SCOTS
Discovery of VVitchcraft:
PROVING
The common opinions of Witches con-
trading with Divels, Spirits, or Familiars; and
their powet to kill, torment, and consume the bodies of
men women, and children, or other creatures by diseases
or otherwise; their flying in the Air, &c. To be but imaginary
Erronisous conceptions and novelties;
WHEREIN ALSO,
The lewde unchristian practises of Witchmongers, upon aged,
melancholy, ignorant, and superstious people in extorting con-
fessions, by inhumane terrors and tortures is notably detected.

The knavery and confederacy of Conjurers,
The impious blasphemy of Inchanters,
The imposture of Soothsayers, and Infidelity of Atheists.
The delusion of Pythoniasts, Figure-casters, Astrologers, and va-
nity of Dreamers.

ALSO,
The fruitlesse beggerly art of Alchimistry,
The horrible art of Poisoning and all the tricks and convey-
ances of juggling and Liegerdemain are fully deciphered.

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

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

Printed by R. C. and are to be sold by Giles Calvert, dwelling at the
Black Spread-Eagle at the West-end of Pauls, 1651.
To the Honorable, mine especiall good Lord S. Roger Manwood Knight, Lord chief Baron of her Majesties Court of the Eschequor.

In so much as I know that your Lordship is by nature wholly inclined, and in purpose earnestly bent to relieve the poor, and that not onely with hospitality and almes, but by divers other devises and waises tending to their comfort, having (as it were) framed and set your self to the help and maintenance of their estate, as appeareth by your charge and travell in that behalf. Whereas also you have a speciall care for the supporting of their right, and redressing of their wrongs, as neither despising their calamity, nor yet forgetting their complaint, seeking all means for their amendment, and for the reformation of their disorders, even as a very father to the poor. Finally, for that I am a poor member of that Common-wealth where your Lordship is a principall person; I thought this my travell, in the behalf of the poor, the aged, and the simple, might be very fitly commended unto you: for a weak house requireth a strong stay. In which respect I give God thanks, that hath raised up unto me so mighty a friend for them.
them as your Lordship is, who in our laws have such knowledge, in government such discretion, in these causes such experience, and in the Common-wealth such authority; and never the less vouchsafe to descend to the consideration of these base and inferior matters, which minister more care and trouble than worldly estimation.

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

Howbeit, it is naturlall to unnaturall people, and peculiar unto witchmongers, to pursue the poor, to accuse the simple, and to kill the innocent; supplying in rigor and malice towards others, that which they themselves want in proof and discretion, or the other in offence or occasion. But as a cruel heart and an honest minde do seldom meet and feed together in a dish; so a discreet & merciful Magistrate, and a happy Common-wealth cannot be separated asunder. How much then are we bound to God, who hath given us a Queen, that of justice is not only the very perfect image and pattern, but also of mercy and clemency (under God) the meare fountain and body
body itself? Insomuch as they which hunt most after bloud in these daies, have least authority to shed it. Moreover, sith I see that in cases where lenity might be noisom, and punishment wholesome to the common-wealth; there no respect of person can move you, no authority can abase you, no fear, no threats can daunt you in performing the duty of Justice.

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

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

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

And now forsooth it is brought to this point, that all devils, which were wont to be spiritual, may at their pleasure become corporal, and so shew themselves familiarly to witches and conjurors, and to none other, and by them only may be made tame, and kept in a box, &c. So as a malicious old woman may command her devil to plague her neighbor: & he is afflicted in manner & form as she desireth. But then cometh another witch, and she bideth her devil help, and he healeth the same party. So as they make
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make it a kingdom divided in itself, and therefore I trust it will not long endure, but will shortly be overthrown, according to the words of our Saviour, *omnia regnum in se diviserit desolabitur.* Every kingdom divided in itself shall be desolate. And although some say that the devil is the witches instrument, to bring her purposes and practices to pass; yet others say that she is his instrument, to execute his pleasure in anything, and therefore to be executed. But then (methinks) she should be injuriously dealt withall, and put to death for another's offence: for actions are not judged by instrumental causes; neither doth the end and purpose of that which is done, depend upon the mean instrument. Finally, if the witch do it not, why should the witch die for it? But they say that witches are persuaded and think, that they do indeed those mischiefs; & have a will to perform that which the devil comitted; and therefore they are worthy to dy. By which reason ev'ry one should be executed, that which evil to his neighbor, &c. But if the will should be punished by man, according to the offence against God, we should be driven by thousands at once to the slaughterhouse or butchery. For whatsoever loath-eth correction shall die. And who should escape execution, if this loathsomnesse (I say) should extend to death by the civil lawes. Also the reward of sin is death. Howbeit, every one that sinneth is not to be put to death by the Magistrate. But my Lord it shall be proved in my book, and your Lordship shall trie it to be true, as well here at home in your native country, as also abrode in your several circuits, that (besides them that be *Veneifica* which are plaine poisoners) there will be found among our witches only two sorts; the one sort being such by *imputation,* as
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so thought of by others (and these are abused, and not abusers) the other by acceptation, as being willing so to be accounted & these be meer counsners.

Calvine treating of these magicians, calleth them counsners, saying, that they use their juggling knacks only to amale or abuse the people; or else for fame: but he might rather have said for gain. Eras tus himself, being a principal writer in the behalf of witches omnipotency, is forced to confess, that these Greek words 

μαγία, μαγγαία, μαγιαία, are most commonly put for illusion false packing, counselage, fraud, knavery and deceit: & is further driven to say, that in ancient time, the learned were not so blockish, as not to see that the promises of magicians and enchanters were false, and nothing else but knavery, counselage & old wives fables; & yet defendeth he their flying in the aire, their transferring of corn or grass from one field to another, &c.

But as Eras tus dilagreeth herein with himself and his friends: so is there no agreement among any of those writers, but only in cruelties, absurdities & impossibilities. And these (my Lord) that fall into so manifest contradictions, and into such absurd assertions, are not of the inferior sort of writers; neither are they all papists, but men of such account, as whose names give more credit to their cause, then their writings. In whose behalfe I am sorry, and partly for reverence suppress their fondest errors & foulest absurdities, dealing specially with them that most contend in cruelty, whose feet are swift to shed blood, striving (as J e s u s the Son of Sirach saith, & hasting (as Solomon the Son of David saith) to pour out the blood of the innocent, whose hate against these poor wretches cannot be allayed with any other liquor than blood. And therefore I fear that under their wings will be found the blood of the souls of the poor, at that day, when the Lord shall say,
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Depart from me ye blind-thirsty men.

And because I know your Lordship will take no coun-
cel against innocent blond, but rather suppress them that
seek to imbrow their hands therein, I have made choise
to open their case to you, & to lay their miserable calami-
ty before your feet: following herein the advise of that
learned man Brentius, who saith, Si quis admonuerit Ma-
gistratum, ne in miseris illis mulierculas saevit, cum ego
arbitror divinitus excitatum, that is, If any admonish the
Magistrate not to deal too hardly with these miserable
wretches, that are called witches, I think him a good in-
strument raised up for this purpose by God himself.

But it will perchance be said by witchmongers; to
wit, by such as attribut to witches the power which
appertaineth to God only, that I have made choise
of your Lordship to be a Patron to this my book; be-
cause I think you favor mine opinions, and by that
means may the more freelpublish any error or con-
ceit of mine own, which should rather be warranted
by your Lordship's authority, then by the word of God,
or by sufficient argument. But I protest the contra-
ry, and by these presents I renounce all protection,
and despise all friendship that might serve to help
towards the suppressing or supplanting of truth:
knowing also that your Lordship is far from allowing
any injury done unto man, much more an enemy to
them that go about to dishonor God, or to embeazel
the title of his immortal glory. But because I know
you to be perspicuous, and able to see down into the
depth and bottome of causes, & are not to be carried
away with the vain persuasione or superstition either
of man, custome, time or multitude, but moved with
the authority of truth only: I crave your countenance
herein, even so far forth, & no further, then the law
of God, the law of nature, the lawe of this land, & the
rule
rule of reason shall require. Neither do I treat for these poor people any otherwise, but so, as with one hand you may sustaine the good, and with the other suppress the evil: wherein you shall be thought a father to orphans, an advocate to widowers, a guide to the blind, a stay to the lame, a comfort & countenance to the honest, a scourge and terror to the wicked.

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

But true be the words of the Poet,

Haud quaeam potestis sortivium omnia solus,
Namque aliis divi bello pollere dederunt,
Huic saltandi artem, voce buic sybaragine canendi:
Rursum aliis inservit sagax in peiore magnus.
Jupiter ingenium, &c.

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

Your Lordships to be commanded

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

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

I therefore (at this time) do only desire you to consider of my report, concerning the evidence that is commonly brought before you against them. See first whether the evidence be not frivolous, and whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of guesses, presumptions, and impossibilities contrary to reason, Scripture.
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ture, & nature. See also what persons complain upon them, whether they be not of the basest, the unwiselest & most faithlesse kind of people. Also may it please you to way what accusations and crimes they lay to their charge, namely: She was at my house of late, she would have had a pot of milk, she departed in a chafe because she had it not, she railed, she cursed, she mumbled and whispered, and finally she said she would be even with me: and soon after my child, my cow, my sow, or my pullet died, or was strangely taken. Nay (if it please your Worship,) I have further proof: I was with a wise woman, & she told me I had an ill neighbour, and that she would come to my house ere it were long, and so did she; and that she had a mark above her waste, and so had she: and God forgive me, my stomach hath gone against her a great while. Her mother before her was counted a witch, she hath been beaten and scratched by the face till blood was drawn upon her, because she hath been suspected, and afterwards some of those persons were said to amend. These are the certainties that I hear in their evidences.

Note also how easily they may be brought to confess that which they never did, nor lieth in the power of man to do: and then see whether I have cause to write as I do. Further, if you shall see that insidelity, popery, and many other manifest heresies be backed and shouldered, and their professors animated and heartned by yielding to creatures such infinit power as is wrested out of God's hand, and attributed to witches: finally, if you shall perceive that I have faithfully and truly delivered and set down the condition and state of the witch, and also of the witchmonger, and have confuted by reason and law, and by the word of God itself, all mine adversaries objections & arguments: then let me have your countenance against them that maliciously oppose themselves against me.
My greatest adversaries are young ignorance and old custom. For what folly soever tract of time hath fostered, it is so superstitiously pursued of some, as though no error could be acquainted with custom. But if the lawe of nations would join with such custom, to the maintenance of ignorance, & to the suppressing of knowledge, the civilized country in the world would soon become barbarous, &c.

For as knowledge & time discovereth errors, so doth superstition and ignorance in time breed them. And concerning the opinions of such, as wish that ignorance should rather be maintained, than knowledge busily searched for, because thereby offence may grow: I answer, that we are commanded by Christ himself to search for knowledge: for it is the kings honour (as Solomon saith) to search out a thing.

Aristotle said to Alexander, that a mind well furnished was more beautiful than a body richly arrayed. What can be more odious to man, or offensive to God, than ignorance: for through ignorance the Jews did put Christ to death. Which ignorance whoever forsaketh, is promised life everlasting: and therefore among Christians it should be abhorred above all other things. For even as when we wrestle in the dark, we tumble in the mire, &c. so when we see not the truth, we wallowe in errors. A blind man may seek long in the rushes ere he find a needle; and as soon is a doubt discussed by ignorance. Finally, truth is no sooner found out in ignorance, then a sweet savour in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and give them no leave to use it, men were much better be without it than have it. For it is, as to have a talent, and to hide it under the earth; or to put a candle under a bushel: or as to have a ship, and to let her lie always in the dock; which thing, how profitable it is, I can say some-what by experience.
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But hereof I need say no more, for every man seeth that none can be happy who knoweth not what felicity meaneth. For what availeth it to have riches, and not to have the use thereof? Truly the heathen herein deserved more commendation than many Christians, for they spared no pain, no cost, nor travell to attain to knowledg. Pythagoras travelled from Thamus to Egypt, and afterwards into Crete and Lacedamonia; and Plato out of Athens into Italy and Egypt, and all to find out hidden secrets and knowledge: which when a man hath, he seemeth to be separated from mortality. For precious stones, and all other creatures of what value soever, are but counterfeit to this jewel: they are mortal, corruptible and inconstant; this is immortal, pure and certain. Wherefore if I have searched and found out any good thing, that ignorance and time hath smothered, the same I commend unto you: to whom though I owe all that I have, yet am I bold to make others partakers with you in this poor gift.

Your loving cousin

Reg. Scot.
To the right worshipful his loving friends, Master Doctor Coldwell Deane of Rochester, and Master Doctor Readman Arch-deacon of Canterbury, &c.

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

I know mine own weaknesses, which if it have been able to maintain this argument, the cause is the stronger. Eloquent words may please the eares, but sufficient matter persuadeth the heart. So as, if I exhibit wholesome drink (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 silver bowle with a flattering heart. And surely it is a point of so great liberality to receive a small thing thankfully,
ly, as to give and distribute great and costly gifts bountifully: for there is more supplied with courteous answers than with rich rewards. The tyrant Dionysius was not so hated for his tyranny, as for his churlish and strange behaviour. Among the poore Israelites sacrifices, God was satisfied with the tenth part of an Ephah of flour, so as it were fine and good. Christ liked well of the poore widowes mite. Lewis of France accepted a rape root of clematis Conan. Cyrus vouchsafed to drink a cup of cold water out of the hand of poore Sinates: and so it may please you to accept this simple book at my hands, which I faithfully exhibit unto you, not knowing your opinions to meet with mine: but knowing your learning and judgement to be able as well to correct me where I speake therein unskilfully, as others when they speake hereafter maliciously.

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

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

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

Me thinks these magickal physicians deale in the commonwealth, much like as a certaine kind of Cynicall people do in the church, whose seuerne sayings are accompted among some such oracles, as may not be doubted of: who in stead of learning and authority (which they make contemptible) do feed the people with their own devises and imaginations, which they preferre before all other divinity: and labouring to erect a church according to their own fancies, wherein all order is condemned, and onely their magical words and curious directions advanced, they would utterly overthrow the true Church. And even as these enchanting Paracelsians abuse the people, leading them from the true order of physick to their charms: so do these other (I say) dissuade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whisper in men's ears to teach them their truerlike traditions. And of this see the chiefest author at this time is
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one Browne, a fugitive, a meet cover for such a cup: as here before the Anabaptists, the Arrians, and the Franciscane friers.

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

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

Your loving friend

Reg. Scot.
To the Readers.

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

If I should go to a Papiist, and say, I pray you beleive my writing, wherein I will prove all popish charmes, conjurations, exorcisms, benedicitions and curses, not onely to be ridiculous, and of none effect, but also to be impious and contrary to Gods word: I should as hardly there-in win favour at their hands, as herein obtain credit at yours. Nevertheless, I doubt not, but to use the matter so, that as well the maffemonger for his part, as the witchmonger for his, shall both be ashamed of their professions.

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

apparent, certaine, and better effects then their owne.

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

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

Howbeit, how ancient so ever this barbarous concept of witches omnipotencie is, truth must not be measured by time: for every old opinion is not found. Verite is not impaired, how long soever it be suppressed; but is to be searchèd out, in how darke a corner soever it be hidden: for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be broched too rather. Finally, time bewraíeth old errors, and discovereth new matters of truth. Danann himself faith, that this question hitherto hath never been handled; nor the Scriptures concerning this matter have never bin explained. To prove the antiquity of the cause, to confirm the opinio
To the Readers.

on of the ignorant, to enforce mine adversaries arguments, to aggravate the punishments, and to accomplish the confusion of these old women, is added the vanity and wickedness of them, which are called witches, the arrogancy of those which take upon them to work wonders, the desire that people have to hearken to such miraculous matters, unto whom most commonly an impossibility is more credible than a verity; the ignorance of natural causes, the ancient and universal hate conceived against the name of a witch; their ill-favoured faces, their spiteful words, their curses and imprecations, their charms made in rime, and their beggary; the fear of many foolish folk, the opinion of some that are wise, the want of Robin good-fellow and the fairies, which were wont to maintain that, and the common peoples talk in this behalf; the authority of the inquisitors, the learning, cunning, consent, and estimation of writers herein, the false translations and fond interpretations fed, specially by Papists; and many other like causes. All which toyes take such hold upon men's fancies, as whereby they are led and enticed away from the consideration of true respects, to the condemnation of that which they know not.

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

1 Cor. 11. 9.
Ibid. vers 7.
Ge. 2. 22. 18.
Arift. lib. problem 2. 9.
Virg. Georg.
are the least sufficient of all other persons to speake for themselves; as having the most base and simple education of all others; the extremity of their age giving them leave to dote, their poverty to beg, their wrongs to chide and threaten (as being void of any other way of revenge) their humor melancholically to be full of imaginations, from whence chiefly proceedeth the vanity of their confessiions; as that they can transforme themselves and others into apes, owles, ailes, dogges, cats, &c. that they can flie in the aire, kill children with charmes, hinder the coning of butter &c.

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

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

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

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

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

This history is more credible than Sprenger's fables, or Bodins babble, which reach not so far to the extolling of witches omnipotency, as to the derogating of God's glory. For if it be true, which they affirm, that our life and death lieth in the hand of a witch; then is it false, that God maketh us live or die, or that by him we have our being, our term of time appointed, and our dais numbered. But surely their charmes can no more reach to the hurting or killing of men or women, than their imaginations can extend to the stealing and carrying away of horses and mares. Neither hath God given remedies to sicknefe or griefes, by words or charmes, but by herbs and medicines, which he himself hath created upon earth, and given men knowledge of the same; that he might be glorified, for that therewith he doth vouch safe that the maladies of men and cattle should be cured, &c. And if there be no afflition nor calamity, but is brought to passe by him, then let us defie the devil, renounce all his works, and not so much as once think or dream upon this supernatural power of witches, neither let us prosecute them with such despight, whom our fan fisie condemneth, and our reason acquiteth: our evidence against them consisting in impossibilities, our proofs in unwritten verities, and our whole proceedings in doubts and difficulties.
Now because I mislike the extreme cruelty used against some of these silly souls (whom a simple advocate having audience and justice might deliver out of the hands of the inquisitors themselves) it will be said, that I deny any punishment at all to be due to any witch whatsoever. Nay, because I bewray the folly and impiety of them, which attribute unto witches the power of God: these witchmongers will report, that I deny there are any witches at all: and yet behold (say they) how often is this word (Witch) mentioned in the Scriptures? Even as if an idolater should say in the behalf of images and idols, to them which deny their power and godhead, and inveigh against the reverence done unto them; How dare you deny the power of images, seeing there names are so often repeated in the Scriptures? But truly I deny not that there are witches or images: but I deride the idolaters opinions conceived of them; referring that to God's work and ordinance, which they impute to the power and malice of witches; and attributing that honour to God which they ascribe to idols. But as for those that in very deed are either witches or conjurers, let them hardly suffer such punishment as to their fault is agreeable, and as by the grave judgement of law is provided.
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The discovery of Witchcraft.

The first Book.

CHAP. I.

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

He Fables of Witch-craft have taken so fast hold and deep root in the heart of man, that few or none can, (now adaiis) with patience endure the hand and correction of God. For if any adversity, greese, sickness, losse of children, corn, castell, or liberty happen unto them; by and by they exclaime upon witches. As Job 5, though there were no God in Israel that ordereth all things according to his will, punishing both just unjust and with greeses, plagues, and affictions in manner and forme as he thinketh good: but that certain old women here on earth, called witches, must needs be the contrivers of all mens calamities, and as though they themselves were innocents, and had desired no such punishments. In so much as they stick not to ride and go to such, as either are injuriously tearmed witches, or else are willing to be accounted, seeking at their hands comfort and remedy in time of their tribulation, contrary to Gods will and commandement in that behalfe, who bids us resort to him in all our necessities.

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

But certainly, it is neither a witch, nor devil, but a glorious * God that makest the thunder. I have read in the Scriptures, that God * Psal.25. maketh the blustering tempefts and whirle-winds: and I find that it is * the Psal 83. Lord that altogether dealeth with them, and that they blowe according to his will. But let me see any of them all * rebuke and still the Luke 8. lea in time of tempeft, as Christ did; or raise the stormy wind, as* God Math 8. did with his word; and I will beleive in them. Hath any witch or conjurer, or any creature entred into the * treasures of the snowe; or seen Lek. 8.14; the Psal.107.

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

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

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

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

The Imperiall law (faith Bremius) condemneth them to death that
trouble and infect the aire: but I affirme (faith he) that it is neither in
the power of witch nor devill fo to do, but in God only. Though (besides Bodin, and all the popish writers in generall) it please Danes, Hy-
perius, Hemingius, Erasius, &c. to conclude otherwise. The clouds *
are called the pillars of Gods tents, Gods chariots, and his pavillions.
And if it be so, what witch or devill can make matters thereof? S.
Augustine faith, * Non est putandum si quis transgressurus angello servire habe
rerum visibilium materiem sed soli Deo; We must not think that these
visible things are at the commandement of the angels that fell, but are obedi
ent to the only God.

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

of Witchcraft.

Cap. II.

O H A p. II.

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

But the world is now so bewitched and over-run with
this fond error, that even where a man should seek com-
fort and counsel, there shall he be sent (in case of ne-
cessity) from God to the devil; and from the Phyistian
to the confusion of the witch, who will not stick to take upon
her, by words to heal the lame (which was proper
only to Christ; and to him whom he assisted with his
divine power:) yea, with her familiar and charmes she will take upon her
to cure the blind: though in the tenth of S. John's Gospel it be writ-
ten, that the devil cannot open the eyes of the blind. And they attain
such credit, as I have heard (to my grief) from the ministration affirme,
that they have had in their parish at one instant, 17 or 18. Witches,
meaning such as could work miracles super naturally. Whereby they
manifested as well their insolvency and ignorance, in conceiving God's word;
as their negligence and error in instructing their flockes. For they them-
seftes might understand, and also teach their parishioners, that God
only worketh great wonders; and that it is he which sendeth
such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect: accord-
ing to the saying of the Prophet Haggai; I smote you with blasting and
mildew, and with haile, in all the labours of your hands; and yet you
turned not unto me, faith the Lord. And therefore faith the same Pro-
phet in another place; you have lowen much, and bring in little.
And both in Joel and Leviticus, the like phrases and proofs are used
and made. But more shall be said of this hereafter.

S. Paul fore-saw the blindness of obstinacy, both of these blind she-
ep, and also of their scabbed sheep, when he said They will not suffer
wholsome doctrine, but having their ears itching, shall get them a
heap of teachers after their own lusts: and shall turne their ears from the
truth, and shall be given to fables. And in the latter time

some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of error,
and doctirines of devils, which speake lies (as witches and conjurers do)
but cast thou away such prophanne and old wives fables. In which feffe
Basil faith; Who so giveth heed to enchanters, bareneth to a fabulous
and frivolous thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe
am not only Oculatus testis, but have examined the cause, and am to
justify the truth of my report: not because I would disgrace the minis-
ters that are godly, but to confirm my former assertion, that this ab-
surd error is grown into the place, which should be able to expell all
such ridiculous folly and impiety.

At the assizes holden at Rochester, Anno 1581. one Margaret Simons,
A story of the wife of John Simons, of Brenchly in Kent, was arraigned for witchcraft, at the instigation and complaint of divers fond and malicious persons; and specially by the means of one John Ferrall vicar of that parish, with whom I talked about that matter and found him both fondly affected in the cause, and enviously bent towards her: and (which is worse) as unable to make a good account of his faith, as the whom he accused. That which he, for his part, laid to the poor woman's charge was this.

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

He proceeded yet further against her, affirming, that always in his parish-church, when he desired to read most plainly, his voice so failed him, as he could scarce be heard at all. Which he could impure, he said, to nothing else, but to her enchantment. When I advertised the poor woman hereof, as being desirous to hear what she could say for herself; she told me, that in very deed his voice did much fail him, specially when he strained himself to speak lowest. Howbeit, she said that at all times his voice was hoarse and low, which thing I perceived to be true. But he said, you shall understand, that this our vicar is diseased with such a kind of hoarseness, as divers of our neighbours in this parish not long since, doubted that he had the French-Pox; and in that respect utterly refused to communicate with him: until such time as (being thereunto enjoined by M. D. Lewen the ordinary) he had brought from London a certificate, under the hands of two Physicians, that his hoarseness proceeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificate he published in the church, in the presence of the whole congregation; and by this means he was cured, or rather excused of the shame of his disease. And this I know to be true by the relation of divers honest men of that parish. And truly, if one of the Jury had not been wiser then the other, she had been condemned thereupon, and upon other as ridiculous matters as this. For the name of a witch is so odious, and her power so feared among the common people, that if the honestest body living chance to be arraigned thereupon, they shall hardly escape condemnation.
Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of
the cause that moveth men so commonly to think, and witches
themselves to believe that they can hurt children, cattle, &c.
with words, and imaginations; and of confining witches.

Neither of such as are said to be witches, are women
which be commonly old, lame, clear-eyed, pale,
fowle, and full of wrinkles; poor, fitten, superstiti-
tious, and papists; or such as know no religion: in
whose droolie minds the devil hath gotten a firm
seat.
for, what mischief, mischance, calamity, or slaugh
ter is brought to passe, they are easily persuaded the
same is done by themselves; imprinting in their minds an earnest and con-
stant imagination thereof. They are lean and deformed, shewing me-
lancholy in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are do-
ting, scolds, mad, devilish, and not much differing from them that
are thought to be possessed with spirits, to firme and steadfast in their
opinions, as who soever shall only have respect to the constancy of their
words uttered, would easily believe they were true indeed.

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

It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their ex-
pectation is answer'd or serv'd, in those places where they beg or
borrow; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbours reproved.
And further, in tract of time the witch waxeth odious and tedious to her
neighbours; and they again are despised and despised of her: so as some-
times she curseth one, and sometimes another; and that from the ma-
ster of the house, his wife, children, cattle, &c. to the little pig that
lieth in the sty. Thus in process of time they have all displeased her,
and she hath with evil luck unto them all; perhaps with curses and
imprecations made in forme. Doubtlese (at length) some of her neigh-
bours die, or fall sick; or some of their children are visit'd with
diseases that vex them strangely: as apoplexies, epilepsies, convulsions,
hot fevers, worms, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to
be the vengeance of witches. Yea and their opinions and conceits are
confirmed
confirmed and maintained by unskilful physicians, according to the commen saying: Insecutis palium maleficium & incantatio, Witchcraft and incantation is the cloue of ignorance: whereas indeed evil humors, and not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their castell pass, either by disease or mischief. Three they, upon whom such adversities fall, weighing the fame that goeth upon this woman, her words, desire, and curse, meeting to justly with their misfortune, do not only conceive, but also are resolved that all their mishaps are brought to passe by her onely meanes.

The witch on the other side expecting her neighbors mishances, and seeing things sometimes come to passe according to her wishes, curses, and incantations (for Bodin himselfe confesseth, that not above two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a justice, by the examination of the circumstances is driven to see her imprecations and defires, and her neighbours harms and losses to concurr, and as it were to take effect: and to confesseth that she (as a goddes) hath brought such things to passe. Wherein, not only the But the accuser, and also the justice are fully deceived and abused; as being through her confession and other circumstances persuaded (to the injur of Gods glory) that she hath done, or can do that which is proper onely to God himself.

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

CHAP. III.

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

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

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

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

And first Ovid affirmeth, that they can raise and suppress lightnings and thunder, rain and hail, clouds and winds, tempests and earthquakes. Others do write, that they can pull down the moon and the stars. Some write that with waving they can send needles into the livers of their enemies. Some that they can transfer corn in the blade from one place to another. Some, that they can cure diseases supernaturally, in the air, and dance with devils. Some write, that they can play the part of Succubus, and contract themselves to Incubus; and so young prophets are upon them begotten, &c. Some say they can transubstantiate themselves and others, and take the forms and shapes of asses, wolves, ferrets, cows, apes, hores, dogs, &c. Some say they can keep devils and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats. They can raise spirits (as others affirm) drie up springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sun, and stay both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at awger-holes, and faine in an egge shell, a cockle or mussel shell, through and under the tempestuous seas. They can go invisible, and deprive men of their privities, and otherwise of the act and use of venery. They can bring foules out of the graves. They can raise snakes in pieces with words; and with lookes kill lambs. But in this case a man may say, that Miranda canunt, sed non credenda Poeta. They can also bring to passe, that cherne as long as you lift, your butter will not come; especially, if either the maids have eaten up the creame; or the good-wife have sold the butter before in the market. Whereof I have had some triall, although there may be true and natural causes to hinder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a little spoore of sugar into your cherne of creame, and there will never come any butter, cherne as long as you lift. But M. Mal. faith, that there is not so little a village, where many women are not that be


bewitch, infect, and kill kinke, and dry up the milke; alleging for the strengthening of that affirnion, the laying of the Apostle, "Nunquid Deo cura est de boves? doth God take any care of oxen?"

CHAP. V.

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

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

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

In like manner I say, he that attributeth to a witch, such divine power, as duly and onely appertaineth unto GOD (which all witch-mongers do) is in heart a blasphemer, an idolater, and full of grosse impiery, although he neither go nor send to her for assistance.
A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by invincible reasons and authorities, with dissuasions from such fond credulity.

If witches could do any such miraculous things, as these and others which are imputed to them, they might do them again and again, at any time or place, or at any man's desire; for the devil is as strong at one time as at another, as busy by day as by night, and ready enough to do all mischief, and careth not whom he abuseth. And insomuch as it is confessed, by the most part of witch-mongers themselves, that he knoweth not the cogitation of man's heart, he should (me thinks) sometimes appear, unto honest and credible persons, in such great and corporal forms, as it is said he doth unto witches; which you shall never hear to be justified by one sufficient witness. For the devil indeed entereth into the mind, and that way seeketh man's confusion.

The art alwayes presupposeth the power; so as, if they say they can do this or that, they must shew how and by what means they do it; as neither the witches, nor the witch-mongers are able to do. For to every action is required the faculty and ability of the agent or doer; the aptness of the patient or subject; and a convenient and possible application. Now the witches are mortals, and their power dependeth upon the analogy and conformation of their minds and bodies; but with their minds they can but will and understand; and with their bodies they can do no more, but as the bounds and ends of terrestrial sense will suffer: and therefore their power extended not to do such miracles, as surmount their own sense, and the understanding of others, which are wiser than they; so as here wanteth the vertue and power of the efficient. And in reason, there can be no more virtue in the thing caused, than in the cause; or that which proceedeth of or from the benefit of the cause. And we see; that ignorant and impotent women, or witches, are the causes of incantations and charmes, wherein we shall perceive there is none effect, if we will credit our own experience and sense unabused, the rules of philosophy, or the word of God. For alas! What an unapt instrument is a toothless, old, impotent, and unweildy woman to file in the aire? Truly, the devill 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; specially when our neighbours life dependeth upon our credulity therein, and when we may see the defect of ability, which alwayes is an impediment both to the act, and also to the presumption thereof. And because there is nothing possible in law, that in nature is impossible; therefore the judge doth not attend or regard what the accused man faith; or yet would
do: but what is proved to have been committed, and naturally fallth in man's power and will to do. For the law faith, that to will a thing impossible, is a signe of a mad-man, or of a fool, upon whom no sentence or judgement taketh hold. Furthermore, what jury will condurne, or what judge will give sentence or judgment against one for killing a man at Berwicke; when they themselves, and many other saw that man at London, that very day, wherein the murder was committed; yea though the party confesse his selfe guilty therein, and twenty witnesses depole the same; But in this case also I say the judge is not to weigh their testimony, which is weakened by law; and the judges authority is to supply the imperfection of the case, and to maintain the right and equity of the same.

Seeing therefore that some other things might naturally be the occasion and cause of such calamities as witches are supposed to bring, let us that professe the Gospel and knowledge of Christ, be bewitched to believe that they do such things, as are in nature impossible, and in sense and reason incredible. If they say it is done through the devils help, who can work miracles; why do not the theives bring their business to paffe miraculonfly, with whom the devil is conversant as with the other; Such mischiefs as are impred to witches, happen where no witches are; yea and continue when witches are hanged and burnt: why then should we attribute such effect to that cause, which being taken away, happeneth nevertheless?

CHAP. VII.

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

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

And this I have also noted, that when any one is confened with a confening to of witchcraft, and maketh report thereof accordingly, verifying a matter most impossible and false as it were upon his own knowledge, as being overtaken with some kind of illusion or other (which illusions are right instanments) even the selfe same man will disprove the
likely proceeding out of another man's mouth, as a fabulous matter unworthy of credit. It is also to be wondered, how men (that have seen some part of witches confessions detected, and see also therein the impossibility of their own presumptions, and the folly and falsehood of the witches confessions) will not suspect, but remain unsatisfied, or rather obstinately defend the residue of witches supernaturnal actions: like as when a jugler hath discovered the flight and illusion of his principal feats, one would fondly continue to think, that his other petty jugglings and tricks of legierdemaine are done by the help of a familiar: and according to the folly of some papists, who seeing and confessing the Popes abjur'd religion, in the erection and maintenance of idolatry and superstition, specially in Images, pardons, and relics of Saints, will yet perpetually think, that the rest of his doctrine and practice is holy and good. Finally, many maintain and cry out for the execution of witches, that particularly believe never a whit of that which is imputed unto them; if they be therein privately dealt withal, and substantially opposed and tried in argument.

CHAP. VIII.

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

Carramius writeth, that the cause of such credulity consisteth in three points; to wit, in the imagination of the melancholique, in the constancy of them that are corrupt therewith, and in the deceit of the Judges; who being inquirors themselves against heretics and witches, did both accuse and condemn them, having for their labour the spoile of their goods. So as these inquirors added many fables hereunto, least they should seem to have done injury to the poor wretches, in condemning and executing them for none offence. But sithens (faith he) the springing up of Luther's sect, these priests have tended more diligently upon the execution of them; because more wealth is to be caught from them: inasmuch as now they deal so lothly with witches (through distrust of gaines) that all is seen to be malice, folly, or avarice, that hath been practised against them. And who soever shall search into this cause, or read the chief writers hereupon, shall find his words true.

It will be objected, that we here in England are not now directed by the Popes laws; and so by consequence our witches not troubled or convicted by the inquirors. I answer, that in times past here in England, as in other nations, this order of discipline hath ed been in force and use; although now some part of old rigor be qualified by two severall statutes made in the first of Elizabeth, and 13 of Henry the eighth. Nevertheless the estimation of the omnipotency of their words and charms seemeth in those statutes to be somewhat maintained, as a matter hitherto generally received; and not yet so looked into, as that
that it is refused and decided. But how wisely soever the Parliamenthouse hath dealt therein, or how mercifully soever the Prince beheldeth the cause: if a poor old woman, supposeth to be a witch, be by the civil or canon law convicted; I doubt, some canon will be found in force, not only to give scope to the tormentor, but also to the hangman, to exercise their offices upon her. And most certain it is, that in what point soever any of these extremities, which I shall rehearse unto you, be mitigated, it is through the goodwills of the Queens Majesty, and her excellent magistrates placed amongst us. For as touching the opinion of our writers therein in our age; yea in our country you shall see it doth not only agree with foreign cruelty, but surmounteth it far. If you read a foolish pamphlet dedicated to the Lord Darcy by W. W. 1582, you shall see that he affirmeth, that all those tortures are farre too light, and their rigor too mild; and that in that respect he impudently exclaimeth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when murderers, and such malefactors be fouled, which deserve not the hundredth part of their punishments. But if you will see more folly and lewdness comprised in one lewd book, I commend you to Ri. Ga. a Windfor-man; who being a mad-man hath written according to his frantick humor; the reading whereof may satisfy a wise man, how mad all these witch-mongers dealings be in this behalfe.

CHAP. IX.

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

And because it may appeare unto the world what treacherous and faithlesse dealing, what extreme and intolerable tyrannies, what grosse and fond absurdities, what unnatural and uncivil discourtesie, what cankerd and spitefull malice, what outrageous and barbarous cruelty, what lewd and false packing, what cunning and crafty interpreting, what bald and pievous interpretations, what abominable and devilish inventions; and what flat and plaine knavery is practised against these old women; I will let down the whole order of the inquisition, to the everlasting, inexculbable, and apparent shame of all witch-mongers. Neither will I insert any private or doubfull dealings of theirs; or such as they can either deny to be usual, or justly cavil at; but such as are published and renewed in all ages, since the commencement of popesty, established by laws, pacified by inquisitors, priviledged by princes, commended by doctors, confirmed by popes, councils, decrees, and canons; and finally be left of all witch-mongers; to wit, by such as attribute to old women, and such like creatures, the power of the Creator. I pray you therefore, though it be tedious and intolerable (as you would be heard in your miserable calamities) to heare with compassion, their accusations, examinations, matters given in evidence, confessions, presumptions, interrogatories, conjurations, cautions, crimes, tortures and condemnations, devised and practised usually against them.
The Second Book.

Chap. I.

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

Excommunicate persons, partakers of the fault, infants, malefactors, wicked servants, and runaways are to be admitted to bear witness against their dames in this matter of witchcraft, because (faith Bodin the champion of witch-mongers) none that be honest are able to detect them. Heretics also and witches shall be received to accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finally, the testimony of all infamous persons in this case is good and allowed. Yea, one lewd person (faith Bodin) may be received to accuse and condemn a thousand suspected witches. And although by law, a capital enemy may be challenged; yet James Sprenger, and Henry Institoris, (from whom Bodin and all the writers that ever I have read, do receive their light, authorities and arguments) say (upon this point of law) that the poor friendlesse old woman must prove, that her capital enemy would have killed her, and that he hath both assaulted and wounded her; otherwise the pleaeth thee all in vain. If the judge ask her, whether she have any capital enemies; and she rehearse other, and she beaccusor: or else answer that he was her capital enemy, but now the hopeth he is not so; such a one is nevertheless admitted for a witness. And though by law, single witnesses are not admissible; yet if one depose the hath bewitched her cow; another, her sow; and the third, her butter: these (faith M. Mal. and Bodin) are not single witnesses; because they agree that she is a witch.

Chap. II.

The order of examination witches of by the inquisitors.

Women suspected to be witches, after their apprehension may not be suffered to go home, or to other places, to seek sureties: for as in the same case the people would be worse willing to accuse them; of accusing for fear least at their returne home, they work revenge upon them. In a witch, which respect Bodin commendeth much the Scottish custome and order, in this behalf: where (he saith) a hollow piece of wood or a chest is placed in the church, into which any body may freely cast a little scroll of paper, wherein may be contained the name of the witch, the time, place, and fact, &c. And the same chest being locked with three
three severall locks are opened every fifteenth day by three inquisitors or officers appointed for that purpose: which keepe three severall keyes. And thus the accuser need not be knowne, nor shamed with the reprooch of flander or malice to his poor neighbour.

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

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

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

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

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

Item, they must be examined, whether their parents were witches or no: for witches (as these Doctors suppose) come by propagation. And Bodin feteth downe this principle in witch-craft, to wit, 

Si sgs fit mater, sc etiam est filia: howbeit the law forbiddeth it, ob J agon evis renitam.

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

Item, she must be examined of all accusations, presumptions, and faults, at one instant; leaft Satan should afterwards disswade her from confession.

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

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

Item, the judges must seem to be in a pittifull countenance and we bemonoe them, saying, that it was not they, but the devill that com mende the murder, and that he compelled them to do it; and must make them believe that they thinke them to be innocents.

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

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

Bodin (faith) was king Childeberts devise, and is to this day of all others the most effectual. For by means of that extreme paine, they will (faith he) confesse any thing.

Item, Paulus Grillonius, being an old doer in these matters: whither that when witches sleepe, and feel no pain upon the torture, Domine P. Grillonius should be found and so (faith he) both the torments will be felt, and the truth will be uttered: Et sic aris deluditur arte.

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

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

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

Matters of evidence against witches.

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

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

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

Item, if any enchant or bewitch mens beasts, or corn, or fly in the air, or make a dog speak, or cut off any mans members, and unite them again to men or childrens bodyes; it is sufficient profe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and conjectures are sufficient profees against witches.


Item, if three witnesses do but say, Such a woman is a witch; then it is a clear case that she is to be executed with death. Which matter Bodin faith is not only certain by the canon and civil lawes, but by the opinion of Pope Innocent, the wisest Pope (as he faith) that ever was.

Item, the complaint of any one man of credit is sufficient to bring a poor woman to the rack or pulley. Item, a condemned or infamous persons testimony is good and allowable in matters of witchcraft.

Item, a witch is not to be delivered, though she endure all the tortures, and confess nothing, as all other are in any criminal cases.

Item, though in other cases the epistoles of many women at once are disabled, as sufficient in law; because of the imbecillity and frailty of their nature or sex, yet in this matter one woman, though she be a party, either accuser or accused, and be also infamous and impudent (for such are Bodins words) yeas and already condemed; she may nevertheless serve to accuse and condemn a witch.

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

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

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

Item, the proctors and advocates in this case are compelled to be witnesse against their clients, as in none other case they are to be constraincd thereunto.

Item, none can give evidence against witches, touching their affections; but witches onely: because (as Bodin faith) none other can do it. Howbeit, Ri. Ga. wrieth, that he came to the God-speed, and with his sword and buckler killed the devill; and at the last he wounded himselfe, that he made him stinke of brimstone.

Item, Bodin faith, that because this is an extraordinary matter; they must herein be extraordinary dealing: and all manner of waies are tolled, direct and indirect.

In his foolish pamphlet of the execution of Windsor witches. 1. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 3.

Is there any probability that such would continue witches? Item ibid. Ioan. An. ad Speculat. tir de liis confess. part. 2.

Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.

Some witches confess (faith Bodin) that are desirous to dy; not for glory, but for despair; because they are tormented in their life-time. But these may not be spared (faith he) although the law doth except them.

The best and surest confession is at strife, to her ghostly father.

Item, if the confess a many things that are false, and one thing that may be true; she is to be taken and executed upon that confession.
Presumptions. of Witchcraft.

Chap. V.

Item, he is not so guilty that confesseth a falsehood or lyeth, and denieth a truth; as the that answereth by circumstance.

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

Item, Bodin reporteth, that one confessed that he went out, or rather up in the air, and was transported many miles to the fairies dance, only because he would spy unto what place his wife went to hagging, and how she behaved herself. Whereupon was much ado among the inquisitors and lawyers, to discourse whether he should be executed with his wife or no. But it was concluded that he must die, because he betrayed not his wife: the which he forbore to do, Propter reverentiam honoris et familia.

Item, if a woman confesseth freely herein; before question be made; and yet afterward deny it: she is nevertheless to be burned.

Item, they affirmeth that this extremity is herein used, because not one among a thousand witches is detected. And yet it is affirmed by Sprenger in M. Mal. that there is not so little a parish, but there are many witches known to be there.

CHAP. V.

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.

If any woman's Child chance to dy at her hand, so as no body knoweth how; it may not be thought or presumed that the mother killed it, except she be supposed a witch; and in that case it is otherwise: for the must upon that presumption be executed; except she can prove the negative or contrary.

Item, if the child of a woman that is suspected to be a witch, be lacking or gone from her; it is to be presumed, that she hath sacrificed it to the devil: except she can prove the negative or contrary.

Item, though in other persons, certain points of their confessions may be thought erroneous, and impure to error: yet (in witches causes) all oversights, imperfections, and escapes must be adjudged impious and malicious, and tend to her confusion and condemnation.

Item, though a thefte be not laid in law to be infamous in any other matter than in theft; yet a witch defamed of witchcraft is said to be defiled with all manner of faults and infamies universally, though she were not condemned; but as I said) defamed with the name of a witch. For rumors and reports are sufficient (faith Bodin) to condemn a witch.

Item, if any man, woman, or child do say, that such a one is a witch; it is a most vehement suspicion (faith Bodin, and sufficient to bring her to the rack); though in all other cases it be directly against law.

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

Item, if a woman, when she is apprehended, cry out, or say; I am undone; Save my life; I will tell you how the matter standeth &c. She is 18. therupon most vehemently to be suspected and condemned to dy.

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

Item, the behaviour, looks, beck, and countenance of a woman, are sufficient signs, whereby to presume she is a witch: for whereas 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 it is certainly to be presumed that they are so: but it is not so to be thought of whores.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Item, their law faith, that an uncertain presumption is sufficient, when a certain presumption faileth.

CHAP. VI.

Particular interrogatories used by the inquisitors against witches.

I Need not stay to confute such partiall and horrible dealings, being so apparently impious, and full of tyranny, which except I should have so manifeely detected, even with their own writings and assertions, few or none would have beleived. But for brevities sake I will passe over the same; supposing that the citing of such absurdities may stand for a sufficient
ent confusion thereof. Now therefore I will proceed to a more particular order and manner of examinations, &c. used by the inquisitors, and allowed for the most part throughout all nations.

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

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

But alas! that tears should be thought sufficient to excuse or condemn in so great a case, and to weigh a trial! I am sure that the worst part of the children of Israel wept bitterly: yea, if there were any witches at all in Israel, they wept. For it is written, that all the children of Israel wept.

Finally, if there be any witches in hell, I am sure they weep; for there is weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

But God knoweth many an honest matron cannot sometimes in the heaviness of her heart shed tears; the which oftentimes are more ready and common with crafty queanes and strumpets, than with sober women. For we read of two kinds of tears in a woman's eye, the one of true grief, the other of deceit. And it is written, that Dediscere flere fere minimum est mendacium: which argueth, that they by which lay, that wicked women cannot weep. But let these tormentors take heed, that the tears in this case which come down the widower's cheeks, with their cry spoken by John Sturch, be not heard above. But to what learned, godly, and lawfull meanes these popish inquisitors have invented for the trial of tear or false tears.

CHAP. VII.

The inquisitors trial of weeping by conjuration.

I conjure thee by the amorous teares, which Jesus Christ our Saviour shed upon the cross, for the salvation of the world; and by the most cannell and burning teares of his mother the most glorious Virgin Mary, sprinkled upon his wounds late in the evening; and by all the teares, which every faint and elect vellell of God hath powered out here in the world: and from those eyes he hath wiped away all teares; that if thou be without fault, thou mayest powre down teares abundantly; and if thou be guilty, that thou weep in no wise: In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen. And note, faith he, that the more you conjure, the lisse the teares.
C H A P. VIII.

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

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

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

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

Item, she must come to her arraignment backward, to wit, with her taile to the judges face, who must make many crosse, at the time of her approaching to the barre. And leeff we should condemme that for superstition, they prevent us with a figure, and tell us, that the same superstition may not seem superstitious unto us. But this resembles the perwasion of a thief, that dissuaded his sonne from stealing; and nevertheless tellleth him that he may pick or cut a purse, and rob by the high-way.

One other caution is, that she must be shaven, so as there remaine not one hair about her: for sometimes they keep seerets for taciturnity, and for other purposes also in their hair, in their privities, and between their skinne and their flesh. For which cause I marvell they fleen them not for one of their witches would not burne, being in the middest of the flame, as M. Mal. reporteth, unless a charm written in a little scroll was espiated to be hidden between her skin and flesh, and taken away. And this is to gravely and faithfully set down by the inquisitors themselves, that one may believe it if he lift, though indeed it be a verily. The like cite the Bodin, of a witch that could not be strangled by the executioner, do what he could. But it is most true, that the inquisitor Cumanus in one year did have one and forty poor women, and burnt them all when he had done.

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

Another
Cautions.

of Witchcraft.

Chap. VIII.

