. pag. 529.
- The concept of the heathen and the papists all one in idolatrie, of the councell of Trent, a notable storie of a hangman arraigned after he was dead and buried, &c. pag. 530.
- A confutation of the fabic of the hangman, of manie other feined and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproofe thereof. pag. 532.
- A confutation of *Iohannes Laurentius*, and of manie others, mainteining these feined and ridiculous tales and apparitions, & what duteth them awaie, of *Holes* and *Heslias* appearance in mount *Chabor*. pag. 534.
- A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced *Eue*. pag. 536.
- The obiection concerning the diuels assuming of the serpents bodie answered. pag. 537.
- Of the curse rehearsed *Genel. 3.* and that place rightlie expounded, *Iohn Caluines* opinion of the diuell. pag. 539.
- Mine owne opinion and resolution of the nature of spirits, and of the diuell, with his properties. pag. 540.
- Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions concerning corporall diuels. pag. 542.
- A conclusion wherin the Spirit of spirits is described, by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tried: with a confutation of the *Pneumatomachi* flatlie denieng the diuinitie of this Spirit. pag. 543.

FINIS.

Imprinted at London by
William Brome.





Scot, Reginald

BF1565

S#

1584

Rare BK Coll

etc 13 Aug 57

to 1300/34

The JOHN J. and HANNA M. McMANUS
and MORRIS N. and CHESLEY V. YOUNG
Collection
Gift—Oct. 12, 1955

30 Ty 89