Another caution is, that after she hath been racked, and hath pass'd over all torments devised for that purpose; and after that she hath been compelled to drink holy water, she be conveyed again to the place of torture: and that in the midst of her torments, her accusations be read unto her; and that the witnesses (if they will) be brought face to face unto her: and finally, that she be asked, whether for trial of her innocency she will have judgement, Candesis ferri, which is, To carry Mal. Malef. a certain weight of burning iron in her bare hand. But that may not (lay par. 3. qua. 15.) they in any wife be granted. For both M. Mal. and Bodin also affirm that many things may be promised, but nothing need be performed: for why, they have authority to promise, but no commission to performe the same.

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

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

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

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

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

They deny God, and all religion.

**Answer.** Then let them dye therefore, or at the least be used like infidels, or apostates.

They curse, blaspheme, and provoke God with all despite.

**Answer.** Then let them have the law expressed in Lev. 24. and Deut. 18. & 19.

They give their faith to the devill, and they worship and offer sacrifices unto him.

**Answer.** Let such also be judged by the same law.

They do solemnly vow and promise all their progenie unto the devill.

**Answer.** This promise proceeds from an ungodly mind, and is not to be regarded; because they cannot perform it, neither will it be proved true. Howbeit, if it be done by any that is sound of mind, let the curse of Jer. 32. 36. light upon them, to wit, the sword, famine and pestilence.

They sacrifice their own children to the devill before baptism, holding them up in the air, and then thrust a needle into their brains.

**Answer.** If this be true, I maintain them not herein: but there is a law to judge them by. Howbeit, it is so contrary to sense and nature, that it were folly to believe it; either upon Bodin's bare word, or else upon his presumptions; especially when so small commodity and so great danger and inconvenience follow to the witches thereby.

They burn their children when they have sacrificed them.

**Answer.** Then let them have such punishment, as they that offered their children unto Moab: Lev. 20. But these be meer devils of witch-mongers and inquisitors, that with extreme tortures have wrung such confessions from them; or else with false reports have belied them; or by flattery and fair words and promises have won it at their hands, at the length.

They swear to the devil to bring as many into that society as they can.

**Answer.** This is false, and so proved elsewhere.

They swear by the name of the devill.

**Answer.** I never heard any such oath, neither have we warrant to kill them that so do swear; though indeed it be very lewd and impious.

They use incestuous adultery with spirits.

**Answer.** This is a stale ridiculous ly, as is proved apparently hereafter.

They bile infants, after they have murdered them unbaptized, until their flesh be made palatable.

**Answer.** This is untrue, incredible, and impossible.
Crimes of Witchcraft. 

Chap. X.

They eat the flesh and drink the blood of men and children openly.

Ans. Then are they kin to the Anthropophagi and Canibals. But, I believe never an honest man in England nor in France, will affirm that he hath seen any of these persons, that are said to be witches, do so; if they should, I believe it would poyson them.

They kill men with poyson.

Ans. Let them be hanged for their labour.

They kill men cattell.

Ans. Then let an action of trespass be brought against them for so doing.

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

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

They use venery with a devil call'd Incubus, even when they lie in bed with their husbands, &c, have children by them, which become the best witches.

Ans. This is the last ly, very ridiculous, and confuted by me elsewhere.

CHAP. X.

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

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

In this libel you do see is contained all that witches are charged with, and all that also, which any witch-monger surmizeth, or in malice impureth unto witches power and practice.

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

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

If part be untrue, why may not the residue be thought falses: For all these things are laid to their charge at one instant, even by the greatest doctors and patrones of the art of witch-mongers, producing as many proofs for witches supernaturall and impossible actions, as for the other. So as, if one part of their accusation be false, the other part deserve no credit. If all be true that is alleged of their doings, why should we believe in Christ, because of his miracles, when a witch doth as great wonders:
wonders as ever he did?
But it will be said by some; As for those absurd and popish writers, they are not in all their allegations, touching these matters, to be credited.
But I assure you, that even all sorts of writers herein (for the most part) the very doctors of the church to the school-men, Protestants and Papists, learned and unlearned, Poets and historiographers, Jews, Christians, or Gentiles agree in these impossible and ridiculous matters. Yea and these writers, out of whom I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authority of all writers in this matter. The reason is, because it was never throughly looked into; but every fable credited; and the word ("Witch") named so often in Scripture.
They that have been further of the inquisitors orders and customs, say also; that there is no way in the world for these poor women to escape the inquisitors hands, and so consequently burning; but to gild their hands with money, whereby oftentimes they take pitiful upon them, and deliver them, as sufficiently purged. For they have authority to exchange the punishment of the body with the punishment of the purse, applying the same to the office of their inquisition: whereby they reap such profit, as a number of these silly women pay them yearly penisons, to the end they may not be punished again.

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

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

C. Agrippa replying against the inquisitors folly and superstitious blindness. A bitter injustice, said; O thou wicked Priest! Is this thy divinity? Dost thou vilely vest to draw poor guileless women to the rack by these forged devices? Dost gainst a thing with such sentences judge others to be heretics, thou being a cruelly more heretic than either Faustus or Donatus! Be it as thou sayest, dost quisitor, thou not frustrate the grace of God's ordinance; namely baptism? Are the words in baptism spoken in vain? Or shall the devil remain in the child, or in the power of the devil, being there and then consecrated to Christ Jesus, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? And if thou defend false opinions, which affirm, that spirits accompanying with women, can indenter; yet dost thou more than any of them, which never believed that any of those devils, together with their solne seed, do put part of that their seed or nature into the creature. But though indeed we be borne the children of the devil and damnation, yet in baptism, through grace in Christ, Satan is cast out, and we are made new creatures in the Lord, from whom none can be separated by another mans deed. The inquisitor being hereat offended, threatened the advocate to proceed against him, as a supporter of heretics or witches. Yet nevertheless he ceased not to defend the silly woman, and through the power of the law delivered her from the claws of the bloody monke, who with her accusers, were condemned in a great summe of money to the charter of the church of Mentz, and remained infamous after that time almost to all men.

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

CHAP. XII.

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

He that readeth the ecclesiastical histories, or remembreth the persecutions in Queen Marias time, shall find, that many good men have fallen for fear of persecution, and returned unto the Lord again. What marvell then, though a poor woman, such a one as is described elsewhere, and tormented as is declared in these latter leaves, be made to confesse such absurd and false impossibilities; when flesh and blood is unable to endure such trial? Or how can she in the middest of such horrible tortures
and torments, promise unto her selfe constancy; or forbear to confess any thing? Or what availleth it her, to persevere in the denial of such matters, as are laid to her charge unjustly; when on the one side there is never any end of her torments; on the other side, if she continue in her affestation, they say she hath charms for taciturnity or silence?

Peter the Apostle renounced, curst, and forswore his master and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for fear of a wenchens menaces; or rather at a question demanded by her, wherein he was not so circumvented, as these poor witches are, which be not examined by girls, but by cunning inquisitors, who having the spoile of their goods, and bringing with them into the place of judgement minds to maintain their bloody purpose, spare no manner of allurements, threatnings, or torments, untill they have wrang out of them all that, which either maketh to their own desires, or serveth to the others destruction.

Peter (I say) in the preence of his Lord and master Christ, who had instructed him in true knowledge many years, being forewarned, not passing four or five hours before, and having made a reall league and faithfull promise to the contrary, without any other compulsion than (as hath been said) by a question propos'd by a girl; against his conscience forsooke, thrice denied, and abandoned his said Master; and yet he was a man illuminated, and placed in dignity aloft, and nearer to Christ by many degrees: than the witch, whose fall could not be so great as Peter's; because she never ascended halfe so many steps. A pastor's declination is much more abominable than the going astray of any of his sheeps, as an ambassadors conspiracy is more odious, than the falshood of a common person: or as a captains treason is more mischievous, than a private soldiers mutiny. If you say, Peter repented; I answer that the witch doth so likewise sometimes, and I see not in that case, but mercy may be imploied upon her. It was a mighty temptation to a silly old woman, that a visible devil (being in shape so ugly, as Damaus and others say her is) should assault her in manner and forme as is suppos'd, or rather avowed; specially when there is promise made that none shall be tempted above their strength. The poor old witch is commonly unlearned, unwarned, and unprovided of connell and friend-ship, void of judgement and discretion to moderate her life and communication, her kind and gender more weak and fraile than the masculine, and much more subject to melancholy; her bringing up and company is so base, that nothing is to be looked for in her, specially of these extraordinary qualities; her age also is commonly such, as maketh her decrepit, which is a disease that moveth them to these sories.

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

CHAP. I.

The witches bargain with the devill, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Damos, Pselus, Erastus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartolomaeus Spineus, &c.

Hat which in this matter of witch-craft hath abused so many, and seemeth both so horrible and intolerable, is a plain bargain, that (they say) is made betwixt the devill and the witch. And many of great learning conceive it to be a matter of truth, and in their writings publish it accordingly: the which (by God's grace) shall be proved to be nothing but false.

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

This done, the devill beginneth to be more bold with her, telling her plainly, that all this will not serve his turne; and therefore requires homge at her hands: yea he also tellth her, that she must grant him both her body and soul to be tormented in everlasting fire; which she yeeleth unto. Then he chargeth her, to procure as many men, women, and children, as she can, to enter into this society. Then he teacheth them to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the air, and accomplish all their desires. So as, if there be any children unchristened, or not guarded with the signe of the crosse, or orizons; then the witches may and do catch them from their mothers sides in the night, or out of their cradles, or otherwise kill them with their ceremonies; and, after burial, seal them out of their graves, and seeth them in a caldron, until their flesh be made notable. Of the thickest whereof they make ointments, whereof, they ride in the air; but the thinner portion they put into flaggons, whereof, whosoever dranketh, observing certain ceremonies, immediately becometh a matter of rather a mistress in that practice and faculty.
The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquisitors and peevish witchmongers) to the devill in person; of their songs and dances, and namely of La volta, and of other ceremonies, also of their excourses.

Homage of witches to the devill.

Sometimes their homage with their oath and bargain is received for a certain term of years; sometimes for ever. Sometimes it consists in the denial of the whole faith, sometimes in part. The first is, when the soul is absolutely yielded to the devil and hell fire: the other is, when they have but bargained to observe certain ceremonies and statutes of the church; as to conceal faults at shrift, to fast on fastesdays, &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 killing the devils bare buttocks; as did a Doctor called Edin, who as (Bodin faith) was burned for witchcraft.

Bar Spineus, ap. 1. in nus.
Mal. malef.

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

Idem. bid.

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

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

Chap. 3.

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

And this is to be noted, that the inquisitors affirm, that during the whole time of the witches' exorcise, the devil occupie the room and place of the witch, in to perfect a simulation, as her husband in his bed, neither by feeling, speech, nor countenance can discern her from his wife. Yea the wife departeth out of her husband's arms insensibly, and leaveth the devil in her room visibly. Wherein their incredulity is incredible, who will have a very body in the sained play, and a phantastical body in the true bed: and yet (forsooth) at the name of Jesus, or at the tigne of the crosse, all these bodily witches (they say) vanish away.

Grillandus. de fort. 10. vol. tract.

How witches are summoned to appear before the devil, of their riding in the aire, of their compass, of their conference with the devil, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell, and sacrificing; according to Danaus, Pselles, &c.

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

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

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

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

The novice or young disciple goeth to some church, together with the miditie of that profession, upon a sunday morning, before the communition of holy water, and there the said novice renounceith the faith, promise obedience in observing, or rather omitting of ceremonies in meetings, and such other follies: and finally, that they do homage to their young master the devill, as they covenanted.

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

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

CHAP. V.

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

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

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

There was (faith he) a noble Gentlewoman at Lions, that being in bed 1.Bod. lib. 2. with a lover of hers, suddenly in the night arose up, and lighted a candle: de daemono- mana-cap. 4. which when she had done, she took a box of ointment, wherewith she annointed her body; and after a few words spoken, she was carried away. Her bed-fellow seeing the order hereof, kept out of his bed, took the candle in his hand, and sought for the lady round about the chamber, and in every corner thereof; but though he could not find her, yet did he find her box of ointment; and being desirous to know the vertue thereof, besmeered this agree himself therewith, even as she perceived her to have done before. And eth not although he were not so superstitious, as to use any words to helpe him with their forward in his buxace, yet by the vertue of that ointment (faith Bodin) interpreted he was immediately conveyed to Lorreine, into the assembly of witches. tion, that Which when he saw, he was abashed, and said; In the name of God, what say, this is make I here? And upon those words the whole assembly vanished away, one by one and left him there alone stark naked; and so was he causd to returne to by vertue Lions. But he had so good a confidence for you may perceive by the first of the part of the history, he was a very honest man, that he accused his true league; nor lover for a witch. And causd her to be burned. But as for his adultre yet to them ry, neither M. Mal. nor Bodin do once so much as speake in the dispraise that referre thereof.

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

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

CHAP. VI.

A disprofe of their assemblies, and of their bargain.

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

The author speaks upon due proof and trial.

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

I pray you what bargain have they made with the devill, that with their angry lookes bewitch lambs, children, &c? Is it not confessed, that it is naturall, though it be a ly? What bargain maketh the footeth laying which hath his several kinds of witch-craft and divination expressed in the Scripture? Or is it not granted that they make none? How chanced it that we hear not of this bargain in the Scriptures?
A confutation of the objection concerning witches confessions.

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

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

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

If they confesse that, which hath been indeed committed by them, as poysoning, or any other kind of murder, which falleth into the power of such persons to accomplish; I stand not to defend their cause. Howbeit, I would with that even in that case there be not so rash credit given, nor to hafty proceedings used against them: but that the causes, properties, and circumstances of every thing be duly considered, and diligently examined. For you shall understand, that as sometimes they confesse they have murdered their neighbours with a wish, sometimes with a word, sometimes with a look, &c. so they confesse, that with the
the delivering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they have killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added thereunto, which naturally could be noyome or hurtfull.

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

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

CHAP. VIII.
What folly it were for witches to enter into such desperate peril, and to endure such intolerable tortures for no gain or commodity, and how it comes to passe that witches are overthrown by their confessions.

Alas! they were so subtil, as witch mongers make them to be, they would deny that it were mere folly for them, not only to make a bargain with the devill to throw their soules into hell fire, but their bodies to the tortures of temporal fire and death, for the accomplishment of nothing that might benefit themselves at all; but they would at the leastwise intent with the devill, both to enrich them, and also to enable them; and finally to endue them with all worldly felicity and pleasure; which is furtherest from them of all other. Yes, if they were sensible, they would say to the devill; Why should I hearken to you, when you will deceive me? Did you not promise my neighbour mother Dutton to save and rescue her; and yet to the is hanged? Surely this would appoyse the devill very sore. And it is a wonder, that none, from the beginning of the world, till this day, hath made this and such like objections, wherefore the devill could never make answer. But were it not more madness for them, to serve the devill, under these conditions; and yet to endure whips...
whippings with iron rods at the devil's hands; which (as the witch-mongers write) are to set on, that the prints of the fathes remain upon the witches body ever after, even so long as he hath a day to live.

But these old women being daunted with authority, circumvented with guile, constrained by force, compelled by fear, induced by error, and deceived by ignorance, do fall into such rash credulity, and so are brought unto these absurd confessions. Whole error of mind and blindness of will dependeth upon the disease, and infirmity of nature: and therefore their actions in that case are the more to be borne withal; because they being desirous of reason, can have no consent. For, Delictum sine consensu non portest committit, neque injuria sine animo injurias et; that is, There can be no sinne without consent, nor injury committed without a mind. 

Yet the law saith further, that a purpose retained in mind, doth nothing to the private or publice hurt of any man; and much more that an impossible purpose is unpunishable. Sane mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibility; A sound mind willeth nothing, but that which is possible.

CHAP. IX.

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

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

But the notablest example hereof is, of one that was in great perplexi-
Of one that by imagining that his note was as big as a house, informed me no friend through melancholy or madness, he said more expert in his art than the rest, and all the rest, and yet could deliver him from this concept, nor yet excite his griefs or satiate his humors. He thought that he had a note as big as a house, and thought he would come in at the chamber door being wide open, and yet was not far from it. He asked him the cause why he did not come in. He said, 'The melancholy region mutated, Hecuba, I was called here in England, the Monarch was POLED with the like spirit or concept. Danan,

1. By the P. of Caro.

Macro.

2. If the note of a melancholy person may be occupied in cases of

free from such fancifuls, who, as the learned say, are all of body and brain, the apertures being meet with, the melancholy humor was to be qualified, and if the melancholy humor was to be qualified, his dilate cured.

3. The Indian when we called here in England, triumphing as he would number them, and command the mariners to land, &c. The Indian when we called here in England, triumphing as he would number them, and command the mariners to land, &c.

4. And and yet the melancholy humor was to be qualified, his dilate cured.
That voluntary confessions may be untruly made, to the undoing of the confessors, and of the strange operation of melancholy, proved by a familiar and late example.

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

One Ade Davie, the wife of Simon Davie husbandman, being reputed a Kentish a right honest body, and being of good parentage, grew suddenly (as her story of a husband informed me, and as it is well known in these parts) to be some late accident, very penive and more sad than in times past. Which thing though it grieved him, yet he was loth to make it so appear, as either his wife might be troubled or discontented therewith, or his neighbours informed thereof; least ill husbandry should be laid to his charge (which in these quarters is much abhorred.) But when she grew from pensiveness, to some perturbation of mind; so as her accustomed rest began in the night season to be withdrawne from her, through sighing and secret lamentation; and that, not without tears, she could not but demand the cause of her conceit and extraordinary mourning. But although at that time she covered the same, acknowledging nothing to be amiss with her; soon after notwithstanding the fell down before him on her knees, desiring him to forgive her, for she had grievously offended (as she said) both God and him. Her poor husband being abashed at this her behaviour, comforted her, as he could: asking her the cause of her trouble and grief: who told him, that she had, contrary to God's law, and to the offence of all good Christians, to the injury of him, and specially to the losse of her own soul, bargained and given her soul to the devil, to be delivered unto him within short space. Whereunto her husband answered, saying: Wife, be of good cheer, this thy bargain is void and of none effect: for thou hast sold that which is none of thine to sell: sith it belongeth to Christ, who hath bought it, and dearly paid for it, even with his blood, which he shed upon the cross; so as the devil hath no interest in the.

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

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

He that noteth this woman’s first and second confession, freely and voluntarily made, how every thing concurred that might serve to add credence thereunto, and yield matter for her condemnation, would not think but that if Bodius were foreman of her inquest, he would cry: Guilty: and would hasten execution upon her: who would have said as much before any judge in the world, if she had been examined: and have confessed no lefs; if she had been arraigned thereupon. But God knoweth she was innocent of any of these crimes: howbeit she was brought low and pressed down with the weight of this humor, so as both her rest and sleep were taken away from her; and her fancies troubled and disquieted with despair, and such other cogitations as grew by occasion thereof. And yet I believe, if any mishap had ensued to her husband, or his children; few witch-mongers would have judged otherwise, but that she had bewitched them. And the (for her part) so constantly persuaded her self to be a witch, that she judged her selfe worthy of death; insomuch as being restrained in her chamber, she saw not any occasion carrying a faggot to the fire, but she should cry it was to make a fire to burn her for witchery. But God knoweth she had bewitched none, neither intended these any hurt unto any by her imagination, but unto her selfe.

And as for the rumbling, it was by occasion of a sheep, which was flayed, and hung by the walls, so as a dog came and devoured it; whereby grew the noise which I before mentioned: and she being now recovered, remained a right honest woman, far from such impertinency, and ashamed of her imaginations, which she perceived to have grown through melancholy.

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

But in truth, this melancholike humor (as the best Physicians affirm), is the cause of all their strange, impossible and incredible confessions:
Melancholy. of Witchcraft. Chap. 3. 47

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

This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some say) forefight of things to come, and preserveth health, as being cold and dry; it maketh men subject to leannesse, and to the quartane ague. They that are vexed therewith are destroyers of themselves, lest to suffer injuries, fearfull to offer violence; except the humor be hot. They learn strange congues with small industry (as Aristotle and others affirme.)

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

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

A confutation of witches confessions, especially concerning their league.

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

How hath the the oyle or potage of a sodden child such vertue, as the staffe annointed therewith, can carry folk in the air? Their potable liquour, which, they say, maketh matters of that faculty, is it not ridiculous? And is it not, by the opinion of all philosophers, Physicians, and divines void of such vertue, as is imputed therunto?

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

CHAP. XIII.

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

And to speake more generally of all the impossible actions referred unto them, as also of their false confessions; I say, that there is none which acknowledgeth God to be onely omnipotent, and the onely worker of all miracles, nor any other induced with mean sense, but will deny that the elements are obedient to witches, and at their commandement; or that they may at their pleasure send rain, hail, tempests, thunder, lightning; when she being but an old doing woman, casteth a flint-stone o
ver her left shoulder, towards the west, or hurleth a little sea-sand up into the element, or wetteth a broom-sprig in waters, and sprinkleth the that witch-same in the air; or diggeth a pit in the earth, and putting water therein, es use to stirreth it about with her finger; or boileth hogs bristles, or laieth sticks acrossly upon a banke, where never a drop of water is; or buieth sage till etc. it be rotten; all which things are confessed by witches, and affirmed by writers to be the meanes that witches use to move extraordinary tempests and rain, &c.

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

Me thinks Seneca might satisfie these credulous or rather idolatrous people, that runne a whore-hunting, either in body or phantast, after these witches, beleeving all that is attributed unto them, to the derogation of Gods glory. He faith, that the rude people, and our ignorant predecessors did believe, that rain and showers might be procured and stayed 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 any philosophers school, to learn the confusion thereof.

But Jeremy, by the word of God, doth utterly confound all that which Jer. 16. 22. may be devise for the mainenance of that foolish opinion, saying: Are Dii gentium there any among the gods of the gentiles, that sende raine, or give demonia. showers from heaven? Art not thou the selfe same our Lord God? We, The gods will trust in thee, for thou dost and maketh all these things. I may of the gen- therefore with Brentius boldly say, that is neither in the power of witches tiles are di- nor devils, to accomplish that matter; but in God onely. For when vels. exhalations are drawne and lifted up from out of the earth, by the power The natural of the Sun, into the middle region of the air, the coldesse thereof con- generation of straineth and thickeneth those vapours: which being become cloues, are dissolved again by the heat of the sunne, whereby rain or hail is ingen-

circumstances being considered with the course of the whole Scripture, it

And whereas the story of Job in this case is alleged against me (where-
in a witch is not once named) I have particularly answered it else-where.

And therefore much more I say here; that even there, where it
pleased God (as Calvin's faith) to set down circumstances for the instruc-
tion of our grosse capacities, which are not able to conceive of spiri-
tual communication, or heavenly affaires; the devill depriveth God to stretch
out his hand, and touch all that Job hath. And though he seemeth to
grant Satan's desire, yet God himself sent fire from heaven, &c. Whereby
it is to be gathered, that although God said, He is in thine hand: it was
the Lords hand that punished Job, and not the hand of the devill, who
said not, Give me leave to plague him; but, Lay thine hand upon him.

And when Job continued faithful notwithstanding all his afflications,
in his children, body and good; the devill is said to come again to God;
to say as before, to wit: Now stretch out thine hand, and touch his
bones and his flesh. Which argueth as well that he could not do it, as that
he himselfe did it not before. And be it here remembered, that M. Mal.
and the residue of the witch-mongers deny, that there were any witches
in Jobs time. But see more hereof else-where.

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

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

If it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that
witch-mongers report, or that fools beleive, we should never have bet-
ter in the chearme, nor cow in the clofe, nor corne in the field, nor fair
weather abroad, nor health within doors. Or if that which is contained
in M. Mal. Bodin, &c. or in the pamphlets lately set forth in English, of
witches executions, should be true in those things that witches are said
to confesse, what creature could live in security? Or what needed such
preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe? No
Prince should be able to raigne or live in the land. For (as Danaus faith)
that one Martin a witch killed the Emperour of Germany with witch-craft:
so would our witches (if they could) destroy all our magistrates. One old
witch might over-throw an army roiall: and then what needed we any
guns, or wild-fire, or any other instruments of warre? A witch might
supply all wants, and accomplish a Princes will in this behalfe, even
without charge or bloodshed of his people.

If it be objected, that witches worke by the devill, and christian
princes are not to deale that way; I answer, that for princes disposed to bat-
tell would make conscience therein, specially such as take unjust wars in
hand, using other helps, devill, and engines as lawfull and devillish as
that; in whose camp there is neither the rule of religion or christian
order observed; in somuch as ravishments, murders, blasphemies and
thefts
Use of Witchcraft. Chap. 15.

thefts are there most commonly and freely committed. So that the devil is more feared, and better served in their camps, than God Almighty and His saints.

But admit that such soldiers would be scrupulous herein, the Pope hath authority to dispense therewith; as in like case he hath done, by the testimony of his own authors and friends. Admit also, that throughout all Christendom, wars were justly maintained, and religion duly observed in their camps; yet would the Turk and other Infidels cut our throats, or at least one another's throat, with the help of their witches; for they would make no conscience thereof.

CHA. XV.

Examples of foreign nations, who in their wars used the assistance of witches; of eybising witches in Ireland, of two archers that shot with familiars.

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

The Irishmen adduced themselves wonderfully to the credit and praise hereof; insomuch as they affirmed, that not only their children, but their cattle, are (as they call it) eybitten, when they fall suddenly sick, and tearme one sort of their witches eybiter; onely in that respect: yea and they will not sticke to affirme, that they can revive either man or beasts to death. Also the West Indians and Muscovits do the like, and the Hunnes (as Gregory Turonensis writeth) used the helpe of witches in time of warre.

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

But:
But this latter story I can require with a familiar example. For at Towne Malling in Kent, one of Q. Marius's justices, upon the complaint of many wise men, and a few foolish boys, laid an archer by the heels, because he shot so near the white at burs. For he was informed and persuaded, that the poor man played with a fly, otherwise called a devil or familiar. And because he was certified that the archer aforesaid shot better than the common shooting, which he before had heard of or seen, he conceived it could not be in God's name, but by enchantment; whereby this archer (as he supposed by abusing the Queen's liege people) gained some one day two or three shillings, to the detriment of the commonwealth, and to his own enriching. And therefore the archer was severely punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wise example of justice; but especially to the overthrow of witch-craft. And now again to our matter.

CHAP. XVI.

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

Certaine generall councells, by their decrees, have condemned the confessions and erroneous credulity of witches, to be vain, fantastical and fabulous. And even those, which are parcel of their league, whereupon our witchmongers do so build, to wit; their night-wakings and meetings with Herodias, and the Pagan gods; at which time they should paffe so farre in so little a space on cockhorses; their transubstantiation, their eating of children, and their pulling of them from their mothers sides; their entering into mens houses, through chimneys and little holes where a file can scarcely wring out, and the disquieting of the inhabitants &c. all which are not onely laid by a generall council to be mere fantastical, and imaginations in dreams, but so affirmed by the ancient writers. The words of the council are these: It may not be omitted, that certain wicked women following Satan's provocations, being induced by the illusion of devils, beleive and profess, that in the night-times they ride abroad with Diana, the goddess of the Pagans, or else with Herodias, with an innumerable multitude, upon certain beasts, and passe over many countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and do whatsoever things fairies or ladies command &c. And it followeth even there; Let all ministers therefore in their several places, preach to Gods people, so as they may know all these things to be false, &c. It followeth in the same council; Therefore, who soever beleeveth that any creature may be either created by them, or else changed into better or worse, or be any way transformed into any other kind or likeness of any, but of the creator himselfe, is assuredly an infidell, and worse than a Pagan.

And if this be credible, then all these their bargains and assemblies, are incredible, which are onely ratified by the certaine foolish and extorted confessions; and by a fable of S. Germane, who watched the fairies or witches, being at a reere banquet, and through his holinesse stayed...
Witches wonders, of Witchcraft.

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

But because the old hammer of Sprenger and Inquisitor, in their old Maleficarum, was insufficient to knock down this counsel; a young beetle’s head called Friar Bartholomew Spinus hath made a new leaden beetle, to beat down the council, and kill these old women. Wherein he counterfeits Aesop’s ant, claweth the pope with his heels, affirming upon his credit, that the counsel is false and erroneous; because the doctrine swarveth from the Popish church, and is not authentically but apocryphal. Saying (though untruly) that that counsel was not called by the commandment and pleasure of the Pope, nor ratified by his authority, which (faith he) is sufficient to disannul all counsels. For surely (faith this friar, which at this instant is a chief inquisitor) if the words of this counsel were to be admitted, both I, and all my predecessors had published notorious lies, and committed many injurious executions: whereby the Popes themselves also might justly be detested of error, contrary to the catholique beleefe in that behalfe. Marry he faith, that although the words and direct sense of this counsel be quite contrary to truth and his opinion; yet he will make an exposition thereof, that shall somewhat mitigate the wrecknesse of the same; and this he faith is not only allowable to do, but also meritorious. Marke the mans words, and judge his meaning.

CHAP. XVII.

Witch-mongers reasons, to prove that witches can work wonders, Bodins tale of a Friesland Priest transported, that imaginations proceeding of melancholy do cause illusions.

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

And thereof S. Agustine faith well; that he is too much a fool and a blockhead, that supposeth those things to be done indeed, and corporally, which are by such persons phantastically imagined: which phantastical illusions do as well agree and accord (as Algerus faith) with magickall deceits, as the very accompanyeth divine holiness.

CHAP. XVIII.

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

It is not likely they would do; Ergo a ly.

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

The law also faith, In criminalibus regulariter non facta confesstioni rei.

In criminal cases or touching life, we must not absolutely stand to the confession of the accused party: but in these matters proofs must be brought more clear than the light it selfe. And in this crime no body must be condemned upon presumptions. And where it is objected and urged, that since God onely knoweth the thoughts, there is none other way of proof but
Four crimes objected. of Witchcraft. Chap. 19. 55

but by confession: It is answered thus in the law, to wit: Their confessions in this case containeth not outward act, and the same is impossible both in law and nature, and also unlikely to be true; and therefore Quod glosa facit si de verissime non est, attendi non debet. So as, though their confessions may be worthy of punishment, as whereby they shew a will to commit such acts, yet not worthy of credit, as that they have such power. For, L. Ner. acius. Si saltum absit, solaque opinione laborent, effuturum genus sunt; If they S. jin, confesse a fact performed but in opinion, they are to be reputed among Vi per alia, the number of fools. Neither may any man be by law condemned for criminal causes, upon presumptions, nor yet by single witnesses: neither at all is the accusation of a capital enemy, and who indeed is not to be admitted to confer, &c., give evidence in this case; though it please M. M. and Bodin to affirm the contrary. But beyond all equity, these inquisitors have shifts and devises praesumilis, enough, to plague and kill these poor soules: for (they say) their fault is the greatest of all others; because of their carnall copulation with the devil, Per Bal di in and therefore they are to be punished as heretics, four names of wares: dele q. &c., to wit, commotion, deprivation, loss, and also Extra detest. cum literis. Malefes.

And indeed they find law, and provide meanes thereby to maintain this their bloody humor. For it is written in the popish canons, that Mal. malef. pa. 3. quest. 5. As for these kind of heretikes, how much soever they repent and return to the faith, they may not be retained alive, or kept in perpetuall prison; but be put to extreme death. Yes, M. Mal. writeth, that a witches sin is the sinne against the Holy Ghost; to wit, irremissible; yes, further, that it is greater than the sinne of the angels that fell. In which respect I wonder, that Moles delivered not three tables to the children of Israel; or at the least, wise, that he exhibited not commandments for it. It is not credible that the greatest should be included in the leffe, &c.

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

CHAP. XIX.

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

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

They seek not believe to have salvation at the hands of devils, but by them they are only deceived; the instruments of their fantastie being corrupted, and so infatuated, that they suppose, confesse, and say they can do that, which is as farre beyond their power and nature to do, as to kill a man at York before noon, when they have been seen at London in that morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters, whose idolatry is spirituall and committeth only in mind, should be punished by death; then should every covetous man or other, that serveth his affection any way too much upon an earthely creature be executed, and yet perchance the witch might escape scarce free.

Secondly, apostacke is laid to their charge, whereby it is inferred, that they are worthy to dy. But apostacke is, where any of found judgement forfake the gospell, learned and well known unto them; and do not only embrace impiety and infidelity, but oppugne and refut the truth whilst by them professed. But alas! these poor women go not about to defend any impiety, but after good admonition repent.

Thirdly, they would have them executed for seducing the people. But God knoweth they have small store of Rhetorike or are to seduce; except to tell a tale of Robin good fellow, etc. Each other, so they aggravate the accation to fulle, for they themselves are poor seduced soules. For my part (as else where I have said) have proved this point to be false in most apparent sort.

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

CHAP. XX.

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

A peroration to the readers.

But infomuch as I am driven (for the more manifest bewraying and difplaying of this most filthy and horrible error) to stain my paper with writing
writing thereon certaine of their beastly and bawdy assertions and examples, whereby they confirm this their doctrine (being my selfe both ashamed, and loth once to think upon such filthinesse, although it be to the condemnation theroef) I must intreat you that are the readers hereof, whose chaste ears cannot well endure to hear of such abominable lecheries, as are gathered out of the books of those witch-mongers (although doctors of divinity, and otherwise of great authority and estimation) to turne over a few leaves, wherein (I say) I have like a groome thrust their bawdy stuffe (even that which I my selfe loath) as into a stinking corner: howbeit, none otherwise, I hope, but that the other parts of my writing shall remain sweet, and this also covered as close as may be.
The fourth Book

CHAP. I

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

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

CHAP. II.

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

H ereforeshe say) Incubus was said to ravish women against their will, until Anno 1400. But now since that time witches content willing to their desires: insomuch as some one witch exercised that trade of lechery with Incubus twenty or thirty yeares together; as was confessed by forty and eight witches burned at Ravenspurge. But what goodly fellows Incubus begeteth upon these witches, is proved by Thomas of Aquinæ, Bodin, M. Mal. Hyperius, &c.

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

And to prove that such bawdy doings betwixt the devil and witches is not fained, S. Augustine is alleg'd, who saith, that All superstitious arts had their beginning of the pestiferous Society betwixt the divell and man. Wherein he faith truly, for that in paradise, betwixt the devil and man, all wickednesse was so contriv'd, that man ever since hath studied wicked arts; yea and the devill will be sure to be at the middle and at both ends of every mischief. But that the devill ingendeth with a woman, in manner and form as is supposed, and naturally begetteth the wicked, neither is it true, nor Augustine meaning in this place.

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

An note, that they affirm that this businesse is better accomplished with seed thus gathered, than that which is sowed in dreams, through superfluity of humors: because that is gathered from the vertue of the seed generative. And if it be said that the seed will wax cold by the way, and so lose his natural heate, and consequently the vertue: M. Mal. Dananus and the rest do answer, that the devill can so carry it, as no heat shall go from it, &c.

Furthermore, old witches are sworn to procure as many young virgins for Succubus as they can: whereby in time they grow to be excellent bawds: but in this case the priest playeth Succubus. For you should find, that confession to a priest, and namely this word Benedicte, driveth Succubus away, in M. Malef. when Ave Maries, crossettes, and all other charmes fail.
CHAP. II.

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

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

CHAP. III.

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

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

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

For the further confirmation of our belief in incubus, M.Mal. cite a story of a notable matter executed at Ravenspurke, as true and as cleanly
as the rest. A young man lying with a wench in that town (faith he) was
told to leave his instruments of venery behind him, by means of that pre-
igious art of witchcraft: so as in that place nothing could be seen or
felt but his plaine body. This young man was willing by another witch to
go to her whom he suspected, and by fair or towle means to require her
help: who soon after meeting with her, intreated her faire: but that was
in vain; and therefore he caught her by the throat, and with a towel
strangled her, saying: Restore me my toole, or thou shalt die for it: so
as she being twaine and blacke in the face, and through his boisterous
handling ready to dy, said Let me go, and I will helpe thee. And whilst
he was loosing the towell, she put her hand into his cod-piece, and touched
the place; saying: Now haft thou thy desire: and even as that instant
he felt himself restored.

Item, a reverend father, for his life, holiness, and knowledge no-
rious, being a frier of the order and company of Spire, reported, that a
young man at arbor made lamentable moan unto him for the like losse: but
his gravity suffered him not to beleue lightly any such reports, and
therefore made the young man untrust his codpiece-point, and saw the
complaint to be true and just. Whereupon he advised or rather injoyed
the youth to go to the witch whom he suspected, and with flattering
words to intreat her, to be so good unto him, as to restore him his
instrument: which by that means he obtained; and soon after returned to
shew himselfe thankfull; and told the holy father of his good successe in
that behalfe: but he so beleued him, as he would needs be Oculatus
testis, and made him pull down his breeches, and so was satisfi'd of the
truth and certainty thereof.

Another young man being in that very taking, went to a witch for the
restitution thereof, who brought him to a tree, where she shewed him a
nest, and bid him clime up and take it. And being in the top of the
tree, he took out a mighty great one, and shewed the same to her, asking
her if he might not have the same. Nay (quoth she) that is our parish priest's
tool, but take any other which thou wilt. And it is there affirmed, that
some have found 20, and some 30 of them in one nest; being there pre-
erved with provender, as it were at the wrack and manger, with this note,
wherein there is no contradiction (for all must be true that is written agaist
witches) that if a witch deposite one of his privities, it is done onely by
prestigious means; so as the fences are but illuded. Marry by the devill Note:
it is really taken away, and in like sort restored. These are no jestes,
for they be written by them that were and are judges upon the lives and
deaths of those persons.
Oft bishop Sylvanus his lechery opened and covered again, how maides having yellow hair are most combered with Incubus, how married men are bewitched to use other mens wives, and to refuse their own.

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

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

The priests say, that the best cure for a woman thus molested, next to confession, is excommunication. But to procure the dissolving of bewitched and constrained love, the party bewitched must make a akes of the lovers shoe. And to enforce a man, how proper soever he be, to love an old hag, she giveth unto to eat (among other meares) her own dung: and this way an old witch made three abbeys of one house succesively
Forced chastity. of Witchcraft. Chap. VII.

sively to dye for her love, as she her selfe confessed, by the report of M. Of bawdy Mal. In Gelderland a priest persuadeth a sick woman that she was bewitch priest in Gel-
ed; and except he might sing a maffe upon her belly, she could not be deitland, holpen. Whereupon she consented, and lay naked on the altar whilst he sung maffe, to the satisfying of his lust; but not to the release of her grief. Other cures I will speak of in other places more civill. Howbeit, certain miraculous cures, both full of bawdry and lies, must either have place here, or none at all.

CHAP. VII.

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

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

CHAP. VIII.

Certain popes and magickal cures, for them that are bewitched in their privities.

For direct cure to such as are bewitched in the privy members, the first and speciall is confession; then follow in a row, holy-water, and thos
4. Book. The Discovery

The night mare.

thofe ceremonials triumpfies, Ave Maries, and all manner of crossings; which are all said to be wholesome, except the witch-craft be perpetual, and in that case the wife may have a divorce of course.

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

Aliter.

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

Aliter.

Item, to anoint a mans body over with the gall of a crow.

Aliter.

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

Aliter.

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

Item, to pisse through a wedding-ring. If you would know who is hungry in his privies by witch craft; and who other wise is therein diseased, Hostiensis answereth: but so, as I am ashamed to English it: and therefore have here set down his experiment in Latin: Quaudo virgo nullatem movetur, & nonquum potius cognoscere, hoc est signum frigidityatis; sed quando movetur & erigitur, persicere autem non potest, est signum maleficia.

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

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

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

CHAP. IX.

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

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

There came (as he) of late a maffe-priest unto me, making pitious moan, and saying, that if I holde him not, he should be undone, and utterly overthrown; so great was his infirmity: for (as he) I was wont to be fair and fat, and of an excellent complexion; and so how I looked, being now a very ghost consisting of skine and bone, &c. What is the matter (quoth Iason?) I will shew you sir, said the priest. There cometh unto me, almost every night, a certain woman, unknown unto me,
liech so heavy upon my brest, that I cannot fetch my breath, neither have any power to cry, neither do my hands serve me to shove her away, nor my feet to go from her. I told (quoth Iason) and told him that he was vexed with a disease called Incubus, or the mare; and the residue was phantastic and vain imagination. Nay (said the priest) it cannot be for the priest is for by our blessed lady, I tell you nothing but that which waking I saw with opinionative mine eyes, and felt with mine hands. I see her when she commeth upon me, and strive to repell her; but I am so infibed that I cannot and for his fantastical remedy I have runne from place to place, but no helpe that I could get. At length I went to an old frier that was counted an odd fellow; and thought I should have had helpe at his hands, but the devill a whit had I of him; saving that for remedy he willed me to pray to God; whom I am sure I wearied with my tedious prayers long before. Then went I unto an old woman, quoth the priest, who was said to be a cunning witch; and she willed me, that the next morning, about the dawn of the day, I should pisse, and immediately should cover the pot and stop it with my right netherstock, and before night the witch should come to visit me. And although, quoth he, the respect of mine orders somewhat terrifyed me from the execution of her advice; yet my necessities did make me do it. And by the example, quoth the priest, her prophetic fell open as sure as a club. For a witch came to my house, and complained of a grief in her bladder, and that she could not pisse. But I could neither by fair nor fowle means obtain at her hands, that she would leave molesting me by night, but the keepeth her old custome, determining by these filthy means to dispatch me. I could hardly, said Iason, reclaime him from this mad humor; but by that time he had been with me three or four times, he began to comfort himselfe, and at last perceiving it, he acknowledged his disease, and recovered the same.

CHAP. X.

A confusion of all the former fallyes touching Incubus, which by examples and proofs of like stuffe is proved to be flat knavery, wherein the carnall copulation with spirits is over-thrown.

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

And alas, when great learned men have been so abused, with the imagination of Incubus his carnall society with women, misconstruing the Scriptures, to wit, the place in Genesis 6., to the seducing of many others; it is the lesse wonder, that this error hath paffed so generally among the common people.
But to the few words herein, I hope you understand that they affirm and say, that 
Incubus is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c., and that he neither doth eat nor drink. Indeed your gran dames maides were wont to set a boll of milke before him and his counselle Robin good-fellow, for grinding of malm or mustard, and sweeping the house at mid-night: and you have also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or good-wife of the house, having compassion of his nakedness, laid any clothes for him, besides his meisle of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee. For in that case he faith; What have we here? Hemton hamten, here will I never more tread nor stamper. But to proceed in this consideration. Where there is no meat eaten, there can be no seed which thereof is ingended: although it be granted, that Robin could both eat and drink, as being a polening idle frier, or some such rogue, that wanted nothing either belonging to lechery or knavery, &c. Item, where the genitall members want, there can be no lust of the flesh: neither doth nature give any desire of generation, where there is no propagation or successe on required. And as spirits cannot be grieved with hunger, so can they not be inflamed with lustes. And if men shoulde I live ever, what needed succession or heres? For that is but an ordinance of God, to supply the place, the number, the world, the time, and specially to accomplish his will. But the power of generation consisteth not only in members, but chiefly of vital spirits, and of the heat; which spirits are never in such a body as Incubus hath, being but a body assumed, as they themselves say. And yet the most part of writers herein affirm, that it is a palpable and visible body; though all be phanties and fables that are written hereupon.

CHAP. XI.

That Incubus is a naturall disease, with remedies for the same, besides magical cures here-withal expressed.

But in truth, this Incubus is a bodily disease (as hath been said) althought it extend unto the trouble of the mind, which offorne is called the mind, oppressing many in their sleep so sore, as they are not able to call for helpe, or stirre themselves under the burden of that heavy humor; which is ingredded of a thick vapor proceeding from the crudity and ravenesses in the stomach; which ascending up into the head oppresseth the brian, in somuch as many are much infeebled thereby, as being nightly haunted subject therewith. They are most troubled with this disease, that being thereunto, by right upward; so as, to turn and ly on the one side, is present remedy. Likewise, if any hear the groaning of the party, speak unto him, so as he wake him, he is presently releaved. Howbeit, there are magical cures for it; as for example.

S. George; S. George, our ladies knight.
He walkt by day, so did he by night;
Untill such time as she her sound,  
He her beat and he her bound,  
Untill her troth she to him plight,  
She would not come to her that night.

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

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

Item, you shall read in M. Maleficet, that excommunication is very no M. maleficet table, and better than any charm for this purpose. There are also others verbes and charmes for this disease devised, which is the common cloak cap. 1. col. 2. for the ignorance of bad physicians. But Leonard Fuchus in his first book Leon. Fuchis 31. chapter, doth not only describe this disease, and the causes of it, us de curandis, but also seeteth down very learnedly the cure thereof, to the utter confusion of the witch-mongers folly in this behalfe.Hyperius being much bewitched and blinded in this matter of witch-crafts, hovering about the interpretation of Genesis 6. from whence the opinion of Incubus and Succubus is extorted Viderunt filii Dei fillos hominum, quod elegant es essent acceperrunt filis in uxores ex omnibus quae eleganter, &e. seemeth to maintain upon hear say, that absurd opinion; and yet in the end is driven to conclude thus, to wit: Of the evil spirits Incubus and Succubus there can be no firme reason or proof brought out of Scriptures, using these very words; Hec ut probabilia dicta sunt, quandoquidem scripturarum praefidos hac in causa definitur. As if he should say, Take this as spoken probably; so wit, by humane reason, because we are destitute of Scriptures to maintain the goodness of the cause.

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

**CHAP. XII.**

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

Now will I (after all this long discourse of abominable cloked knavery) here conclude with certaine of G. Chaucers verbes, who as he smelt out the absurdities of popery, so found he the priests knavery in this matter of incubus, and (as the time would suffere him) he derided their folly and falshood in this wise:

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

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K 2  
---

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

CHAP. I.

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

Now that I may with the very absurdities, contained in their own authors, and even in their principal doctors and last writers, confound them that maintain the transubstantiations of witches; I will shew you certain proper stuffs, which Bodin (their chief champion of this age) hath gathered out of M. Mal. (and others, whereby he laboureth to establish this impossible, incredible, and supernatural, or rather unnatural doctrine of transubstantiation.

First, as touching the devil (Bodin saith) that he doth most properly and commonly transform himself into a goat, confirming that opinion by the 33. and 34. of Esay: where there is no one tittle founding to any such purpose. Howbeit, he sometimes alloweth the devil the shape of a blackmoore, and as he saith he used to appear to Mawd Cruse, Kate Dare, and Jane Harviller. But I marvel, whether the devil createth himself, when he appeareth in the likeness of a man; or whether God createth him, when the devil witnesseth. As for witches, he saith they specially transubstantiate themselves into wolves, and them whom they bewitch into asles: though else where he differ somewhat herein from himselfe. But though he affirmeth, that it may be naturally brought to passe, that a gile shall become a boy; and that any femall may be turned into the male: yet he saith the same hath no affinity with Lycanthropia; wherein he saith also, that men are wholly transformed, and citeeth infinite examples hereof.

First, that one Garner in the shape of a woollen killed a gire of the age of twelve yeares, and did eat up her armes and legges, and carried the rest home to his wife. Item, that Peter Burget, and Michael Werdon, having turned them selves with anointment into wolves, killed, & finally did eat up an infinite number of people. Which by Wierus doth sufficiently confute. But till you see & read that, consider whether Peter could eat raw flesh without surfeiting, specially flesh of his own kinde. Item, that there was an arrow shot into a wolfes thigh, who afterwards being turned into his former shape of a man, was found in his bed, with the arrow in his thigh, which the archer that shot it knew very well. Item, that another being Lycanthropus in the forme of a wolfe, had his wolfe feet cut off, and in a moment he became a man without hands or feet.

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 & oftentimes seen to performe that villany; because he would be counted the king of all witches. He saith that this transubstantiation is most common in Greece.
and through out all Asia, as martchangers have reported to him. For *Anno Domini* 1542, when Sultan Solimon reigned, there was such force and multitude of these kind of wolves in Constantinople, that the Emperor drave together in one stock 150. of them, which departed out of the city in the presence of all the people.

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

Item, that there was one *Bajamus* a Jew, being the sonne of *Simeon*, which could, when he list, turne himself into a wolf, and by that meanes could escape the force and danger of a whole army of men. Which thing (faith Bodin) is wonderfull: but yet (faith he) it is much more marvellsous, that men will not beleue it. For many Poets affirm it; yea, and if you look well into the matter (faith he) you shall finde it easie to doe.

Item, he faith, that as naturall wolves persecute beasts; so do these mawical wolves devour men, women and children. And yet God faith to the people, I truo, and not to the cattell of Israel; If you observe not my commandements, I will send among you the beasts of the field, which shall devour both you and your cattell. Item, I will send the teeth of beasts upon you. Where is Bodins distinction now become? He never faith, I will send witches in the likenesse of wolves, &c. to devour you or your cattell. Nevertheless, *Bodin* faith it is a clear case; for the matter was disputed upon before Pope Leo the seuenthe, and by him all the matters were judged possible: and at that time, faith he, were the transformations of Lucian and Apuleius made canonical.

Furthermore he faith, that through this art they are so cunning that no man can apprehend them, but when they are asleep. Item, he nameth another witch, that, as M. Mal. faith, could not be caught, because he could not be apprehended, would transforme himselfe into a mouse, and runne into every little hole, and why? I. *Bodin.*

Mal. *malef.*

John. *Bodin.*

Mal. *Malef.*

Barth. *Spin.*

&c.

Mal. *malef.*

part. 3.

An error about *Lycanthropia.*

Physitians, as say that *Lycanthropia* is a disease, and not a transformation. Item, he maintaineth, as sacred and true, all *Homers* fables of *Circe* and *Ulysses*.
W. transformations. of Witchcraft. Chap. 2.

Ulysses his companions: inveying against Chrysostome, who rightly interpretest Homer's meaning to be, that Ulysses his people were by the harlot Circe made in their brutish manners to resemble swine.

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

CHAP. II.

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

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

A man turned into an Ass.

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

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

M. mal. part. 2. qua. 2 cap. 4.

CHAP. III.

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

It happened in the City of Salamin, in the kingdom of Cyprus (wherein is a good haven) that a ship laden with merchandise layed there for a short space. In the meane time many of the Souldiers and Mariners went to shoar, to provide fresh victuals. Among which number a certain English man, being a sturdy young fellow, went to a woman house, a little way out of the city, and not farre from the sea-side, to see whether she had any eggs to sell. Who perceiving him to be a lustie young fellow, a stranger, and far from his countrey (so as upon the least of him there would be the least miffle or inquiry,) he confered with himself how to destroy him; and willed him to stay there a while, while he went to fetch a few eggs for him. But she tarried long, so as the young man called unto her, desiring her to make haste: for he told her that the tide would be spent, and by that means his ship would be gone, and leave him behind. Howbeit after some detracting of time, she brought him a few eggs, willing him to return to her, if his ship were gone when he came. The young fellow returned towards his ship: but before he went abroad, he would needs eate an egg, or twain, to satise his hunger, and within short space he became dumb and out of his wits, as he afterwards said. When he would have entered into the ship, the mariners beat him back with a cudgell, saying; what a murren lacks the ass? Wh
A man turned into an affe. of Witchcraft Chap. 3. 73

ther the devill will this affe? The affe or young man, I cannot tell by A strange me-
which name I should rearm him, being many times repelled, and under-
standing their words that called him affe, considering that he could speak of body, but
never a word, and yet could understand every body; he thought that not of mind.
he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore
when by no means he could get into the boate, but was driven to carry
and see her departure; being also beaten from place to place, as an affe:
he remembred the witches words, and the words of his own fellowes that
called him affe, and returned to the witches house, in whose service he
remained by the space of three yeares, doing nothing with his hands all
that while, but carried such burthens as, he layed on his back; having
only this comfort, that although he were reputed an affe among stran-
gers and beasts, yet that both this witch, and all other witches knew him
to be a man.

After three yeares were passed over, in a morning betimes he went to
towne before his dame; who upon some occasion, of like to make water,
stayd a little behind. In the meane time being next to a church, he heard
a little fazing bellering to the elevation of a morrow masse, and nor
daring to go into the church, least he should have been beaten and driven
out with cudgels, in great devotion he fell down in the church-yard, upon
the knees of his hinder-legs, and did lift his forefoot over his head, as the
priest doth hold the sacrament at the elevation. Which prodigious
right when certaine merchants of Genua espied, and with wonder beheld;
anon commeth the witch with a cudgel in her hand, beating forth the
affe. And because, as it hath been said, such kinds of witchcrafts are very
usual in those parts, the merchants aforesaid made such meanes as both
the affe and the witch were attached by the judge. And the being exa-
mined and set upon the rack, confessed the whole matter, and promised
that if she might have liberty to go home, she would restore him to his
old shape; and being dismissed, she did accordingly. So as notwithstanding
they apprehended her again, and burned her; and the young man
returned into his country with a joyfull and merry heart.

Upon the advantage of this story M. Mal. Bodin, and the residue of the August. lib. 18.
witchmongers triumph; and specially because S. Augustine subscibeth de civi. Dei.
thereunto; or at the least to the very like. Which I must confess I find cap. 17. & 18.
too common in his books, insomuch as I judge them rather to be foisted
in by some fond papist or witchmonger, than so learned a man doing.
The best is, that he himselfe is no eye-witnesse to any of those his tales;
but speakes only by report; wherein he uttereth these words; to wit,
that it were a point of great incivility, &c. to discredit so many At the alps in
and to certaine reports. And in that respect he justifieth the cor-
poral transfigurations of Ulysses his mates, through the witch-craft
of Circe, and that foolish fable of Prasitiotus his father, who, he faith, did
eat provender and hay among other horses, being himselfe turned into
an horse. Yea he verybely the starkeft ły that ever was invented, of the
two alevives that used to transforme all their guests into horses, and to
sell them away at markets and faires. And therefore I say with Cardanus
that how much Augustine faith he hath seen with his eyes, so much I am

content
The discovery

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

O quam Credula mens hominis, & creedi fabulis aures!

Good Lord! how light of credit is the wavering mind of man!

How unto tales and lies his ears attentive all they can?

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

CHAP. IV.

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

Concerning the verity or probability of his enterlude, betwixt Bodin M. Mal. the witch, the affe, the maffe, the merchants, the inquititors, the tormentors, &c. First I wonder at the miracle of transubstantiation; Secondly at the impudence of Bodin and James Sprenger, for affirming so groffely, devised belike by the knight of the Rhodes, to make a fool of Sprenger; and an affe of Bodin; Thirdly, that the affe had no more wit than to kneele downe and hold up his forefeet to a piece of tharch or flowre, which neither would, nor could, nor did helpe him; Fourthly, that the maffe not reform that which the witch transformed; Fifthly, that the merchants, the inquititors, and the tormentors, could nor either severally or jointly do it, but refere the matter to the witches courteusly in the woods: and good pleasure.

His shape was severall times the young mans own shape all these three years, where he was made an affe? It is a certaine and a generall rule, that two substantiall formes cannot be in one subject simul & semel, both at once, which is confessed by themselves. The forme of the beast occupied some place.
place in the air, and so I think should the fomre of a man do also. For to bring the body of a man, without seeing, into such a thine airy nature, as that it can neither be seen nor felt, it may well be unlikely, but it is very impossible; for the air is inconstant, and continueth not in one place. So as this airy creature would soon be carried into another region; as in my dis-

eelse where I have largely proved. But indeed our bodies are visible, course of spi-
fensive, and passive, and are indued with many other excellent proper-
rities, and de-
ties, which all the devils in hell are not able to alter; neither can one vils, being the
haire of our head perish, or fall away, or be transformed, without the 17. book of
speciall providence of God Almighty.

But to proceed unto the probability of this story. What luck was it, that
this young fellow of England, landing so lately in those parts, and that old
woman of Cyprus, being both of so base a condition, should both un-
derstand one another's communication; England and Cyprus being so
many hundred miles distant, and their languages so farre differing? I am
sure in these dais: wherein traffick is more used, and learning in more
price; few young or old mariners in this realme can either speake or un-
derstand the language spokens at Salamin in Cyprus, which is a kind of
Greek; and as few old women there can speake our language. But Bodin
will say, You heare, that at the inquisitors commandment, and through
the tormentors correction, he promiseth to restore him to his own shape:
and so he did, as being thereunto compelled. I answer, that as the
whole story is an impious fable; so this affirction is false, and disagree-
table to their own doctrine, which maintaineth, that the witch doth nothing
but by the permission and leave of God. For if she could do or undo
such a thing at her own pleasure, or at the commandement of the in-
quisters; or for fear of the tormentors, or for love of the party, or for
reason of conscience; then is it not either by the extraordinary leave,
nor yet by the like direction of God; except you will make him a con-
federate with old witches. I for my part wonder more, how they can
turne and tosse a mans body so, and make it smaller and greater, to wit,
like a mouse, or like an asse, &c. and the man all this while to feel no
paine. And I am not alone in this maze; for Danasius a speciall main-
tainer of their solyes faith, that although Augustine and Apuleius do
write very credible of these matters; yet will he never beleev, that
witches can change men into other formes; as asse, apes, wolves, bears,
mice, &c.

**CHAP. V.**

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

But was this man an asse all this while? Or was this asse a man? Bodin
faith (his reason onely referred) he was truly transsubstantiated into an
asse; so as there must be no part of a man, but reason remaining in this asse.
And yet Hermes Trismegistus thinketh he hath good authority and reason Hermer Tris-
to say; Alid corpus quam humanam non capere animam humanam; nec meg.in. fio Pe-
sas riandro.
for effe in corpus anima ratione carens animam rationalem sorruere; that is: An humane soule cannot receive any other than an humane body, not yet can light into a body that wanteth reason of mind. But S. James faith: The body without the spirit is dead. And surely, when the soule is departed from the body, the life of man is dissolved: and therefore Paul wished to be dissolved, when he would have been with Christ. The body of man is subject to divers kinds of agues, sicknesse, and insufficiencies, whereunto an affes body is not inclined: and mans body must be fed with bread, &c and not with hay. Bodin's affe-headed man must either eat hay or nothing: as appeareth in the story. Mans body also is subject unto death, and hath his daies numbred. If this fellow had died in the mean time, as his hour might have been come, for any thing the devils, the witch, or Bodin knew; I marvell then what would have become of this affe, or how the witch could have restored him to shape, or whether he should have risen at the day of judgement in an affes body and shape. For Paul faith, that that very body which is fowne and buried a naturall body, is raised a spirittuall body. The life of Jesus is made manifest in our mortall flesh, and not in the flesh of an affe.

God hath endued every man and every thing with his proper nature, substance, forme, qualities, and gifts, and directeth their ways. As for the waies of an affe, he taketh no such care: howbeit, they have also their properties and substance severall to themselves. For there is one flesh (faith Paul) of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fowles, another of birds. And therefore it is absolutely against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should fly like a bird, or swim like a fish, or creep like a worme, or become an affe in shape: insomuch as if God would give me leave, I cannot do it: for it were contrary to his own order and decree, and to the constitution of any body which he hath made. Yea the spirits themselves have their lawes and limits prescribed, beyond the which they cannot passe, one haires breadth; otherwise God should be contrary to himselfe: which is farre from him. Neither is Gods omnipotency hereby qualified, but the devils impotency manifested, who hath none other power, but that which God from the beginning hath appointed unto him, consonant to his nature and substance. He may well be restrained from his power and will, but beyond the 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 leave and ordinance victiate and corrupt the spirit and will of man; wherein he is very diligent.

What a beahtful assertation is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his own similitude and likeness, should be by a witch turned into a beast? What an impiety is it to affirm, that an affes body is the temple of the Holy Ghost? Or an affe to be the child of God, and God to be his father, as it is said of man? Which Paul to the Corinthians to divinely confuteth, who faith, that our bodies are the members of Christ. In the which we are to glorifie God, for the body is for the Lord: and the Lord is for the body. Surely he meaneth not for an affes body, as by this time I hope appeareth: in such wise as Bodin may go hide him for shame:
Transformations confuted. of Witchcraft. Chap.6. 77

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

Of homini sublime dedit, columque videre
Fusit, & erectos ad sidera tollere voluit.

The effect of which verses is this:

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

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

CHAP. VI.
The witchmongers objections, concerning Nabuchadnezzar answerd, and their error concerning Lycanthropia confuted.

M. Alleus Maleficarum, Bodin, and many other of them that maintain witchcraft, triumph upon the story of Nabuchadnezzar as though Circes had transformed him with her forceries into an oxe, as she did others into swine, &c. I answer, that he was neither in body nor shape transformed at all, according to their groffe imagination; as appeareth both by the plaine words of the text, and also by the opinions of the best interpreters thereof: but that he was, for his beastly government and conditions, thrown out of his kingdom and banished for a time, and driven to hide himselfe in the wilderneffe, therein exile to lead his life in a beastly sort, among beasts of the field, and soules of the air (for by the way I tell you it appeareth by the text, that he was rather turned into the shape of a fowle than of a beast) untill he rejecting his beastly conditions, was upon his repentance and amendment called home, and restored into his kingdom. Howbeit, this (by their confession) was neither devils nor witches doing; but a miracle wrought by God, whom alone I acknowledge to be able to bring to passe such workes at his pleasure. Wherein I would know what our witch-mongers have gained.
I am not ignorant that some write, that after the death of Nabuchadnezzar, his son Evilmerodach gave his body to the ravens to be devoured, lest afterwards his father should arise from death, who of a beast became a man again. But this tale is meet to have place in the Cabalistical art, to wit, among unwritten verities than here. To conclude, I say that the transformations, which these witchmengers do so rave and rage upon, is (as all the learned fort of Phylistians affirm) a disease proceeding partly from melancholy, whereby many suppose themselves to be wolves, or such ravening beasts. For Lycanthropia is of the ancient Phylistians called Lupina melancholia, or Lupina insania. I. Wierus declareth very learnedly, the cause, the circumstance, and the cure of this disease. I have written the more herein; because hereby great princes and potentates, as well as poor women and innocents, have been defamed and accounted among the number of witches.

**CHAP. VII.**

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

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

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

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

CHAP. VIII.

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

These witch-mongers, for lack of better arguments, do many times object Job against me; although there be never a word in that story which either maketh for them, or against me: in so much as there is not
the name of a witch mentioned in the whole book. But (I pray you) what
witchmonger now seeing one so afflicted as Job, would not say he were be
witched, as Job never faith ? For first there came a messenger unto him,
and said; Thy oxen were plowing, and thy assles were feeding in their
places, and the Sabeans came violently and took them; yea they have
slain thy servants with the edge of the sword; but I onely am escaped to
tell thee. And whilest he was yet speaking, another came, and said;
The fire of God is fallen from the heaven, and hath burnt up thy sheep
and thy servants, and devoured them; but I onely am escaped to tell thee.
And whilest he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The Chaldeans
set out their bands, and fell upon thy camels, and have taken them, and
have slain thy servants with the edge of the sword; but I onely am escaped
alone to tell thee. And whilest he was yet speaking, came another, and
said; Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in
their elder brothers house, and behold there came a great wind from be-
yond the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house, which fell
upon thy children, and they are dead; and I onely am escaped alone to tell
thee. Besides all this, he was smitten with boils, from the soles of his
foot to the crown of his head. If any man in these days called Job should
be by the appointment or hand of God thus handled, as this Job was; I
warrant you that all the old women in the country would be called Coram
nobis; warrants would be sent out on every side, publick and private
inquiry made what old women lately resorted to Job's house, or to any of
those places, where these misfortunes fell. If any poor old woman had
chanced within two or three months to have borrowed a courtesy of feed-
ing, or to have fetched from thence a pot of milk, or had the required
some alms, and not obtained it at Job's hand; there had been argu-
ment enough to have brought her to confusion; and to be more certain
to have the right witch apprehended, figures must have been cast, the
five and shearers must have been set on workes; yea rather than the witch
should escape, a conjurer must have earned a little money, a circle must
have been made, and a devill raised to tell the truth: 'mother Bury my
must have been gone unto, and after she had learned her name, whom Job
suspected, she would have confirmed the suspicion with artificiall accu-
ations; in the end, some woman or other must have been hanged for it.
But as Job said; Dominus dedit; so said he not; Diabolus vel Lamia, sed
Dominus abhulit. Which agreeeth with the tenor of the text, where it
is written, that the devill at every of Job's afflications desired God to lay
his hand upon him. In form, much as Job imputed no part of his calamity un-
to devils, witches, nor yet unto conjurers, or their incantations; as
we have learned now to do. Neither sinned he, or did God any wrong,
when he laid it to his charge; but we do honour God greatly, when
we attribute either the power or propriety of God the creator unto a
creature.

Calvin's faith; We derogate much from God's glory and omnipotency,
when we say he doth but give Satan leave to do it: which is (faith he) to
mocke God's justice; and so fond an afftertion, that if all the could speak,
they would speak more wisely than so. For a temporeal judge faith not to
the
the hangman; I give thee leave to hang this offender, but commandeth him to do it. But the maintainers of witches omnipotency, say; Do you not see how really and palpably the devill tempted and plagued Job? I answerst first, that there is no corporall or visible devill named nor seen in any part of that circumstance; secondly, that it was the hand of God that did it: thirdly, that as there is no community between the perdition of a witch, and the person of a devill, so was there not any conference or practice between them in this case.

And as touching the communication between God and the devill, behold what Calvin faith, writing or rather preaching of purpose upon that place, whereupon they think they have so great advantage; When Satan is said to appear before God, it is not done in some place certaine, but the scripture speaketh so to apply it selse to our rudeness. Certainly the devill in this case is such like al other cases as is an instrument to work Gods will, and not his own; and therefore it is an ignorant and an ungodly saying, (as Calvin judgeth it) to affirm, that God doth but permit and suffer the devill: For if Satan were so at his own liberty (faith he) we should be overwhelmed at a sudden. And doubtless, if he had power to hurt the body, there were no way to relift for he would come invisibly upon us, and knock us on the heads; yea he would watch the beft and dispatch them, whilst they were about some wicked act. If they say, God commandeth him, no body impugneth them, but that God should give him leave, I say with Calvin, that the devill is not in such favour with God, as to obtain any such request at his hands.

And whereas by our witch mongers opinions and arguments, the witch procureth the devill, and the devill asketh leave of God to plague whom the witch is disposed: there is not (as I have said) any such corporall communication between the devill and a witch, as witch mongers Job. cap. 1.

Neither is God moved at all at Satan's suit, who hath no such favour or grace with him, as to obtain any thing at his hands.

But M. Malk and his friends deny, that there were any witches in Job's time: yea the witch mongers are content to say, that there were none found to exercise this art in Christ's time, from his birth to his death, even by the space of thirty years. If there had been any (say they) should have been there spoken of. As touching the authority of the book of Job, there is no question but that it is very canonical and authentick. Howbeit, many writers, both of the Jews and others, are of opinion, that Moses was the author of this book; and that he did set it as a look- ing glasse before the people: to the intent the children of Abraham (of which whole race he himselfe came) might know, that God shewed favour to others that were not of the same line, and be ashamed of their wickednesse: of Job.

Seeing an uncircumcised Painime had so well demeaned himselfe. Upon which argument Calvin (though he had written upon the same) faith, that forsomuch as it is uncertaine, whether it were Res gesta or Exempli gratia, we must leave it in suspense. Nevertheless (faith he) let us take that which is out of all doubt, namely, that the holy ghost had indited the book, to the end that the Jews should know, that God had a people always to serve him throughout the world, even of such as were no Jews,
Jews, nor segregated from other nations.

Though I for my part deny not the verity of the story; though indeed I must confess, that I think there was no such corporal interlude between God, the devil, and Job, as they imagine; neither any such real presence and communication as the witch-mongers conceive and maintain; who are so grosse herein, that they do not only believe, but publish so palpable absurdities concerning such real actions between the devil and man, as a wise man would be ashamed to read, but much more to credit: as that St. Dunstan lead the devil about the house by the nose with a pair of pincers or tongs; and made him rove so low, as the place rung thereof, &c. with a thousand the like fables, without which neither the art of sorcery nor of witchcraft could stand. But you may see more of this matter elsewhere, where in few words (which I thought good here to omit, lest I should seem to use too many repetitions) I answer effectually to their cavils about this place.

CHAP. IX.

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

But what sorts of witches soever M. Mal. or Bodin say there are; Moses spake only of four kinds of impious cofeners or witches (whereof our witch-mongers old women which dance with the fairies, &c. are none).

1. Præfigiatores Pharaonis. The first were Præfigiatores Pharaonis, which (as all divines, both Hebrews and others conclude) were but cofeners and jugglers, deceiving the kings eyes with illusions and sleights, and making false things to appear as true: which nevertheless our witches cannot do. The second is Mecabapha, which is the same that destroyed with poison. The third are such as vend dry kinds of divinations, and hereunto pertain those words, Kasam, Obi, Ideni. The fourth is Habar, to wit: when magicians, or rather such, as would be reputed cunning therein, mumble certain secret words, wherein is thought to be great efficacy.

These are all cofeners 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: thefere the lies of M. Mal and Bodin, and all our old writers are applied unto these names, and easily believed of the common people, who have never hitherto been instructed in the understanding of these words. In which respect, I will (by Gods grace) shew you (concerning the signification of them) the opinion of the most learned in our age; specially of Johannes Wierus; who though he himselfe were singularly learned in the tongues, yet for his satisfaction and full resolution in the same, he sent for the judgement of Andreas Mussius, the most famous Hebrician in the world, and had it in such sense and order, as I mean to set down unto you. And yet I give you this note by the way, that witch-craft or enchantment is diversly taken in the scriptures; sometimes nothing tending to such end as it is commonly thought to do. For 1 Samuel 15, 23, it is all one with rebellion. Jezebel for her idolatrous life
The word (witch) expounded. Of Witchcraft Chap. 9.

is called a witch. Also in the new testament, even S. Paul faith the Ga. 2. Re. 9. 22. Lathians are bewitched, because they were seduced and lead from the true understanding of the Scriptures.

Item sometimes it is taken in good part; as the magicians that came Daniel 4. to worship and offer to Christ; and also where Daniel is said to be an in-chanter, yea a principal in-chanter; which title being given him in divers places of that story, he never seemeth to refuse or dislike; but rather intendeth for the pardon and qualification of the rigor towards other in-chancers, which were mean coleners indeed: as appeareth in the second chapter of Daniel, where you may see that the king espied their fetches.

Sometimes such are called conjurers, as being but rogues, and lewd people, would use the name of Jesus to worker miracles, whereby, though they being faithless could work nothing; yet is their practice condemned by the name of conjuration. Sometimes jugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they are called forcers, that impugne the gospel of Christ, and seduce others with violent perswations. Sometimes a murderer with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by the very signification of their names; as Elimas, which signifieth a forcer. Sometimes because they study curious and vain arts. Sometimes it is taken for wounding or grieving of the heart. Yea the very word Magus, which is Latine for a magician, is translated a witch; and yet it was heretofore always taken in the good part. And at this day it is indifferent to say in the English tongue: She is a witch, or, She is a wise woman.

Sometimes observers of dreams, sometimes tooth-layers, sometimes the observers of the flying of owles, of the meeting of rodes, the falling of salt, &c. are called witches. Sometimes he or she is called a witch, that take upon them either for gaine or glory, to do miracles; and yet can do nothing. Sometimes they are called witches in common speech that are old, lame, curt, or melancholike, as a nick-name. But as for our old women, that are said to hurt children with their eyes, or lambs with their lookes, or that pull down the moon out of heaven, or make to foolish a bargain, or do such homage to the devil; you shall not read in the bible of any such witches, or of any such actions imputed to them.
The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

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

Chasaph, being an Hebrew word, is latined Venenicerium and is in English, poisoning, or witchcraft; if you will so have it. The Hebrew sentence written in Exodus 22. is by the 70. interpreters translated thus into Greek ποιμαντι λατες εξ ένοικων which in Latine is, Venificos (i.e.) venificos non retributis in vita, in English, You shall not suffer any poisoners, or (as it is translated) witches to live. The which sentence Josephus an Hebrew borne, and a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreted in this wise; Let none of the children of Israel have any poison that is deadly, or prepared to any hurtfull use. If any be apprehended with such stuffe, let him be put to death, and suffer that which he meant to do to them, for whom he prepared it. The Rabbins expostion agreeth herewithall. Lex Cornelia differeth not from this senfe, to wit, that he must suffer death; which either maketh, felleth, or hath any poison to the intent to kill any 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. Esa.47.9. 12. Malach.3.5. Ierm. 27.9. Mich.5.2. Nah.3.4. bis. Howbeit, in all our English translations, Chasaph is translated, witchcraft.

And because I will avoid prolixity and contention both at once, I will admit that Venenicer were such witches, as with their poisons did much hurt among the children of Israel; and I will not deny that there remain such until this day, bewitching men, and making them believe, that by a virtue of words, and certaine ceremonies, they bring to passe such mischiefs, and inroxications, as they indeed accomplish by poisons. And this abuse in cofenage of people, together with the taking of God's name in vaine, in many places of the Scripture is reproved, especially by the name of witchcraft, even where no poynsons are. According to the senfe which S. Paul used to the Galathians in these words, where he sheweth plainly, that the true signification of witchcraft is cofenage; Or ye foolish Galathians (saith he) who hath bewitched you? to wit, confedered or abusèd you, making you believe a thing which is neither so nor so. Whereby he meaneth not to ask of them, who hath with charmes, &c. or with poynsons deprived them of their health, life, cattle, or children, &c. but who hath abusèd or cofenèd them, to make them believe lies. This phrase is illustrated by Job.15. But that we may be throughly resolved of the true meaning of this phrase used by Paul, Gal. 3. let us examine the description of a notable witch called Simon Magus, made by S. Luke; There was (saith he,) in the city of Samaria, a certain man called Simon, which
which used witchcraft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, saying that he himself was some great man. I demand, in what other thing here do we see any witch-craft, than that he abjured the people, making them believe he could work miracles, whereas in truth he could do no such thing; as manifestly may appear in the 13. and 19. verses of the same chapter: where he wondered at the miracles wrought by the apostles, and would have purchased with money the power of the Holy Ghost to work wonders.

It will be said, the people had reason to believe him, because it is written, that he of long time had bewitched them with sorceries. But let the bewitched Galatians be a warning both to the bewitched Samaritans, and to all other that are cofened or bewitched through false doctrine, or legierdemain; lest while they attend to such fables and lies, they be brought into ignorance, and so in time be led with them away from God. And finally, let us all abandon such witches and cofeners, as with Simon Magnus set themselves in the place of God, boatling that they can do miracles, expound dreams, foretell things to come, raise the dead, &c. which are the works of the Holy Ghost, which only search Math. 9. 4. eth the heart and reins, and onely worketh great wonders, which are 12. 25. 22. now stayed and accomplished in Christ, in whom who so steadfastly beleeveth shall not need to be by such means resolved or confirmed in his doctrine and gospel. And as for the unfaithful, they shall have none other miracle hewed unto them, but the signe of Jonas the prophet. Mark 2.

And therefore I say, whatsoever they be that with Simon Magnus take upon them to work such wonders, by sooth-saying, sorcery, or witchcraft, are but liars, deceivers, and cofeners, according to Syrach saying; Jos. 1. 2. Sorcerie, witch craft, sooth-saying, and dreams, are but vanity, and &c. 6. 13. the law shall be fulfilled without such lies. God commanded the people, Apoc. 2. 3. that they should not regard them that wrought with spirits, nor soothsayers; for the estimation that was attributed unto them, offended God.

CHAP. II.

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

The greatest & most common objection is, that if there were not some, which could worke such miraculous or supernatural feats, by themselves, or by their devils, it should not have been said; Let none be found among you, that makest his sonne or his daughter to go through the fire, or that uelteh witch craft,or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the flying of fowles, or a forcerer, or a charmer, or that consulleseth with spirits, or a sooth-sayer, or that asketh counsel of the dead, or (as some translate it) that raiseth the dead. But as there is no one place in the scripture that faith they can worke miracles, so it shall be easie to prove, that there were all cofeners, every one abusing the people in his severall
several kinds; and are accursed of God. Not that they can do all such things indeed, as there is expressed; but for that they take upon them to be the mighty power of God, and to do that which is the only work of him, seducing the people, and blaspheming the name of God, who will not give his glory to any creature, being himselfe the king of glory and omnipotency.

First I aske, what miracle was wrought by their passing through the fire? Truly it cannot be proved that any effect followed; but that the people were bewitched, to suppose their times to be purged thereby; as the Spaniards think of scourging and whipping themselves. So as God's power was imputed to that action, and so forbidden as an idolatrous forcery. What wonders worketh the regarder of times? What other devil doleth he withall, than with the spirit of superstition? Doth he not deceive himselfe and others, and therefore is worthily condemned for a witch? What spirit useth he, which maketh the flying of fowles? Nevertheless, he is here condemned as a practiser of witchcraft; because he deceiveth the people, and taketh upon him to be a prophet; impiously referring God's certaine ordinances to the fluttering fethers and uncertain ways of a bird? The like effects produceth forcery, charming, consultation with spirits, sooth-saying, and conjugating with the dead: in every of the which God's power is obscured, his glory defaced, and his commandement infringed.

And to prove that these sooth-sayers and witches are but lying men, and couzeners; note these words pronounced by God himselfe, even in the same place to the children of Israel. Although the Gentiles suffered themselves to be abused, so as they give care to these forcers, &c. he would not suffer them so, but would raise them a prophet, who should speak the truth. As if he should say; The other are but lying and confounding mares, deceitful and undermining merchants, whose abules I will make known to my people. And that every one may be resolved herein, let the last sentence of this precept be well weighed; to wit, Let none be found among you, that asketh counsell of, or raiseth the dead.

First you know the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and resting with Lazarus in Abraham's bosome, do sleepe in Jesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raied, till the heavens be no more: according to this of David; Wilt thou shew wonders among the dead? Nay, the Lord faith, the living shall not be taugh by the dead, but by the living. As for the unrighteous, they are in hell, where is no redemption; neither is there any passage from heaven to earth, but by God and his angels. As touching the resurrection and restoration of the body, read John 5. and you shall manifestly see, that it is the only worke of the father, who hath given the power thereof to the sonne, and to none other, &c. Dominus percussit, &c. Socrates, the chief pillars of these vanities, say, that one Pamphilus was called up out of hell, who when he came among the people, told many incredible tales concerning infernall actions. But herein I take up the proverbe;
Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed major amica veritas.

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

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

CHAP. III.

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

As women in all ages have been counted most apt to conceive witch-craft, and the devils speciall instruments therein, and the onely or chief praetors thereof: so also it appeareth, that they have been the first inventers, and the greatest practisers of poisoning, and more naturally addicted and given thereunto than men: according to the saying of Quintilian; Latrocinium facilius in vito, veneficium in femina credamus. From whom Plinius differenteth nothing in opinion, when he faith, Scientiam feminarum in veneficiis pravaleret. To be short, Augustine, Livie, Valerius, Diodorus, and many other agree, that women were the first inventers and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the rest of their cunning in what estimation it was had, may appear by these verses of Horace, where-in he doth not only declare the vanity of witch-craft, but also expound the other words, wherewithall we are now in hand.

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,

Nocturnos lemurias, portentas: Thessalian rides:

These...
These dreams and terrors magical,
These miracles and witches,
Night-walking sprites, or Thelfal bugs,
Esteem them not two rushes.

Here Horace (you see) contemneth as ridiculous, all our witches cunning: marry herein he compreheneth not their poisoning art, which whereby he onely seemed to think hurtfull. Pythagoras and Democritus give us the names of a great many magical herbs and stones, whereto now, both the vertue, and the things themselves also are unknown: as Marmaritis, whereby spirits might be raised: Archimedes, which would make one bewray in his sleep, all the secrets in his heart. Adincantibus, Calicia, Meuais, Chirocineta, &c. which had all their several virtues; or rather poisons. But all these now are worne out of knowledge: marry in their stead we have hogs-turd and chervil, as the ouely thing whereby our witches work miracles.

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

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Ovid metam. Non facer & genus, fratrum quaet victoria rara est:
Imminet exito vir conjuge, ulla marit,
Ludens terribile miserit aconitum sucev,
Filius ante diem patriis inquiri in annos.

Engished by
Abraham Fleming.

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

The monk that poisoned king John, was a right Veneficus; to wit both a witch and a murderer: for he killed the king with poison, and
of Witchcraft.

Chap. IV.

persuade the people with lies, that he had done a good and a meritorious act; and double, many were so bewitched, as they thought he did very well therein. Antonius Sabellicus writeth of a horrible poisoning murder, committed by women at Rome, where were executed (after due conjunction, 17o. women at one time; besides 20. women of that confort, who were poison with that poison which they had prepared for 4. others.

CHAP. III.

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

Another practife, not unlike to that mentioned in the former chapter, was done in Cassalit at Salassa in Italie, Anno 1525, where 40. Venefice or witches being of one confederacy, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, byseeming with an ointment and a powder, the pots and doors of men's houses; so as thereby whole families were poison'd, and of that stuffe they had prepared above 40. crockes for that purpofe. Here withall they convicted inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and only fonne of one Necus (as lightly none died in the house but the masters and their children) which was much noted; and herewithal that one Andragina haunted the houses, specially of them that died; and the being suspected, apprehended, and examined, confessed the fact, conspiracy, and circumstance, as hath been shewed. The like villany was afterwards practiced at Genoa, and execution was done upon the offenders. At Millen there was another like attempt that took none effect. This art consisted as well in poisoning of cattell as men; and that which is done by poisons unto cattell, towards their destruction, is as commonly attributed to witches charms as the other. And I doubt not, but some that would be thought cunning in incantations, and to do miracles, have experience in this behalfe. For it is written by divers authors, that if wolves dung be hidden in the mangers, racks, or elie in the hedges about the pastures, where cattel go (through the antipathy of the nature of the wolfe and other cattel) all the beasts that favour the same, do not only forbear to eat, but run about as though they were mad; or (as they say) bewitched.

But Wierus telleth a notable story of a Veneficus, or destroyer of cattell, which I thought meet here to repeat. There was (faith he) in the dukedom of Wittenberge, not farre from Tubing, a butcher, anno 1564. Of a butcher that bargained with a Rowe for all their hides which were of a right venefitell, called in these parts Morte. He with poison privately killed in great numbers, their bullocks, heep, swine, &c. and by his bargain of the hides and allow he grew infinitely rich. And at last being suspected, was examined, confessed the matter and manner thereof, and was put to death with hot tongs, wherewith his fleshe was pulled from his bones. We for
The discovery

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

CHAP. V.

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

It is objected, that if Veneficium were comprehended under the title of 
man-slaughter, it had been a vain repetition, and a disordered course 
undertaken by Moses to set forth a law against Veneficium severally. But it 
might suffice to answer any reasonable christian, that such was the pleasure 
of the Holy Ghost, to institute a particular article hereof, as of a thing 
more odious, wicked and dangerous, than any other kind of murder. 
But he that shall read the law of Moses, or the Testament of Christ himself, 
shall finde this kind of repetition and reiteration of the law most common. 
For as it is written, Exod. 22, 21. Thou shalt not grieve nor affright 
stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of Egypt: so are the same 
words found repeated in Levit. 19, 33. polling and having of heads and 
beards is forbidden in Duet. 27. which was before prohibited in 22. It 
is written in Exodus the 20. Thou shalt not steal: and it is repeated in 
Leviticus 19. and in Duet. 5. Murder is generally forbidden in Exod. 20, 
and likewise in 22. and repeated in Num. 34. But the aptest example is, 
that magick is forbidden in three several places, to wit. once in Levit. 
19. and twice in Levit. 20. For the which a man might as well cavill with 
the Holy Ghost as for the other.

CHAP. VI.

In what kind of confecions that witchcraft, which is called Vene 
ficium, consisteth: of love-cups, and the same confused by poe.

As touching this kind of witchcraft, the principal part thereof con 
sisteth in certain confecions prepared by lewd people to procure 
love; which indeed are meer poisons, bereaving some of the benefit of 
the braine, and so of the sense and understanding of the minde. And from 
some it taketh away life, and that is more common than the other. They 
be called Philtra, or Pocula amatoria, or Venena, poca, or Hippomanes, 
which bad and blinde Physicians rather practiseth, than witches or conjurers, 
&c. But of what value these bables are, towards the end why they are 
provided, may appear by the opinions of Poets themselves, from whence 
was derived the estimation of that stufte. And first you shall hear what 
Ovid saith, who wrote of the very art of love, and that so cunningly and 
feelingly, that he is reputed the speciall doctor in that science. 

Ovid. 

arte amandi. 

Fallitur Aemontas s quis decurtit ad artes, 
Dat quod a teneri fronte revellet epui. 
Non facient ut vivat amor Medeleides herbes.
Who so doth run to Hemon arts,
I dub him for a doer,
And giveth that which he doth pluck
from forehead of a colt:
Medes herbs will not procure
that love shall lasting live,
Nor steeped poison mixt with magickel charmes the same can give.
The witch Medea had full fast
held Jason for her own.
So had the grand witch Circe too
Ulysses, if alone
With charmes maintain and kept might be
the love of twain in one.
No flibbersawes given to maides,
to make them pale and wan,
Will help: such flibbersawes make
the minds of maide and man,
And have in them a furious force
of phrensic now and than.

Viderit Hemon si quis mala pabula terrae
Et magicas artes posse iuvare putate.

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

These verses precedent doth show, that Ovid knew that those beggerly sorceries might rather kill one, or make him stark mad, than do him good towards the atteinment of his pleasure of love; and therefore he giveth his counsel to them that are amorous in such hot manner, that either they must enjoy their love, or else needs dye; saying,

Sit procul, omne nefas, ut aemis amabilis esto.
Farre off be all unlawful meanes,
thon amiable be,
Loving I mean, that she with love
may quit the love of thee.

The discovery  

CHAP. VII.

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

But there is no hold nor trust to these Poets, who say and enseay, dallying with these causeth, to so indeed the wise may perceive they have them in deoption: let us see that other greater authors speak hereof. Eusebius Casariensis wraeth what the poet Lucretius was killed with one of these lovers poisoned cups. Hieronymus reporteth that one Lyta herewith killed her husband, whom she too much hated, and Lucullus killed her, whom she too much loved. Caesar Berosus killed Lucius Lucullus, the Emperor with a love-pot, as Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos say. Plan and Josephus reporteth, that Caffonia killed her husband Caligula amatorio pugno with a lovers cup, which was indeed starke poion. Aristotle faith, that all which is belieded touching the efficacie of these matters, is lies and old wives tales. He that will read more arguments and histories concerning these poisons, let him look in I. Wier de veneficiis.

The toies, which are said to procure love, and are exhibited in the poion loveing cups, are these: the haire growing in the nether part of a wolves tale, a wolves yard, a little fish called Remora, the brain of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizard: the bone of a green frog, the flesh thereof being conformed with pilliers, or ants; the left bone whereof gendreth (as they say) love, the bone on the right side, hate. Also it is said, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about, and whereof some will swim, and some will etheke: those that etheke, being hanged up with a white linnen cloth, ingender love, but if a man be touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is thereof with young swallows, whereof one brood or nest being taken and buried in a crock under the ground, till they be starved up; they that be found open mouhted, serve to engender love; they whose mouths are shut, serve to procure hate. Besides these, many other follies there be to this purpose propound to the simple; as namely, the garments of the dead, candles that burned before a dead corse, and needles were in dead bodies at towne or flock into their sheers: and diverse other things, which for the reverence of the reader, and in respect of the unclean speech to be used in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read Dioscorides, or diverse other learned physitians) you may see at large. In the mean while, he that desirith to see more experiments concerning this matter, let him read Leonardus Vairus de fascina, now this present year 1583 newly published; wherein (with an incessuous mouth) he affirmeth direcly, that Christ and his Apostiles were Veneficiis very fondly prosecuting this argument, and with as much popish folly as may be; labouring to prove at lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, etc.
Monseur Bodin triumpheth over doctor Wier herein, pronouncing a heavy sentence upon him; because he referreth this word to poison. But he reigneth or rather rideth over him, much more for speaking false Greek; affirming that he calleth Venesicos *paganaxeis*, which is as true as the rest of his reports and fables of witches miracles contained in his book of devilish deviles. For in truth he hath no such word, but faith they are called *paganaxeis*, whereas he should have said *paganaxei*, the true accent being omitted, and ευ being interposed, which should have been left out. Which is nothing to the substance of the matter, but must needs be the Printer's fault.

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

CHAP. I.

Of the Hebrew word Ob, what it signifieth, where it is found, of Pytho and the Pytho- 
nyx, called ventri-loque, who they be, and what their prattis-
are, experience and examples thereof shewed.

His word Ob, is translated Pytho, or Pythonius Spiritus: Deut. 18 I. 19. 1 Sam. 28. 2 Reg. 23. &c. sometime, though unproperly, Magus, as 2 Sam. 33. But Ob signifieth most properly a bottle and is used in this
place, because the Pythonis spake hollow, as in the
bottome of their bellies, whereby they are aptly in Lat-
in called Ventri-loque: of which sort was Elizabeth Bar-
ton, the holy maid of Kent, &c. These are such as take upon them to
give oracles, to tell where things lost are become, and finally to ap-
reach others of thriftier, which they themselves most commonly have
brought to passe, whereby many times they overthrow the good name
of honest women, and of such others of their neighbours, with whom
they are displeased.

For trial hereof, letting passe a hundred cofenages
that I could recite at this time, I will begin with a true story of a wench,
practising her diabolical witch craft, and ventriloquie An. 1574. at West-
well in Kent, within six miles where I dwell, taken and noted by two
ministers and preachers of Gods word, four substantial yeomans, and three
women of good name and reputation, whose names are after written.

Mildred, the base daughter of Alice Nortington: and now servant to
William Spooner of Westwell in the county of Kent, being of the age of
seventeen years, was possessed with Satan in the night and day aforesaid.

About two of the clock in the afternoone of the same day, there came to
the same Spooner house Roger Newman minister of Westwell, John Brain-
sford minister of Kinington, with others, whose names are underwritten, who
made their prays unto God, to affieth them in that needfull case; and
then commanded Satan in the name of the erenall God, and of his son
Jesus Christ, to speak with such a voice as they might understand, and
to declare from whence he came. But he would not speak, but rared
and cried mightily. And though we did command him many times, in
the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in his mighty power to
speak, yet he would not: until he had gone through all his delates, as
roring, crying, shrieking, and gauhing of teeth; and otherwhile with
mowing, and other terrible countenances, and was so strong in the maid,
that four men could scarce hold her down. And this continued by the
space almost of two hours. So sometimes we charged him earnestly to
speak, and againe praying unto GOD that he would affieth us, at the last;
he spake, but very strangely; and that was thus: He cometh, he comes
and that oftentimes he repeated; and he goes, he goes. and then we
charge
charged him to tell us who sent him. And he said; I lay in her way like a log, and I made her run like fire, but I could not hurt her. And why fo, said we? Because God kept her, said he. When camest thou to her, said we? To night in her bed, said he. Then we charged him as before, to tell what he was, and who sent him, and what his name was. At the first he said, The devil, the devil. Then we charged him as before. Then he roared and cried as before, and spake terrible words; I will kill her, I will tear her in peeces, I will tear her in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt her. He said, I will kill you all. We said, Thou shalt hurt none of us all. Then we charged him as before. Then he said, you will give me no rest. We said, Thou shalt have none here, for thou must have no rest within the servants of God; but tell us in the name of God what thou art, and who sent thee? Then he said he would tear her in peeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt her. Then he said again he would kill us all. We said again, Thou shalt hurt none of us all, for we are the servants of God. And we charged him as before. And he said again, Will you give me no rest? We said, Thou shalt have none here, neither shalt thou rest in her, for thou hast no right in her, saith Jesus Christ hath redeemed her with his blood, and she belongeth to him; and therefore tell us thy name and who sent thee? He said his name was Satan. We said, Who sent thee? He said, Old Alice, old Alice. Which old Alice, said we? Old Alice, said he. Where dwelleth she, said we? In Westminster street, said he. We said, How long hast thou been with her? These twenty years, said he. We asked him where she did keep him? In two bottles, said he. Where be they, said we? In the backside of her house, said he. In what place, said we? Under the wall, said he. Where is the other? In Kennington. In what place, said we? In the ground, said he. Then we asked him, what she did give him. He said, her will, her will. What did she bid thee do, said we? He said, Kill her maid. Wherefore did she bid thee kill her, said we? Because she did not love her, said he. We said; How long is it since she sent thee to her? More than a year, said he. Where was she then, said we? At her mates, said he. Which mates, said we? At her mate Brainfords at Kennington, said he. How oft went thou there, said we? Many times, said he. Where first, said we? In the garden, said he. Where the second time? In the hall. Where the third time? In her bed. Where the fourth time? In the field. Where the fifth time? In the court. Where the sixth time? In the water, where I cast her into the more. Where the seventh time? In her bed. We asked him again, where else? He said, in Westminster. Where there, said we? In the vicarage, said he. Where there? In the loft. How camest thou to her, 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 servant, said he. What is his name said we? He said, little devil. What is thy name, said we? Satan, said he. What doth old Alice call thee, said we? Partner, said he. What doth she give thee, said we? Her will, said he. How many hast thou killed for her, said we? Three, said he. Who are they, said we? A man and his child, said he.
he. What were their names, said we? The child's name was Edward said he: what more then Edward, said we? Edward Ager, said he. What was the man's name, said we? Richard said he. What more, said we? Richard Ager, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said we? At Dig at Dig, said he. This Richard Ager of Dig, was a Gentleman of fourty pounds land by the year, a very honest man, but would often say he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else haft thou killed for her, said we? Wolton's wife said he. Where did she dwell? In Westwell said he. What else haft thou done for her said we? What she would have me, said he. What is that said we? To fetch her meat, drink, and corn, said he. Where hadst thou it said we? In every house, said he. Name the houses, said we? At Pertemns, at Farmes, at Millens, at Fullers, and in every house. After this we commanded them in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from her, and never to trouble her any more, nor any man else. Then he said he would go, he would go: but he went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more words. Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maid, he is gone, Lord have mercy upon me, for he would have killed me. And then we kneeled down and gave God thanks with the maiden, praying that God would keep her from Satan's power, and affift her with his grace. And noting this in a piece of paper, we departed. Satan's voice did differ much from the maid's voice, and all that she spake, was in his own name. Subscribed thus:

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

- Roger Newman, vicar of Westwell.
- John Tailor.
- John Brainford, vicar of Kenington.
- Thomas Tailor.
- Henry Tailor's wife.
- Thomas Frenchbornes wife.
- William Spooner.
- John Frenchborne, and his wife.

**CHAP. II.**

How the lewd practife of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whom he was examined; and that all her diabolicall speech was but ventriloque and plain confenage, which is proved by her own confession.

Mat. 24. 44. It is written, that in the latter dayes there shall be shewed strange illusions, &c. in so much as (if it were possible) the very elect shall...
be deceived: howbeit, Saint Paul saith, they shall be lying and false wonders. Nevertheless this sentence, and such like, have been often laid in my dish, and are urged by divers writers, to approve the miraculous working of witches, whereof I will treat more largely in another place. Howbeit, by the way I must confess, that I take that sentence to be spoken of Antichrist, to wit, the pope: who miraculously, contrary to nature, philosophy, and all divinity, being of birth and calling base, in learning profuse; in value, beauty, or activity most commonly a very lubber; hath placed himself in the most lofty and delicate seat, putting almost all Christian princes heads not only under his girdle, but under his foot, &c.

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

But how cunningly foever this last cited certificat be penned, or what the ventriloquie of the same doth contain therein matter enough to detect the cofening knavery thereof, we shall discover, and yet divers have been deeply deceived therewith, and can hardly ed. be removed from the credit thereof, and without great disdain cannot endure to hear the reproofs thereof. And know you this by the way, that heretofore Robin good-fellow, and Hob-gobblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided & contemned, and as plainly perceived, as the illusion and knavery of Robin good-fellow. And in truth, they that maintain walking spirits, with their transformation, &c. have no reason to deny Robin good-fellow, upon whom there have gone as many and as credible tales, as upon witches; seeing that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits, by the name of Robin good-fellow, as they have termed diviners, truth-tellers, poisoners, and colenets by the name of witches.

But to make short work with the consideration of this baftardly quenees enterprise, and cofenage; you shall understand, that upon the bruise of her divinity and miraculous trances, she was convicted before Mr. Thomas Wotton of Boston Malther be, a man of great worship and wisedome, and for deciding and ordering of matters in this commonwealth, of rare and singular dexterity; through whose discreet handling of the matter, with the assistance and aid of Mr. George Darrell esquire, being also a right good and discreet justice of the same limits, the fraud was found, the cofenage confessed, and she received condigne punishment. The Pytho-
witches are commonly convinced and condemned; to wit, through malicious accusations, by guess, presumptions, and execrable confessions, contrary to sense and possibility, and for such actions as they can shew no trial nor example before the wise, either by direct or indirect means; but after due trial the showed her feats, illusions, and trances, with the residue of all her miraculous works, in the presence of divers gentlemen and gentlewomen of great worship and credit, at Boston Malherbe, in the house of the said M. Wotton. Now compare this wench with the witch of Endor, and you shall see that both the confenages may be done by one art.

CHAP. III.

Bodin's suite concerning the Pythonist of Endor, with a true story of a counterfeit Dutchman.

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

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

Unto this the Major of Maidstone, with divers of his brethren subscribed, chiefly by the persuasion of Nicolaus Vander Sacoe, the minister
Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythons, and how men of all sorts have been deceived, and that even the Apostles have mistaken the nature of spirits, with an unanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.

With this kind of witchcraft, Apollo and his oracles abused and cofened the whole world: which idol was so famous, that I need not stand long in the description thereof. The princes and monarchs of the earth reposed no small confidence therein: the Priests, which lied thereupon, were so cunning, as they also overtook almost all the godly and learned men of that age, partly with their doubfull answers; as that which was made unto Pyrhus, in these words, Aio te Aeaica Romam vincere posse, and to Cursus his ambassadors in these words, Si Cursus arma perfis inferis magnum imperium evertes, and otherwise thus, Cursus Halam penetrans, magnam subvertit opium vinit: or thus, Cursus perdet Halam, transcurrit plura regna, &c. partly through confederacy, whereby they knew mens errands ere they came, and partly by cunning, as promising victory upon the sacrificing of some person of such account, as victory should rather be neglected, than the murther accomplished. And if it were, yet should there be such conditions annexed therunto, as always remained unto them a starting hole, and matter enough to cavil upon; as that the party sacrificed must be a virgin, no bastard, &c. Furthermore, of two things once proposed, and where yea or nay only doth answer the question, it is an even lay, that an idiot shall conjecture right. So as, if things fell out contrary, the fault was always in the interpreter, and not in the oracle or the prophet. But what marvel! (I say,) though the multitude and common people have been abused herein, since Lawyers, Philosophers, Physicians, Astronomers, divines, Generel councils, and princes have with great negligence and ignorance been deceived and seduced hereby, as swallowing up and devouring
vouring an inveterate opinion, received of their elders, without due examination of the circumstance?

Howbeit, the godly and learned fathers (as it appeareth) have always had a special care and respect, that they attributed not unto God such devilish devices; but referred them to him, who indeed is the inventor and author, though not the personal executioner, in manner and form, as they supposed: so as the matter of faith was not thereby by them impeached. But who can allure himself not to be deceived in matters concerning spirits, when the Apostles themselves were so farre from knowing them, as even after the resurrection of Christ, having heard him preach and expound the Scriptures, all his life time, they shewed themselves not only ignorant therein, but also to have misconceived thereof.

Did not the Apostle Thomas think that Christ himself had been a spirit, until Christ told him plainly, that a spirit was no such creature, as had flesh and bones, the which (he said) Thomas might see to be in him: And for the further certifying and satisfying of his mind, he commended unto him his hands to be seen, and his sides to be felt. Thomas, if the answer be true that some make heretick, to wit, that spirits take forms and shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might have answered Christ, and remaining unsatisfied might have said; Oh sir, what do you tell me that spirits have no flesh and bones? Why, they can take shapes and forms, and so perchance have you done. Which argument all the witch-mongers in the world shall never be able to answer.

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

Howbeit, Erastus, faith, and so doth Hyperius, Hemingius, Danzans, M. Mal., Bodin, &c. that evil spirits eat, drink, and keep company with men, and that they can take palpable forms of bodies, producing examples thereof: at wit: Spectrum Germanicum seu Augustanum, and the angel whose feet Lot washed; as though because God can induce his messengers with bodies at his pleasure, therefore the devil and every spirit can do the like. How the eleven Apostles were in this case deceived, appeareth in Luke 24, and in Mark 16, as also in Matthew 14, where the Apostles and disciples
disciples were all deceived, taking Christ to be a spirit, when he walked Mark. 16.14.
on the sea. And why might not they be deceived herein, as well as in that Mat. 14.26.
they thought Christ had spoken of a temporal kingdom, when he preach Mat. 20.
ed of the kingdom of heaven? Which thing they also much miscon Matt. 16.11.
ceived; as likewise when he did bid them beware of the heaven of the
Pharisees, they understood that he spake of material bread.

CHAP. V.

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

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

Gregory Neoxarchiensis in his journey and way to passe over the Alpes,
came to the temple of Apollo: where Apollo's priest living richly upon
the revenues and benefit proceeding from that idol, did give great intr
ertainment unto Gregory, and made him good cheer. But after Greg-
ory was gone, Apollo waxed dumble, so as the priest's gains decayed: for
the idol growing into contempt, the pilgrimage ceased. The spirit tak-
ing compassion upon the priest's case, and upon his grief of mind in this
behalfe, appeared unto him, and told him flatly, that his late guest Greg-
ory was the cause of all his misery. For (faith the devil) he hath banished
me, so that I cannot returne without a speciall licease or passport from
him. It was no need to bid the priest make haste; for immediately he
took his horse, and galloped after Gregory, till at length he overtook
him, and then expostulated with him for this discourtefull proffered in
recompence of his good cheare; and said, that if he would not so go
unto him, as to write his letter to the devil in his behalfe, he
should be utterly undone. To be short, his importunity was such, that
he obtained Gregory his letter to the devil, who wrote unto him in man
ner and forme following, word for word: Permitto tibi redire in locum
taum, a agere quae consuevisi; which is in English, I am content thou re-
turne into thy place, and do as thou wast wont. Immediately upon the
receipt of this letter, the idol spake as before. And here is to be noted,
that as well in this, as in the execution of all their other oracles and Note the co-
cofenages, the answers were never given Ex tempore, or in that day senage of or,
wherein the question was demanded; because so often they expected a vi-
recent (as they said) to be given the night following, whereby the cofenage
might the more easilly be wrought.

CHAP. VI.
CHAP. VI.

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

What need many words to confute this fable? For if Gregory had been an honest man, he would never have willingly permitted that the people should have been further confounded with such lying spirits; if he had been half so holy as Eusebius maketh him, he would not have contemned or yielded to so lewd a request of the priest, nor have written such an impious letter, no not though good might have come thereof. And therefore, as well by the impossibility and folly contained therein, as of the impiety (whereof I dare excuse Gregory) you may perceive it to be a lie. Me thinks they which still maintain that the devil made answer in the idol of Apollo, &c. may have sufficient reason to revile their erroneous opinions; in that it appeareth in record, that such men as were skilful in augury, did take upon them to give oracles at Delphi, in the place of Apollo: of which number Taulinius the son of Antiochus was one. But vain is the answer of idols. Our Road of grace, with the help of little S. Rumbal, was not inferior to the idol of Apollo; for these could not work eternal miracles, but manifest the internal thoughts of the heart. I believe with more lively show, both of humani-ty and all of divinity, than the other. As if you read M. Lamberts book of the perambulation of Kent, it shall partly appear. But if you talk with them that have been beholders thereof, you will be satisfied herein. And yet in the blind time of popery, no man might under pain of damnation, nor without danger of death, suspect the fraud. Nay, what Papists will yet confess they were idols, though the wipers that made their eyes goggle, the pins that fastened them to the poles to make them seem heavy, were seen and burnt together with the images themselves; the knavery of the priests bewrayed, and every circumstance thereof detected and manifested?

CHAP. VII.

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

Plutarch, Livy, and Valerius Maximus, with many other grave authors, being abused with false reports, write that in times past heroes spake, and that images could have spoken and wept, and did, let fall drops of blood, yea and could walk from place to place: which they
fay was done by procuration of spirits. But I rather think with Aristotle, that it was brought to passe Hominum & facerorum deceptionibus, to wit, by the cofening art of crafty knaves and priests. And therefore let us follow Ezaies advise, who faith: When they shall fay unto you, enquire of them that have a spirit of divination, and at the foot of the witch whisper and mumble in your eares to deceive you, &c. enquire at your own God, &c. And so let us do. And here you see they are such as runne into corners, and cofen the people with lies, &c. For if they could do as they fay, they could not aptly be called liers, neither need they to go into corners to whisper &c.

CHAP. VIII.

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

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

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it advisedly, shall see that Samuel was not raised from the dead; but that it was an illusion or cofenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chrysostome saith; Souls are in a certain place expecting judgement, and cannot remove from thence. Neither is it God's will, that the living should be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approved by the example of Lazarus and Dives: where it appeareth according to Deut. 18, that he will not have the living taught by the dead, but will have his stick to his word, wherein his will and testament is declared. Indeed Lyra and Dionysius incline greatly to the letter. And Lyra saith, that as when Balaam would have raised a devil, God interposed himself; so did he in this case bring up Samuel, when the witch would have raised her devil. Which is a probable interpretation. But yet they dare not stand to that opinion, least they should impeach S. Augustine's credit, who they confesse, remained in judgement and opinion, without contradiction of the church,
The discovery of Saul and Samuel.

That Samuel was not raised. For he faith directly, that Samuel himself was not called up. And indeed, if he were raised, it was either willingly, or per force: if it were willingly, his sinne had been equal with the witches.

And Peter Martyr, me thinks, faith more to the purpose, in these words, to wit: This must have been done by Gods good will, or per force of art: it could not be done by his good will, because he forbade it; nor by art, because witches have no power over the godly.

Where it is answered by some, that the commandment was only to prohibit the Jews to ask counsel of the dead, and so no fault in Samuel to give counsel: We may as well excuse our neighbours wife, for consenting to our filthy desires, because it is only written in the decalogue; Thou shalt not defile thy neighbours wife. But indeed Samuel was directly forbidden to answer Saul before he died: and therefore it was not likely that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to do it.

CHAP. IX.

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

Furthermore, it is not likely that God would answer Saul by dead Samuel, when he would not answer him by living Samuel: and most unlikely of all, that God would answer him by a devil, that denied to do it by a prophet. That he was not brought up perforce; the whole course of the scripture witnesseth, and proveth; as also our own reason may give us to understand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect enjoy or possess in Abraham's bosom, if they were to be plucked from there at a witches call and commandement? But so should the devil have power in heaven, where he is unworthy to have any place himselfe, and therefore cannot come to command others.

Many other of the fathers are flatly against the raising up of Samuel: namely, Tertullian in his book De anima. Iulius Martyr in exposition, qua. 25. Rabanus In epistolis ad Bonos. Abat. Origen in historia de Bilemi, &c. Some other dote exceedingly herein, as namely Bodin, and all papists in general; also Rabbi Sadias Hajas, and also all the Hebrews, sauing R. David Kimhi, which is the best writer of all the Rabbins: though never a good of them all. But Bodin, in maintenance thereof, filleth into many absurdities, proving by the small faults that Saul had committed, that he was an elect: for the greatest matter, faith he, laid unto his charge, is the sparing of the Amalekites cattle, &c. He was an elect, &c, confirming his opinion with many ridiculous fables, and with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserve damnation; for Paul would not have the incestuous man punished to sure, but his soul might be saved. Iulius Martyr in another place was not only deceived in the actual raising up of Samuel's soul, but affirmed that all the souls of the just, men are subject to the power of witches.
And yet were the Heathen much more fond herein, who (as Laelantius Lael. lib. 7. cap. 15. affirmeth) boasted that they could call up the souls of the dead, and yet did think that their souls died with their bodies. Whereto is to be seen, how always the world hath been abused in the matters of witchcraft and conjuration. The Necromancers affirm, that the spirit of any man may be called up, or recalled (as they term it) before one year be past after their departure from the body. Which C. Agrippa in his book de occulta philosophia faith, may be done by certain natural forces and bonds. And therefore corpuses in times past were accompanied and watched with lights, sprinkled with holy water, perfumed with incense, and purged with prayer all the while they were above ground: otherwise the serpent (as the masters of the Hebrews say) would devour them, as the food appointed him by God, Gen. 3. alleging also this place: We shall not all sleepe, but we shall be changed; because many shall remaine for perpetuall meat to the serpent: whereupon seth the contention between him and Michael, concerning the body of Moses; wherein Scripture is allledged. I confesse that Augustine, and the residue of the doctors, that deny the raising of Samuel, conclude, that the devil was fetched up in his likenesse: from whole opinions (with reverence) I hope I may differ.

CHAP. X.

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

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

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

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

Saul seeing the host of the Phillistines come upon him, which thing could not be unknown to all the people, fainted, because he saw his strength, and his owne weakness, and specially that he was forsaken: so as being now strait of minde, desperate, and a very fool, he goeth to certaine of his servants, that saw in what taking he was, and asked them for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by that there dwelt one at Endor. By the way you shall understand, that both Saul and his servants meant such a one as could by her spirit raise up Samuel, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you see they were deceived, though it were true, that she took upon her to do. To what use then served her familiar spirit, which you conceive she had, because Sauls servants said so? Surely, as they were deceived and abused in part, so doubtlesse were they in the rest, for to what purpose say, shoulde her familiar serve, if not for such intents as they reported, and the undertook? I think you will grant that Sauls men never saw her familiar: for I never heard any yet of credit say, that he was so much in the witches favour, as to see her devil; although indeed we read among the popish trumpery, that S. Cicilie had an angell to her familiar, and that she could shew him to whom she would, and that she might ask and have what she or her friend
friend listas appeareth in the leflon read in the popish church on Saint Cicilies day. Well, I perceive the woman of Endors spirit was a counterfeitt, and kept be like in her closet at Endor, or in the bottle, with mother Alices devil at Weltwels, and are now bewailed and fled together to 
Limbapatrum, &c. And though Saul were bewitched and blinded in the matter; yet doublest a wise man would have perchance espied her knavery. Me thinks Saul was brought to this witch, much after the manner that doctor Barcot was brought to Feats, who sold master Doctor a familiar, whereby he thought to have wroth miracles, or rather to have gained good store of money. This fellow by the name of Feats was a jugler, by the name of Hilles a witch of conjurer, every way a cozener: his qualities and feats were to me and many other well knowne and detected. And yet the opinion conceived of him was most strange and wonderfull; even with such and in such cases, as it grieved me to think of, specially because his knavery and cozenage reached to the shedding of innocent blood. But now forsooth Saul overreth himselfe with a net: and because he would not be knowne, he put on other garments. But to bring that matter to passe, he must have been cut shorter by the head and shoulders; for by so much he was higher than any of the people. And therefore whatsoever face the crafty queane did feit upon it, she knew him well enough. And for further prove thereof, you may understand, that the princes of the Jews were much converiant with the people. And it appeareth manifestly, that Saul dwelt very neer to Endor, so as she should the rather know him; for in the evening he went from his lodging unto her house: neither should it seeme that she was gone to bed when he came. But because that may be uncertaine, you may see in the context of the text, that in a piece of the night he went from his house to hers, and with much ado intreated her to consent to his request. She finished her conjuration; so as both Sauls part, the witches part, and also Samuels part was plaide: and after the solemnization thereof, a calf was killed, a batch of bread baken, and a supper made ready and eaten up; and after all this, he went home the same night: and had need to do, for he had some businesse the next day. By these and many other circumstances it may be gathered, that she did assemble, in saying, she knew him not, and consequently counterfeited, and made a fool of him in all the rest.

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

D.Burcot.

Feats.

1 Sam. 28 6.

1 Sam. 10 13.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

P 2

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

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

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

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

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

But this witch diuised cunningly this deceit, to raise Saul resolutely to believe that she had raised Samuel; what words are used to color the covenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventiloque.

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

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

Saul and the witch.

The discovery

Saul and the witch.

dall means deciphered? And if you note the words well, you shall perceive the phrase not to come out of a spiritual mouth of a devil; but from a lying corporal tongue of a censor, that careth neither for God nor the devil; from whence issueth such advice and communication, as greatly disagreeeth from Saran's nature and purpose. For thus (I say) the said Samuel speaketh: Wherefore doest thou ask me seeing the Lord is gone from thee, and is thine enemy? Even the Lord hath done unto him as he spake by my hand: for the Lord will rent thy kingdom out of thine hand, and give it to thy neighbour David, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a devil, but of a censor, which knew before what Samuel had prophesied concerning Saul's destruction. For it is the devil's condition, to allure the people unto wickedness, and not in this fort to admonish, warn, and rebuke them for evil. And the popish writers confess, that the devil would have been gone at the first naming of God. If it be said, that it was at God's special commandment and will, that Samuel or the devil should be raised, to propound this admonition, to the profit of all posterity: I answer, that then he would either have done it by some of his living prophets, and that Satan had not been so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the witch (I would say Samuel) into the vein of prophecying, and speaketh to Saul on this wise: The Lord will rent thy kingdom out of thine hand, and give it to thy neighbour David, because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon the Amalekites: therefore hath the Lord done this unto thee this day. Moreover, the Lord will deliver thee into the hands of the Philistines, and to morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me, and the Lord shall give the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines. What could Samuel have said more? Me thinks the devil would have used another order, encouraging Saul rather than rebuking him for his evil. The devil is craftier than to leave such an admonition to all posterity, as should be prejudicial unto his kingdom, and also to be void of all impiety. But to divine a sentence maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to the advancement of her gains. Howbeit, concerning the verity of this prophecy, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the battle were fought the next day? Secondly, whether all his fowles were killed with him? Item, whether they went to heaven or hell together, as being with Samuel, they must be in heaven, and being with Satan, they must be in hell. But although every part of this prophecy were false, as that all his fowls were not slain (Jehovah living and reigning in Israel two years after Saul's death, and that the battle was not on the morrow, and that wicked Saul, after that he had killed himself, was not with good Samuel; yet this witch did give a trewd guess to the sequel. Which whether it were true or false, pertains not to my purpose; and therefore I will omit it. But as touching the opinion of them that say it was the devil, because that such things came to pass; I would fain know of them where they learn that devils foreknow things to come? If they say, he guessteth onely upon probabilities, the witch may also do the like. But here I may not forget the decrees, which conclude, that Samuel appeared not unto Saul; but that the historiographer set forth.
of Witchcraft.

Right Ven-

triloque.

Chap. XIV.

of some 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 from the bottom of her belly, did cast her selfe into a trance, and so abused Saul, answering to Saul in Samuels name, in her counterfeit hollow voice: as the wench of Westwel spake, whose history I have rehearsed before at large, in page 94: and this is right Ventriloque.

CHAP. XIV.

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

A fars and Sadajas write, that when the woman saw the miracle indeed, and more than she looked for, or was wont to do; she began to cry out, that this was a vision indeed, and a true one, not done by her art, but by the power of God. Which exposition is farre more probable than our late writers judgements hereupon, and agreeth with the exposition of divers good divines. Gelasius saith, it was the very spirit of Samuel: and where he suffered himselfe to be worshipped, it was but in civil salutation and courtesse; and that God did interpose Samuel, as he did Elias to the messenger of Ochosas, when he sent to Belzebub the god of Acharon. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are set up I. Bod. and in this point: for the papists say, that it cannot be a devil, because Jehovah is thricce or fivce times named in the story. Upon this piece of scripture, arguments are daily devised, to prove and maintain the miraculous actions of witch-craft, and the raising of the dead by conjurations. And yet if it were true, that Samuel himselfe were raised, or the devil in his likeness; and that the witch of Endor by her art and cunning did it; &c. it maketh rather to the disproofe than to the proofe of our witches, which can neither do that kind of miracle, or any other, in any such place or company, where their jugling and confenage may be seen and laid open. And I challenge them all (even upon the adventure of my life) to shew one piece of a miracle, such as Christ did truly, or such as they suppose this witch did diabolically, be it not with art nor confederacy, whereby some colour thereof maybe made; neither are there any such visions in these dayes shewed.

Heresore God did send his visible angels to men: but now we hear not of such apparitions, neither are they necessary. Indeed it pleased God heretofore, by the hand of Moses and his prophets, and specially by his son Christ and his Apostles, to wotke great miracles, for the establis-
7. Booke. The discovery of the faith: but now whatsoever is necessary for our salvation, is contained in the word of God: our faith is already confirmed; and our church established by miracles; so as now to seek for them is a point of infidelity. Which the papists (if you note it) are greatly touched withall, as in their lying legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are knaveries most commonly, and specially of priests, whereas I could cite a thousand. If you read the story of Bell and the Dragon, you shall finde a ceasing miracle of some antiquity. If you will see newer devises, read Vitruus, Cardanus, Bales, and specially Laveners, &c. There have been some walking spirits in these parts so conjured not long since, as afterwards they little delighted to make any more apparitions.

CHAP. XV.

Of vain apperitions, how people have been brought to fear bugs, which is partly reformed by preaching of the gospel: the true effect of Christ's miracles.

But certainly, some one knave in a white sheet hath cofened and abused many thousands that way; specially when Robin good-fellow kept such a coile in the Country. But you shall understand, that these bugs (specially are spied and feared of sick folks, children, women, and cowards, which through weakness of mind and body, are shaken with vain dreams and continual fear. The Scythians, being a stout and warlike nation (as divers writers report) never see any vain image, or spirits. It is a common saying; A Lion seaweth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maidens have so terrified us with an ugly devil having horns on his head, fire in his mouth, and a taile in his brest; eyes like a baton, fanges like a dog, claws like a bear, a skinne like a Neger, and a voice roaring like a Lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we hear one cry Bough: and they have so fraied us with bull-beggars, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, fauns, lewens, kit with the canthick, tritons, centaurs, dwarfs, giants, jimpis, olars, conjurers, nymphaes, changelings, Incubus, Robin good-fellow, the spoon, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell-waine, the fire-drake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob-gobblin, Tom tumber, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our own shadowes: insomuch as some never see the devil, but in a dark night; and then a polled sheepe is a perillous beast, and many times is taken for our fathers soul, specially in a churchyard, where a right hardy man heretofore scant durst passe by night, but his haire would stand upright. For right grave writers report, that spirits most often and specially take the shape of women appearing to monks, &c. and of beasts, dogs, swine, horses, goats, cats, hares, of fowles, as crows, night-owles, and threck owles; but they delight most in the likenesse of snakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, this wretched and cowardly infidelity, since the preaching of the gospel, is in part forgotten: and doublely, the rest of those illusions will in short time be...
Miracles. of Witchcraft. Chap. XVI.

(by God's grace) be defreet and vanish away.

Divers writers report, that in Germany, since Luther's time, spirits Car. de var. and devils have not personally appeared, as in times past they were wont rerum. liter. to do. This argument is taken in hand of the ancient fathers, to prove de præst. dan. the determination and ceasing of oracles. For in times past (faith Athanas. &c. Athanas. fuis devils in vain shapes did intricate men with their illusory, hiding them. de humanitate false in waters, flames, woods, &c. But now that the word of God verbi. hath appeared, those fables, spirits, and mockeries of images are ceased.

Truly, if all such oracles, as that of Apollo, &c. (before the coming of Christ) had been true, and done according to the report, which hath been brought through divers ages, and from farre countries unto us, without prieitly fraud or guile, so as the spirits of prophesie, and working of miracles, had been infected into an idol, as hath been supposed: yet we christians may conceive, that Christ's coming was not so frutelless and prejudicial in this point unto us, as to take away his spirit of prophesie and divination from out of the mouth of his chil. people, and good prophets, giving no answers of any thing to come by them, nor by Urim nor Thummim, as he was wont, &c. And yet to leave the devil in the mouth of a witch, or an idol to prophesie or work miracles, &c. to the hinderance of his glorious gospel, to the discomfiture of his church, and the true end to the furtherance of infidelity and false religion, whereas the working of miracles was the only, or at least the most special means that moved Iohn. 2.

men to believe in Christ, as appeareth in sundry places of the gospel, and specially in John, where it is written, that a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did, &c. Nay, is it not Act 2.22. written, that Jesus was approved by God among the Jews, with miracles, wonders and signs, &c. And yet, if we confer the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that are imputed to witches, witches miracles shall appear more common, and nothing inferior unto his.

CHAP. XVI.

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

If this witch of Endor had performed that, which many conceive of the An ironical matter, it might have been compared with the railing up of Lazarus. I collation. pray you, is not the converting of water into milk, as hard a matter as the turning of water into wine? And yet, as you may read in the gospel, Mal. malef. that Christ did the one, as his first miracle; so may you read in M:Male. par. 2. quæ. 1. and in Bodin, that witches can easily do the other: yea, and that which is cap. 14. a great deal more, of water they can make butter. But to avoid all ca.
vils, and leave there should appear more matter in Christ's miracle, than 1 Tim. 6. 13. the others, you shall find in M. Male. that they can change water into wine: Col. 1. 16. and what is it to attribute to a creature, the power and worke of the crea-
tor, if this be not? Christ faith, Opera quæ ego facio nemo potest facere. Creation of substance was never granted to man nor angel; Ergo neither to Q.

witch
witch nor devil: for God is the onely giver of life and being, and by him all things are made, visible and invisible.

Finally, this woman of Endor is in the scripture called Pythoissa: whereby it may appear that she was but a very soeler. For Pytho himselfe, whereof Pythoissa is derived, was a counterfeite. And the original story of Apollo, who was called Pytho, because he killed a serpent of that name, is but a poetical fable. For the Poets say, he was the god of Musick, Physick, Poetry, and shouting. In heaven he is called Sol, in earth Liber Pater, in hell Apollo. He flouriseth always with perpetual youth, and therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an orcale-giver: and the priests that attended thereon at Delphos were soeler, and called Pythoisses of Pytho, as Papists of Papa; and afterwards all women that used that trade, were named Pythoissa, as was this woman of Endor. But because it concerneth this matter, I will breifly note the opinions of divers learned men, and certaine other proofs, which I finde in the scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, prophesies and oracles.
MIRACLES.  OF WITCHCRAFT.  CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

THAT MIRACLES ARE CEASED.

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

S. Augustine, among other reasons, whereby he proveth the ceasing of miracles, faith; Now blind flesh doth not open the eyes of the blind, by the miracle of God, but the eyes of our heart are opened by the word. Auguff.de verbo Dei. And in the dead carcase raised any more up by miracle, but our dead bodies be fill in the grave, and our souls are raised to life by Christ. Now the cares of the dead are not opened by miracle, but they sermone. Which had their ears shut before, have them now opened to their salvation. The miraculous healing of the sick, by anointing, spoken of by S. James, is objected by many, specially by the papists, for the maintenance of their sacrament of extreme unction: which is ably and vainly used in the Romish church, as though that miraculous gift had continuance till this James 5.14. day; wherein you shall see what Calvines speaketh in his institutions. I. Calvin. In the grace of healing (faith he) spoken of by Saint James, is situate lib.4. vanished away, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would have ceased only for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the gospel marvellous for ever. Why (faith he) do not these (meaning mira.19. Isa.9.7. cles-mongers) appoint some Siloam to swim in, whereinto at certaine or ordinary recourses of times sickle folk may plunge themselves? Why do they not lie along upon the dead, because Paul raised up a dead child nepe.1. Calvin. by that means? Verily (faith he) James in the miracle to anoint, saith for that time, whereas the church still enjoyed such blessings of God. Item, he faith, that the Lord is present with his in all ages; and so often as need is, he helpeth their sickneasses, no lesse than in old time. But he doth not so utter his manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles, as by the hands of the Apostles, because the gift was but for a time. Calvin even their conclude thou; They say such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saies nay. And see how they agree among themselves. Danuex faith, that neither witch nor devil can worke miracles. Giles Allel faith directly, that
that witches work miracles. Calvin faith, they are all ceased. All witch-
mongers say, they continue. But some affirm, that popish miracles are va-
nished and gone away: howbeit witches miracles remain in full force. So
as S. Loy is out of credit for a horseleach, Master T. and mother Bun-
gy remaine in estimation for prophets: nay Hobgoblin and Robin good-
fellow are contemned among young children, and mother Alice and mo-
ther Bungy are feared among old fools. The estimation of these con-
inue, because the matter hath not been called in question: the credit
of the other decayeth, because the matter hath been looked into. Whereof
I say no more, but that S. Anthony's blisse will helpe your pigg, whenceso-
ever mother Bungy doth hurt it with her curse. And therefore we are
warned by the word of God, in any wise not to feare their curses. But
let all the witchmongers, and specially the miracle-mongers in the world
answer me to this supposition; Put case that a woman of credit, or else
a woman-witch should say unto them, that she is a true prophet of the
Lord, and that he revealeth those secret mysteries unto her, whereby she
deceth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and that by him she worketh miracles, and prophesieth, &c. I think they must either
yield, or confess, that miracles are ceased. But such things (faith Car-
dane) as seeme miraculous, are chiefly done by deception, legerdemain,
or confederacy; or else they may be done, and yet seeme impossible, or
else things are said to be done, and never were nor can be done.

C. H. A. P. I I.

The gift of prophesi is ceased.

That witches, not the woman of Endor, nor yet her familiar or de-
vil can tell what is to come, may plainly appear by the words of the
prophet, who faith; Shew what things are to come, and we will say, you
are gods indeed. According to that which Solomon faith; who can tell
a man what shall happen him under the sun? Marry that can I (faith the
witch of Endor to Saul.) But I will rather believe Paul and Peter, which
say, that prophesi is the gift of God, and no worldly thing. Then a
colouning queene, that taketh upon her to do all things and can do no-
thing but beguile men: upsteepeth also mother Bungy, and she can tell
you where your horse or your ass is bestowed, or any thing that you have
loft is become, as Samuel could; and what you have done in all your
age pait, as Christ did to the woman of Sichar at Jacobs well; yea and
what your errand is, before you speakes as Elizeus did.

Peter Martyr faith, that onely God and man knoweth the heart of man,
and therefore, that the devil must he seclude, alluding these places;
Solus Deus est scrutator cordium, onely God is the searche of hearts. And
Nemo scit quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo. None know-
eith the things of man, but the spirit of man which is within him. So-
mon faith, Tu solus nobis cognitiones hominum, Thou onely knowest the
thoughts of men. And Jeremy faith in the person of God, Ego Deus
scrutius corde et renes, I am God searching hearts and reins. Also Mat-
thew faith of Christ, Jesus autem videns cogitationes eorum. And Jesus
seeing their thoughts, who in Scripture is called the searcher and knower
of
in other places infinite.

The same Peter Martyr also saith, that the devil may suspect, but not
know our thoughts: for if he should know our thoughts, he should under-
stand our faith; which if he did, he would never assault us with one
temptation. Indeed we read that Samuel could tell where things lost
were strayed, &c. but we see that gift also ceased by the coming of Christ,
according to the saying of Paul, at sundry times, and in divers manners
God spake in the old times by our fathers the prophets, in these last
days he hath spoken unto us by his son, &c. And therefore I say, that
gift of prophecy, where with God in times past endued his people, is also
ceased; and counterfeiters and confounders are come in their places, accord-
ing to this saying of Peter: There were false prophets among the peo-
ple; even as there shall be false teachers among you, &c. And think not
that so notable a gift should be taken from the beloved and the elect
people of God, and committed to mother Bungy, and such like of her pro-

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

"But put the case, that one in our Common-wealth should step up and
say he were a prophet, (as many sanguine persons do) who would belieue
him, or not think rather that he were a lewd person? See the statutes
Elizab. 5., whether there be not laws made against them, condemning their
arrogancy and contulence: so also the canon lawes to the same effect.

CHAP. III.

That Oracles are ceased.

Talking of oracles, which for the most part were Idols of silver, gold,
wood, stones, &c. within whole bodies some say unclean spirits hid
themselves, and gave anwers as some others say, that exhalations rising
out of the ground, inspirre their minds, whereby their priests gave our ora-
cles, so as spirits and winds rose up out of that soile, and inspired those men
Theucid. lib. 2.
Cicer. de di.
with vin. lib. 2.

with the gift of prophesie of things to come, though in truth they were all devifes to confen the people, and for the profit of priests, who received the idols answers over night, and delivered them back to the idolaters the next morning: you shall understand, that although it had been so as it is supposed; yet by the reasons and proofs before rehearsed, they should now cease: and whatsoever hath affinity with such miraculous actions, as witchcraft, conjuration, &c. is knocked on the head, and nailed on the croffe with Christ, who hath broken the power of devils, and satisfied Gods justice, who also hath troden them under his feet, and subdued them, &c. At whose coming the prophet Zacharias faith, that the Lord will cut the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be no more remembred; and he will then cause the prophets and unclean spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written, I will cut off thine enchanters out of thine hand, and thou shalt have no more soothsayers.

And indeed, the gospel of Christ hath laid open their knavery, &c. that since the preaching thereof, their combes are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if ever these prophesies came to take effect, it must be upon the coming of Christ, whereat you see the devils were troubled and fainted, when they met him, saying, or rather exclaiming upon him on this wise; Fili Dei, cur vanitati nos cruciat ante tempus? O thet spake of God, why comest thou to molest us, or confound us) before our time appointed? Which he indeed prevented, and now remaineth he our defender and keeper from his claws. So as now you see here is no room left for such guests.

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that have been much deceived as your selves in this matter; and yet are driven to confess, that GOD hath constituted his Sonne to bear down the power of devils, and to satisfie Gods justice, and to heale our wound received by the fall of Adam, according to Gods promise in Genesis 3. The seed of the woman shall tread downe the serpent, or the devil. Eusebius) in his first booke De prædicatione Evangelij, the title whereof is this, that the power of devils is taken away by the coming of Christ) faith; All answers made by devils, all soothsayings and divinations of men are gone and vanished away. Item he citeth Porphyrie in his booke against Christian religion, wherein these words are rehearsed; It is no marvel, though the plague be so hot in this city: for ever since Jesus hath beene worshipped, we can obtaine nothing that good is at the hands of our Gods. And of this defection and ceasing of oracles writeth Cicero long before; and that to have happened also before his time. Howbeit, Chrysostome living long since Cicero, faith, that Apollo was forced to grant, that so long as any relike of a martyr was held to his nose, he could not make any answer or oracle. So as one may perceive, that the heathen were wiser in this behalfe than many christians, who in times past were called Oppugnatores incantamentarum, as the English Princes are called Defensores fidei. Plurarch calleth Ecottia (as we call babblers) by the name of many words, because of the multitude of oracles there, which now (faith he) are like to a spring or fountain which is dried up. If any one remained I would ride five hundred miles to see it: but in the whole world there
ob.  of Witchcraft.  Chap. IV.  119

there is not one to be seen at this hour; popish concerences excepted.

But Plutarch faith, that the cause of this defection of oracles, was the
devils death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortal, saying
they died for very ages; and that the divining priests were blown up with a
whirl-wind, and smake with an earthquake. Others imputed it to be
the fight of the place of the planets, which when they passed over them, car-
rried away that art with them; and by revolution may return, &c. Eusebius
Apollo cited also cite out of him the story of Pan, which because it is to this purpose,
I will insert the same; and since it mentioneth the devils death, you may
believe it if you like: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserved alive
to punish the wicked, and such as impure unto those idols the power of
Almighty God.

CHAP. III.

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

Plurarch faith, that his countryman Epitererus told him, that as he
passed by sea into Italy, many passengers being in his boat, in an-
evning, when they were about the islands Echinadas, the wind quite ceased,
and the ship driving with the tide, was brought at last to Paxe. And
whilest some slept and others quaff, and others were awake (perhaps
in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddeUly a voice was heard calling
Thamus; in such sort as every man marvelled. This Thamus was a
pilot born in Egypt, unknowne to many that were in the ship. Where-
fore being twice called, he answered nothing; but the third time he
did, thought to answer: and the other with a louder voice commanded him, that play with his
when he came to Palodes, he should tell them that the great God Pan
company, was departed. Whereat every one was astonied (as Epitererus affirmed,) whom he
And being in consultation what were best to do, Thamus concluded, might easily
that if the wind were high, they must passe by with silence; but if the overtake with
weather were calme, he must utter that which he had heard. But when such a jest,
they came to Palodes, and the weather calme, Thamus looking out to-
ward the land, cried aloud, that the great god Pan was deceased:
and immediately there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of
people, as it were with great wonder and admiration. And because there
were many in the ship, they said, the same thereof was speedily brought
to Rome, and Thamus sent for by Tiberius the Emperour, who gave such
credit thereto, that he diligently inquired and asked, who that Pan was.
The learned men about him supposed, that Pan was he who was the son
of Mercure and Penelope, &c. Eusebius faith, that this chanced in the
time of Tiberius the Emperor, who when Christ expelled all devils, &c.
Paulus Marcius, in his notes upon Ovids Fasti, faith, that this voice was
heard
A detection of Thamus his knavery.

heard out of Paxe, that very night that Christ suffered, in the year of Tiberius the nineteenth. Surely, this was a merry jest devis'd by Thamus who with some confederates thought to make sport with the passengers, who were some asleep, and some drunk, and some other at play, &c. whilst the first voice was used. And at the second voice, to wit, when he should deliver his message, he being an old Pilot, knew where some noise was usual, by means of some echo in the sea, and thought he would (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his device, if the weather proved calm. Whereby may appear, that he would in other cases of tempests, &c. rather attend to more serious business, then to that ridiculous matter. For why else should he not do his errand in rough weather, as well as in calm? Or what need he tell the devil thereof, when the devil told it him before, and with much more expedition could have done the errand himself?

But you shall read in the Legend a fable, an oracle I would say, more authentike. For many will say that this was a prophane story, and not canonical as those which are verified by the Popes authority: and thus it is written. A woman in her travel sent her Sister to Diana, which was the devil in an idol (as all those oracles are said to be) and willing her to make her prayers, or rather a request, to know her safe deliverie; which thing she did. But the devil answered; Why prayest thou to me? I cannot help thee, but go pray to Andrew the Apostle, and he may help thy sister, &c. So, this was not only a gentle, but a godly devil, pitying the woman's case, who revealing his own disability, enabled S. Andrew more. I know some Protestants will say, that the devil, to maintain idolatrie, &c. referred the maid to S. Andrew. But, what answer will the Papists make, who think it great piety to pray unto Saints, and so by consequence honest courteous in the devil, to send her to S. Andrew, who would not fail to serve her turn, &c.

CHAP. V.
The judgements of the ancient fathers touching oracles, and their ab- 
oblation, and that they be now transferred from Delphos to Rome.

The opinions of the Fathers, that oracles are ceased by the coming of Christ, you shall find in these places following, to wit: Iustinus, Athanasius, In dialogis adversus Indios; Athanasius De humanitate verbi, Augustinus human. verbi. De civitate Dei. Episcopii Lib. 7. cap. 6. Irenaei lib. 5. cap. 1. Ruperti in Ioan. lib. 10. 12. Plutarch De abolitione oraculorum. Plinii lib. 30. natural. historiae. Finally, Athanasius concludes, that in times past there were oracles in Delphos, Bocotia, Lycia, and other places; but now since Christ is preached unto all men, this madness is ceased. So as you see, that whatsoever estimation in times past, the ancient Fathers conceived (by heart) of those miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c. they themselves refuse now, not only to bear witness of, but also affirm, that ever since Christ's coming their mouths have been stopped. For
of Witchcraft.  Chap. VI.

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

CHAP. VI.

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

These confening oracles, or rather oracles used (I say) to exercise their feats and to do their miracles most commonly in maids, in beasts, in images, in dens, in cloisters, in dark holes, in trees, in churches or churchyards, &c. where priests, monks, and friers had laid their plots, and made their confederacies aforesaid, to beguile the world, to gaine money, and to add credit to their profession. This practise began in the oakes of Dodona, in the which was a wood, the trees thereof (they say) Strabo Geog. lib. 16. could speake. And this was done by a knave in a hollow tree, that seem- ed sound unto the simple people. This wood was in Molossia: a part of Greece, called Ephesus, and it was named Dodonae oracles. There were many oracles in Egipt; namely, of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva, of Diana, of Mars, of Jupiter, and of the ox Apis, who was the fonde of Jupiter, but his image was worshipped in the likenesse of an ox. Lato-na, who was the mother of Apollo, was an oracle in the city of Bute. The oracles of Apollo, who alwayes counterfeited fury and madness, gave oracles in the temple called Clarius, within the city of Colophon in Greece. At Thebes in Boetia, and also in Lycadia, Trophonius was the chief oracle. At Memphis a cow, at Corinth an ox called Mineus, in Egypt a crocodile, in Athens a prophet called Amphiaras, who indeed died at Thebes, where they say the earth opened, and swallowed him up quick. At Delphos was the great temple of Apollo, where devils gave oracles by maids (as some say): though indeed it was done by priests. It was built upon Parnassus hill in Grecce. And the defenders of oracles say, that even as rivers oftentimes are diverted to another course; so likewise the spirit, which inspired the chiefe prophets, may for a time be silent, and revive againe by revolution.

Demetrius faith, that the spirits, which attended on oracles, waxed weary of the people's curiosity and importunity, and for shame forsooke the temple. But as one that of late hath written against prophesies faith; It is no marvel, that when the familiars that speake in trunks were repelled H. Haw. in his from their harbour for feare of discovery, the blocks almighty left defensative at their fenes. For these are all gone now, and their knavery is espied, gainst pro-fo as they can no longer abuse the world with such bables. But whereas of these
these great doctors suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was the coming of Christ; if they meant that the devil died, so soon as he was born, or that when he gave over his occupation: they are deceived. For the popish church hath made a continuall practic divers hereof, partly for their own private profit, lucre, and gain; and partly to be had in estimation of the world, and in admiration among the simple. But indeed, men that have learned Christ, and been conversant in his word, have discovered and shaken off the vanity and abomination hereof. But if those doctors had lived till this day, they would have said and written, that oracles had ceased, or rather been driven out of England in the time of King Henry the eight, and of Queene Elizabeth his daughter; who have done so much in that behalfe, as at this time they are not only all gone, but forgotten here in this English nation, where they swarmed as thick as they did in Boeotia, or in any other place in the world. But the credit they had, depended not upon their defect, but upon the credulity of others. Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this matter, with the opinion and saying of the prophet; vain is the answer of idols. For they have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, mouths and speak not, &c. and let them shew what is to come, and I will say they are gods indeed.
The Hebrew word Kasam expounded, and how farre a Christian may conjecture of things to come.

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

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

Proves by the old and new Testament, that certaine observations of the weather are lawful.

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

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

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

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

Of the idol called Apollo, I have somewhat already spoken in the former title of Ob or Pyrino; and some occasion I shall have to speak thereof hereafter: and therefore at this time it shall suffice to tell you, that the credit gained thereby, was by the craft and cunning of the priefts, which tended thereupon; who with their counterfeit miracles so bewitched.
bewitched the people, as they thought such virtue to have been contained in the bodies of those idols; as God hath not promised to any of his angels, or elect people. For it is said, that if Apollo were in a chase, he would sweat; if he had remorse to the afflicted, and could not help them, he would shed tears, which I believe might have been wiped away with that handkerchief, that wiped and dried the blood of graces face, being in the like perplexities. Even as another sort of witching priests called Aruspices prophesied victory to Alexander, because an eagle lighted on his head; which eagle might (I believe) be cooped or caged with Mahomet's dove, that picked peafon out of his ear.

CHAP. IV.

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

The cunning tricks of oracular priests and monks, are and have been specially most abominable. The superstitious observations of leftele augurers and soothsayers (contrary to Philosophy, and without authority of Scripture) are very ungodly and ridiculous. Howbeit, I reject not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the conjectures or forewarnings of Physitians, nor yet the interpretations of Philosophers; although in respect of the divine prophecies contained in holy Scripture, they are not to be weighed or regarded. For the end of these and the other is not only far differing; but whereas these contain only the words and will of God, with the other are mingled most horrible lies and counsellages. For though there be many of them learned and godly, yet lurk there in corners of the same profession, a great number of counterfeiters and coulserers. I Bodin putreth this difference between divine prophets and enchantors; to wit, the one faith alwayes true, the others words (proceeding from the devil) are alwayes false; or for one truth they tell a hundred lies. And then why may not every witch be thought as cunning as Apollo? And why not every counterfeit coulesner as good a witch as mother Bungie? For it is odds, but they will hit the truth once in a hundred divinations as well as the belt.

CHAP. V.

The diversity of true Prophets, of Urim, and of the prophetical use of the twelve precious stones contained therein of the divine voice called Echo.

It should appear, that even of holy prophets there were divers sorts. For David and Solomon, although in their psalms and parables of prophecy contained most excellent mysteries, and notable allegories; yet they were not induced with that degree of prophesie, that Ely and Elisha were, Sec.
For as often as it is said, that God spake to David or Solomon, it is meant to be done by the prophets. For NATHAN or GAD were the Messengers and Prophets to reveal God's will to David. And Ahiam the Silonite was sent from God to Solomon. Item, the spirit of prophesie which Elias had, was doubled upon Elisha. Also some prophets prophesied all their lives, some had but one vision, and some had more according to God's pleasure; yet some prophesied unto the people of such things as came not to pass, and that was where God's wrath was pacified by repentance. But these prophets were always reputed among the people to be wise and godly; whereas the Heathen prophets were evermore known and said to be mad and foolish: as it is written both of the prophets of Sibylla, and also of Apollo; and at this day also in the Indies, &c.

But that any of these extraordinary gifts remain at this day, Bodin, nor any witchmonger in the world shall never be able to prove: though he in his book of devilish madness would make men believe it. For these were miraculously maintained by God among the Jewes, who were instructed by them of all such things as should come to pass; or else informed by Urim: so as the priests by the brightness of the twelve precious stones contained therein, could prognosticate or expound any thing which brightness and virtue sealed (as Josephus reporteth) two hundred years before he was born. So as since that time, no answers were yielded thereby of God's will and pleasure. Nevertheless, the Hebrews write, that there hath been ever since that time, a divine voice heard among them, which in Latine is called Filia vocis, in Greek εἰς τοῦτο in English the Daughter of speech.

CHAP. VI.

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

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

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

ruines
9. Book. The discovery

The subject of the prophecies of the old testament.

ruines of the Kingdomes of Juda, Israel, Egypt, Persia, Gracia, &c.

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

Howbeit when I deny that witches can ride in the aire, and the miraculous circumstance thereof: by and by it is objected to me, that Enoch and Ely were rapt into the heaven bodily; and Abacuck was carried in the aire, to feed Daniel: and to fallly oppose a devils or a witches power against the verme of the HolyGhost. If I peride the Poets opinions, saying, that witches cannot Caro dedere lunam, fetch the moon from heaven, &c. they tell me that at Josuah's battle the sunne staided, and at the passion of Christ there was palpable darknesse. If I deny their cunning in the expostion of dreams, advising them to remember Jeremie's counsel, not to follow or credit the expostors of dreams; they hit me in the teeth with Daniel and Joseph: for that the one of them expounded Pharaoh the Persian Kings, the other Nebuchadnezzar the Egyptian Kings dream.

If I say with Solomon, that the dead know nothing, and that the dead know us not, neither are remooveable out of Abrahams boosome, &c. they produce the story of Samuel: wherein, I say, they set the power of a creature as high as the Creator. If I say, that these witches cannot transubstantiate themselves, nor others into beasts, &c. they cite the story of Nebuchadnezzar; as though indeed he were made a materiall beast, and that also by witch-craft; and strengthen that their assertion with the fables of Circe and Ulysses his companions, &c.

CHAP. VII.

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


The miracles expressed in the old Testament were many, but the end of them all was one, though they were divers and differing in shews; as where the sacrifices of Moses, Elias and Solomon, being abundantly wet were burnt with fire from heaven, &c. The variety of tongues at the building of Babylon, Izaac's birth of Sarah being by nature part children, the
the passage through the red sea, Daniel's foretelling of the four monarchies, in the fourth whereof he apparently foreknew the coming of the Lord. All these, and many other, which are expressed in the old testament, were merciful instructions and notable miracles to strengthen the faith of God's people in their Messiah. If you had gone to Delphos, Apollo would have made you believe with his amphibolical answers, that he could have foretold you all these things.

The miracles wrought by Christ were the raising up of the dead (which many would impute to the woman of Endor, and also to our witches and conjurers) the restoring of the lame to limbs, the blind to sight, the dumb to speech, and finally the healing of all diseases; which many believe our witches can do; yea, and as they themselves will take it upon themselves. As for casting out of devils, which was another kind of miracles usual with Christ, witches and conjurers are said to be as good thereat as ever he was: and yet, if you will believe Christ's words, it cannot be so. For he said, Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to nought, and his kingdom shall not end. And Peter's chains fell off in prison, so did Richard Gallifry's fetters at Windsor. Helias by special grace obtained rain, our witches can make it rain, when they lift, etc. But this is Christ did these miracles, and many more, and all to confirm his truth, and strengthen our faith, and finally for the conversion of the people (as appeareth in John 6, 7, and 12. inasmuch as he vehemently reproved such, as upon the sight of them would not believe, saying: Wo be to thee Corazin; wo be to thee Bethsaida. If the miracles had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, etc. Let us therefore and acquit our faith in Christ, and beleeving all his wonderful works, let us reject these old wives fables, as lying vanities: whereas you may finde in the golden legend, M. Mal and specially in Bodein miraculous stuffs; enough to check all the miracles expressed in the old and new testament, which are of more credit with many bewitched people, then the true miracles of Christ himselfe. Infomuch as they stand in more awe of the menaces of a witch, then of all the threatenings and curses pronounced by God, and expressed in his word. And thus much touching the word Kasam.

A summe of of Christ's miracles.

Mat. 12: 25.

Luk. 10: 13.
The interpretation of this Hebrew word Onen, of the vanity of dreams, and divinations thereupon.

NE N differeth not much from Kafam, but that it is extended to the interpretation of dreams. And as for dreams, whatsoever credit is attributed unto them, proceedeth of folly: and they are fools that trust in them for why they have deceived many. In which respect the prophet giveth us good warning, not to follow nor harken to the expositors of dreams, for they come through the multitude of blindness. And therefore those witches, that make men believe they can prophesie upon dreams, as knowing the interpretation of them, and either for money or glory abuse men and women thereby, are mere careeners, and worthy of great punishment: as are such witchmongers, as believing them, attribute unto them such divine power as only becometh to God: as appeareth in Jeremy the prophet.

CHAP. II.

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

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

As for physical conjectures upon dreams, the scriptures improve them not: for by them, the physicians many times do understand the state of their patients bodies. For some of them come by means of choler, flegme, melancholy, or blood; and some by love, surfeit, hunger, thirst, &c. Galen and Boetius were said to deale with devils, because they told
told so justly their patients dreams, or rather by their dreams their
special diseases. Howbeit, physical dreams are natural, and the cause
of them dwelleth in the nature of man. For they are the inward actions
of the mind in the spirits of the braine, while the body is occupied with
sleep: for as touching the minde it selfe, it never sleeppeth. These
dreams vary, according to the difference of humors & vapors. There are also
casual dreams, which (as Solomon saith) come through the multitude of busi-
ness. For as a looking-glass sheweth the image of figure thereof unto op-
posite: so in dreams, the phantastical imagination informes the un-
derstanding 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 dreams, for why? the mind
Of that in sleepe a view doth take,
Which it doth wish and hope to find;
At such time as it is awake.

CHAP. III.

The opinion of divers old writers touching dreams, and how they va-
y in noting the causes thereof.

Symphius, Themistius, Democritus, and others grounding themselves
upon examples that chance hath sometimes verified, persuade men, A difference
that nothing is dreamed in vaine: affirming that the heavenly influences in opinions a-
do bring forth divers forms in corporal matters; and of the same influen-
cies, visions and dreams are printed in the fantastical power, which
is instrumental, with a celestial disposition meete to bring forth some
effect, especially in sleepe, when the mind (being free from bodily
cares) may more liberally receive the heavenly influences, whereby ma-
ny things are knowne to them sleepping in dreams, which they that
wake cannot see. Plato attributeth them to the forms and ingendred
knowledges of the soule; Avicen to the last intelligence that moveth the
moone, through the light that lighteneth the fantastical sense; Aristot-
le to the phantastical sense; Averroes to the imaginative; Albert to the
influence of superior bodies.
Against interpreters of dreams, of the ordinary cause of dreams,
Hemingius his opinion of diabolical dreams, the interpretation of
dreams ceased.

There are bookes carried about concerning this matter, under the
name of Abraham, who (as Philo in lib. gigantium faith) was the first
inventor of the exposition of dreams: and so likewise of Solomon and
Daniel. But Ciceron in lib. de divinatione confuteth the vanity and folly
of them that give credit to dreams. And as for the interpreters of
dreams, as they know not before the dream, nor yet after any certainty;
yet when any thing afterwards happeneth, then they apply the dream to
that which hath chanced.

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

Lastly, there are diabolical dreams, which Nicholas Hemingius di-
videth into three sorts. The first is, when the devil immediately of him-
selue (he meaneth corporally) offereth any matter of dreame. Secondly,
when the devil sheweth revelations to them that have made request unto
him therefore. Thirdly, when magicians by art bring to passe, that
other men dreame what they will. Assuredly these, and all the rest
(as they may be used) are very magickal and devilish dreams. For al-
though we may receive comfort of minde by thole, which are called di-
vine dreams, and health of body through physical dreams: yet if we
take upon us to use the office of God in the revelation or rather the in-
terpretation of them; or if we attribute unto them miraculous effects
(now when we see the gifts of prophesie, and of interpretation of
dreames, and also the operation of miracles are ceaseth, which were special and pec-
cular gifts of God, to confirme the truth of the word, and to establishe his
people in the faith of the Messias, who is now exhibited unto us both
in the testament, and also in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ) we are
bewitched, and both abuse and offend the majesty of God, and also se-
duce, delude and confusen all such as by our persuasion, and their
own light believe, give us credit.
That neither witches, nor any other, can either by words or hearths, thrust into the mind of a sleeping man, what cogitations or dreams they lift; and whence magickal dreams come.

Grant there may be hearths and stones found and known to the physi- Stick:--itians, which may procure dreams; and other hearths and stones, &c. to make one bewray all the secrets of his mind, when his body sleeppeth, or at least wise to procure speech in sleep. But that witches or magicians have power by words, hearths, or imprecactions to thrust into the mind or conscience of man, what it shall please them, by virtue of their charms, hearths, stones or familiars, &c. according to the opinion of Hémingius, I deny: though therewithall I confess, that the devil both by day and also by night, travelleth to seduce man, and to lead him from God; yea, & that no way more then this, where he placeth himself as God in the minds of them that are so credulous, to attribute unto him, or unto witches that which is only in the office, nature and power of God to accomplish.

Doth not Daniel the prophet say, even in this case; It is the Lord only that knoweth such secrets, as in the exposition of dreams is required? And doth not Joseph repeat those very words to Pharaoh's officers, who consulted with him therein? Examples of divine dreams you may find a great number in the scripture, such (I mean) as it pleased God to reveal his pleasure by. Of physick dreams we may both read in Authors, and see in our own experience daily, or rather nightly. Such dreams also as are casual, they are likewise usual, and come (as hath been said) through the multitude of affairs and business. Those which in these duties are called magical or diabolical dreams, may rather be called melancholical. For out of that black vapor in sleep, through dreams appeareth (as Aristotle saith) some horrible thing; and as it were the image of an ugly devil: sometimes also other terrible visions, imaginations, counsels, and practices.

As where we read of a certain man, that dreamed there appeared one unto him that required him to throw himself into a deep pit, and that he should receive great benefit thereby at God's hands. So as the miserable wretch giving credit thereunto, performed the matter and killed himself. Now I confess, that the interpretation or execution of that dream was indeed diabolical: but the dream was casual, derived from the heavy and black humor of melancholy.
How men have been bewitched, confounded or abused by dreams to dig and search for money.

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

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

There must be made upon a hazel wand three crosses, and certaine words both blasphemous and impious must be said over it, and hereunto must be added certain characters, and barbarous names. And whilst the Treasure is a digging, there must be read the psalms, De profundis, Missa, Misereatur nostri, Requiem, Pater nostre, Ave Maria, Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos à malo. Amen. A porta inferni ced vide re bona, &c. Expectate Dominum, Requiem aeternam. And then a certain prayer. And if the time of digging be neglected, the devil will carry all the treasure away. See other more absolute conjurations for this purpose, in the word Iidon following.

You shall find in Johannes Baptista Neopolitanus, divers receipts by herbs and potions, to procure pleasant or fearfull dreams; and presumes also to that effect: who affirmeth, that dreams in the dead of the night are commonly preposterous and monstrous; and in the morning when the grosse humors be spent, there happen more pleasant and certain dreams, the blood being more pure then at other times: the reason whereof is there expressed.
Sundry receipts and ointments, made and used for the transportatio-
on of witches, and other miraculous effects: an instance thereof re-
ported and credited by some that are learned.

It shall not be amisse here in this place to repeate an ointment greatly
to this purpose, reheared by the aforesaid John Bapt. Neap. wherein
although he may be overaken and confounded by an old witch, and made
not onely to beleive, but also to report a false tale; yet because it
greatly overweth the opinion of M. Mal. Bodin, and such other, as
write so absolutely in maintenance of witches transportations, I will set
downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

The fat of young children, and seeth it with water in a brazen vessell,
referring the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome,
which they lay up and keep, until occasion serveth to use it. They put hereunto Eleuselinum, Aconitum, Frondes populeas, Mountain Petfly, Wolfes-
bane, leaves of the poplar and Soote.

Another receipt to the same purpose.

Sium, acarium vulgare, pentaphyllum, yellow water-cresses, common Ac-
rus, Cinquefoil, the blood of a flutter-moule, solanum somniferum, &c.
oleum. Sleeping nightshade and oyle. They stampe all these together,
and then they rub all parts of their bodies exceedingly, till they looke
red, and be very hot, so as the pores may be opened, and their flesh so-
luble and looos. They joyne herewithall either fat, or oyle in stead
thereof, that the force of the ointment may the rather pierce inwardly,
and so be more effectual. By this meanes (faith he) in a moonlight night
they seeme to be carried in the aire, to feasting, singing, dancing, killing,
culling, and other acts of venery, with such youthes as they love and
defire most: for the force (faith he) of their imaginacion is so vehement,
that almost all that part of the braine, wherein the memory consisteth, is
full of such conceits. And whereas they are naturally prone to beleive
any thing; so do they receive such impressions and fixedst imaginati-
ons into their minds, as even their spirits are altered thereby; not thinking
upon any thing else, either by day or by night. And this helpeth them
forward in their imaginaciones, that their usuall food is none other com-
monly but beets, roots, nuts, beanes, peales, &c.

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

Vetula, quas a frigis simi-
liudine, sibi

et vocant,
quas non tectum
puerulum
sanguinem in
cunis cuban-
tium exfor-
bent.
the force of her sleepe was such, as it took away from her the sense of feeling: and we departed for a time. Now when her strength and powers were weary and decayed, she awoke of her owne accord, and began to speak many vacant and doting words, affirming that she had passed over both seas and mountaines; delivering to us many untrue and false reports: we earnestly denied them, she impudently affirmed them. This (faith he) will not to come to passe with every one, but only with old women that are melancholick, whose nature is extreme cold, and their evaporation small; and they both perceive and remember what they see, in that case and taking of theirs.

**CHAP. IX.**

_A confusion of the former follies, as well concerning ointments, dreamers, &c. as also of the assembly of witches, and of their consultations and bankets at sundry places, and all in dreams._

But if it be true that S. Augustine faith, and many other writers that witches nightwalkings are but phantasies and dreams: then all the reports of their bargain, transporting, and meetings with Diana, Minem, &c. are but fables; and then do they lay that maintaine those actions to be done in deed and verity, which in truth are done no way. It were marvel on the one side (if those things happened in dreams, which nevertheless the witches affirm, to be otherwise,) that when those witches awake, they neither consider nor remember that they were in a dream. It were marvel that their ointments, by the physicians opinions having no force at all to that effect, as they confesse, which are inquisitors, should have such operation. It were marvel that their ointments cannot be found any where, saving only in the inquisitors books. It were marvel, that when a stranger is anointed therewith, they are sometimes, and yet not always, the like operation as with witches, which all the inquisitors confesse.

But to this last, frier Bartholomau's faith, that the witches themselves, before they anoint themselves, do hear in the night time a great noise of minesels, which fly over them, with the lady of the fairies, and then they addresse themselves to their journey. But then I marvel again, that no body else heareth nor seeth this troope of minesels, especially flying in a moon-light night. It is marvel, that they that think this to be but in a dream, can be persuadged that all the rest is any other than dreams. It is marvel that in dreams, witches of old acquaintance meet so just together, and conclude upon murthurs, and receive ointments, rootes, powders, &c. (as witchmongers report they do, and as they make the witches confesse) and yet lay at home fast asleep. It is marvel that such preparation is made for them (as Sprenger, Bartholomew, and Bodin report) as well in noble mens houses, as in alchymists, and that they come in dreams, and eate up their meate: and the aforesaid wife specially is not wearied with them for non-payment of their score.
or false payment; to wit, with imaginary money, which they say is not substantial, and that they talk not afterwards about the reckoning, and to discover the matter. And it is most marvel of all, that the hostels, &c. doth not sit among them, and take part of their good cheer. For so it is that if any part of these their meetings and league be true, it is as true and as certainly proved and confessed, that at some ale-house, or some time at some Gentleman's house, there is continual preparation made monethly for this assembly; as appeareth in S. Germans story.

CHAP. X.

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

It is held and maintained by divers, and gathered out of the 12. of Numbers, that all which was written or spoken by the prophets, among the children of Israel (Moses excepted) was propounded to them by dreams. And indeed it is manifest, that many things, which are thought by the unlearned to have been really finished, have been only performed by dreams and visions. As where Solomon required of God the gift of wisdom: that was (I say) in a dream; and also where he received promise of the continuance of the kingdom of Israel in his line. So was Esay's vision in the 6. of his prophetic: as also that of Ezechiel the 32. Finally, where Jeremie was commanded to hide his girdle in the 1 Kings 9. cliff of a rock at the River Euphrates in Babylon; and that after certain Esay 6. days, it did there purify, it must needs be in a dream; for Jeremias was Ezechiel 12. never (or at least: wife not then) at Babylon. We that are Christians must not: Jeremias 13. now slumber and dream, but watch and pray, and meditate upon our salvation in Christ both day and night. And if we expect revelations in our dreams, now, when Christ is come, we shall deceive our selves: for in him are fulfilled all dreams & prophesies. Howbeit, Bodin holdeth that dreams I. Bodin. lib. de and visions continue till this day, in as miraculous manner as ever they did. dam. 1. cap. 5.

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

T
II. Booke. The discovery Nabas expounded.

The eleventh Book.

CHAP. I.

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

The slovenly art of augury. The slovenly art of augury.

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

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

CHAP. II.

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

The Jews used one kind of diabolical sacrifice, never taught them by Moises, namely, to offer their children to Moloch, making their sons and their daughters to runne through the fire; supposing such grace and efficacy to have been in that action, as other witches affirm to be in charmes and words. And therefore among other points of witchcraft, this is specially and namely forbidden by Moises. 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 ceremony appointed by God,
no figure of Christ: perhaps it might be a sacrament or rather a figure of an invincible purgatory, the which place was not remembred by Moses. Neither argument was there any sacrifice appointed by the law for the relieve of the Israelites souls that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt should not have been omitted, if any such place of purgatory had been then, as the Pope hath lately devis'd for his private and speciall use. This sacrificing to Moloch (as some affirm) was usual among the Gentiles, from whence the Jews brought it into Israel: and there (of likelihood) the Eutichists learned the obomination in that behalfe.

CHAP. III.

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

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

CHAP. IV.

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

As touching the element of fire, and the superstition thereof about those busineses, you shall understand, that many superstitious people of all nations have received, and reverenced, as the most holy thing among their sacrifices in so much (I say) as they have worshipp'd it among their gods, calling it Orimasda (to wit) holy fire, and divine light. The Greekes called it ελαχι, the Romans Vesta, which is, The fire of the Lord. Surely they had heard of the fire that came downe from heaven, and confum'd the oblations of the fathers; and they understood it to be God himselfe. For there came to the heathen, the bare names of things, from the doctrine of the godly fathers and patriarches, and those so ob-
The Gymnosophists of India their apotheosis or imitation of Esay.

The law of the twelve tables.

The discovery of sacrifices.

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

In their ancient laws were written these words: Prodigia ad Hetruscos aruspices (se senatus inuicem) deferent, Hetruriae principes disciplinam disco. Quibus divus decreverunt, procurato, ipsum fulgurum & offensam piantum, auspiciis servando, augurum parento: the effect of which words is this: Let all prodigious and portentous matters be carried to the soothsayers of Hetruria, at the will and commandment of the senate; and let the young princes be sent to Hetruria, there to learn that discipline, or to be instructed in that art or knowledge. Let there be always some solicitor, to learn with what gods they have decreed or determined their matters; and let sacrifices be made unto them in times of lightnings, or at any strange or supernatural shew. Let all such conjecturing tokens be observed; whatsoever the soothsayer commandeth, let it be religiously obeyed.
CHAP. VI.

Côlôges of Augurors, their office, their number, the signification of augury, that the practicers of that art were confenors, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparell, their superstition.

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

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

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

Their Magna charta H. 3-36. 7 Ed. 1. 15. R. 2-5.
The discovery

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

CHAP. VII.

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

No less regard was there had of the times of their practice in that ministration: for they must begin at midnight, and end at noon, nor travelling therein in the decay of the day, but in the increase of the same, neither in the sixth or seventh hour of the day, nor yet after the month of August: because then young birds fly about, and are diseased and imperfect, mounting their fethers, and flying out of the country: so as certain guessie is to be made of the gods purposes by them at those seasons. But in their due times they standing with a bowed wand in their hand, their face toward the east, &c. in the top of an high tower, the weather being clear, watch for birds, noting from whence they came, and whether they fly, and in what fort they wag their wings, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

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

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

A confusion of augurs, Plato his reverend opinion thereof, of contrary events, and false predictions.

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

CHAP. X.

The confening art of sortilege or lotary, practis'd especially by Egyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots, of Pythagoras his lot, &c.

The counterfeit Egyptians, which were indeed confening vagabonds, practising the art called Sortilegium, had no small credit among the multitude. Howbeit, their divinations were as was their fast and loofe, Sortilege and as the witches eures and hurtes, and as the soothsayers affwers, and as lothharc, the conjurers raisynge up of spiritis, and as Apollos or the Rood of graces oracles, and as the jugglers knacks of legierdemaine, and as the papists exorcisymes, and as the witches charmes, and as the counterfeit visions, and as the confeners knaverys. Hereupon it was said; Non inuentatur inter vos menabas, that is, Sortilegias, which were like to these Egyptian confeners. As for other lots, they were used, and that lawfully, as appeareth by Jonas and others, which were holy men, & as may be seen among all common-wealths, for the deciding of divers controversies, &c. where-in thy neighbour is not mistasted, nor God any way offended. But in truth I think, because of the confenage that so easily may be used herein,
The discovery

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

Here is also place for the Cabalistical art, consisting of unwritten varieties, which the Jews do believe and brag that God himself gave to Moses in the mount Sinai; and afterwards was taught only by lively voice, by degrees of succession, without writing, until the time of Ezra: even as the scholars of Archippus did use wit and memory in need of books. They divide this in twaine; the one expoundeth philosophically the secrets of the law and the bible, wherein (they say) that Solomon was very cunning; because it is written in the Hebrew scriptures, that he did resort from the Cedar of Libanus, even to the Hyppo, and also of birds, beasts, &c. The other is as it were a symbolical divinity of the highest contemplation, of the divine and angelike virtues, of holy names and figures; wherein the letters, numbers, figures, things and armes, the pricks over the letters, the lines, the points, and the accents do all signify very profound things and great secrets. By these are the Atheists suppose Moses wrote all his miracles, and that hereby they have power over angels and devils, as also to do miracles; yea and that here by all the miracles that either any of the prophets, or Christ himself wrought, were accomplished.

But C. Agrippa having searched to the bottome of this art, saith, it is nothing but superstition and folly. Otherwise you may be sure Christ would not have hidden it from his Church. For this cause the Jews were
were so skilful in the names of God. But there is none other name in
heaven or earth, in which we might be saved, but Jesus: neither is that
meant by his bare name, but by his vertue and goodness towards us.
These Cabalists do further brag, that they are able hereby, not onely to
finde out and know the unspeakeable mysteries of God; but also the se-
crets which are above scripture; whereby also they take upon them to
prophesie, and to worke miracles: yea hereby they can make what they
lift to be scripture; as Valeria Proba did pick certaine verites out of Vir-
gile, alluding them to Christ. And therefore these their revolutions are
nothing but allegoricall games, which idle men busied in letters, points,
and numbers (which the Hebrew tongue easily suftereth) devisfe, to de-
lude and confound the simple and ignorants. And this they call Alphabe-
tary or Arithmatiall divinity, which Christ shewed to his Apostles one-
ly, and which Paul faith he speakeith but among perfect men; and being
high mysteries are not to be committed unto writing, and so made popu-
lar. There is no man that readeth any thing of this Cabalistical art, but
must needs think upon the Popes cunning practises in this behalfe, who
hath In scriprio pectoris, not onely the exposition of all lawes, both divine In concil ; Tri-
& humane, but also authority to add thereunto, or to draw back there from
at his pleasure: and this may he lawfully do even with the scriptures, ei-
ther by addition or substraction, after his own pontifical liking. As for
example: he hath added the Apocrypha (whereunto he might as well
have joined S. Augustines works, or the course of the civil law, &c.)
Again, he hath diminished from the decalogue or ten commandements, not
one or two words, but a whole precept, namely the second, which it hath
pleased him to daull out with his pen; and truly he might as well by
the same authority have raised out of the testament S. Markes gospel.

CHAP. XII.

When, how, and in What sorte sacrifices were first ordained, and how
they were prophaned, and how the Popes corruppeth the sacraments
of Chrif.

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

he
he would have his promises constantly beheld, faithfully believed, and severely regarded. He ordained six sorts of divine sacrifices; three proprietary, not as meriting remission of sins, but as figures of Christ's propitiation: the other three were of thanksgiving. These sacrifices were full of ceremonies, they were powdered with consecrated salt, and kindled with fire, which was preferred in the tabernacle of the Lord: which fire (some think) was sent down from heaven. GOD himself commanded these rites and ceremonies to our forefathers, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c. promising therein both the amplification of their families, and also their Messiah. But in tract of time (I say) wantonness, negligence, and contempt, through the instigation of the devil, abolished this institution of GOD: so as in the end, God himself was forgotten among them, and they became pagans and heathens, devising their own ways. until every countrey had devised and erected both new sacrifices, and also new gods particular unto themselves. Whole example the Pope would follow, in prophaning of Christ's sacraments, disguising them with his devices and superstitions: ceremonies; contriving and comprehending in the folly of all nations: the which because little children do now perceive and scorn, I will pause over; and return to the Gentiles, whom I cannot excuse of conuence, superstition, nor yet of vanity in this behalfe. For if God suffered false prophets among the children of Israel, being Gods peculiar people, and hypocrites in the church of Christ; no marvel if there were such people amongst the heathen, which neither professed nor knew him.

CHAP. XIII.

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

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

Plinie reporteth that gryphes flie alwayes to the place of slaughter, two or three daies before the battel is fought; which was seene and tried at the battel of Troy: and in respect thereof, the gryphe was allowed to be
be the chiefe bird of augurie. But among the innumerable number of Aris. in augu-
riis, the portentous beasts, fowles, serpents, and other creatures, the toade
is the most excellent object, whose ugly deformity signifies sweet and
amiable fortune: in respect whereof some superstititious witches preserve
roads for their familiars. And some one of good credit (whom I could
name) having converted the witches themselves, hath starved diverse of
their devils, which they keep in boxes in the likenes of toades.

Plutarch Chironæus faith, that the place and site of the signes that we
receive by augury, are specially to be noted: for if we receive them on the
left side, good lucke; if on the right side, ill lucke in forth: because terrane
and mortal things are opposite and contrary to divine and heavenly things;
for that the gods deliver with the right hand, falleth to our left side;
and so contrarywise.

CHAP. XIV.

The division of augury, persons admissible into the collæges of augury,
of their superstitition.

The latter diviners in these mysteries, have divided their通风ayings
into twelve superstitions: as Augustinus Niphæus termed them. The
first is prosperity; the second, ill lucke, as when one goeth out of his
house, and seeth an unlucky beast lying on the right side of his way; the third
is definitie; the fourth is fortune; the fift is ill hap, as when an infortunate
beast feedeth on the right side of your way; the sixt is utility; the se-
venth is hurt; the eight is called a cantel, as when a beast followeth one,
and stays at any side, not passing beyond him, which is a signe of good
lucke; the ninth is infelicitie, and that is contrary to the eight, as when
the beast paleth before one; the tenth is perfection; the eleventh is im-
perfection; the twelfth is conclusion. Thus farre he.

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

CHAP. XV.

Of the common peoples fond and superstitious collections and observa-
tions.

Amongst us there be many women, and effeminate men (marry pa-
pitts alwayes, as by their superstition may appeare) that make great
divinations upon the shedding of salt, wine, &c. and for the observation
of dayes and houres use as great witchcraft as in any thing. For if one
chance
chance to take a fall from a horse, either in a slippery or stumbling way, he will note the day and hour, and count that time unlucky for a journey. Otherwise, he that receiveth a mishance, will consider whether he met not a cat, or a hare, when he went first out of his doores in the morning or stumbled not at the threshold at his going out; or put not on his feet the wrong side outwards; or his left shoe on his right foot, which Augustus Caesar reputed for the worst luck that might befall. But above all other nations (as Martinus de Arles witnesseth) the Spaniards are most superstitious herein, and of Spain, the people of the province of Lusitania is the most fond. For one will say; I had a dream to night, or a crow crooked upon my house, or an owl flew by me and stretched (which augury Lucius Sylla took of his death) or a cocke crew contrary to his house. Another faith; The moon is at the prime; another, that the sun rose in a cloud and looked pale, or a star shone and shined in the aire, or a strange cat came into the house, or a hen fell from the top of the house.

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

**Vincenti festo si sol radiet memort estes**

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

**Clara dies Pauli bona temporar denotat anni.**

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

**Si sol splendescat Mariâ purificante,**

Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante.
Augury & Augurs.

Chap. VIX.

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

Sed rubens coelum cras indicat esse serenum,
Si mane rubescit, ventus vel pluvia crescit.

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

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

CHAP. XVI.

How old writers vary about the matter, the manner, and the meanes, whereby things auguristicall are moved.

Theophrastus and Themistius affirm, that whatsoever happeneth unto man suddenly and by chance, cometh from the providence of God. So as Themistius gathereth, that men in that respect prophesie, when they speake what cometh in their braine, upon the sudden; though not knowing or understanding what they say. And that seeing God hath a care for us, it agreeth with reason (as Theophrastus faith) that he shew us by some meanes whatsoever shall happen. For with Pythogoras he concludeth, that all foreshewes and auguries are the voices and words of God, by the which he foretellleth man the good or evil that shall betide.

Trimmegius affirmeth, that all auguristical things are moved by devils; Porphyrte faith by gods, or rather good angels: according to the opinion of Plotinus and Iamblichus. Some other affirmeth they are moved by the moone wandering through the twelve signes of the Zodiacke: because the moone hath dominion in all sudden matters. The Egyptian astronomers hold, that the moone ordereth not those portentous matters, but Stella errans, a wandering starre, &c.

By Abraham Fleming.
How ridiculous an art augury is, how Cato mocked it, Aristotle's reason against it, fond collections of augurs, who allowed, and who disallowed it.

Verily all these observations being neither grounded on God's word, nor physical or philosophical reason, are vanities, superstitions, lies, and mere witchcraft; as whereby the world hath long time been, and is still abused and coultened. It is written; Non est vestrum seire temporis & momenta, &c. It is not for you to know the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his own power. The most godly men and the wise philosophers have given no credit hereunto. S. Augustine faith; Qui his divinationibus credidit, sit semel christiannam & baptismum praenunciata, & paganum Deip; inimicum esse. He that gives credit to these divinations, let him know that he hath abused the Christian faith and his baptism, and is a Pagan, and enemy to God. One told Cato, that a rat had carried away and eaten his hose, which the party said was a wonderful sign. Nay (said Cato) I think not so; but if the hose had eaten the rat, that had been a wonderful token indeed. When Nonius told Cicero that they should have good success in battle, because seven eagles were taken in Pompey's camp, he answered thus; No doubt it will be even so, if that we chance to fight with pies. In the like case also he answered Labienus, who prophesied like success by such divinations, saying, that through the hope of such tokens, Pompey lost all his pavilions not long before.

What wise man would think, that God would commit his counsel to a dog, an owl, a swine, or a toad, or that he would hide his secret purposes in the dung and bowels of beasts? Aristotle thus reasoned; Augury or divinations are neither the causes nor effects of things to come; Ergo, they do not thereby foretell things truly, but by chance. As ill dream that my friend will come to my house, and he cometh indeed; yet neither dream nor imagination is more the cause of my friend's coming than the chattering of a pie.

When Hannibal overthrew Marcus Marcellus, the beast sacrificed wanted a piece of his heart; therefore forsooth Marcius, when he sacrificed at Utica, and the beast lacked his liver, he must needs have the like success. These are their collections, and as vain as if they said, that the building of Tendersden steeple was the cause of Goodwine sands, or the decay of Sandwich haven. S. Augustine faith, that these observations are most superstitious. But we read in the fourth psalm, a sentence which might disprove any Christian from this folly and impiety; O ye sons of men, how long will you turn my glory into shame, loving vanity, and seeing lies? The like is read in many other places of scripture.

Of such as allow this folly, I can commend Pliny best, who faith, that the operation of these auguries is as we take them. For if we take them in good part, they are signs of good luck; if we take them in ill part, ill look followeth.
followeth; if we neglect them, and way them not, they do neither good nor harme. Thomas of Aquine reasouneth in this wise; the stars, whose course is certaine, have greater affinity and community with mans actions, than auguries; and yet our doings are neither directed nor proceed from the stars. Which thing also Ptolomey wittnesseth, saying; Sapientia dominabitur astra; A wiseman overruzeth the stars.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of natural and casual augury, the one allowed, and the other disallowd.

Natural augury is a physical or philosophical observation; because humane and natural reason may be yeelded for such events: as if one heare the cock crow many times together, a man may guesse that raine will follow shortly, as by the crying of rookes, and by their extraordinary using of their wings in their flight, because through a natural instinct, provoked by the impression of the heavenly bodies, they are moved to know the times, according to the disposition of the weather, as it is necessarie for their natures. And therefore Jeremy faith; Militem in caelo cognovit tempus sua. The phisician may argue a strength towards in his patient, when he heareth him sneeze twice, which is a natural cause to judge by, and conjecture upon. But sure it is meere casual, and also very foolish and incredible, that by two sneezings, a man should be sure of good luck or success in his business; or by meeting of a toade, a man should escape a danger, or achieve an enterprize, &c.
A consultation of casual augury which is mere witchcraft, and upon what uncertainty those divinations are grounded.

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

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

CHAP. XXI.

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

These casters of figures may be numbered among the confounding witches, whose practice is above their reach, their purpose to gain their knowledge from others, their art uncertain and full of vanity, more plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other folly. And the even upon many other trifling vanities are rooted and grounded; as phrenology, palmistry, interpreting of dreams, monsters, auguries, the professors whereof confess this to be the necessary key to open the knowledge of all their secrets. For these fellows erect a figure of the heavens, by the exposition whereof (together with the conjectures of multitudes and signes) they seek to find out the meaning of the significators; attributing to them the ends of all things, contrary to truth, reason, and divinity: their rules being so inconstant, that few writers agree in
the very principles thereof. For the Rabbins, the old and new writers, and the very best philosophers dissent in the chiefest grounds thereof, differing in the propriety of the houses, whereout they wring the foretelling of things to come, contending even about the number of spheres, being not yet resolved how to erect the beginnings and ends of the houses: for Ptolomy makes them after one sort, Campanus after another, &c.

And as Alphragus thinketh, that there be in the heavens divers movings as yet to men unknown, so do others affirm (not without probability) that there may be lectures and bodies, to whom these movings may accord, which cannot be seen, either through their exceeding highnesse, or that hitherto are not tried with any observation of the art. The true motion of Mars is not yet perceived, neither is it possible to find out the true entrance of the Sunne into the equinoctiall points. It is not denied, that the astronomers themselves have received their light, and their very art from poets, without whose fables the twelve signs, and the northerly southern figures had never ascended into heaven. And yet (as C. Agrippa faith) astrologers do live, confen men, and gaine by those fables; whilst the poets, which are the inventors of them, do live in beggary.

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

CHAP. XXII.

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

If you mark the cunning ones, you shall see them speak darkly of things to come, devising by artificial subtilty, doubtfull prognostications, &c. Astrologers fly to be applied to every thing, time, prince, and nation: and if any prophetic thing come to passe according to their divinations, they fortify their old ones are like prognostications with new reasons. Nevertheless, in the multitude the answers of and oracles.
and varietie of stars, yea even in the very midst of them, they find out some places in a good aspect, and some in an ill; and take occasion hereupon to say what they list, promising unto some men honour, long life, wealth, victory, children, marriage, friends, offices; and finally everlasting felicity. But if with any they be discontented, they say the stars be not favourable to them, and threaten them with hanging, drowning, beggary, sickness, misfortune, &c. And if one of these prophecies fail out of place, then they triumph above measure. If the prophets be found to foretell and by always (without such fortune as the blind man had in killing the crow), they will excuse the matter, saying, that it's pious dominator or Isis, whereas (according to Agrippa's words) neither the wise man ruleth the stars, nor the stars the wise man, but God ruleth them both. Corn. Tacitus' faith, that they are a people disloiall to prince, deceiving them that believe them. And Varro's faith, that the vanity of all superstitions floweth out of the bosom of astrologic. And if our life and fortune depend not on the stars, then it is to be granted, that the astrologers seek where nothing is to be found. But we are too fond, too truthful and credulous, that we fear more the fables of Robin good-fellow, astrologers, and witches, and believe more the things that are, than the things that are. And the more impossible a thing is, the more we stand in fear thereof, and the less likely we believe it. And if we were not such, I think with Cornelius Agrippa, that these divinors, astrologers, conjurors, and soothsayers would die for hunger.

And our foolish light believe, forgetting things past, neglecting things present, and very hasty to know things to come, doth so comfort and maintain these soothsayers; that whereas in other men, for making one lie, the faith of him that speaketh is so much mistrusted, that all the rest being true is not regarded. Contrariwise in these soothsayers among us divinors, one truth spoken by hap given such credit to all their lies, that ever after we believe whatsoever they say: how incredible, impossible or false forever it be. Sir Thomas Moore's faith, they know not who are in their own chambers, neither who maketh themselves cuckoolds, that take upon them all this cunning, knowledge, and great foresight. For to enlarge their credit, or rather to manifest their impudence, they say the gift of prophecy, the force of religion, the secrets of conscience, the power of devils, the virtue of miracles, the efficacy of prayers, the state of the life to come, &c. doth only depend upon the stars, and is given and known by them alone. For they say, that when the sign of Gemini is ascended, and Saturn and Mercury be joined, in Aquarius, that the heavenly, there is a prophet borne: and therefore that Christ had so many virtues, because he had in that place Saturn and Gemini. Yea, these astrologers do not stick to say, that the stars dissemble all sorts of religions: wherein Jupiter is the especial patron, who being joined with Saturn, maketh the religion of the Jews, with Mercury, of the Christians, with the Moon, of Antichristianity. Yea they affirm that the faith of every man may be known to them, as well as to God. And that Christ himself did use the election of hours, in his miracles, so as the Jews could not hurt him whilst he went to Jerusalem, and therefore that he said to his disciples that forbade him to go: are there not twelve hours in the day?
Who have power to drive away devils with their only presence, who shall receive of God whatsoever they ask in prayer, who shall obtain everlasting life by means of constellations, as nativity-casters affirm.

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

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

Let us therefore, according to the prophets advise, ask raine of the Lord in the hours of the latter time, and he shall send white cloudes, and give us raine &c.: for surely, the idols as the same prophet faith (have spoken vanity, the soothsayers have seen a ly, and the dreamers have told a vain thing. They comfort in vain, and therefore they went away like sheep, &c. If any shepбирer or witchmonger will follow them, they shall goe alone for me.
The Twelfth Book

Chapter I.

The Hebrew word Habar explained, where also the supposed secret force of charms and enchantments is shewed, and the efficacy of words is divers ways declared.

Psalm 58.

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

Virgil. in Damon.

By Ab. Flem.

The coldish snake in meadowes green,
With charms is burst in pieces clean.

But hereof more shall be said hereafter in due place.

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

Chapter II.

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

That which is forbidden in the Scriptures touching enchantment or witchcraft, is not the wonderfull working with words. For where words
Witches described. of Witchcraft. Chap. III.

words have had miraculous operation, there hath been always the special providence, power and grace of God uttered to the strengthening of the faith of God's people, and to the furtherance of the gospel: as when the Acts 5: apostle with a word flue Ananias and Saphira. But the prophanation of God's name, the seducing, abusing, and musing of the people and masses presumption is hereby prohibited, as whereby many take upon them after the recital of such names, as God in the scripture seemeth to appropriate to himselfe, to withhold things to come, to work miracles, to detect felonies, &c. as the Cabalists in times past tooke upon them, by the ten names of God, and his angels, expressed in the scriptures, to work wonders: and as the papiists at this day by the like names, by croffes, by gospels hanged about their necks, by maffes, by exorcisms, by holy water, and a thousand consecrated or rather execrated things, promise unto themselves and others, both health of body and soul.

But as herein we are not to imitate the papiists, so in such things, as are the peculiar actions of God, we ought not to take upon us to counterfeit or resemble him, which with his word created all things. For we, neither all the conjurers, Cabalists, papiists, soothsayers, enchanters, witches, nor charmers in the world, neither any other humane or yet diabolical cunning can adde any such strength to God's workmanship, as to make any thing anew, or else to exchange one thing into another. New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And seeing that art faileth herein, doublesthe neither the illusions of devils, nor the cunning of witches, can bring any such thing truly to passe. For by the sound of the words nothing cometh, nothing goeth, otherwise than God in nature hath ordained to be done by ordinary speech, or else by his special ordinance. Indeed words of sanctification are necessary and commendable, according to S. Paul's rule; let your meat be sanctified with the word of God, and by prayer. But sanctification doth not here signify either change of substance of the meateth, or of adding of any new strength thereunto: but it is sanctified, in that it is received with thanksgiving and prayer: that our bodies may be refreshed, and our souls thereby made the apter to glorifie God.

CHAP. III.

What effect and offence witches charmes bring, how unapt witches are and how unlikely to work those things which they are thought to do, what would follow if the those things were true which are laid to their charge.

The words and the illusions of witches, charmers, and conjurers, though they be not such in operation and effect, as they are commonly taken to be: yet they are offensive to the majesty and name of God, obscuring the truth of divinity, and also of philosophie. For if God only give life and being to all creatures, who can put any such virtue

An ample description of women commonly called witches.

True or lively feeling into a body of gold, silver, bread, or wax, as is imagined? If either priests, devils, or witches could do, the divine power should be checked and out faced by magickall cunning; and God's creatures made servile to a witches pleasure. What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches, and yet they are women that never went to school in their lives, nor had any teachers; and therefore without art or learning; poor, and therefore not able to make any provision of metals or stones, &c. where by to bring to passe strange matters, by natural magick; old and stife, and therefore nimble-handed to deceive your eye with legierdemain; heavy, and commonly lame, and therefore unapt to flie in the aire; or to dance with the fairies; sad, melancholike, sorry, and miserable, and therefore it should be unto them (Invita Minerva) to banquet or dance with Minerva; or yet with Herodias, as the common opinion of all writers herein is. On the other side, we see they are so malicious and spiteful, that if they by themselves, or by their devils, could trouble the elements, we could never have fair weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattle, they would spare none, but would destroy and kill whole countries and households. If they could transferre cornes (as is affirmed) from their neighbours field into their owne, none of them would be poor, none other should be rich. If they could transforme themselves and others (as it is most constantly affirmed) oh what a number of aces and owls shoud there be of us! If Incubus could beget Merlins among us, we should have a jolly many of old prophets.

CHAP. IV.

Why God forbade the practice of witchcraft; the absurdity of the law of the twelve tables, whereupon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their wondrous works.

Though it be apparent, that the Holy Ghost forbiddeth this art, because of the abuse of the name of God, and the colenage comprehended therein; yet I confesse, the customes and laws almost of all nations do declare, that all these miraculous works before by me cited, and many other things more wonderful, were attributed to the power of witches. The which lawes, with the executions and judicia thereupon, and the witches confessions, have beguiled almost the whole world. What absurdities concerning witchcraft, are written in the law of the twelve tables, which was the highest and most ancient law of the Romans? Whereupon the strongest argument of witches omnipotent power is framed; as that the wildest of such lawgivers could not be abused. Whereof (me thinks) might be made a more strong argument on our side; to wit, If the chief and principall lawes of the world be in this case ridiculous, vain, false, incredible, yea and contrary to Gods law; the residue of the laws and arguments to that effect, are to be suspected. If that argument should hold, it might prove all the popish lawes against protestants, and the heathenish
thenish princes lawes against christians, to be good and in force: for it is like they would not have made them, except they had been good. Were it not (think you) a strange proclamation, that no man (upon paine of death) should pull the moon out of heaven? And yet very many of the most learned witchmongers make their arguments upon weaker grounds; as namely in this forme and manner: We find in poets, that witches wrought such and such miracles; Ergo they can accomplish and do this or that wonder. The words of the law are these: Qui fruges into cantatet pater, Neve alienam segetem pelleter ex cantando, nec in cantando, Ne agrum desfrugans: the sense whereof in English is this: Let him be executed that bewitched corn. Transfere not other mens corn into thy ground by enchantment. Take heed thou entertain not at all neither make thy neighbours field barren: he that doth these things shall dye, &c.

CHAP. V.

An Instance of one arraigned upon the law of the twelve Tables, where the said law is proved ridiculous, of two witches that could do wonders.

Although among us, we think them bewitched that wax suddenly poor, and not them that growe hastily rich; yet at Rome you shall understand, that (as Plinie reporteth) upon these articles one C. Furius Crellus was convicted before Spurius Albinus; for that he being but a little while free, and delivered from bondage, occupying onely tillage; a notable grew rich on the sudden, as having good crops: so as it was suspected that he transferred his neighbours corn into his fields. None intercession, C. F. C. no delay, none excuse; no denial would serve, neither in jest nor driftion, vented for a nor yet through sober or honest means: but he was assigned a peremptory witch day, to answer for life. And therefore fearing the sentence of condemnation, which was to be given there, by the voice and verdict of three men (as we here are tried by twelve) made his appearance at the day assigned, and brought with him his ploughes and harrowes, spades and shovels, and other instruments of husbandry, his oxen, horses and working bullocks, his servants, and also his daughter, which was a flurdy wench and a good houswife, and also (as Piso reporteth) well trimmed up in apparel, and said to the whole bench in this wise: Lo here my Lords here I make my appearance, according to my promise and your pleasures, presenting unto you my charmes and witchcrafts, which have so enriched me. As for the labour, sweat, watching, care, and diligence, which I have used in this behalf, I cannot shew you them at this time. And by this means he was dismissed by the content of the Courts, who otherwise (as it was thought) should hardly have escaped the sentence of condemnation, and punishment of death.

It is constantly affirmed in M. Mal. that Status used alwayes to hide Malef. himself in a month hall, and had a disciple called Hoppon, who made Stad. in a master witch, and could all when they lift, invisibly transfer the third part of their neighbours dung, hay, corne, &c. into their own ground; make
Booke. The discovery. Witches punished.

haile, tempeasts and flouds, with thunder and lightening; and kill children, cattell, &c. reveale things hidden, and many other tricks, when and where they lift. But these two shifted not so well with the inquisitors, as the other with the Romane and heathen judges. Howbeit, Stalus was too hard for them all: for none of all the Lawyers nor inquisitors could bring him to appear before them, if it be true that witchmonges write in these matters.

CHAP. VI.

Lawes provided for the punishment of such witches as work miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certain popish lawes published against them.

Here are other lawes of other nations made to this incredible effectus. Lex Salicarum provideth punishment for them that flie in the aire from place to place, and meet at their nightly assemblies, and brave banks, carrying with them plate, and such stuffe, &c. even as we should make a law to hang him that should take a church in his hand at Dover, & throw it in Callice. And because in this case also popish lawes shall be seen to be too foolish and lewd as any other whatsoever, & specially as tyrannous as this, which is most cruel: you shall heare what trim new lawes the church of Rome hath lately devised. There are therefore the words of pope Innocent the eight to the inquisitors of Almanie, and of pope Julius the second sent to the inquisitors of Bergomene. It is come to our ears, that many lewd persons, of both kinds, as well male as female, using the company of the devils Incubus and Succubus, with incantations, charms, conjurations, &c. do destroy, &c. the births of women with child, the young of all cattell, the corn of the field, the grapes of the vines, the fruit of the trees: Item, men, women, and all kind of cattell and beasts of the field; and with their said incantations, &c. do utterly extinguishe, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, orchards, meadowes, pastures, grass, greene corn, and ripe corn, and all other podware: yea men and women themselves are by their imprecaions so afflicted with external and inward paines and deseases, that men cannot beget, nor women bring forth any children, nor yet accomplish the duty of wedlock, denying the faith which they in baptism professe, to the destruction of their own soules, &c. Our pleasure there fore is, that all impediments that may hinder the inquisitors office, be utterly removed from among the people, lest this blot of heresie proceed to poison, and defile them that be yet Innocent; And therefore we do ordaine, by vertue of the apostolical authority, that our inquisitors of high Almanie, may execute the office of inquisition by all tortures and afflications, in all places, and upon all persons, what and wherefoever, as well in every place and diocesse, as upon any person; and that as freely, as though they were named, expressed, or cited in this our commission.
Poetical authorities commonly alluded by witchmongers, for the proof of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernatural power.

Here have I a place and opportunity, to discover the whole art of witchcraft; even all their charms, periaps, characters, amulets, prayers, blessings, cursings, hurtings, helpings, knavery, cozenages, &c. But first I will shew what authorities are produced to defend and maintain the same, and that in serious sort, by Bodin, Spinæus, Hemingius, Varias, Danæus, Hyperius, &c. and the rest.

*Carmina vel cæpissent de duere lunam,*
*Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulysses,*
*Frigidus in pratis cantando runpitur anguis.*

Inchantments pluck out of the skie,
The moon, though she be plac'd one high,
Dame Circes with her charms so fine,
Ulysses mates did turne to swine:
The snake with charms is burst in twaine,
In meadows, where she doth remain.

Againe out of the same poet they cite further matter.

*Has berbas, atq; bac Ponto mibi leçta venena,*
*Ipsa dedit Meris: nascentur plurima Ponto.*
*His ego sæpè lupam fieri, & se condere silvis,*
*Merim sæpè animas imis excitæ sepulchris,*
*Atque statas aliq; vidi traducere messe.*

These herbs did Meris give to me,
And poisons pluckt at Pontus,
For there they grow and multiply,
And do not so amongst us;
With these she made herself become,  
A wolf, and hid her in the wood,
She fetched up souls out of their tombe,
Removing corne from where it stood.

Furthermore out of Ovid they allude these following.

*Nocte volant, puerosque petunt nutricis agentes,*
*Et vitiant cumis corpora captas suis:*  
*Carpere dicitur lactentia viscerarum.*

\[ X \]
Et plenum potus sanguine guttur habent:
To children they do fly by night,
And catch them while their noses sleep,
And spoile their little bodies quite,
And home they bear them in their beake.

Again out of Virgil in form following.

Hinc mihi Massyle gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, pulsatque dracon.
Quae dabat, sacratos servabat in arbore ramos,
Spargens humida mella, soporiferamque papaver.
Hec je carminibus promittit solvere mentes,
Quas velit, et alios duras inmittere euras,
Sifert agnam fluvius, et vertere sidera rei,
Nocturnoque ciet manes, mugire videbis.
Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos:

From thence a virgin Priest is come,
From out Massyla land,
Sometimes the Temple there she kept,
And from her heavenly hand
The dragon meat did take, she kept.
All the fruit divine,
With herbs and liquors sweet that fill
To sleep did men incline.
The minds of men (the faith) from love
With charmes she can unbind,
In whom she lift: but others can
She cast to cares unkind.
The running streames do stand, and from
Their course the starrs do wreath,
And souls the conjure can: thou shalt,
See sifter underneath
The ground with roaring gape, and trees
And mountains turne upright, &c.

Moreover out of Ovid they allege as followeth.

Cium volui ripis ipsis mirantibus amnes
In fontes redire suos, concussaque sisto.
Stantia concutio, cantra freta nubila pedo,
Nubilaque induco, ventos abigoque vocoque,
Viperas rumpo verbis & carmine sages.
Vivâque saxâ, suâ convulâque robora terra,
Et sylvâs moveâ, jubeâque tremescère montes,
Et mugire jülem, manâque exire sepulchris,
Têque luna trâbo, etc.

The rivers I can make retire,
Into the Fountains whence they flow,
("Whereat the banks themselves admire")
I can make standing waters go,
With charmes I drive both sea and cloud,
I make it calme and blowe aloud.
The vipers jawes, the rocky stone,
With words and charmes I breake in twaine.
The force of earth congeal'd in one,
I move and shakke both woods and plaine.
I make the soules of men arise,
I pull the moon out of the skies.

Also out of the same poet.

Verâque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
Que mare turbatum, que flumina concita sistant:

And thrice she spake the words that causd
Sweet sleepe and quiet rest,
She staid the raging of the sea,
And mighty flouds luppreat.

Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus,
She sticketh, also needles fine.
In livers, whereby men doe pine.

Also out of other poets.

Carmine laea Ceres, sterilem vanescit in herbam,
Deficiunt lae carmine fontis aquae,
Ulicibus glandes, cantaæque vitibus uva
Decidit, & nullæ poma movente flumæ:

With charmes the corn is spoied to,
As that it vades to barren grasse,
With charmes the Springs are dried lowe,
That none can see where water was,
The grapes from vines, the mait from okes,
And bear, down fruit with charming strokes.
Horac. epod. 4.

Que sidera excantata voce Thessalæ
Lunamque caelo diripit.

She plucks downe moon and starres from skie,
With chaunting voice of Thessaly.

Tibul. de fascinatrice, lib. 1.
eleg. 2.

Hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi,
Fluminis ac rapidi carmine vertit iter,
Hec cantu findique solum, manesque sepulcris
Elicit, & tepido devorat ors a rogo :
Cum lubet hac trifdi depellit lumen caelo,
Cum lubet estivo convocat orbis nive.

She plucks each starre out of his throne,
And turneth back the raging waves,
With charms she makes the earth to close,
And raiseth souls out of their graves:
She burns mens bones as with a fire,
And pulleth downe the lights from heaven,
And makes it snowe at her desire.
Even in the midst of summer-seaon.

Lucan. lib. de
bello. civili. 6.

Mens hausti nulla sanie polluta veneni,
Incantata perit.

A man enchanted runneth mad,
That never any poison had.

Idem. Ibid.

Cessavere vices rerum, dilatique longa
Hæst nocte dies, legi non paruit eber,
Toruit & precepts audita carmine mundus.

The course of nature ceased quite,
The aire obeyed not his lawe,
The day delay’d by length of night,
Which made both day and night to yawe;
And all was through that charming gearre,
Which can’d the world to quake for fear.

Idem. ibid.

Carmine Thessalidum dura in precordia flaveat
Non fatis adductus amor, flaminque seueri
Ilicitis arsere ignes.

With Thessall charms, and not by fate
Hot love is forced for to flowe,
Even where before hath been debate,
They cause affection for to grow.

Idem. Ibid.

Gens invisa diis maculandi callida coeli,
Thee witches hatefull unto God,
And cunning to defile the aire,
Which can disorder with a nod,
The course of nature every where,
Do cause the wandering starres to fly,
And drive the winds below the ground.
They send the streams another way,
And throw downe hills where they abound.

They talked with the tongues of birds,
Consulting with the salt sea coasts,
They burst the snakes with witching words,
Solliciting the spirituall ghosts,
They turne the night into the day,
And also drive the light away:
And what'tis that cannot be made
By them that do apply this trade?

Poetry and popery compared is in banquets, popishe witchmongers
have more advantage herein then protestants.

You see in these verses, the poets (whether in earnest or in jest I
know not) ascribe unto witches and to their charmes, more than is
to be found in humane or diabolical power. I doubt not but the most
part of the readers hereof will admit them to be fabulous; although the
most learned of mine adversaries (for lack of scripture) are faile to pro-
duce these poteries for proofes, and for lack of judgement I am sure do
think, that Actaeons transformation was true. And why not? As well
as the metamorphosis or transubstantiation oflyses his companions into
swine: which S. Augustine, and so many great clerkes credit and report.

Nevertheless, popishe writers (I confess) have advantage herein of
our protestants: for (besides the poetically proofes) they have (for advan-
tage) the word and authority of the pope himselfe; and others of that
holy

Ovid. Metamorph. lib. 3. fab. 2. Ovid.
holie crew, whose charmes, conjurations, blessings, curlings. &c. I mean in part (for a taste) to set down; giving you to understand, that poets are not altogether so impudent as papists herein, neither seeme they so ignornant, prophane, or impious. And therefore I will shew you how lowd also they lie, and what they on the other side ascribe to their charmes and conjurations; and together will set down with them all manner of witches charmes, as conveniently as I may.

CHAP. IX.

Popish periaps, amulets and charmes, agnus Dei, a waftecote of proof, a charme for the falling evil, a writing brought to S. Leo from heaven by an angel, the virtues of S. Saviours epistle, a charme against theeves, a writing found in Christ's wounds, of the crosse, &c.

These vertues under these verses (written by pope Urbane the fifth to the emperour of the Grecians) are contained in a periapt or tablet, be continually worn about one, called Agnus Dei, which is a little cake, having the picture of a lamb carrying of a flag on the one side; and Christ's head on the other side, and is hollow: so as the gospel of S. John, written in fine paper, is placed in the concavite thereof; and it is thus compounded or made, even as they themselves report.

Balsamus & munda cera, cum chrismatis unda.  
Conscint agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum.  
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctiscatum:  
Fulgura de se sum depellit, & omne malignum,  
Peccatoris frangit, ut Christi sanguis, & angit.  
Pragnans servatur simul & partus liberatur.  
Donec referri dignis, ut tuum destruct ignis,  
Portaeus mundus de fluidibus eripit unde:

Englihsed by Abraham Fleming.  
Look in the Beehive of the Romish church.  
Lib. 4. cap. 1. fol. 243.  

Balme, vigine wax, and holy water,  
An Agnus Dei make:  
A gift than which none can be greater,  
I lend thee for to take,  
From fountain clear the same hath issue,  
In secret sanctified:  
'Gainst lightning it hath sovereign vertue,  
And thunder-cracks beside.  
Each hainous flame it weares and wasteth,  
Even as Christ's precious blood,  
And women, whiles their travel wasteth,  
It saves, it is so good.  
It doth bestowe great gifts and graces.
On such as well deserve:
And borne about in noisome places,
From peril doth preserve.
The force of fire, whose heat destroyeth,
It breaks and bringeth down;
And he or she that this enjoyeth,
No water shall them droune.

A Charme against shot, or a waftecote of profe.

Before the coming up of these Agnus Dei's, a holy garment called a waftecote for necessity was much used of our forefathers, as a holy relique, &c. as given by the pope, or some such arch-conjuror, who promised thereby all manner of immunity to the wearer thereof; info much as he could not be hurt with any shot or other violence. And otherwise, that woman that would wear it should have quick deliverance the composition thereof was in this order following.

On Christmas day at night, a thred must be spunne of flax, by a little virgine girl, in the name of the devil; and it must be by her woven, and also wrought with the needle. In the breast or fore-part thereof must be made with needle-workers two heads; on the head at the right side must be a hat, and a long beard; the left head must have on a crowne, and it must be so horrible, that it may resemble Beelzebub, and on each side of the waftecote must be made a crosse.

Against the falling evil.

Moreover, this insuing is another counterfeit charme of theirs, whereby the falling evil is presently remedied.

Gasper fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum,
Hec tria qui secum portabit nomina regum,
Solvitur a morbo Christi pietate caduceo.

Gasper with his mirth beganne
Thefe presents to unfold,
Then Melchior brought in frankincense,
And Balthasar brought in gold.
Now he that of these holy kings
The names about shall bear,
The falling ill by grace of Christ
Shall never need to fear.

This is as true a copy of the holy writing, that was brought downe from heaven by an angell to S. Leo pope of Rome, and he, did bid
him take it to king Charles, when he went to the battle at Ronceval. And the angell said, that what man or woman beareth this writing about them with good devotion, and faith every day three Pater noffers, three Ave, and one Creede, shall not that day be overcome of his enemies, neither bodily or ghostly; neither shall be robbed or slain of theeves, pestilence, thunder, or lightening, neither shall be hurt with fire or water, nor combred with spirits, neither shall have displeasure of lords or ladies; he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken with faeries; or any manner of axes, nor yet with the falling evil. Also, if a woman be in travel, lay this writing upon her belly, she shall have easie deliverance, and the child right shape and christendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all through vertue of these holy names of Jesus Christ following.


The epistle of S. Saviour, which pope Leo sent to King Charles, saying, that who soever carrieth the name about him, or in what day ever he shall reade it, or shall see it, he shall not be killed with any iron tools, nor be burned with fires, nor be drowned with water, neither any evil man or other creature may hurt him. The crosse of Christ is a wonderfully defence, the crosse of Christ be alwaies with me, the crosse is that which I do alwaies worship; the crosse of Christ is true health, the crosse of Christ doth lose the bands of death, the crosse of Christ is the truth and the way. I take my journey upon the crosse of the Lord, the crosse of Christ beateth down every evil, the crosse of Christ giveth all good things, the crosse of Christ taketh away paines everlasting, the crosse of Christ save me, the crosse of Christ be upon me, before me, and behind me, because the ancient enemie cannot abide the sight of thee, the crosse of Christ save me, keep me, governe me, and direct me. Thomas bearing this note of thy divine majesty, Alpha, Omega, first and last, midst, and end, beginning, and first begotten, vertue.

A popish periaipt or charme, which must never be said, but carried about one, against theeves.

This were a good preserfative for a travelling papist.

Do go, and I do come unto you with the love of God, with the humility of Christ, with the holinesse of our blessed lady, with the faith of Abraham, with the justice of Isaac, with the vertue of David, with the might of Peter, with the constancy of Paul, with the word of God, with the authority of Gregory, with the prayer of Clement, with the flood of Jordan, p p c g e a q q e i p t k a b g l k a x t g h b a m g 2 4 2 1 3 p x e g k a 9 9 p o q r. Oh onely Father, oh onely lord, And Jesus, passing through the middest of them, went in, the name of
Another amulet.

Joseph of Arimathea did find this writing upon the wounds of the side of Jesus Christ, written with God's finger, when the body was taken away from the cross. Whosoever shall carry this writing about him, shall not dye any evil death, if he believe in Christ, and in all perpetyties he shall soone be delivered, neither let him fear any danger at all. Fons alpha & omega, fipar, sigalis, Sabaoth, Emmanuel, Adonai, o Nery Elay, the Rentone Neger, Sahe, Pangeon, Cumen, giel, a, Martheus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes, virgulius triumphalis, Jesus Nataeum, rex Judearum, ecce dominica crucis signum, fugite partes adversae, vicis leon de tribu Juda, radix David, alelujah, Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, pater noster, ave Maria, et ne nor, et veniat super nos salutare tuum. Oremus, &c.

I find in a Primer intitled The hours of our Lady, after the use of the church of Yorke, printed anno 1516. a charm with this titling in red letters: To all them that afores this image of pity devoutly shall say five Pater nosters, five Ave's, and one Creed; piously beholding these arms of Christ's passion, are granted thirty two thousand seven hundred fifty five years of pardon. It is to be thought that this pardon was granted in the time of pope Boniface the ninetieth; for Plutina faith that the pardons were sold so cheap, that the apostrocall authority grew into contempt.

A papistical charm.

Sigillum sancte crucis defendat me a malis presentibus, prateritis, & futuri. interioribus & exterioribus: That is, The signe of the cross defends me from evils present, past, and to come, inward and outward.

A charm found in the canon of the masse.

Also this charm is found in the canon of the masse, Hac sacro sanctia communio corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi, omnibusque sancntibus salus mentis & corporis, & ad vitam presentem, & capessendam preparato salutari: that is, Let this holy mixture of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, be unto me, and unto all receivers thereof, health of mind and body, and to the deserving and receiving of life an healthful preparative.

Other papistical charms.

Aqua benedicta, su mihi salus, & vita.

Let holy water be, both health and life to me.

Adquire nomen Martini omnis hereticus fugiat palladium.

When Martin's name is sung or said, Let heretics flee, as men dismayed.

But the papists have a harder charm than that, to wir, Fume and fagor.

Fire and fagor.
The discovery.

A charme of the holy crosse.

Nulla salus est in domo,
Nisit cruce munit homo
Superliminaria.
Neque sentit gladium,
Nec amisit filium,
Quisquis egit talia:

No health within the house doth dwell,
Except a man do cross him well,
At every doore or frame,
He never feeleth the swords point,
Nor of his fonne shall lose a joint,
That doth performe the same.

Furthermore as followeth.

Sancta cruce
equiparatur
salutifer
Christo.O blasphemiam in-
narrabilem!

Ita suos fortiores
Semper facit victores,
Morbos sanat & languores,
Reprimit demonia-
Dat captivis libertatem,
Vita conferit novitatem,
Ad antiquam dignitatem,
Cruci reducit omnia.
O Cruce lignum triumphale,
Mundi vera salus vale,
Inter ligna nullum tale
Fronde, flore, germine.
Medicina Christiana,
Salva sanos, egros sanas,
Quod non valet vis humana,
Fit in tuo nomine.

It makes her soldiers excellent,
And crowneth them with victory,
Restores the lame and impotent,
and healeth every malady,
The devils of hell it conquereth,
releaseth from imprisonment,
Newnesse of life it offereth,
It hath all at commandement,
O croffe of wood incomparable,
To all the world most wholefome;
No wood is half so honourable.
In branch, in bud or blossome,
O medicine which Christ did ordain,
The found sown every flower,
The sick and sore make whole again,
By vertue of thy power,
And that which man unablenuesse,
Hath never comprehended,
Grant by thy name of holyesse,
It may be fully ended, &c.

A charm taken out of the Primer.

His charm following is taken out of the Primer aforesaid. Omnipotens ♢ Dominus ♢ Christus ♢ Messias ♢ with 34 names more, and as many crosses, and then proceeds in this wise; Istam nomine protegat ab omni adversitate, plaga, & infirmitate corporis & animae, plenè liberent, & assiustent in auxilium ista nominis regum, Gaster, &c. &c. 12. Apostoli (vedeliet) Petrus, &c. & 4. Evangelisci (vedeliet) Matheus, &c. mibi assiustent in omnibus necessitatibus meis, ac me defendant & liberent ab omnibus pericolis & corporis & animae, & omnibus malis prateritis, presentibus, & futuris, &c.

CHAP. X.

How to make holy water, and the virtues thereof. St. Rufin's charm, of the wearing and bearing of the name of Jesus, that the sacrament of consecration and the eucharist is of as much efficacy as other charms and magnified by L. Vaitus.

If I did well, I should shew you the consecration of all their stufte, and how they prepare it; but it would be too long. And therefore you shall only have in this place a few notes for the composition of certaine receipts, which instead of an Apothecary if you deliver to any moffee priest, he will make them as well as the pope himselfe. Mary now they wax every Parliament deeter and deeter, although therewithall, they utter many stale drugs of their own.

If you look in the popish pontifical, you shall see how they make their holy water; to wit, in this form: I conjure thee thou creature of water, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy-ghost, that thou drive the devil out of every corner and hole of this church, and altar; so as he remaine not within our precincts that are just and righteous. And water thus used (as Durandus saith) hath power of his own nature to drive away divells. If you will learn to make any more of this popish stufte, you may go to the very maffe book, and find many good receipts: marry if you search Durandus, &c. you shall find abundance.

I know that all these charmes, and all these paltery confections (though

In ecclesiae dedicatione.

In rationali divinorum officiorum.
they were far more impious and foolish) will be maintained and defended by malleoners, even as the residue will be by witchmongers: and therefore I will in this place insert a charm, the authority whereof is equal with the rest, desiring to have their opinions herein I find in a book called Pomerium ser monumentum quadragesimalium; that St. Francis seeing Rupinus provoked of the devil to think himself damned, charged Rupinus to say this charm, when he next met with the devil; *Aperi os, & ibi impemnamfereus,* which is as much to say in English as, *Open thy mouth, and I will put in a plum: a very ruffly charm.*

Leonard Vairus writeth, De veris, piis, ac sanctis amuletis fascinum agisque omnia veneficia defruentibus; wherein he specially commendeth the name of Jesus to be worn. But the sacrament of confession he extolleth above all things, saying, that whereas Christ with his power did but throw devils out of men's bodies, the priest driveth the devil out of men's souls by confession. For (saith he) these words of the priest, when he saith, *Ego te absolvoo,* are as effectual to drive away the princes of darkness, through the mighty power of that saying, as was the voice of God to drive away the darkness of the world, when at the beginning he said *Fiat lux.* He commendeth also as wholesome things to drive away devils, the sacrament of the eucharist, and solitary fasts, and silence. Finally he saith, that if there be added hereunto an *Agens Dei,* &c. the same be worn about one's neck by one void of sin, nothing is wanting that is good and wholesome for this purpose. But he concludeth, that you must wear and make drafts in your forehead, with croffing your selle when you put on your shoes; and at every other action, &c. and that is also a present medicile to drive away devils, for they cannot abide it.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Noble balme used by Moses, apishly counterfeited in the church of Rome.

The noble balme that Moses made, having indeed many excellent virtues, besides the pleasant and comfortable savour thereof; wherewithal Moses in his politicke lawes enjoined Kings, Queens, and Princes to be anointed in their true and lawful elections and coronations, until the everlasting King had put on man upon him, is apishly counterfeited in the Romish Church, with divers terrible conjurations, three breathings, crosewise, (able to make a quezie stomach suspire) nine mumblings and three curtseys, saying thereunto, *Ave sanctum oleum; ter Ave sanctum balsamum.* And, so the devil is thrust out, and the Holy 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 learn. And according to this papistical order, witches and other superstitious people follow on, with charms and conjurations made in form; which many bad Physicians also practice when their learning faileth, as may appear by example in the sequel.
The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periaps, appensions, amuletts, &c. Of Homericall medicinis, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof.

Arg. Fer. lib. de medendi methodo. cap. II.
De Homeric medicatione.

This would be examined, to see if Galen be not flandered.

Agerius Ferrarius, a phyicin in these dayes of great account, doth say, that forsoomuch as by no diet nor physicke any diseafe can be taken away or extinguish'd, but that certain drugs and reliques will remaine: therefore physicians use phisical alligation, appensions, periaps, amuletts, charmes, characthers, &c. which he supposeth may do good; but harm he is sure they can do none: urging that it is necessary and expedient for a physician to leave nothing undone that may be devis'd for his patients recovery; and that by such means many great cures are done.

He citeth a great number of experiments out of Alexander Trallianus, Eius, Oclavianus, Marcellus, Philodorus, Archigines, Philostratus, Plinius, &c. and would make men beleive that Galen (who in trust desipled and desised all those vanities) recanteth in his latter dayes his former opinion, and all his invectives tending against these magical cures: writing also a book intituled De Homeric medicatione, which no man could ever see, but one Alexander Trallianus, who faith he sawit: and further affirmeth, that it is an honest mans part to cure the sicke, by hook or crooke, or by any means whatsoever. Yea he faith that Galen (who indeed wrote and taught that Incantamenta sunt multicepsarum signata, and be the onely clokes of bad physicians) affirmeth, that there is vertue and great force in incantations. As for example (faith Trallian) Galen, being now reconcil'd to this opinion, holdeth and wrieth, that the bones which stick in ones throate, are avoided and casst out with the violence of charmes and enchanting words; yea and that thereby the stone, the chollick, the falling ficknelle, and all seavers, gowts, fluxes, fistula's, issues of blood, and finall whatsoever cure (even beyond the skill of himselfe or any other foolish physician) is cured and perfectly healed by words of enchantment. Marty M Ferrarius (although he allowed and practis'd this kind of physick) yet he protesteth that he thinketh it none otherwise effectuall, than by the way of constant opinion: so as he affirmeth that neither the character, nor the charme, nor the witch, nor the devil accomplish the cures; as (faith he) the experiment of the toothach will manifestly declare, wherein the cure is wrought by the confidence or diffidence as well of the patient, as of the agent; according to the poets sayings.

Nos habitat non tartara, ed nec sedercaeli,
Spiritus in nobis qui viget illa facita.

Not hellish furies dwell in us;
Nor starres with influence heavenly;
The spirit that lives and rules in us,
Doth every thing ingeniously,

This
This (faith he) commeth to the unlearned, through the opinion which they conceive of the characters and holy words: but the learned that know the force of the mind and imagination, work miracles by miracles by means thereof, so as the unlearned must have external helps, to do that which the learned can do with a word only. He saith that this is called *Homerica medicatio*, because Homer discovered the blood of the word suppressed, and the infections healed by or in mysteries.

**CHAP. XIII.**

Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Argerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charmes, &c. four sorts of Homericall medicines, and the choice thereof; of imagination.

As touching mine opinion of these amulets, characters, and such other babes, I have sufficiently uttered it elsewhere: and I will bewray the vanity of these superstitious trifles more largely hereafter: And therefore at this time I only say, that those amulets, which are to be hanged or carried about one, if they consist of herbs, rootes, stones, or some other mettall, they may have diverse medicinable operations; and by the vertue given to them by God in their creation, may worke strange effects and cures; and to impute this vertue to any other matter is witchcraft. And whereas A. Ferrarius commendeth certaine amulets, that have in them of physicall operation; as a male taken from a crosth, holy water, and the very signe of the crosth, with such like popish fudds: I think he laboureth thereby rather to draw men to popery, than to teach or persuade them in the truth of physic or philosophie. And I think thus the rather, for that he himselfe seeth the fraud hereof; confessing that where these magical physicians apply three seeds of three-leaved gale to a tertian ague, and four to a quartaine, the number is not material.

But to these Homericall medicines he saith there are four sorts, where of amulets, characters, and charmes, are three: howbeit he commendeth and preferreth the fourth above the rest; and he saith consisteth in illusions, which he more properly calleth stratagems. Of which sort of illusions he alleadgeth for example, how Philidornis did put a cap of lead upon one's head, who imagined he was headlesse, whereby the party was delivered from his disease or conceit. Item another cured a woman that imagined, that a serpent or snake did continually grow and teare her entrails; and that was done onely by giving her a somme, and by foisting into the matter vomited a little serpent or snake, like unto that which she imagined was in her belly.

Item, another imagined that he alwayes burned in the fire, under whose bed a fire was privately conveyed, which being taken out before his face, his fannie was satisfied, and his heat allayed. Hereunto pertaineth, that the hickot is cured with sudden feare or strange newes: yet by that means agues and many other strange and extreme diseases have been healed. And some that have lien so flick and fure of the gout, that they could not remove a joint, through sudden feare of fire, or ruin of
of houses, have forgotten their infirmities and greests, and have run away. But in my tract upon melancholy, and the effects of imagination, and in the discourse of natural magick, you shall see these matters largely touched.

CHAP. XIV.

Choice of Charmes against the falling evil, the biting of a mad dog, the stinging of a Scorpion, the tooth-ach, for a woman in travel, for the king's evil, to get an borse out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charmes to be said fasting, or at the gathering of beebs, for sore eyes, to open locks, against spirits, for the bots in a horse, and specially for the Duke of Alba's horse, for lower Wines, &c.

There be innumerable charmes of conjurers, bad physicians, lewd chirurgians, melancholike witches, and confessors, for all diseases and griefs; specially for such as bad Physicians and Chirurgians know not how to cure, and in truth are good stuffe to shadow their ignorance, whereof I will relate some.

For the falling evil.

Take the sick man by the hand, and whisper these words softly in his ear, I conjure thee by the sun and moon, and by the gospel of this day delivered by God to Hubert, Giles, Cornelius and John, that thou rise and fall no more. Other wise: Drink in the night at a spring water out of a skull of one that hath been slain. Other wise: Eat a pig killed with a knife that threw a man. Other wise as followeth.

Ananizappa fert mortem, dum ledere queris,
Est mala mortis capta, dum dicitur Ananizappa,
Ananizappa Dei nunc misere me.

{Ananizappa fmiteth death,
While harm intendeth he,
This word Ananizappa say,
And death shall captive be,
Ananizappa O of God,
Have mercy now on me!}

Against the biting of a mad dog.

Put a silver ring on the finger, within which these words are gra- ven Habay babar babar and say to the person bitten with a mad dog, I am thy favours, lose not thy life; and then prick him in the nose thrice, that at each time he bleed. Otherwise: Take pilles made of the skull of one that is hanged. Otherwise: Write upon a piece of bread, Irioni, khibora, offer, houdar, sere; and let it be eaten by the
party bitten. Otherwise: O Rex gloria Jesu Christe, veni cum pace: in nomine patris max., in nomine filii max, in nomine spiritus sancti prax: Ga-  
phcr, Melchior, Balthasar prax max Dew I max.

But in troth this is very dangerous; inasmuch as if it be not speedily  
and cunningly prevented, either death or frenzied insensibility, through infe-
tion of the humour left in the wound, bitten by a mad dog: which be-
cause bad chirurgians cannot cure, they have therefore used foolish con-
ning charms. But Dodonaeus, in his hearth faith, that the hearth  
Alysson cures it: which experiment, I doubt not, will prove more true  
then all the charms in the world. But where he faith, that the same hang-
ed at a man's gate or entry, preferveth him and his cattle from inchar-
ment, or bewitching, he is overtaken with folly.

Against the biting of a Scorpion.

Say to an ass secretly, and as it were whispering in his ear: I am bit-
ren with a Scorpion.

Against the toothach.

Scurifie the gums in the grieve, with the tooth of one that hath been  
slain. Otherwise: Galbar galbar, galdey galdat. Otherwise, A b  
bur hus, &c. Otherwise: At faccarie of malke hold your teeth together  
and say: * Os non comminuetis ecce. Otherwise: Strigiles falcesque den-
tra, dentium dolorem peranate; O horse-combs and sickles that have so  
many teeth, come heal of my toothach.

A charm to release a woman in travel.

Throw over the top of the house, where a woman in travel lieth, a  
stone, or any other thing that hath killed three living creatures, name-
ly, a man, a wild boar, and a she-bear.

To heale the Kings or Queens evil, or any other soreness in the throat.

Remedies to cure the Kings or Queens evil, is first to touch the place  
with the hand of one that died an untimely death. Otherwise: Let a  
virgine fasting lay her hand on the fore, and say; Apollo denieth  
that the heate of the plague can increafe, where a naked virgine quench-
eth it: and ipet three times upon it.

A charm read in the Romifs church, upon Saint Blazes day, that  
will fetch a thorne out of any place of ones body, a bone out of the  
throte. &c. Let. 3.

For the fetching of a thorne out of any place of ones body, or a bone  
out of the throte, you shall read a charm in the Romifs church up-
on St. Blazes day; to wit, call upon God, and remember St. Blaze. The  
St. Blaze could also heale all wild beasts, that were sick or lame, with  
laying on of his hands: as appeareth in the leffon read on his day, where  
you shall see the matter at large.
A Charme for the head-ach.

Take a halter about your head, wherewith one hath been hanged.

A charm to be said each morning by a witch fasting, or at least before she go abroad.

The fire bites, the fire bites, the fire bites; Hogs turd over it, hogs turd over it; Hogs turd over it, hogs turd over it; The father with thee, the sonne with me, the holy ghost between us both to be: ter. Then spit over one shoulder, and then over the other, and then three times right forward.

Another charm that witches use at the gathering of their medicinal herbs.

Haile be thou holy herbe
Growing on the ground,
All in the mont * Calvarie
First werst thou found,
Thou art good for many a sore,
And healest many a wound,
In the name of sweet Iesus
I take thee from the ground.

An old womens charm, wherewith she did much good in the country,
and grew famous thereby.

An old woman that healed all diseases of cattel (for the which she never took any reward but a peney & a loafe) being seriausly examined by what words she brought these things to pass, confessed that after she had touched the sick creature, she alwayes departed immediately; saying:

My loafe in my lap,
My penney in my purses
Thou art never the better,
And I am never the worse.

Another like Charme.

A Gentlewoman having sore eyes, made her mone to one, that promised her helpe, if she would follow his advise: which was onely to weare about her neck a scroll sealled up, whereinto she might not look, and the conceaving hope of cure thereby, received it under the condition, and left her weeping and teares, wherewith she was wont to bewaile the miserable darknesse, which she doubted to indure: whereby in short note the time her eyes were well amended. But alas! she lost soon after that precious jessell, and thereby returned to her wonted weeping, and by constant opiniague to her sore eyes. Howbeit, her jewell or scroll being found, or fixed againe, was looked into by her deare friends, and this onely poise was fancy, contained therein.
**Booke. The discovery.**

The devill pull out both thine eye,
And etish in the holes likewise.

**A charme to open locks.**

As the herbs called Aethiopides will open all locks (if all be true that inchanters say) with the help of certain words: so be there charmes also and peripaps, which without any herbs can do as much, as for example. Take a piece of wax Ikrossed in baptism, and do but print certain flowers therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt, and when you would undo the lock, blow thrice therein, saying: Ara te partik ho maratarykin. I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to break, as thou brakest hell-gates, In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen.

**A charme to drive away spirits that haunt any house.**

Ang in every of the foure corners of your house this sentence written upon virgin parchment, Omnif spiritus laudet Dominum: Miften habent & prophetas: Exurgat Deus, & dissponentur inimici ejus.

**A pretty charme or conclusion for one possessed.**

The possesed body must go upon his or her knees to the church, how farre so ever it be off from their lodging; and so must creep without going out of the way, being the common high way, in that fort, how sole and dirty ever the same be; or whatsoever lie in the way, not shunning any thing whatsoever. until he come to the church, where he must heare masse devoutly, and then followeth recovery.

**Another for the same purpose.**

Here must be commended to some poor begger the saying of the Pater nosters, and five Ave's; the first to be said in the name of the party possesed, or bewitched: for that Christ was led into the garden; secondly, for that Christ did sweat both water and blood; thirdly, for that Christ was condemned; fourthly, for that he was crucified gulf-leffe; and fifthly, for that he suffered to take away out his fins. Then must the sick body heare masse eight daies together, standing in the place where the gospel is said, and must mingle holy water with his meate and his drink, and holy water must be a portion of the mixture.

**Another to the same effect.**

The sick man must fast three days, and then he with his parents must come to church; upon an embering friday, and must heare the masse for that day appointed; and so likewise the saturday and sunday following. And the priest must read upon the sick mans head that gospel, which is read in September, and in harvest, after the feast of holy croffe. In dictis quattor temporum, in ember-daies, then let him write and carry it about his necke, and he shall be cured.
Another charme or witch-craft for the same.

This office or conjuration following was first authorized and printed at Rome, and afterwards at Avenion, Anno 1515. And left that the devil should lie hid in some secret part of the body, every part thereof is named: Obsecro te Iesu Christe, &c. that is: I beseech thee O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou pull out of every member of this man all insinumities, from his head, from his hair, from his braine, from his forehead, from his eyes, from his nose, from his ears, from his mouth, from his tongue, from his teeth, from his jawes, from his throat, from his backe, from his breast, from his paps, from his heart, from his stomack, from his sides, from his flesh, from his blood, from his bone, from his leggs, from his feet, from his fingers, from the soles of his feet, from his narrow, from his finewes, from his skin, and from every joint of his members, &c.

Doubtlesse Jesus Christ could have no starting hole, but was hereby every way prevented and pursu'd, so as he was forced to do the cure: for it appeareth hereby, that it had been insufficient for him to have said: Depart out of this man thou unclean spirit, and that when he so said he did not performe it. I do not think that there will be found among all the heathens superfittious fables, or among the witches, conjurons, poers, knaves, coxcombes, fools, &c. that ever wrote, so impudent and impious a lie or charme as is read in Barnardine de busitis; where, to cure a sick man, Jesus Christes body, to wit: a water-cake, was outwardly applied to his side, and entered into his heart, in the sight of all the bystanders. Now, if grave authors report such lies, what credit in these cases shall we attribute unto the old wives tales, that Sprenger, Institor, Bodin, and others write? Even as much as to Ovid's Metamorphosis, Alops fables, Moores Utopia, and divers other fancies; which have as much truth in them, as a blind man hath sight in his eye.

A charme for the bots in a horse.

You must both say and do thus upon the diseased horse three dayes together, before the sunne rising: In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti; Exorcize te verem per Deum patrem, &c. filium & spiritum sanctum: that is, In the name of God the father, the sonne, and the Holy Ghost, I conjure thee O worm by God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that thou neither eate nor drink the flesh, blood or bones of this horse, and that thou hereby maist be made as patent as lob, and as good as S. John Baptist, when he baptized Christ in Iordan. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, And then lay three Pater nosters, and three Ave's, in the right ear of the horse, to the glory of the holy trinity. Dominus filius spiritus Maris.

There are also divers bookes imprinted, as it should appeare with the authority of the church of Rome, wherein are contained many medi- nal prayers, not onely against all diseases of horses, but also for every impediment and fault in a horse: insomuch as if a shoe fall off in the midde of his journey, there is a prayer to warrant your horses hoof.
The Smith's hoof, so as it shall not break, how farre so ever he be from the Smiths will can them forge.

Small thanks Item, The Duke of Alba his horse was consecrated, or canonized for this prayer: the Low Countries, at the solemn mass, wherein the Popes bull, and also his charm was published (which I will hereafter recite) he in the mean time fitting as: Vice-roy with his consecrated standart in his hand, till male was done.

A charm against vineger.

That wine wax not eager, write on the vessel, Gustate, videte, quem am sua vis est Dominus.

CHAP. XV.

The enchanting of serpents and snakes, objections answered concerning the same; fond reasons why charms take effect: the rein, Mahomet's pigeon, miracles wrought by an ass at Memphis in Egypt, popish charms against serpents, of miracleworkers, the taming of snakes. Bodius lie of snakes.

Concerning the charming of Serpents and snakes, mine adversaries (as I have said) think they have great advantage by the words of David in the fifty eight psalme; and by Jeremy, chap. eight, expounding the one prophet by Virgil, the other by Ovid. For the words of David are these:

Their poison is like the poison of a Serpent; and like a deaf ear, he Stoppeth his ears, and heareth not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so cunningly.

The words of Virgil are these; Frigidus in parvis cantando rumptur anguis. As he might say, David thou liest; for the cold-natured snake is by the charms of the enchanters broken all to pieces in the field where he lieth. Then cometh Ovid, and he taketh his countryman's part, saying in the name and person of a witch; Viperae cupidae verbis & carmine feriunt; that is, I with my words and charms can break in under the vipers jaws. Marty Jeremy on the other side encountereth this poetical witch, and he not onely defendeth, but expoundeth his fellowe prophets words, and that not in his own name but in the name of Almighty God, saying; I will send serpents and cockatrice among you, which cannot be charmed.

Now let any indifferent man (Christian or heathen) judge, whether the words and minds of the prophets do not directly oppugne these poets words (I will not say minds) for that I am sure they did therein but jest and trifle, according to the common fabling of lying poets. And certainly, I can encounter them two with other two poets, namely Propertius and Horace, the one merily deriding, the other fiercely impugning their fantastical poetries, concerning the power and omnipotency of witches. For where Virgil, Ovid, &c. write that witches with their charms fetch down the Moon and flares from heaven, &c. Propertius mocketh them in these words following:
At vos deducte quibus est fallacia Lune;
Et labor in magicis sacra piare foci;
En agedum domine mentem convertite nostra;
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis,
Tunc ego crediderim obis & sidera & annes
Posse Circeis ducere carminibus.

But you that have the subtil flight,
Of fetching down the moon from skies;
And with enchanting fire bright,
Attempt to purge your sacrifice:
Lo now, go too, turn (if you can)
Our madams mind and sturdy heart,
And make her face more pale and wan,
Than mine: which if by magic art
You do, then will I soon believe,
That by your witching charmes you can
From skies aloft the starres remove,
And rivers turne from whence they ran.

And that you may see more certainly, that these poets did but jeft and
deride the credulous and timorous sort of people, I thought good to
shew you what Ovid faith against himself, and such as have written so in-
credibly and ridiculouly of witches omnipotency:

Nec medie magicis finduntur cantibus angues,
Nec redit in fontes unda supina frus.
Snakes in the middle are not riven
With charmes of witches cunning,
Nor waters to their Fountains driven
By force of backward running.

As for Horace his verses I omit them, because I have cited them in an-
other place. And concerning this matter Cardanus faith, that at every
eclipse they were wont to thinke, that witches pulled down the sun and
moon from heaven. And doubtfull, hence came the opinion of that
matter, which spread so farre, and continued so long in the common peo-
ple's mouthes, that in the end learned men grew to believe it, and to af-
firm it in writing.

But here it will be objected, that because it is said (in the places by
us allledged) that snakes or vipers cannot be charmed; Ergo other things may:
To answer this argument, I would ask the witchmonger this ques-
tion, to wit: Whether it be expedient, that to satisfy his folly, the
Holy Ghost must of necessity make mention of every particular thing that
he imagineth may be bewitched? I would also ask of him, what privilege
a snake hath more then other creatures, that he only may no, and all o-
ther creatures may be bewitched? I hope they will not say, that either
their
their faith or infidelity is the cause thereof; neither do I admit the answer of such divines as say; that he cannot be bewitched; for that he seduced Eve; by means whereof God himselfe cursed him; and there by he is so priviledged, as that no witches charme can take hold of him. But more shall be said hereof in the sequel.

Danzus faith, that witches charmes take soonest hold upon snakes and adders; because of their conference and familiarity with the devil, whereby the rather mankind through them was seduced. Let us seek then an answer for this cavil; although in truth it needeth not: for the phrase of speech is absolute, and imparts not a special quality proper to the nature of a viper any more, than when I say: A cony cannot fly: you should gather and conclude thereupon, that I meant that all other beasts could fly. But you shall understand, that the cause why these vipers can rather withstand the voice and practice of enchanters and sorcerers, than other creatures, is, for that they being in body and nature venomous cannot so soon or properly receive their destruction by venome, whereby the witches in other creatures bring their mischievous practices more easily to passe, according to Virgile saying;

\[
\text{Corrupt que laccus, infect patula tabo.}
\]

She did infect with poison strong
Both ponds and pastures all along.

And thereupon the prophet alludeth unto their corrupt and inflexible nature, with that comparison; and not (as Tremelius is fain to shew it) with stopping one ear with his tale, and laying the other close to the ground; because he would not heare the charmers voice. For the snake hath neither such reason; nor the words such effect: otherwise the snake must know our thoughts. It is also to be considered, how untame by nature these vipers (for the most part) are; in somuch as they be not by mans industry or cunning to be made familiar, or trained to do any thing; whereby admiration may be procured: as Bemelio Feats his dog could do; or Mahometes pigeon, which would referre unto him, being in the midst of his campe, and picke a peace out of his ears; in fashion that many of the people thought that the holy ghost came and told him a tale in his ear: the same pigeon also brought him a scroll, wherein was written, Rex efo, and laid the same in his neck. And because I have spoken of the docility of a dog and a pigeon, though I could cite an infinite number of like tales, I will be bold to trouble you but with one more.

At Memphis in Egypt, among other juggling knacks, which were there usually chused, there was one that took such pains, with an ass, that he had taught him all these qualities following: And for gaine he caused a stage to be made, and an assembly of people to meete; which being done, in the manner of a play, he came in with his ass, and said: The Suliane hath great need of a.ffe to help to carry stones and other stuffe, towards his great building which he hath in hand. The ass immediately
med iately fell downe to the ground, and by all signes shewed himselfe to be sick, and at length to give up the ghost: so as the juggler begg'd of the assemblie money towards his losse. And having gotten all that he could, he said: Now my masters, you shall see mine afe is yet alive, and doth but counterfeit; because he would have some money to buy him provender, knowing that I was poor, and in some need of relief. Hereupon he would needs lay a wager, that his afe was alive, who to every mans seeming was stark dead. And when one had laid money with him thereabout, he commanded the afe to rise, but he lay still as though he were dead; then did he beat him with a cudgel, but that would not serve the turne, until he address'd his speech to the afe, saying (as before) in open audience: The Sultan hath commanded, that all the people shall ride out to morrow, and see the triumph, and that the faire ladies will then ride upon the fairest afe's, and will give notable provender unto them, and every afe shall drink of the sweet water of Nihus: and then lo! the afe did presently start up, and advance himself exceedingly. Lo! (quoth his master) now I have wonne: but in troth the Major hath borrowed mine afe's, for the use of the old ill-favoured witch his wife: and thereupon immediately he hung down his eares, and halted down right, as though he had been stark lame. Then said his master; I perceive you love young pretty wenches: at which words he looked up, as it were with joyful cheere. And then his master did bid him go choose one that should ride upon him; and he ran to a very handsome woman, and touched her with his head, &c. A snake will never be brought to fit familiarities, &c. Bodin saith, that this was a man in the likeness of an afe: but I may rather think that he is an afe in the likeness of a man. Well, to returne to our serpents, I will tell you a story concerning the charming of them, and the event of the same.

In the city of Salisbury there was an inchanter, that before all the people took upon him to conjure all the serpents and snakes within one mile compass into a great pit or dike, and there to kill them. When all the serpents were gathered together, as he stood upon the brink of the pit; there came at the last a great and horrible serpent, which would not be gotten downe with all the force of his incantations: so as (all the rest being dead) he flew upon the inchanter, and clasped him in the midst, and drew him down into the said dike, and there killed him. You must think that this was a devil in a serpents likeness, which for the love he bare to the poore snakes, killed the sorcerer; to teach all other witches to beware of the like wicked practife. And sure, if this be not true, there be a great number of lies contained in M. Malle and I. Bodin. And if this be well weighed, and conceived, it beareth downe to the ground all those witchmongers arguments, that contend to wring witching miracles out of this place. For, they disagree notably, some denying and some affirming that serpents may be bewitched. Nevertheless, because in every point you shall see how popery agreeith with paganism, I will recite certaine charms against vipers, allowed for the most part in and by the church of Rome: as followeth.

I conjure thee O serpent in this hour, by the five holy wounds of our Lord,
Lord, that thou remove not out of this place but here stay, as certainly as God was borne of a pure Virgin. Otherwise I conjure thee serpent in nomine patris, &c. filii, &c. spiritus sancti: I command thee serpent by our lady S. Mary, that thou obey me, as wax obeyest the fire, and as fire obeyest water; that thou neither hurt me, nor any other Christian, as certainly as God was borne of an immaculate Virgin, in which respect I take thee up. In nomine patris, &c. filii, &c. spiritus sancti: Ely lasf eier, eley lasf eier, eley lasf eier. Otherwise: O vermine, thou must come as God came unto the Lewes. Otherwise L. Vairus, faith, that Serpens quernis frondibus contulit, a snake touched with oak-leaves dieth, and they even in the beginning of his going, if a feather of the bird Ibis be cast or thrown upon him: and that a viper smitten or shot with a reed is astonied, and touched with a beechen branch is presently numbed and stiff.

Here is to be remembered, that many use to boast that they are of S. Paul's race and kindred, shewing upon their bodies the prints of serpents which (as the papists affirm) was incident to all them of S. Paul's stock. Marry they say herewithall, that all his kinsfolk can handle serpents, or any poison without danger. Others likewise have (as they brag) a Katherine-wheele upon their bodies, and they say they are kinne to S. Katherine, and that they can carry burning coales in their bare hands, and dip their faine hands in hot skalding liquor, and also go into hot oven. Whereof though the last be but a bare jest, and to be done by any that will prove (as a braid fellow in London had used to do, making no stanchace at all therein) yet there is a new made of the other, as though it were certaine and undoubted; by anointing the hands with the juice of mallowes, mercury, urine, &c. which for a little time are defengers against these scalding liquors, and scorching fire.

But they that take upon them to work these mysteries and miracles, do indeed (after rehearseall of these and such like words and charmes) take up even in their bare hands, those snakes and vipers, and sometimmes put them about their necks, without receiving any hurt thereby, to the terror and astonishment of the beholders, which naturally both feare and abhorre all serpents. But these charmers (upon my word) dare not trut to their charmes, but use such an enchantment, as every man may lawfully use, and in the lawfull use thereof may bring to passe that they shall be in security, and take no harme, how much soever they handle them: marry with a woollen rag they pull out their teeth before hand, as some men say; but as truth is, they wearie them, and that is of certainty. And surely this is a kind of witchcraft, which I terme private confederacy. Bodin faith, that all the snakes in one countrey were by charmes and verses driven into another region: perhaps he meaneth Ireland, where S. Patrik is said to have done it with his holyneffe, &c.

James Spranger and Henry Istitor affirm, that serpents and snakes, and their skins exceed all other creatures for witchcraft; insomuch as witches do use to bury them under mens thresholds, either of the house or stiltes, whereby barrenneffe is procured both to woman and beast: yea and that the very earth and ashes of them continue to have force of fascination. In respect whereof they wish all men now and then to dig away
away the earth under their thresholds, and to sprinkle holy water in the place, and also to hang boughes (hallowed on midsummer day) at the fall door where the cattel stand: and produce examples thereupon, of witches lies, or else their owne, which I omit, because I see my book growth to be greater than I meant it should be.

CHAP. XVI.

Charmes to carry water in a serve, to know what is spoken of us behind our backs, for bleere eyes, to make seeds to grow well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang her up, notable authorities against waxen images, a story bewraying the knavery of waxen images.

Leonardus Vauris faith, that there was a prayer extant, whereby might be carried in a serve, water, or other liquor: I think it was clam clay; fascin.1.cap.5. Oratio Tusca vestalis.

Of the word (Bud) and the Greek letters Φ & Α touching his fathers naked member uttered a charm, whereby his father became emaculated or deprived of the powers generative.

A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list with images of wax, &c.

Make an image in his name, whom you would hurt or kill, of new virgin wax; under the right arm, poke whereof place a swallow heart, and the liver under the left; then hang about the neck thereof a new thread in a new needle pricked into the member which you would have hurt, with the rehearse of certain words: which for the avoiding of foolish superstition and credulity in this behalf is to be omitted. And if they were inserted, I dare undertake: they would do no harme, were it not to make fools, and catch godlings. Otherwise; Sometimes these images are made of brass, and then the hand is placed where the foot should be, and the foot where the hand, and the face downward. Otherwise; For a greater mischief, the like image is made in the forme of a man or woman, upon whose head is written the certain name of the party; and on his or her ribs these words, Ailif, casyl, xaxe, bit, a a mel.
The practizer mel meliat; then the same must be buried. Otherwise; in the dominion of these charms of Mars, two images must be prepared, one of wax, the other of the must have skill earth of a dead man; each image must have in his hand a sword wherein the planeter with a man hath been slain, and that he must be slain may have his head by motion, or thrust through with a foin. In both must be written certain peculiar characters; else he may go others, and then must they be hid in a certain place. Otherwise; to shew the goole, obtain a woman's love, an image must be made in the hour of Venus, of virgin wax, in the name of the beloved, whereupon a character is written, and is warmed at a fire, and in doing thereof the name of some Angel must be mentioned. To be utterly rid of the witch, and to hang her up by the hair, you must prepare an image of the earth of a dead man to be baptized in another man's name, whereon the name, with a character, must be written; then must it be perfumed with a rotten bone, and then these names read backward; Domine Dominus noster, Dominus illuminatio mea, Domine exaudi orationem meam, Deus laudem meam; and then bury it, first in one place, and afterwards in another. Howbeit, it is written in the 21st article of the determination of Paris, that to affirm that images of brass, lead, gold, of white or red wax, or of any other substance, conjured, baptized, consecrated, or rather executed through those magical arts at certain days, have wonderful virtues, or such as are avowed in their books or assertions, is error in faith, natural philosophy, and true astronomy; yea it is concluded in the 22d article of that council, that it is as great an error to believe those things, as to do them.

But concerning these images, it is certain that they are much feared among the people, and much used among confining witches, as partly appeareth in this discourse of mine elsewhere; and as partly may be by the contents of this story following. Not long since, a young maiden dwelling at New Romney here in Kent, being the daughter of one M. L. Stupey (late Jurat of the same town but dead before the execution hereof) and afterwards the wife of Thom. Eps (who is at this instant Major of Romney) was visited with sickness, whose mother and father in law being abused with credulity concerning witches supernatural power, repaired to a famous witch called mother Baker, dwelling not far from thence at a place called Stonstreet, who, according to witches confining custom, asked whether they mistrusted not some bad neighbour, to whom they answered that indeed they doubted a woman near unto them (and yet the same was of the honestest and wisest part of her neighbours, reputed a good creature.) Nevertheless, the witch told them that there was great cause of their suspicion: for the same, said she, is the very party that wrought the maidens destruction, by making a heart of wax, & picking the same with pins and needles, affirming also that the same neighbor of hers had bestowed the same in some secret corner of the house. This being believed, the house was searched by credible persons, but nothing could be found. The witch or wife woman being certified thereof, continued her afftertion, and would needs go to the house where she herself (as she affirmed) would certainly find it. When she came thither, she used her cunning, as it chanceth, to her own confusion, or at least...
wife to her detection: for herein she did, as some of the wiser sort mistook that she would do, laying down privily such an image, as she had before described, in a corner, which by others had been most diligently searched and looked into, and by that means her counseal was notably bewrayed. And I would wish that all witchmongers might pay for their lewd repair to enchanters, and consultation with witches, and such as have familiar spirits, as some of these did, and that by the order of the high Commissioners, which partly for respect of neighbourhood, and partly for other considerations, I leave unspoken of.

CHAP. XVII.

Sundry sorts of charms tending to diverse purposes, and first, certain charms to make taciturnity in tortures.

I

Imparibus meritis tria

Pendant corpora ramis,

Dismas & Gestas,

In medio est divina potentia,

Dismas damnatur,

Gestas ad astra levatur:

Three bodies on a bough do hang,

For merits of inequality,

Dismas and Gestas, in the midst

The power of the divinity,

Dismas is damn’d, but Gestas lifted up above the stars on high.

Also this: Eru clavit cor meum verbum bonum; veritatem, nunc quam dicam regi. Otherwise: As the milk of our lady was lussious to our Lord Jesus Christ; so let this torture or rope be pleasant to mine armes and members. Otherwise: Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat. Otherwise: You shall not break a bone of him.

Counter-charms against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saying also whereof witches are vexed, &c.


A charm for the cholie cough.

Take three tips of a chalice, when the priest hath said mass, and swallow it down with good devotion, &c.
The discovery of Charms, &c.

In nomine patris, up and downe,
Et filii & spiritus sancti upon my crowne,
Crux Christi upon my breast,
Sweet lady send me eternal rest.

Charms to find out a thesee.

The means how to find out a thesee, is thus: Turne your face to the east, and make a crose upon christall with oyle alive, and under the crose write these two words (Saint Helen.) Then a child that is innocent, and a chaste virgine borne in true wedlock, and not base begotten, of the age of ten yares, must take the christall in his hand, and behind his back, kneeling on thy knees, thou must devoutly and reverently say over this prayer thrice: I beseech thee my lady S. Helen, mother of king Constantine, which didst find the crose whereupon Christ died: by that thy holy devotion, and invention of the crose, and by the same crose, and by the joy which thou conceivedst at the finding thereof, and by the love which thou bearest to thy sonne Constantine, and by the great goodnesse which thou doest alwayes use, that thou shewed me in this christall, whatsoever I ask or desire to know; Amen. And when the child seeth the angel in the christall, demand what you will, and the angel will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, that this be done just at the sunnes rising, at the weather is faire and clear.

Cardanus derideth these and such like fables; and setteth downe his judgement therein accordingly, in the sixteenth booke De rerum var. Thrice conjurers and cufeners forsooth will shew you in a glasse the thesee that hath stolen anything from you, and this is their order. They take a glasse-viall full of holy water, and set it upon a linen cloth, which hath been purified, nor onely by washing, but by a crose, &c. On the mouth of the viall or viall, two olive-leaves must be laid acrosse, with a little conjuration laid over it, by a child; to wit: Angelus bone, angeli candide, per tuam sanctitatem, meam; virginitatem, ostende mihi solum: with three Pater nosters, three Ave's, and between either of them a crose made with the nail of the thombe upon the mouth of the viall; and then shall be seen angels ascending and descending as it were motes in the sunne-beames. The thesee all this while shall suffer great torments, and his face shall be seen plainly, even as plainly I believe as the man in the moone. For in truth, there are tois artificially conveyed into glasse, which will make the water bubble, and devises to make images appeare in the bubbles, as also there be artificial glasses, which will shew unto you that shall looke thereunto, many images of divers formes, and some so small and curious, as they shall in favour resemble whomsoever you thinke upon. Looke in John Bap. Neap: for the confection of such glasse. The subtiles hereof are to detected, and the mysteries of the glasse to common now, and their asenage.
cozenage so well knowne, &c. that I need not stand upon the particular confusion hereof. Carduus in the place before cited reporteth, how he tried with children these and divers circumstances the whole illusion, and found it to be plain knavery and cozenage.

Another way to find out a theefe that abbt stolne any thing from you:

Go to the sea-side, and gather as many pebles as you suspect person for that matter; carry them home, & throw them into the fire, & bury them under the threshold; where the parties are like to come over. There let them be three days, and then before sun rising take them away. Then set a porrenger full of water in a circle, wherein must be made crosses every way, as many as can stand in it upon the which must be written; Christ overcometh, Christ restituted, Christ commandeth. The porrenger also must be signed with a crose, and a form of conjuration must be pronounced. Then each stone must be thrown into the water, in the name of the suspected. And when you put in the stone of him that is guilty, the stone will make the water boil, as though glowing iron were put there into. Which is a mere knack of legierdemain, and to be accomplished divers ways.

To put out the theefe's eye.

Read the seven psalms with the Letany, and then must be said a horrible prayer to Christ, and God the father, with a curse against the theefe. Then in the midst of the step of your foot, or on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eye, and write thereabout certain barbarous names, and drive with a cooper's hammer, or addes into the midst thereof a brazen nail consecrated, saying: "In faius es Domine, et justa judicia tua." Then the theefe shall be bewraied by his crying out.

Another way to find out a thife:

Stick a paires of theeres in the rind of a five, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the theeres, holding it with the five up from the ground feeldily, and ask Peter and Paul whether A.B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guilty person, the five will turne round. This is a great praxis in all countries, and indeed a very bable. For, with the beating of the pulse some cause of that motion ariseth, some other cause by flight of the fingers, some other by the wind gathered in the five to be taide, &c. at the pleasure of the holders. Some cause may be the imagination, which upon conceit at the naming of the party altereth the common course of the pulse. As may well be conceived by a ring held seeldily by a thred betwixt the finger and the thombe, over or rather in a goblet or glasse, which within short space will strike against the side thereof so many strokes as the holder thinketh it a clocke, and then will stay; the which who so provereth shall find true.

A Charme to find out or spoile a theefe.

Of this matter, concerning the apprehension of theeses by words, I will cite one charm, called S. Adelbert's curse; being both for length
length of words sufficient to weary the reader, and for substantiall more comprehending all that appertaineth unto blasphemous speech or cursing, allowed in the church of Rome, as an excommunication and incantation.

Saint Adelberts curse or charm against thieves.

By the authority of the omnipotent Father, the Sonne, and the holy ghost, and by the holy virgine Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy angels and archangels, and Michael, and John Baptist, and in the behalf of Peter the apostle, and the residue of the apostles, and of Stephen, and of all the martyrs, of Sylvester, and of Adelbert, and all the confessors, and of Aegidius, and all the holy virgins, and of all the saints in heaven and earth, unto whom there is given power to bind and loose: we do excommunicate, damn, curse, and bind with the knots and bands of excommunication, and we do sequester from the bounds and lifts of our holy mother the church, all those thieves, sacrilegious persons, ravenous catchers, doers, counsellors, coadjutors, male or female, that have committed this theft or mischief, or have usurped any part thereof to their own use. Let their share be with Dathan and Abaran, whom the earth swallowed up for their sins and pride, and let them have part with Iudas that betrayed Christ. Amen, and with Pontius Pilate, and with them that said to the Lord, Depart from us, we will not understand thy ways; let their children be made orphans. Cursed be they in the field, in the grove, in the woods, in their houses, barns, chambers, and beds, and cursed be they in the court, in the way, in the town, in the castle, in the water, in the church, in the churchyard, in the tribunal place, in battells, in their abode, in the market place, in their talk, in silence, in eating, in watching, in sleeping, in drinking, in feasting, in sitting, in kneeling, in standing, in lying, in idleness, in all their works, in their body and soul, in their five wits, and in every place. Cursed be the fruit of their wombs, and cursed be the fruit of their lands, and cursed be all that they have. Cursed be their heads, their mouthes, their nostrils, their noses, their lips, their jaws, their teeth, their eyes and eye-lids, their brains, the roofe of their mouthes, their tongues, their throats, their breath, their hearts, their bellies, their livers, all their bowels and their stomach.

Cursed be their navel, their spleenes, their bladder. Cursed be their thighes, their legs, their feet, their toes, their necks, their shoulders. Cursed be their backs, cursed be their armes, cursed be their elbowes, cursed be their hands, and their fingers, cursed be both their nails of their hands and feet; cursed be their ribs and their genitals, and their knees, cursed be their flesh, cursed be their bones, cursed be their bloud, cursed be the skin of their bodies, cursed be the marrow in their bones, cursed be they from the crown of the head, to the sole of the foot: and whosoever is betwixt the same, be it accursed, that is to say, their five senses, to wit, their seeing, their hearing, their smelling, their tasting and their feeling. Cursed be they in the holy cross, in the passion of Christ, with his five wounds, with the effusion
on of his blood; and by the milk of the Virgine Mary, I conjure thee Lu-
cifer, with all thy Souldiers, by the *Father, the Son and the Holy * Thus they
Ghofts, with the humanity and nativity of Christ, with the virtue of all make the ho-
Stains, that then rest not day nor night, till thou bringest them to de-
ly trinity to fruition, either by drowning or hanging, or that they be devoured by bear a part in
wild beasts, or burnt, or flain by their enemies, or hated of all men their exor if
living. And as our Lord hath given authority to Peter the Apostle, and else it is no
his successors, (whose place we occupy, and to us (though unworthy,) bargain e. that whatsoever we bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and
whatsoever we loose on earth, shall be lose in heaven, so we ac-
cordingly, if they will not amend, do shut from them the gates of hea-
ven, and deny unto them Christian burial, so as they shall be buried in
siles leaze. Furthermore, curst be the ground wherein they are bur-
ried, let them be confounded in the last day of Judgement, let them have
no conversation among Christians, nor be houled at the hour of death,
let them be made as dust before the face of the wind: and as Lucifer was
expelled out of heaven, and Adam and Eve out of paradises so let them
be expelled from the daylight. Also let them be joyned with those, to
whom the Lord saith at the Judgement, Go ye curst into everlasting
fire, which is prepared for the devill and his angels, where the worme
shall not die, nor the fire be quenched. And as the candle, which is
thrown out of my hand here, is put out: so let their works and their
foul be quenched in the stench of hell fire, except they restore that which
they have stolne, by such a day: and let every one say, Amen. After
this must be sung * In media vita in morte sumus, &c.

Matthew 15.

This terrible curse with bell, book, and candle added therunto, must needs work wonders: howbeit among theeves it is not much weigh-
ed, among wise and true men it is not well liked, to them that are rob-
bed it bringeth small releef: the priests stomach may well be eafe d, but
the goods stolne will never the sooner be restored. Hereby is bewrayed
both the malice and folly of popish doctrine, whose uncharitable impie-
tie is so imputently published, and in such order uttered, as every sen-
tence (if opportunity served) might be proved both heretical and diabo-
ical. But I will answer this cruel curse with another curse far more mild
and civil, performed by as honest a man (I dare say) as he that made
the other, whose reproof was lately made.

So it was, that a certain Sir John, with some of his company, once
went abroad a jetting, and in a moon-light evening robbed a millers weire
and stole all his eeces. The poor miller made his mone to Sir John him-
sely, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so curse the theeves, and
all his confederates, with bell, book and candel, that they should have
small joy of their fill. And therefore the next sunday, Sir John got
him to the pulpit, with his surplice on his back, and his frole about his
neck, and pronounced these words following, in the audience of the A curse for
these.

All you that have stolne the millers eeces,

Laudate Dominum de coelis,

And all they that have consented thereto, Bene-
Benedicamus Domino.

Lo (faith he) there is favoe for your eceles my masters.

Another enchantment.

Certaine prysters use the hundred-and eight psalm as an enchantment
or charm, or at the leastwise saying, that against whomsoever they
pronounce it, they cannot live one whole yeat at the uttermost.

CHAP. XVIII.

A charme or experiment to find out a witch.

In die dominico sotularia juvenum axungia sen pinguedine porci, ut mori
eft, pro restauurationi fieri perungunt: and when she is once come into
the church, the witch can never get out, until the searchers for her give
her express leave to depart.

But now it is necessary to shew you how to prevent and cure all mischief
ewrought by these charmes and witchcrafts, according to the opin-
oinion of M. Mal. and others. One principal way is to naile a horse-hoe
at the inside of the utmost threshold of your house, and so you shall
be sure no witch shall have power to enter thereinto. And if you make
it, you shall find that rule observed in many countreyhouses. Otherwise:
Item the triumphant title to be written croswise, in every corner of the
house, thus: Iesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum Memorandum: you
may join herewithal, the name of the virgin Mary, or of the four E-
vangelists, or Verbum caro factum est. Otherwise: Item in some coun-
tries they naile a wolves head on the door. Otherwise: Item they hang
Scilla, (which is either a root, or rather in this place garlike) in the root
of the house, for to keep away witches and spirits: and so they do Ali-
cium also. Otherwise: Item perfume made of the gall of a black dog,
and his blood beemered on the posts and walles of the house, driveth out
of the doors both devils and witches. Otherwise: The house where
Herba betonica is tawn, is free from all mischief. Otherwise: It is not
unknown that the Romish church allowed and used the smoak of Sul-
phur, to drive spirits out of their houses; as they did frankincense and
water hallowed. Otherwise: Apuleius faith, that Mercury gave to Ul-
lyses, when he came near to the enchantresse Circe, an herb called
Verbacum, which in English is called Mullien, or Tafftis barbatis, or
Longwood; and that preferred him from the enchantments. Other-
wise: Item Pliny and Homer bo do say, that the herb call’d Moly is an
excellent herb against enchantments, and say all, that thereby Ulysses e-
capep Circes her sorceries, and enchantments. Otherwise also diverse
wates they went to worke in this case, and some used this defensive, some
that preservative against incantations.

And herein you shall see, not only how the religion of papists, and
infidels agree; but also how their ceremonies and their opinions are all
one concerning witches and spirits.

Ovid. de Med. Tergue senem flamma, ter aqua; ter sulphure lustrat:

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

She purifies with fire thrice

Old hory-headed Eion,

For thus writeth Ovid touching that matter.
With water thrice, and sulphur thrice,
As she thought meet thee in reason.
Again, the same Ovid cometh in as before:
Advenien, quod in terris anni, leuæaque locumque,
Defeat & tremula sulphur & ova manu.
Let some old woman hither come,
And purge both bed and place,
And bring in trembling hand new eggs
And sulphur in like case.
And Virgil also harpeth upon the like string:

_Cingite vene, vati noceat mala ligna futuro:_
Of berry-bearing baccar bowze
A wreath or garland knit;
And round about his head and browze
See decently it sit;
That of an ill talking tongue
Our future poet be not slung.

Furthermore, was it not in times of tempests the papisits use, or superstition, to ring their bells against devils; trusting rather to the tonging of their bells, than to their owne cry unto God with fasting and prayer, assigned by him in all adversities and dangers: according to the order of the Thracian pristes, which would roar and cry, with all the noise they could make, in those tempests. Olas Gothis, faith that his countrymen would shooe in the aire, to assist their gods, whom they thought to be then together by the eares with others; and had consecrated arrowes, called Sagitta ioviales, even as our papisits had. Also in stead of bells, they had great hammers, called Mallei joviales, to make a noise in; time of thunder. In some countries they runne out of the doores in time of tempest, blesting themselves with a cheesef, whereupon there was a crose made with a ropes end upon ascension day. Also three hailestones to be throwne into the fire in a tempest, and thereupon to be laid three Patri nosters, and three Ave, S. Johnes gospel, and in fine fugiat tempestus, is a present remedy. Item, to hang an eg laid on ascension day in the roof of the house, preserveth the same from all hurts. *Item,* A witches I conjure you haile and wind by the five wounds of Christ, by the three conjunction nails which pierced his hands and his feet, and by the foure evangelists, to make haile Matthew, Marke, Luke, and John, that thou come down dissolved into ceafe and be water. Item, it hath beene an usuall matter, to carry out in tempests the dissolved sacraments and reliques, &c. Item, against storms, and many damme creatures, the popish church useth excommunication as a principal charmme. And now to be delivered from witches themselves, they hang in their entries an herbe called pentaphyllum, cinquefoile, also an oliveb-ranch, also frankincense, myrrh, valerian, verven, palme, antichomon, &c. also haythorne, otherwise white-thorne gathered on May-day; also the fmoake of a lappoints feathers driveth spirits away. There be innumerable popish exorcismes, and conjurations for hearbs and other things, to be thereby made wholesome both for the bodies and souls of men & beasts, and also or

Contagion
contagion of weather. Memorandum, that at the gathering of these
magical herbes, the Credo is necessary to be said, as Vairus affirmeth: and
also the Pater noster, for that is not superstitious. Alfo Sprenger faith,
that to throw up a black chicken in the aire, will make all tempests
to cease: fo it be done with the hand of a witch. If a soule wander in
the likenes of a man or woman by night, molesting men, with bewailing
their torments in purgatory, by reason of tithes forgotten, &c. and neith-
er maffes nor conjurations can helpe; the exorcist in his ceremoniall
apparel must go to the tombe of that body, and spurne thereat, with his
foot, saying: Vade ad gehennam, Get thee packing to hell: and by
and by the soule goeth thither, and there remaineth for ever. Otherwise:
If there be no maffes of purpose for this matter, to unbewitch the bewitch-
ed. Otherwise: You must sjet into the pissepot, where you have made
mutter. Otherwise: Sjet into the shoe of your right foot, before you put
iron: and that Vairus faith is good: and whom I do, before you go
into any dangerous place. Otherwise: that neither hunters nor their
dogs may be bewitched, they cleave an oaken branch, and both they and
their dogs passe over it. Otherwise: S. Augustine faith, that to pacifie the
God Liber, whereby women might have fruit of the seeds they lose, and
that their gardens and fields should not be bewitched; some chiefe grave
matrone use to put a crowne upon his genital member, and that must be
publiquely done.

To spole a thieve, a witch, or any other enemie, and to be delivered
from the evil.

Vpon the sabbath day before sun-rising, cut a hazel wand, saying:
I cut thee O bough of this summers growth, in the name of him
whom I meane to beate or maime. Then cover the table, and say
In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti. And striking there
on fay as followeth (English it he that can) Drochs myroch, senaroth be-
tu, baroch afo mauroth i: and then say: Holy trinity punish him
that hath wrought this mischief, and take it away by thy great justice,
Eson xelion xemaris, sale, age; and strike the carpet with your wand,
A notable charm or medicine to pull out an arrow, a dart, or any such
thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot otherwise be some out.
Say three severall times kneeling; Oremus, præcepit simulaturi munus,
Pater noster, Ave Maria. Then make a croffe saying: The Hebrew
knights strake our Lord Jesus Christ, and I beseech thee, O Lord Jesus Christ
by the same iron, speare, blood and water, to pull out this iron: In
nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti.

Charmes against a quotidian ague.

Cut an apple in three pieces, and write upon the one: The father
is uncreated: upon the other: The father is incomprehensible: upon
on the third; The father is eternall: Otherwise: Write upon a maffe-
cake cut in three pieces: O ague, to be worshipped: on the second: O
sickness to be ascribed to health and joyes: on the third: Pax maxim
fax, and let it be eaten fasting. Otherwise: Paint upon three like pieces
of a maffe-cake, Pater pax, Adonai filius vivi, sabbath spiri-
tus: Terragrammon: and eat it, as is aforesaid.
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For all manner of aegues intermittent.

You two little sticks together in the midst, being of one length, and cross them upon your neck in the form of a cross. Otherwise: For this purpose put within their doublet a ball of wood, with another piece of wood, and strike the same, speaking certain frivolous words.

Otherwise: Certain monks hanged scrolls about the necks of such as were sick, willing them to say certain prayers at each fit, and at the third fit to hope well, and made them believe that they should thereby receive cure. Perhaps, characters, &c. for aegues, and to cure all diseases, and to deliver from all evil.

The first Chapter of St. John's Gospel in small letters consecrated at a maffe, and hanged about one's neck, is an incomparable amulet or tablet, which delivereth from all witchcrafts and devilish practices. But me thinks, if one should hang a whole testament, or rather a bible, he might beguil the devil terribly. For indeed so would St. Barnard have done, whom the devil told, that he could shew him seven verses in the psalter, which being daily repeated, would of themselves bring any man to heaven, and preserve him from hell. But when St. Barnard desired the devil to tell him which they were, he refused, saying, he might then think him a fool to prejudice himself. Well (quoth St. Barnard) I will do well enough for that, for I will daily say over the whole psalter. The devil hearing him say so, told him which were the verses, left in reading over the whole psalter daily, he should merit too much for others. But if the hanging of St. John's Gospel about the neck be so beneficial, how if one should eat up the same?

More charms for aegues.

Take the party by the hand and say; \textit{Æque facile sibi haec febris,}
\textit{a que Marie virgini Christi partus.} Otherwise: Wash with the party, and privily say this Psalm: \textit{Exsultabo t i Deo meo, ut, et, &c.} Otherwise: Wear about your neck a piece of a nail taken from a crose, and wrapped in wool. Otherwise drink wine, wherein a sword hath been drowned that hath cut off one's head. Otherwise: take three consecrated mase cakes, and write upon the first, \textit{Qualis est pater talis est vitis;} on the second; \textit{Qualis est filius, talis est sanctus;} on the third; \textit{Qualis est spiritus, talis est rem. dium.} Then give them to the sick man, enjoining him to cover none other thing that day wherein he eateth any of them, nor yet drink; and let him lay fifteen Parer noysters, and as many Aves, in the honour and praise of the Trinity. Otherwise: Lead the sick man on a Friday before sun-rising towards the east, and let him hold up his hands towards the sun, and say: This is the day, wherein the Lord God came to the crose. But as the crose shall never more come to him; so let never the hot or cold fit of this aegue come any more unto this man, \textit{In nomine patris \& \textit{et}} filii, \textit{et} spiritus \textit{sancti.} Then say seven and twenty Parer noysters, and as many Aves, and use this three days together.

Otherwise: \textit{Fecana, caélis, daphnes, gebæres, gadaco,}
\textit{Gebale stant, sed non stant phebas, pecas, \& bedas.}

Every one of these words must be written upon a piece of bread, and be quoth nota. This is too mystical to be engliished.
be given in order one day after another to the sick body, and so must he be cured. This faith Nicholas Hemingius he chanced to read in the schools in jest; so as one noting the words, practised the medicine in earnest; and was not only cured himself, but also cured many others thereby. And therefore he concludes, that this is a kind of miraculous cure, wrought by the illusion of the devill: whereas in truth, it will fall out most commonly, that a tertian ague will not hold any man longer than so, though no medicine be given, or any words spoken. Otherwise: This word, Abra cadabra written on a paper, with a certain figure joined therewith, and hanged about one's neck helpeth the ague. Otherwise: Let the urine of the sick body made early in the morning be softly heated nine daies together continually, until all be consumed into vapour. Otherwise: A croffe made of two little twigs joined together, wherewith when the party is touched, he will be whole; specially if he wear it about his neck. Otherwise: Take a like quantity of water out of three ponds of equal bignesse, and taste thereof in a new earthen vessel, and drink of it when the fit commeth.

In the year of our Lord 1568, the Spaniards and Italians received from the pope, this incantation following; whereby they were promised both remission of sins, and good success in their wars in the Low Countries. Which whether it be not as prophane and impious, as any witches charm, I report me to the indifferent Reader. *Crucem pro nobis subit 9 dy fiass in ilia fitit 9 Jesus sacrat is manibus; clavis ferri, pedibus perfusis, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus: Domine libera nos ab hoc male, & ab hoc peste: then three Pater nosters, and three Ave Maries. Also the same year their ensigns were by the authority aforesaid conjured with certain ceremonies, and consecrated against their Enemies. And if you read the histories of these wars, you may see what victory they gained hereby. Item, they baptised their chief standard, and gave it to name St. Margaret, who overthrew the devill. And because you shall understand the mystery hereof, I have the rather set it down elsewhere, being indeed worth the reading.

For a bloody flux, or rather an issue of blood.

Take a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto three drops of the same blood, and between each drop say a Pater nostress, and an Ave, then drink to the patient, and say; who shall help you? The patient must answer St. Mary. Then say you, St. Mary stop the issue of blood. Otherwise: Write upon the patients forehead with the same blood; summatum eff. Otherwise: Say to the patient; Sanguis mane in te, sut fecit Christus in te; Sanguis mane in tua venas, fecit Christus in tua pana; Sanguis mane fixus, fecit Christus quando fuit crucifixus; ter. Otherwise, as followeth.

In the blood of Adam death was taken. In the blood of Christ it was all to haken. And by the same blood I do thee charge; That thou do run no longer at large. Otherwise: Christ was borne at Bethlem, and suffered at Jerusalem, where his blood was troubled. I command thee by the virtue of God, and through the
the help of all Saints, to stay even as Jordan did, when John baptized Christ Jesus; In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti. Otherwise put thy nameless finger in the wound, and make therewith three crosses upon the wound, and say five Pater nosters, five Ave, and one Credo, in the honour of the five wounds. Otherwise: Touch that part and say, De lateri ejus exivit sanguis & aqua. Otherwise; In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti. Chimura, charitas, firmitas, coniunctio, immodalitatem. Otherwise; Separa sepugae, sepagoga, sta sanguis in nomine patris podendi & filii podera & spiritus sancti pandorica, pax tecum, Amen.

Cures commenced and finished by witchcraft.

There was a jolly fellow that took upon him to be a notable Chirurgian, in the duchy of Mentz, 1557; to whom there resorted a Gentleman that had been vexed with fickness, named Elbert, having a kerchief on his head, according to the guise of fick folke. But the Chirurgian made him pull off his kerchief, and willed him to drink with him freely. The sick man said he durst not; for he was forbidden by yphysick to do. Tush (said this cunning man) they know not your diseasę; be ruled by me, and take in your drink lustily. For he thought that when he was well tipped, he might the more easily beguile him in his bargain, and make his reward the greater, which he was to receive in part beforehand. When they had well drunk, he called the sick man aside, and told him the greatness and danger of his disease, and how that it grew by means of witchcraft, and that it would he universally spread in his house, and among all his cattle, if it were not prevented: and impudently persuaded the sick man to receive cure of him. And after bargain made, he demanded of the sick man, whether he had not any at home, whom he might assuredly trust. The sick man answered, that he had a daughter and a servant. The confessor asked how old his daughter was? The patient said twenty. Well (said the confessor) that is fit for our turn. Then he made the mother and father kneel on their knees to their daughter, and to desire her in all things to obey the physician, and that she would do in every thing as he commanded her; otherwise her father could not be restored to his health. In which respect her parents humbly besought her on their knees to do. Then he afflicted her to bring him into his lodging her fathers haires, and her mothers, and of all those which he kept in his house, as well of men and woman, as also of his cattle. When she came therewith unto him, according to the march made, and her parents commandment, he lead her down into a low parlour, where having made a long speech, he opened a book that lay on the boord, and laid thereon two knives across, with much circumstance of words. Then conjureth he, and makest strange characters, and at length he maketh a circle on the ground, wherein he cauleth her to stick conjuration one of those conjured knives; and after many more strange words, he makest her stick the other knife beside it. Then fell down the maid in a swoon for fear; so as he was fain to frotte her and put a sop into her mouth, after the receipt whereof she was more troubled and amazed. Then he made her breasts to be uncovered, so as when they were bare, he dali
lied with them, diversely and long together. Then he made her lie right upward, all uncovered and bare below her papces. Wherein the maid being loath to obey him, resisteth, and in shame forbade that villany. Then said the knave; Your fathers destruction is at hand; for except you will be ruled, he and all his family shall sustaine greater griefe and inconveniency, then is yet happened unto him. And no remedy, except you will seek his utter overthrow, I must have carnall copulation with you, & therewithal fell into her, bosom, and overthrew her and her virginity. So did he the second day, and attempted the like on the third day. But he failed then of his purpose, as the wench confessed afterwards. In the meane time he ministrad some cruel medicines to the sick man, that through the torment thereof he feared present death, and was faine to keep his bed, whereas he walked about before very well and lustily. The patient in his torments calleth unto him for remedy, who being slack and negligent in that behalfe, made roome for the daughter to accompany her father, who asked her what she thought of the cure, and what hope she had of his recovery? Who with tears remained silent, as being oppressed with grief; till at the last in abundance of sorrow she uttered the whole matter to her father. This doth Johannes Wierus report, saying, that it came unto him by the lamentable relation of the father himselfe. And this is here at this time for none other purpose rehearsed, but that men may hereby learne to take heed of such confening merchants, and know what they be that take upon them to be so cunning in witchcraft; lest they be bewitched; as matter Elibert and his daughter were.

Another witchcraft or knavery, practised by the same Chirurgian.

This Chirurgian ministrad to a noble man, that lay sick of an ague, offering unto him three pieces of a roote to be eaten at three morfels, laying to the first; I would Christ had not been born; unto the second; I would he had not suffered; unto the third; I would he had not risen againe. And then putting them about the sick mans neck, said; Be of good cheer. And if he lost them, whatsoever tooke them up, should therewithall take away his ague. Otherwise; *Jesus Christ which was born, deliver thee from this infirmity*; *Jesus Christ which died*; *deliver thee from this infirmity*; *Jesus Christ which rose againe*; *deliver thee from this infirmity*. Then dayly must be said five Pater nosters and five Aves.

Another experiment for one bewitched.

Another such confening physician perswaded one which had a timpany that it was one old viper, and two young maintained in his belly by witchcraft. But being watch'd, so as he could not convey vipers into his ordure or excrements, after his purgations; at length he told the party, that he should suffer the paines of childbirth, if it were not prevented; and therefore he must put his hand into his breech, and take out those worms there. But the mother of the sick party having warning hereof said she could do that her selfe. So the confener was prevented, and the party died onely of a timpany, and the knave ran away out of the country.

Otherwise.

monsieur Bodin telleth of a witch, who undertaking to cure a woman bewitched, caused a male to be sung at midnight in our ladies chappel.
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pel. And when she had overlaid the sick party, and breathed certaine words upon her, she was healed. Wherein Bodin faith, the followed Kacozelia. the example of Eliah the prophet, who raised the Shunamite's son. And this story must needs be true; for goodman Hardvin Blesenius his host at the signe of the lion told him the story.

A knack to know whether you be bewitched, or no, &c.

It is also expedient to leaerne how to know whether a sick man be be-
witched or no; this is the practice thereof. You must hold molten lead
over the sick body, and pour it into a porrenger full of water; and then
if there appeare upon the lead, any image, you may then known the
party is bewitched.

CHAP. XIX.

That one witchcraft may lawfully meete with another.

Scornus, Hoffienis, Gofridus, and all the old canonists agree, that it is
lawful to take away witchcraft by witchcraft. Et vana vanis est mundus. Scornus in 4.
re. And Scornus faith, It were folly to forbear to encounter witchcraft
disiniel. 34.de imperio.
by witchcraft, for (faith he)there can be none inconveniency therein,
because the overthrower of witchcraft affiniteth not to the works of the
devil. And therefore he faith further, that it is meritorious so to extin-
guish and overthrow the devils works. As though he should say; It maketh
no matter, though S. Paul say; Non facies malum, ut inde veniat bonum,
Thou shalt not do evil, that good may come thereof. Lombarthus faith,
that witchcraft may be taken away by that means whereby it was brought.
But Gofridus inveieth fore against the oppugners thereof. Pope Nicho-
las the fift gave indulgence and leave to bishop Miraries (who was so
bewitched in his privities, that he could not use the gift of venery) to
seeke remedy at witches hands. And this was the clause of his dispensation,
Ut ex duobus malis fugiatur magis, that of two evils, the greater should be
avoided. And so a witch, by taking his doublet cured him, and killed
the other witch; as the story faith, which is to be seene in M. Mal. and
divers other writers.

CHAP. XX.

Who are priviledged from witches, what bodies are aptest to be be-
witched, or to be witches, why women are rather witches than
men, and what they are.

Now if you will know who and what persons are priviledged from Mal: Malef.
witches, you must understand, that they be even such as cannot be par. 2. que. 1.
bewitched. In the number of whom must be the inquisitors, and such as cap. 1.
exercise publique justice upon them. Howbeit, * a Justice in Essex, whom *Whereof
divers respects I have left unmarked, not long since thought he was look more in
bewitched, in the very instant whilst he examined the witch, so as his a little book-
leg was broken thereby, &c. which either was false, or else this rule un-
fit forth in true, or both rather injurious unto Gods providence. Secondly, such print.
as observe duly the rites & ceremonies of the holy church; & worship them
with reverence, through the sprinkling of holy water, and receiving con-
secrated salt, by the lawful use of candles hallowed on Candlemas day,
nd greene leaves consecrated on palme sundays (which things they say the
church
church yth for the qualifying of the devil's power, are preserved from witchcraft. Thirdly, some are preserved by their good angels, which attend and wait upon them.

But I may not omit here the reasons, which they bring to prove what bodies are the more apt & effectual to execute the art of fascination. And that is, first they say the force of celestial bodies, which indifferentely communicated their virtues unto men, beasts, trees, stones, &c. But this gift and natural influence of fascination may be increased in man, according to his affections and perturbations; as through anger, fear, love, hate &c. For by hate (faith Vairus) entreteth a fiery inflammation into the eye of man, which being violently sent out by beams and fireames, &c. infect and bewitch those bodies against with they are opposed. And therefore he faith (in the favour of women) that is the cause that women are oftener found to be witches than men. For (faith he) they have such an unbridled force of fury and concupiscence naturally, that by no means it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as upon every trifling occasion, they (like brute beasts) fix ther furious eyes upon the party whom they bewitch. Hereby it cometh to pass, that whereas women having a marvellous fickle nature, what griefe soever happeneth unto them, immediately all peaceable senteth of minde departeth; and they are so troubled with evil humours, that one go their venomous exhalations, ingendred thorough their ill-favoured diets; and increased by means of their pernicious excrements, which they expel. Women are also (faith he) monethly filled full of superfluous humours, and with them the melancholike blood boileth wherein being vapours, and are carried up, and conveyed through the nostrils and mouth, &c. to the bewitching, of whatsoever it meeteth. For they catch up a certaine breath, wherewith they bewitch whomsoever they lift. And of all other women, lean, hollow-eyed, old, beetle-browed women (faith he) are the most infectious. Mary he faith, that hot, subtle, and thinne bodies are most subject to be bewitched, if they be moist; and all they generally, whose veins, pipes, and passagges of their bodies are open. And finally he faith, that all beautiful things whatsoever are soon subject to be bewitched; as namely goodly young-men, faire women, such as are naturally borne to be rich, goodly beasts, faire horbes, ranke corn, beautiful trees, &c. Yea a friend of his told him, that he saw one with his eye break a precious stone in pices. And all this he tellth as soberly, as though it were true. And if it were true, honest women may be witches, in despight of all inquisitors: neither can any avoid being a witch, except she lock her selfe up in a chamber.

CHAP. XXI.

What miracles witchmongers report to have been done by witch words, &c. contradictions of witchmongers among themselves, how beasts are cured hereby, of bewitched butter, a charm against witches, and a counter-charm, the effect of charmes and words proved by L.Vairus to be wondersfull.

If I should go about to recite all charmes, I should take an infinite work in hand. For the witching writers hold opinion, that any thing abu
moft may be thereby brought to passe; and that whether the words of the charm be understandible or not; it skilfully not: so the charmer may have a steady intention to bring his desire about. And then what is it that cannot be done by words? For L. Vairus, faith, that old women have infecled and killed children with words; and have made women with child miscarry; they have made men pine away to death, they have killed horses, deprived the sheep of their milk, * transformed men into beasts, flown in the air, tamed and stayed wild beasts, driven all noisom castle and vermine from corn, vines and herbs, stayed serpents, &c. and all with words. Inasmuch as he faith, that with certain words spoken in Medea, a bull may be by a witch, the bull hath fallen down to the ground as dead. Yea some by virtue of words have gone upon a sharpe sword, and walked upon hot glowing coles, without hurt; with words (faith he) very heavy weights and burthens have been lifted up; and with words wild horses and wild bulls have been tamed, and also mad dogs; with words they have killed worms and other vermine, and staid all manner of bleedings and fluxes; with words all the disaeases in mans body are healed, and wounds cured; arrows are with wonderful strangeness and cunning plucked out of mens bones. Yea (faith he) there be many that can heal all bitings of dogs, or stingings of Serpents, or any other poison; and all with nothing but words spoken. And that which is most strange, he faith, that they can remedy any stranger, and him that is absent, with that very sword wherewith they are wounded. Yea and that which is beyond all admiration, if they stroke the sword upwards with their fingers, the party shall feel no pain; whereas if they draw their finger downwards thereupon, the party wounded shall feel intolerable pain. With a number of other cures, done altogether by the virtue and force of words uttered and spoken.

Where, by the way, I may not omit this special note given by M. Malto wit, that holy water may not be sprinkled upon bewitched beasts, but must be poured into their mouthes. And yet he, and also Nider say, that it is lawful to bless and sanctifie beasts, as well as men; both by charmes written, and also by holy words spoken. For (faith Nider) if your cow be bewitched, three crofles, three Pater nofters, and three Aves will certainly cure her; and likewise all other ceremonies ecclesiastical. And this is a sure Maxime, that they which are delivered from witchcraft by shrift, are ever after in the night much molested (I believe by their ghostly fathers.) Also they lose their money out of their purses and caskets; as M. Mal faith he knoweth by experience. Also one general rule is given by M. Mal. to all butter-wives, and dairy-maides, that they neither give nor lend any butter, milk, or cheese, to any witches, which always use to beg thereof, when they mean to work mischief to their kine or white-meats. Whereas indeed there are in milk three substances commixed; to wit, cheese, butter, and wheate; if the same be kept too long, or in an evil place, or be fluttishly used, so as it be stale and sour, which happeneth sometimes in the winter, but oftener in the summer, when it is set over the fire, the cheese and butter runneth together, and congealeth, so as it will rope like birdlime, that you may wind it about a stick, and

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* According to Ovids fay-
in short space it will be so dry, as you may beat it to powder. Which alteration being strange, is wondered at and imputed to witches. And herefore sometimes proceedeth the cause, why butter commeth not, which when the country people see that it commeth not, then get they out of the suspect ous witches house, a little butter, whereof must be made three balls, in the name of the holy Trinity; and so if they be put into the chern, the butter will presently come, and the witchcraft will cease; *Sic ars deluditur arte.* But if you put a little sugar or spice into the chern, among the cream, the butter will never come; which is plaine witchcraft, if it be closely, cleanly, and privily handled. There be twenty several warts to make your butter come, which for brevity I omit; as to bind your chern with a rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c. but your best remedie and surest way is, to look well to your dairymaid or wife, that she neither eat up the cream, nor fell away your butter.

A charm to find her that bewitched your kine.

A ridiculous charm. Put a pair of breeches upon the cowes head, and beat her out of the panniere with a good cudgel upon a fryday, and she will run right to the witches door, and strike thereat with her horns.

Another, for all that have bewitched any kind of cattle.

When any of your cattle are killed with witchcraft, hast you to the place where the carcasse lieth, and traile the bowels of the beast into your house, and draw them not in at the door, but under the threshold of the house into the kitchen; and there make a fire, and set over the same a grediron, and thereupon lay the inwards or bowels; and as they wax hot, so shall the witches entrails be molested with extreme heat and pain. But then must you make saft your doors, lest the witch come and fetch away a cole of your fire: for then ceasteth her torments. And we have known faith M.Mal. when the witch could not come in, that the whole house hath been so darkened, and the air round about the same so troubled, with such horrible noise and earthquakes; that except the door had been opened, we had thought the house would have fallen on our heads. Thomas Aquinas, a principal treater herein, alloweth conjurations against the changelings, and in diverse other cases: whereof will say more in the word Iidon.

A special charm to preserve all cattle from witchcraft.

In any case observe the festival time, or else you marre all.

At Easter you must take certain drops, that ly uppermost of the holy patchal candle, and make a little wax-candle thereof: and upon some sunday morning rash, light it, and hold it, so as it may drop upon and between the horns and ears of the beast, saying: *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti,* &c. burn the beast a little between the horns on the ears with the same wax, and that which is left thereof, stick it in crookedwise about the stable or stall, or upon the threshold, or over the door, where the cattle use to go in and out, and for all that year your cattle shall never be bewitched.
Habar. of Witchcraft. Chap.XXXII.

witched. Otherwise: Jacobus de Chufa Carthusianus sheweth how bread, water and salt is conjured, and faith, that if either man or beast receive holy bread and holy water nine daisies together, with three Paerl noysters, & three Aves in the honour of the Trinity, and of S. Hubert, it prevexth 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 wholesome, by all papists and wicthmoungers, and specially of the last and proudest writers. But to prove these things to be effectual, God knoweth their seasons are base and absurd. For they write so, as they take the matter in question as granted, and by that means go away therewith. For L. Vairus faith in the beginning of his booke, that there is no doubt of this supernatural matter, because a number of writers agree herein, and a number of stories conforme it, and many poets handle the same argument, and in the twelve tables there is a law against it, and because the content of the common people is fully with it, and because immoderate praise is to be approved a kind of witchcraft, and because old women have such charmes and superstitious means as preserve themselves from it, and because they are mocked that take away the credit of such miracles, and because Solomon faith; Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bana, and because the apostle faith; O infensi Galate, quis vos facinavit? And because it is written, Qui simente, videbunt me. And finally he faith, left you should seeme to disfract and detract any thing from the credit of so many grave men, from histories, and common opinion of all men, he meaneth in no wise to prove that there is miraculous working by witchcraft Psal. 119. and fascination; and proceedeth so, according to his promise.

CHAP. XXII.

Lawfull charmes, or rather medicinable cures for diseased cattel. The charme of charmes, and the power thereof.

But if you desire to learne true and lawfull charmes, to cure diseased cattel, even such as seeme to be extraordinary sicknesse, or to be bewitched, or (as they say) strangely taken; looke in B Goyce his third book, treating of cattel, and happily you shall finde some good medicine or cure for them; or if you lift to see more antient stuffe, reade Vegetius his four bookes thereupon: or, if you be unlearned, seek some cunning bullocke-leeche. If all this will not serve, then set Job's patience before your eyes. And never think that a poore old woman can alter supernaturall the notable course, which God hath appointed among his creatures. If it had been Gods pleasure to have permitted such a course, he would no doubt have both given notice in his word, that he had given such power unto them; and also would have taught remedies to have prevented them.

Furthermore, if you will know assured meanes, and infallible charmes, yielding indeed undoubtbred remedies, and preventing all manner of witchcrafts, and also the assaults of wicked spirits; then despise first all co-

DIRECT AND LAWFULL MEANS
OF CURING CATTLE.

A charm of charmes taken out of the sixt chapter of S. Paul to the Ephesians.

The charm of charmes.

Finally my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may stand against the assaults of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, and against worldly governors, the princes of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness, which are in the high places. For this cause take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and having finished all things, stand fast. Stand therefore, and your loines girded about with verity, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, &c. as followers in that chapter, verses 15, 16, 17, 18. 1 Thess. 5. verse 8. Eph. 6. and else where in the holy scripture.

Otherwise.

If you be unlearned, and want the comfort of friends, repair to some learned, godly, and discreet preacher. If otherwise need require, go to a learned physician, who by learning and experience knoweth and can discern the difference, signs, and causes of such diseases, as faithlese men and unskilful physicians impute to witchcraft.
CHAP. XXIII.

A confusion of the force and virtue falsely ascribed to charms and amulets, by the authorities of ancient writers, both Divines and Physitians.

My meaning is not, that these words, in the bare letter, can do any thing towards your ease or comfort in this behalf; or that it were wholesome for your body or soul to wear them about your neck: for then would I wish you to wear the whole Bible, which must needs be more effectual than any one parcel thereof. But I find not that the Apostles or any of them in the primitive Church, either carried S. John's Gospels, or any Agnus Dei about them, to the end they might be preserved from bugs; neither that they looked into the four corners of the house, or else in the roof, or under the threshold, to find matter of witchcraft, and so to burn it, to be freed from the same; according to the popish rules. Neither did they by such and such verses or prayers made unto Saints, at such or such hours, seek to obtain grace: neither spake they of any old women that used such trades. Neither did Christ Mal. maleps. par. at any time use or command holy water, or crosses, &c. to be used as 2. qua. cap. 6, terrours against the Divell, who was not afraid to assault himself, when he was on earth. And therefore a very vain thing it is to think that he feareth these trifles, or any externall matter. Let us then cast away these phane and old wives fables. For (as Origen faith) Inchantiones I Tim. 4. 7. sunt demonum visiones, idolatría, fox, animarum insatiation, &c. Incantationes are the Devils sport, the dregs of Idolatry, the besetting of souls, &c. in Job.

Chrysostome faith, there be some that carry about their necks a piece of a Gospels. But is it not daily read (faith he) and heard of all men? Matt. If they be never the better for it, being put into their ears, how Mark that shall they be saved, by carrying it about their necks? And further hee faith, Where is the virtue of the Gospels? In the figure of the letter, or in the understanding of the sense? If in the figure, thou dost well to wear it about thy neck; but if in the understanding, then thou shouldest lay it up in thine heart. Augustine faith, Let the faithfull Ministers August. 16. quae. admonish and tell their people, that these Magicks Arts and incantations ultimate doe bring no remedy to the infirmities either of men or canaille, &c.

The heathen Philosophers shall at the last day confound the infidelity and barbarous foolishness of our christian or rather antichristian or prophane Witchmongers. For as Aristotle faith, that Inchantamenta sunt muliercularum figmenta: Inchantments are women's figments. So doth Socrates (who was said to be cunning herein) affirm, that Inchantationes sunt verba animas decipientes humanas, Incantations are words deceiving humane soules. Others say, Insinitia pallium sunt exarmina, malificium, & incantatio, The cloak of Ignorance are charms, witchery, Galen in lib. and incantation. Galen also faith, that such as impute the falling e-de comitiali
The discovery of Charms confuted.

vill, and such-like diseases to divine matter, and not rather to natural causes, are Witches, Conjurers, &c. Hippocrates calleth them arrogant; and in another place affirming that in his time there were many deceivers and counsellers, that would undertake to cure the falling evil, &c. by the power and help of Devils, by burying some lots or inchantments in the ground, or casting them into the Sea, concluded thus in their credit, that they are all knaves and counsellers; for God is our only defender and deliverer. O notable sentence of a heathen Philosopher!

The thirteenth Book.

CHAP. I.

The signification of the Hebrew word Hartumim, where it is found written in the Scriptures, and how it is diversely translated: whereby the objection of Pharaohs Magicians is afterward answered in this Book; also of natural magic not evil in itself.

Hartumim is no natural Hebrew word, but is borrowed of some other nation; howbeit, it is used of the Hebrews in these places; to wit, Gen. 4. 1. 8. 24. Exod. 7. 13. 24. & 8. 7. 18. & 9. 11. Dan. 1. 20. & 2. 2. Hieronymus sometimes translactus it Conjeftores, sometimes Malefici, sometimes Ariols: which we for the most part translate by this word witches. But the right signification hereof may be conceived, in that the inchanters of Pharaoh, being Magicians of Egypt, were called Hartumim. And yet in Exodus they are named in some lateine translations Venefici. Rabbi Levi saith, it betokeneth such as doe strange and wonderful things, naturally, artificially, and deceitfully. Rabbi Isaac Nathan affirmeth, that such were fostered, as amongst the Gentiles professed singular wisdom. Aben Ezra expoundeth it, to signify such as know the secrets of nature, and the quality of stones and herbs, &c. which is attained unto by Art, and specially
specially by natural magic. But we either for want of speech, or knowledge, call them all by the name and term of witches.

Certainly, God induceth bodies with wonderfull graces, the perfect knowledge whereof man hath not reached unto: and on the one side, there is amongst them such mutuell love, society, and consent; and on the other side, such natural discord, and secret enmity, that therein many things are wrought to the astonishment of man's capacity. But when deceit and diabolical words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and conjuration, as whereunto those natural effects are falsely imputed. So as here I shall have some occasion to say somewhat of natural magic; because under it lyeth hidden the venom of this word intention.

Hartumim. This art is said by some to be the profoundnesse, and the touching the very absolute perfection of natural philosophy, and shewing forth the matter hereafter active part thereof, and through the aid of natural virtues, by the consent to be convenient applying of them, works are published, exceeding all capacity counsel'd upon, and admiration; and yet not so much by art as by nature. This art of itself is not evil; for it consisteth in searching forth the nature, causes and effects of things. As far as I can conceive, it hath beene more corrupted and prophaned by us Christians, then either by Jews or Gentiles.

CHAP. II.

How the Philosophers in times past travelled for the knowledge of natural magic, of Salomons knowledge therein, who is to be called a natural magician, a distinction thereof, and why it is condemned for Witchcraft.

Many Philosophers; as namely Plato, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, &c., travelled over all the world to find out and learn the knowledge of this art: and at their return they preached and taught, confessed and published it. Yea, it should appear by the Magicians that came to adore Christ, that the knowledge and reputation thereof was greater than we conceive or make account of. But of all other, Salomon was the greatest traveller in this Art, as may appear throughout the Book of Ecclesiastes; and specially in the Book of Wisdom, where he faith * God hath given me the true science of things, so as I know how the world was made, and the power of the Elements, the beginning and the end, and the midst of times, how the times alter, and the change of seasons, the course of the year, and the situation of the Stars, the nature of living things and the furtionnesse of beasts, the power of the wind, and the imaginations of men, the diversities of plants, & the virtues of roots, and all things both secret and known, &c. Finally, he was so cunning in this Art, that he is said to have been a Conjurer or Witch, and is so reproved in the Romish Church at this day. Whereby you may see, how foole and papists are inclined to credit false accusations in matters of witch-

Witchcraft and conjuration. The least knowledge we have in this art, the more we have it in contempt: in which respect Plato saith truly of Dicyncus; They make Philosophy a mockery, that deliver it to prophane and rude people. Certainly the witchcraft, conjuration, and enchantment that is imputed to Solomon, is gathered out of these his words following: 'I applied my mind to knowledge, and to search and seek out science, wisdom and understanding, to know the foolishness of the ungodly, and the error of doting fools. In this art of natural magick (without great heed be taken) a student shall soon be abused. For many (writing by report, without experience) mistake their authors, and set down one thing for another. Then the conclusions being found false, the experiment growth into contempt, and in the end seemeth ridiculous, though never so true. Pliny and Albert being curious writers herein, are often deceived; inasmuch as Pliny is called a noble liar; and Albert a sufficiently call liar; the one lying by hearsay, the other by authority.

A Magician described and the art distinguished.

A Magician is indeed that which the Latines call a wise man, as Naumaclius 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 thereof infamous, as being too much given unto wicked, vain, and impious curiosity, as unto moving, numbers, figures, sounds, voices, tunes, lights, affections of the mind, and words; and the other part commendable, as teaching many good and necessary things, as times and seasons to sow, plant, till, cut, &c. and divers other things, which I will make manifest unto you hereafter; yet we generally condemn the whole art without distinction, as a part of witchcraft; having learned to hate it, before we know it, affirming all to be witchcraft, which our grosse heads are not able to conceive, and yet can think that an old doting woman seeth through it, &c. Wherein we consider not how God bestoweth his gifts, and hath established an order in his works, grafting in them sundrie virtues to the comfort of his several creatures; and specially to the use and behoof of man: neither doe we therein weigh that art is serviente unto nature, and waiteth upon her as her handmaiden.

CHAP. III.

What secrets doe lie hidden, and what is taught in natural Magick, how Gods glory is magnified therein, and that it is nothing but the work of nature.

In this art of natural Magick, God Almighty hath hidden many secret mysteries; as wherein a man may learn the properties, qualities, and knowledge of all nature. For it teacheth to accomplish matters in such sort and opportunity, as the common people thinketh the fame to be miraculous; and to be compassed none other way, but only by witchcraft.

And yet in truth, natural Magick is nothing else, but the work of nature.
rue, for in tillage, as nature produceth corn and herbs; so art, being natures minister, prepareth it. Wherewith times and seasons are greatly to be respected: for quos non arvus product arvus.

But as many necessary and sober things are herein taught, so doth it partly (I say) consist in such experiments and conclusions as are but totes, but nevertheless lie hid in nature, and being unknown, doe seem miraculous, specially when they are intermeddled and corrupted with cunning illusion, or legierdemain, from whence is derived the estimation of witchcraft. But being learned and known, they are commended, and appear ridiculous; for that only is wonderful to the beholder, whereof he can conceivs no cause nor reason, according to the saying of Ephesius, Miraculum solvitur unde videtur esse miraculum. And therefore a man shall take great pains herein, and be few great cost to learn that which is of no value and a mean jugling knack. Whereupon it is said that a man may not learn Philosophy to be rich; but must get riches to learn philosophy: for to sluggards, niggards, and dizzards, the secrets of nature are never opened. And doublet a man may gather out of this art, that which being published, shall set forth the glory of God, and be many ways beneficial to the Common-wealth: the first is done by the manifestation of his works; the second, by skillfully applying them to our use and service.

CHAP. IV.

What strange things are brought to passe by natuarall magick.

The daily use and practice of medicine taketh away all admiration of the wonderfull effects of the same. Many other things of lese weight, being more secret and rare, seem more miraculous. As for example (if it be true that I, Pap.Neap, and many other writers doe constantly affirm) Yse a wild Bull to a fig-tree, and he will be presently tame; or hang an old cock thereupon, and he will immediately be tender; and also the feathers of an Eagle confound all other feathers, if they be intermeddled together. Wherein it may not be denied, but nature sheweth herself a proper workwoman. But it seemeth impossible, that a little fish being but half a foot long, called Remora or Remiligo, or of some Echenes, stayeth a mighty ship with all her load and tackling, and being also underfain, And yet it is affirmed by so many and so grave Authors, that I dare not deny it; specially, because I see as strange effects of nature otherwise: as the property of the loadstone, which is so beneficial to the mariner; and of Rheubarb, which only mediceth with choler, and purgeth neither flegmner melancholy, and is as beneficial to the Physitian, as the other to the Mariner.
The incredible operation of Waters, both standing and running; of wells, lakes, rivers, and of their wonderfull effects.

The operation of waters, and their sundry vertues are also incredible; I mean not of waters compounded and distilled: for it were endless to treat of their forces, specially concerning medicines. But we have here even in England natural springs, wells, and waters, both standing and running, of excellent vertues, even such as except we had seen, and had experiment of, we would not beleive to be in rerum natura. And to let the physicall nature of them passe, (for the which we cannot be so thankfull to God, as they are wholesome for our bodies) is it not miraculous, that wood is by the quality of divers waters here in England transubstantiated into a stone? The which vertue is also found to be in a lake besides the City of Maissa in Cappadocia, there is a river called Scarmandrus, that maketh yellow sheep. Yea, there be many waters, as in Pontus and Theidia, and in the land of Assyries, in a river of Thracia (as Aristotle faith) that if a white sheep being with lamb drink thereof, the lamb will be black. Strabo writeth of the river called Crantes, in the borders of Italy, running towards Tarentum, where mens hair is made white and yellow being washed therein. Pliny doth write that of what colour the veins are under the rams tongue, of the same colour or colours will the lambs be. There is a lake in a field called Cornetus, in the bottom whereof manifestly appeareth to the eye, the carkases of Snakes, Ewts, and other Serpents; whereas if you put in your hand, to pull them out, you shall find nothing there. There droppeth water out of a Rock in Arcadia, the which neither a silvern nor a brazzen boll can contain, but it leapeth out, and sprinketh away, and yet will it remain without motion in the hoof of a mule. Such conclusions (I warrant you) were not unknown to James and Jambres.

The vertues and qualities of sundry precious stones, of cousening Lapidaries, &c.

The excellent vertues and qualities in stones found, conceived and tried by this art, is wonderfull. Howbeit many things most false and fabulous are added unto their true effects; wherewith I thought good in part to try the Readers patience and cunning withall. An Aggar (they lay) hath vertue against the biting of Scorpions or Serpents. It is written (but I will not stand to it) that it maketh a man eloquent, and procureth the favour of Princes; yea that the fume thereof doth turn away tempests. Alectorius is a stone about the bignesse of a bean, as clear as
the crystall, taken out of a Cocks belly which hath been gelt or made a Ludovicus Capon four years. If it be held in ones mouth it assuygeth thirst, it maketh the husband to love the wife, and the bearer invincible: for hereby Milo was said to overcome his enemies. A Crawpock delivereth from prifon. Chelidonius is a stone taken out of a Swallow, which cureth melancholy: howbeit, some Authours say it is the hearb whereby the swallow recovereth the sight of their young, even if their eyes be picked out with an instrument. Geranites is taken out of a Crane, and Draconites out of a Dragon. But it is to be noted, that such stones must be taken out of the bellies of the serpents, beasts, or birds (wherein they are) whiles they live: otherwise, they vanish away with the life, and so they retain the virtues of those stars under which they are. Amethyus maketh a drunken man sober; and refresheth the wit. The coral preferbeth such as bear it from fascination or bewitching, and in this respect they are hanged about children's necks. But from whence that superstition is derived, and who invented the lie, I know not: but I see how readily the people are to give credit thereunto, by the multitude of corals that were employed. I find in good Authours, that while it remaineth in the sea, it is an hearb; and when it is brought thence, into the air, it hardeneth, and becometh a stone.

Heliotropius standeth blood, driveth away poisons, preferbeth health; yea, and some write, that it provoketh rain, and darketh the Sun, suffering not him that beareth it to be abused. Hyacinthus doth all that the other doth; and also preferbeth from lightning. Oisthera hanged about the neck, collar, or yoke of any creature, tameth it presently. A Topase healeth the lunatike person, of his passion of lunacie. Aitrites, if it be shaken, foundeth as if there were a little stone in the belly thereof: it is good for the falling Sickness, and to prevent untimely birth. Amethystus aforesaid refitteth drunkenness, so as the bearers shall be able to drink freely, and recover themselves soon being drunk as Apes: the same maketh a man wise. Chalcedonius maketh the bearer lucky in Law, quickeneth the power of the body, and is of force also against the illusions of the divell, and phantastical cogitations arising of melancholy. Cornealus mitigateth the heat of the minde, and qualifieth malice, it standeth bound, especially of women that are troubled with their flowers. He-Plin.lib.37: liopropius aforesaid darketh the Sun, raiseth flowers, standeth blood, procureth good fame, keepeth the bearer in health, and suffereth him not to be deceived. If this were true, one of them would be dearer than a thousand Diamonds.

Hyacinthus delivereth one from the danger of lightning, driveth away poison and pestilent infection, and hath many other vertues. Iris helpeth a woman to speedy deliverance, and maketh rainbows to appear. A Saphire, preferbeth the members, and maketh them lively, and helpeth Agues and Gows, and suffereth not the bearer to be afraid: it hath vertue against venom, and stayeth bleeding at the nose being often put thereto. A *Rabbi Mo- *Smarag is good for the eye-sight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, ses aphorism, it maketh one rich and eloquent. A Topase increaseth riches, healeth partic.22. the lunatique passion, and standeth blood. Mephist (as Aaron and Hermes Ido) cap.14.
The discovery

report out of *Albertus Magnus*) being broken into powder, and drunk with water, maketh insensibility of torture. Hereby you may understand, that as God hath bestowed upon these stones, and such other like bodies, most excellent and wonderfull vertues: so according to the abundance of humane superstitions and follies, many acribe unto them either more vertues, or other than they have; other boast that they are able to add new qualities unto them. And herein consisteth a part of witchcraft and common coulenage used sometimes of the Lapidaries for gains; sometimes of others for couzening purposes. Some part of the vanity hereof I will here describe, because the place serveth well therefore. And it is not to be forgotten or omitted, that Pharos Magicians were like enough to be cunning therein.

Nevertheless, I will first give you the opinion of one, who professed himself a very skilfull and well experimented Lapidary, as appeareth by a book of his own penning, published under this title of *Daedalotheca*, and (as I think) to be had among the Booksellers. And thus followeth his adoration:

*Marbeleus* in *Saul
dactylotheca*, pag. 5.

-Euax rex Arabum servit scriptus de Neroni,-
(Quod post Augustum regnavit in orbis secundus)
-Quoniam lapidum, quae nomina, quae coloris,
Quaestor regio, vel quanta potentia est quae,
Oculata etiam lapidum cognoscere vives,
Quorum causa latens est efficitus dat manifestus,
Egregium quidam volumus rarumque videre,
Stillicet hic solus medicorum cura juvenat,
Auxilio lapidum morbos expellere docta.

- Nec minus inde cunctarum commoda rerum
- Authorum perhibent, quibus haec perpecta feruntur.
- Nec dubium est quam debet saltusque videre,
- Quia sunt gemmis divinitus insita virtus.

Englishe by
*Abraham Fleming.*

-Euax an old Arabian king
is named to have writ
A treatise, and on Nero's Grace
to have bestowed it,
(Who in the World did second reign
after Augustus time)
Of precious stones the fundry sorts,
their names, and in what clime
And country they were to be found,
their colours and their hue,
Their privy power and secret force;
the which with knowledge true
To understand their hidden cause,
most plain effects declare:
And this will we a noble thing
have counted be and rare.
The skillfull care of leeches learn'd
is aided in this case,
And hereby holp'en, and are taught
with aid of stones to chase
Away from men such sicknesse,
as have in them a place.
No lesse precise commodities
of all things else thereby
Are ministred and given to men,
if authors do not lie,
To whom these things are said to be
most manifestly known.
It shall no false or doubtfull case
appear to any one,
But that by heavenly influence
each precious pearl and stone
Haist in his substance fixed force
and vertue largely sowne.

Whereby it is to be concluded, that stones have in them certain proper vertues, which are given them of a speciall influence of the planets, and a due proportion of the elements, their substance being a very fine and pure compound, consisting of well tempered matter wherein is no grosse mixture: as appeareth by plain proof of India and Aethiopia, where the sun being orient and meridionall, doth more effectually shew his operation, procuring more precious stones there to be engendred, than in the countries that are occident and septentrionall. Unto this opinion doe divers ancients accord; namely, Alexander Peripateticus, Hermes, Zoroaster, Isaiah Judaeus, Zacharias, Babylonicus, and many named of no more beside.

CHAP. VII.

Whence the precious stones receive their operations, how curious Magicians use them, and of their scales.

Curious Magicians affirm, that these stones receive their vertues altogether of the planets and heavenly bodies, and have not only the very operation of the planets, but sometimes the very images & impressions of the stars naturally ingrafted in them, and otherwise ought alwaies to have graven upon them, the similitudes of such monsters, beasts, and other devices, as they imagine to be both internally in operation, and externally in view, expressed in the planets; As for example, upon the Achates are graven serpents or venemous beasts; and sometimes a man riding on a serpent: which they know to be Aesculapius, which is the celestiall serpent, whereby are cured (they say) poisons and stingings of serpents and scorpions. These grow in the river of Achates, where the greatest
greatest scorpions are engendered, and their noisomeness is thereby qualified, and by the force of the scorpions, the stones vertue is quickened and increased. Also, if they would induce love for the accomplishment of venery, they inscribe and express in the stones, amiable embracements and lovely countenances and gestures, words and whisperings in apt figures. For the desires of the mind are consonant with the nature of the stones, which must also be set in rings, and upon foiles of such metals as have affinity with these stones, through 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. Marry there is no small regard to be had for the certain and due times to be observed in the graving of them: for so are they made with more life, and the influences and configurations of the planets are made thereby the more to abound in them. As if you will procure love, you must work in April, proper, and friendly aspects, as in the hour of Venus, &c., to make debate, the direct contrary order is to be taken. If you determine to make the image of Venus, you must expect to be under Aquarius or Capricornus: for Saturne, Taurus, and Libra must be taken heed of. Many other observations there be, as to avoid the unhappier seat and place of the planets, when you would bring a happy thing to passe, and specially that it be not done in the end, delineation of heel (as they term it) of the course thereof for then the planet mourns and is dull.

Such signs as ascend in the day, must be taken in the day; if in the night they increase, then must you go to work by night, &c. For in Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius is a certain tripliety, wherein the Sun hath dominion by day, Jupiter by night, and in the twilight the cold star of Saturne. But because there shall be no excuse wanting for the faults espied herein, they say that the vertues of all stones decay through tract of time so as such things are not now to be looked for in all respects as are written. Howbeit James and Jambres were living in that time, and in no inconvenient place; and therefore not unlike to have that help towards the abusing of Pharaoh, Cardane saith, that although men attribute no small force unto such seales, as to the seal of the Sun, authorities, honours, and favours of princes; of Jupiter, riches and friends; of Venus, pleasures; of Mars, boldness; of Mercury, diligence; of Saturne, patience and enduing at labour; of Luna, favour of people: I am not ignorant (as he) that stones do good, and yet I know the seales or figures do none at all. And when Cardane had shewed fully that art, and the folly of thereof, and the manner of those terrible, prodigious, and deceitfull figures of the planets with their characters, &c., he saith that those were deceitfull inventions devised by counterfeiters, and had no virtue indeed nor truth in them. But because we speak somewhat even now of signs and seales, I will shew you what I read reported by Vincentius in suo spectculo, where making mention of the Jasper stone, whose nature and property Marbodius Gallus describeth in the verses following.
Seven kindes and ten of Jasper stones
reported are to be,
Of many colours this is known
which noted is by me,
And said in many places
of the world for to be seen,
Where it is bred; but yet the best
is through shining green,
And that which proved is to have
in it more vertue plaste;
For being borne about of such
as are of living chaste,
It drives away their ague fits,
the dropsie thirsting dry,
And put upon a woman weak
in travell which doth lie,
It helps, afflicts, and comforts her
in pangs when the doth criete.
Again, it is beleev'd to be
a safegard, frank and free,
To such as wear and bear the same;
and if it hallowed bee,
It makes the partes gratious,
and mighty too that have it,
And not some fantasie (as they write
that meant not to deprave it)
It doth displace out of the mind:
The force thereof is stronger,
In silver if the same be set,
and will endure the longer.

Memorandum
the authors
meaning is,
that this stone
be set in silver,
and worne on
the finger for
a ring; as you
shall see after
wards.

Englished by
Abraham
Edmeing.

hand, and under his feet a serpent; which stones so marked and signed, he preferreth before all the rest, because they are antidotes or remedies notably restoring poison. Otherfome also are found figured and marked with the form of a man bearing on his neck a bundle of herbs and flowers, with the estimation and value of them noted, that they have in them a faculty or power revivisper, and will in an instant or moment of time stand bloud. Such a kind of stone (as it is reported) Galen wore on his finger. Otherfome are marked with a crofse, as the same author writeth, and these be right excellent against inundations or overflows of waters. I could hold you long occupied in declarations like unto these, wherein I lay before you what other men have published and set forth to the world, choosing rather to be an academical discoursior, than an universal determiner: but I am defirous of brevity.

CHAP. VIII.

The sympathy and antipathy of natural and elementary bodies declared by divers examples of beasts, birds, plants, &c.

Agreement and disagreement in suffrages.

If I should write of the strange effects of Sympathy and Antipathy, I should take great pains to make you wonder, and yet you would scarce believe me. And if I should publish such conclusions as are common and known, you would not regard them. And yet Empedocles thought all things were wrought hereby. It is almost incredible, that the grunting or rather the wheezing of a little pig, or the sight of a simple sheep should terrifie a mighty Elephant: and yet by that means the Romans did put to flight Pyrhus and all his host. A man would hardly believe that a cocke combe or his crowing should abash a puissant lion: but the experience hereof hath satisfied the whole world. Who would think that a serpent should abandon the shadow of an asp, &c? But it seemeth not strange, because it is common, that some men otherwise hardy and stout enough, should not dare to abide or endure the sight of a cat. Or that a draught of drink should so overthrow a man, that never a part or member of his body should be able to performe his duty and office; and should also to corrupt and alter his senses, understanding, memory, and judgement, that he should in every thing, saving in shape, become a very beast. And herein the poets experiment of liquor is verified, in these words following.

Enlised by
Abraham Fleming.

Verum animas etiam valesant mutare liquore:

Some waters have so powerfull been,
As could not only bodies change,
But even the very minds of men:
Their operation is so strange.
The friendly society betwixt a fox and a serpent is almost incredible: Read a little how loving the lizard is to a man, we may read though we cannot see, tracts of Eras. Yet some affirm that our newr is not only like to the lizard in shape, but mus intimated also in condition. From the which affection towards a man, a toad, &c. De amicitia, doth not much differ, whereof I could cite incredibe stories. The amity betwixt a castrall and a pigeon is much noted among writers; and is said touching specially how the castrall defendeth her from her enemy, the sparrow, this point, whereof they say the dove is not ignorant. Besides, the wonderful operation and virtue of hearbs, which to repeat were infinite; and therefore I will only refer you to Mattholus his herball, or to Dodonaeus. There is among them such naturall accord and discord, as some proper much the better for the others company, and some wither away being planted near unto the other. The lillie and the rose rejoice in each others neighbour-hood. The flag and the fernbush abhorr each other so much, that the one can hardly live besides the other. The cow-cumber loveth water, and hatest oil to the death. And because you shall not say that hearbs have no virtue, for that in this place I cite none; I am content to discover two or three small qualities and virtues, which are affirmed to be in hearbs; marry as simple as they be, Jannes and Jambres might have done much with them, if they had had them. If you prick out a young swallowes eie, the old swallow restoreth again their sight, with the application (they say) of a little Celandine. Xambus the author of histories reporteth, that a young dragon being dead, was revived by her dam, with an hearb called Ballin. And Juba faith, that a man in Arabia being dead was revived by the virtue of another hearb.

CHAP. IX.

The former matter proved by many examples of the living and the dead.

And we see in stones, hearbs, &c. Strange operation and naturall love and diffension; so do we read, that in the body of a man, there be as This common strange properties and virtues naturall. I have heard by credible report, experience can and have read many grave authors, constantly affirm, that the wound of justice, a man murdered reneweth bleeding, at the presence of a dear friend, or of a mortal enemy. Diverse also write, that if one passe by a murthered body (though unknowne) he shall be striken with fear, and feel in him selfe some alteration by nature. Also that a woman, above the age of fifty years, being bound hand and foot, her clothes being upon her, and laid down softly into the water sinketh not in a long time; some say not at all. By which experiment they were wont to try 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 faith that Pyrhus his great toe had in it such naturall or rather divine vertue, that no fire could burne it.

And Albertus faith, and many other also repeat the same storie, saying...
that there were two such children borne in Germany, as if that one of them had been caried by any house, all the doors right against one of his sides would fiche open: and that virtue which the one had in the left side, the other brother had in the right sides. He saith further, that many law it, and that it could be referred to nothing but to the propriety of their bodies. Pomponatus writeth that the kings of France do cure the disease called now the Kings evil, or Queen's evil; which hath been always thought, and to this day is supposed to be a miraculous and a peculiar gift, and a special grace given to the kings and queens of England. Which some referre to the propriety of their persons, some to the peculiar gift of God, and some to the efficacy of words. But if the French king use it no worse then our Prince doth, God will not be offended therewith, for her Majesty only useth godly and divine prayer, with some almes, and referre the cure to God and to the Physician. Plutarch writeth that there be certain men called Philis, which with their mouths heal the bittings of serpents. And J. Bap. Nep. saith, that an olive being planted by the hand of a virginus, prospereth; if a harlot do, it withereth away. Also if a serpent or viper lie in a hole it may easily be pulled out with the left hand, whereas with the right hand it cannot be removed. Although this experiment, and such like are like enough to be false; ye: are they not altogether so impious as the miracles said to be done by characters, charms, &c. For many strange properties remain, in sundry parts of a living creature, which is not universally dispersed, and indifferently spread through the whole body: as the eye smelleth not, the nose feeth not, the ear tasteth not, &c.

CHAP. X.

The bewitching venom contained in the body of an Harlot, how her eye, her tongue, her beauty and behaviour bewitcheth some men: of bones and borne yielding great virtue.

The venom or poyson of an Harlot.

The virtue contained within the body of an harlot, or rather the venom proceeding out of the same, may be beheld with great admiration. For her eye infecteth, enticing, and (if I may so say) bewitcheth them many times, which think themselves well armes against such manner of people. Her tongue, her gesture, her behaviour, her beauty, and other allurements poison and intoxicate the minde: yea, her company induceth impudence, corrupeth, virginity, confoundeth and consumeth the bodies, goods, and the very souls of men. And finally her body destroyeth and roteth the very flesh and bones of mans body. And this is common that we wonder not at all thereof, nay we have not the course of the sunne, the moons, or the staires in so great admiration, as the globe, counterfeiting their order: which is in respect but a bable made by an artificer. So as (I think) if Christ himselfe had continued long in the execution of miracles, and had left that power permanent and common in the Church, they would have grown into contempt, and not have been esteemed, according
to his owne saying: A prophetic is not regarded in his owne country: I might Matth. 13.
recite infinite properties, wherewith God hath induced the body of man, wo:—Mark 6.
thy of admiration, and fit for this place. As touching other living crea:—Luke 4.
tures, God hath likewise (for his glory, and our behoofe) bestowed most John 4.
 excelente and miraculous gifts and vertues upon their bodies and members, and that in several and wonderfull wise. We see that a bone taken Wonderfull out of a carps head, stancheth blood, and so doth none other part besides natural effects of that fish. The bone also in a hare's foot mitigateth the cramp, as none in bones of other bone nor part else of the hare doth. How precious is the bone fishes, beastis, growing out of the forehead of a Unicorn; if the horn, which we see grow there, which is doubted; and of how small account are the residue of all his bones? At the excellencie whereof, as also at the noble and innumerable vertues of herbs we must not at all; because it hath pleased God to make them common unto us. Which perchance might in some part assist Jasus and Jambre, towards the hardning of Pharaohs heart. But of such secret and strange operations read Albert, De mineral, cap. I. 11. 17. Also Marsilius Ficinus, cap. I. lib. 4. Cardan, de rerum varietae. J. Bap. Neap. de magia naturali. Peucer, Vir, Pompanatius, Fernelius, and others.

CHAP. XI.

Two notorious wonders and yet not marvelled at.

I thought good here to insert two most miraculous matters; of the one I am Thesius oculus, an eye-witness of the other I am so credibly and certainly informed, that I dare and do believe it to be very true. When Master T. Randolph returned out of Russia, after his ambassage dispatched, a gentleman of his train brought home a monument of great accomplis, in nature and in property very wonderfull. And because I am loath to be long in the description of circumstances, I will first describe the thing itself: which was a piece of earth of a good quantity, and most excellently proportioned in nature, having these qualities and vertues following. If one had taken a piece of perfect steel, forged and sharpened at the end, and heated it red hot, offering therto, therewith to have touched it; it would have fled with great celerity: and on the other side, it would have pursued gold, either in coin or bullion, with as great violence and speed as it shunned the other. No bird in the air durst approach near it; no beast of the field but feared it, and naturally fled from the sight thereof. It would be hear to day, and to morrow twenty miles off, and the next day after in the very place it was the first day, and that without the help of any other creature.

Johannes Fernelius writeth of a strange stone lately brought out of In-Strange pro-
dia; which hath in it such a marvellous brightnesse, puritie and shining, perties in a that therewith the air round about is so lightened and cleared, that one may stone the like see to read thereby in the darkness of night. It will not be contained in qualities in a close room, but requireth an open and free place. It would not willingly other stones.
13. Book The discovery Wonders not wondered at.

lie rest or stay here below on the earth, but always laboureth to ascend up into the air. If one press it down with his hand, it resists, and strikes very sharply. It is beautifull to behold, without either spot or blemish, and yet very unpleasent to taste or feel. If any part thereof be taken away it is never a whit diminished, the form thereof is unconstant, and at every moment mutable. These two things left rehearsed are strange, and for long wondered at, as the mystery and moralitie thereof remaineth undiscovered: but when I have disclosed the matter, and told you that by the lump of earth a man is meant, and some of his qualities described; and that which was contained in the farre fetched stone, was fire, or rather flame: the doubt is resolved, and the miracle ended. And yet (I confess) there is in these two creatures contained more miraculous matter, than in all the leadstones and diamonds in the world. And hereby is to be noted, that even a part of this Art, which is called natural or witching magick, consists as well in the deceit of words, as in the sleight of hand; wherein plain lying is avoided with a figurative speech, in which either the words themselves, or their interpretation have a double or doubfull meaning, according to that which hath been said before in the title *Ob or Pytho: and shall be more at large hereafter in this treatise manifested.

CHAP. XII.

Of illusions, confederacies, and liege demain, and how they may be well or ill used.

Many writers have been abused, as well by untrue reports, as by illusion, and practices of confederacy and liege demain, &c. sometimes imputing unto words that which resteth in the nature of the thing; and sometimes to the nature of the thing, that which procedeth of fraud and deception of sight. But when these experiments grow to superstition or impiety, they are either to be forsaken as vain, or denied as false. Howbeit, if these things be done for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of God's name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether unlawful, though herein or herewith by a natural thing to be made to seem supernaturall. Such are the miracles wrought by jugglers, consisting in fine and nimble conveyance, called liege demain, as when they seem to cast away, or to deliver to another that which they retain still in their owne hands; or convey otherwise; or seem to eat a knife, or some such other thing, when indeed they bestow the same secretly into their bosomes or laps. Another point of juggling is, when they thrust a knife through the brains and head of a chicken, or pullet, and seem to cure the same with words, which would live and do well, though never a word were spoken. Some of these toies also consist in arithmetical de-vices, partly in experiments of naturall magick, and partly in private, as also in publick confederacie.

CHAP.
Of private confederacy, and of Brandon's Pigeon.

Private confederacy I mean, when one (by a speciall plot laid by himself, without any compact made with others) persuadeth the beholders, that he will suddenly and in their presence doe some miraculous fear, which he hath already accomplisht privily. As for example, he will shew you a card, or any other like thing: and will say further unto you; Behold and see what a mark it hath, and then burneth it; and nevertheless fetcheth another like card so marked out of some bodies pocket, or out of some corner where he himself before had placed it; to the wonder and astonishment of simple beholders, which conceive not that kind of illusion, but expect miracles and strange works.

What wondering and admiration was there at Brandon the juggler, who painted on the wall the picture of a dove, and seeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the King; Lo now your grace shall see what a juggler can do; if he be his crafts master; and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectual words as the pigeon fell down from the top of the house stark dead. I need not write any further circumstance of how the matter was taken, what wondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to use that feat any further, lest he should employ it in any other kind of murder, as though he, whose picture he'ever he had pricked, must needs have died, and so the life of all men in the hands of a juggler as is now supposed to be in the hands & wills of witches. This story is, until the day of the writing hereof, in fresh remembrance, and of the most part believed as canonically, as are all the fables of witches; but when you are taught the fear of sleight (the secrecy and sorcery of the matter being bewrayed, and discovered) you will think it a mockery, and simple illusion. To interpret unto you the revelation of this mysterie; This might be done by a constanding at receipt thereof it could not live above the space of half an hour, and being some window left open after the medicine ministered, she alwaies referred to the top of the next house: which she will the rather do, if there be any pigeons already Steele, or other fitting there, and (as it is already said) after a short space stalleth downe, either place, & holther stark dead, or greatly astonied. But in the mean time the juggler ding the pigeon used words of art, partly to protract the time, and partly to gain credit by the leg in a and admiration of the beholders. If this or the like fear should be string after a done by an old woman, every body would cry out for fire and faggot to burn the witch. This I have proved upon crows and pies.
CHAP. XIV.

Of publick confederacie, and whereof it consisteth.

Publick confederacy is, when there is beforehand a compact made between diverse persons; the one to be principall, the rest to be assistants in working of miracles, or rather in convincing and abusing the beholders. As when I tell you in the presence of a multitude what you have thought or done, or shall do or think, when you and I were thereupon agreed before. And if this be cunningly and closely handled, it will induce great admiration to the beholders; specially when they are before amazed and abused by some experiments of natural magick, arithmetical conclusions, or legiterdemain. Such were, for the most part, the conclusions and devices of Feats: wherein doubt you not, but Jannes and Jambres were expert, active, and ready.

CHAP. XV.

How men have been abused with words of equivocation, with sundry examples thereof.

Some have taught, and others have written certain experiments; in the expressing whereof they have used such words of equivocation, as whereby many have been overtaken and abused through rash credulity: so as sometimes (I say) they have reported, taught, and written that which their capacity took hold upon, contrary to the truth and sincere meaning of the author. It is a common jest among the watermen of the Thames, to shew the parish Church of Stone to the passengers, calling the same by church in Kent, the name of the lantern of Kent, affirming, and that not untruly, that as light at midnight, as at noonday. Whereupon some credulous person is made believe; and will not stick to affirm and swear, that in the same church is such continuall light, that any man might see to read there at all times of the night without a candle.

An excellent philosopher, whom (for reverence unto his fame and learning) I will forbear to name, was overtaken by his hostesse at Dover, who merrily told him, that if he could retaine and keep in his mouth certain pebbles (lying at the shore side) he should not perbreak untill he came to Caithness, how rough and tempestuous so ever 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 hostесс had discovered unto him an excellent secret, nothing doubting of her amphibological speech; and therefore thought it a worthy note to be recorded among miraculous and medicinable stones; and inserted it accordingly into his book, among other experiments collected with great industry, learning, travell, and judgement. All these tools help a subtle conscience.
to gain credit with the multitude. Yea, to further estimation, many will whisper prophecies of their own invention into the ears of such as are not of quickest capacity; as to tell what weather, &c., shall follow. Which if it fall out true, then boast they and triumph, as though they had gotten some notable conquest; if not, they deny the matter, forget it, excuse it, or shift it off; as that they told another the contrary in earnest, and spake that but in jest. All these helps might Pharaoh's jugglers have to maintain their counsenages and illusions, towards the hardening of Pharaoh's hearts.

Hereunto belong all manner of charms, peripats, amulets, charms, and such other superstitions both popish and prophane: whereby (if that were true, which either papists, conjurers, or witches undertake to do) we might daily see the very miracles wrought indeed, which Pharaoh's magicians seemed to perform. Howbeit, because by all those devices or counsenages, there cannot be made so much as a nit, so as James and James could have no help that way, I will speak thereof in place more convenient.

CHAP. XVI.

How some are abused with natural magick, and sundry examples thereof when illusion is added thereunto, of Jacob's pied sheep, and of a black Moore.

But as these notable and wonderful experiments and conclusions that are found out in nature itself (through wisdom, learning, and industry) do greatly oppose and astonish the capacity of man: so (as I say) when deceit and illusion is annexed thereunto, then is the wit, the faith, and constancy of man searched and tried. For if we shall yield that to be divine, supernaturall, and miraculous, which we cannot comprehend; a witch, a papist, a conjurer, a coufener, and a juggler may make us believe they are gods: or else with more impiety we shall ascribe such power and omnipotence unto them, or unto the devil, as only and properly appertaineth to God. As for example, by confederacy or counsenage (as before I have said) I may seem to manifest the secret thoughts of the heart, which (as we learn in God's book) none knoweth or searcheth, but God himself alone. And therefore, whosoever believeth that I can do as I may seem to do maketh a god of me, and is an idolater. In which respect, whosoever we hear papist, witch, conjurer, or coufener, take upon him more than lieth in humane power to performe, we may know and boldly say it is a knack of knavery; and no miracle at all. And further we may know, that when we understand it, it will not be worth the knowing. And at the discovery of these miraculous toies, we shall leave to wonder at them, and begin to wonder at our selves, that could be so abused with babes. Howbeit, such things as God hath laid up secretly in nature are to be weighed with great admiration, and to be searched out with such industry, as may become a Christian man: I mean, so as neither God, nor our

Our neighbour be offended thereby, which respect doubtlesse James and Jambres never had. We finde in the Scriptures divers natural and secret experiments practised; as namely that of Jacob, for pied sheep, which are confirmed by profane authors, and not only verified in lambs and sheep, but in horses, peacocks, coltys, &c. We read also of a woman that brought forth a young black Moor, by means of an old black Moor who was in her house at the time of her conception, whom the beheld in phantastike, as is supposed: howbeit a jealous husband will not be satisfied with such phantastical imaginations. For in truth a black Moor never faileth to beget back children, of what colour soever the other be; &c. contra,

CHAP. XVII.

The opinion of Witchesmongers, that Devils can create bodies, and of Pharaohs Magicians.

It is affirmed by James Sprenger and Henry Institor, in M. Mal. who cite Albert, in lib. de animalibus, for their purpose, that devils and Witches also can truly make living creatures as well as God; though not at an instant, yet very sodainly. Howbeit, all such who are rightly informed in Gods word, shall manifestly perceive and confess the contrary, as hath been by Scriptures already proved, and may be confirmed by places infinite. And therefore James and Jambres, though Satan and also Belzebub had afflicted them, could never have made the serpent or the frogs of nothing, nor yet have changed the waters with words. Nevertheless, all the learned expostors of that place affirm, that they made a shew of creation, &c. exhibiting by cunning a resemblance of some of those miracles, which God wrought by the hands of Moses. Yea, S. Augusti and many other hold, that they made by art (and that truly) the serpents, &c. But that they may by art approach somewhat nearer to those actions, than hath been yet declared, shall and may appear by these and many other conclusions, if they be true.

CHAP. XVIII.

How to produce or make monsters by Art Magik, and why Pharaohs Magicians could not make lice.

Naturall conclusions. Strato, Democritus, Empedocles, and of late, Jo. Bap. Neap. teach by what means monsters may be produced, both from beast and also from fowle. Ariosto himself teacheth to make a chicken have four legs, and as many wings, only by a double yolded Egg, whereby also a serpent may be made to have many legs. Or any thing that produceth Eggs, may like wife be made double, or membred dismembered; & the viler creature the sooner brought to monstrous deformity, which in more noble creatures is more hardly brought
brought to passe. There are also pretty experiments of an Egge, to pro-
duce any fowle, without the natural help of the Hen, he which is brought ny fowl out of
to passe, if the Eg be laid in the powder of the Hens dung, dried and min-
gled with some of the hens feathers, and stirrer every fourth houre. You out the natural
may also produce (as they say) the most venomous, noisome, and danger-
help of the hen-
os Serpent, called a Cockatrice, by melting a little arsenick, and the
poison of Serpents, or some other strong venome, and drowning an Egg
therein, which there must remain certain days ; and if the Egg be set
upright, the operation will be the better. This may also be done, if
the Egg be laid in dung, which of all other things giveth the most
and natural heat; and as II. Bap. Neap. faith is * Minabiturus et
mucens ; * The mother
who also writeth, that Cinus femina menstrua the hair of a menstruous of
woman, are turned into Serpents within short space; and he further faith,
that basill being beaten, and set out in a moist place, betwixt a couple of
Tiles, doth engender Scorpions. The ailes of a Duck being put between
diffuse, and set in a moist place, doth engender a huge Toad, Quod
etiam excitat sanguis menstruos, which also doth menstruous blood. Many Two kind of
writers conclude, that there be two manner of Toads, the one bred by natu-
Toads, natural
nurture, and order of generation, the other growing of themselves, which
are called temporary, being only engendered of showers and dust; and (as
II. Bap. Neap. faith) they are easy to be made. Plutarch and Heracleides
doe say, that they have seen these to descend in rain, so as they have lain
and crawled on the tops of houfes, &c. Also Achilles doth say that hee
fawn frogs and toades, whereof the heads and shoulders were alive,
and became flesh; the hinder parts being but earth, and so crawled on two
feet, the other being not yet fashioned or fully framed. And Macrobius
reporteth, that in Egypt, mice grow of earth and showers; as also frogs, toads,
and serpents in other places. They say that Damocles Hispanics
could make them when and as many as he lifted. He is no good angler, that
knoweth not how soon the entrails of a beast, when they are buried, will
engendered the
Maggots (which in a civiler term are called Gentiles) a good bait
inwards of a
for small fishes. Whosoever knoweth the order of preserving of the like beast are good
worms, may perceive a like conclusion; because in the winter, that is for angling,
dead seed, which in the summer is a lively creature. Such and greater
experiments might be known to James and Fambres, and serve well to
their purpose, especially with such excuses, delays, and cunning, as they
could join therewithall. But to proceed, and come a little nearer to their
frets, and to shew you a knack beyond their cunning; I can assure you
that of the fat of a man or a woman, there are in very short space engen-
dered; and yet I say, Pharaohs Magicians could not make them, with all
the cunning they had. Whereby you may perceive, that God indeed per-
formed the other actions to indurate Pharaoh, though he thought his Mag-
icians did with no lesser dexterity than Moses work miracles and won-
ders. But some of the interpreters of that place excuse their ignorance in that
matter, thus: the devil (say they) can make no creature under the quantity
of a barley corn, 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 very
groffe absurdity. And as though that he which hath power over great,
had not the like over small.
That great matters may be wrought by this art, when Princes esteem and maintain it: of divers wonderful experiments, and of strange conclusions in glases of the art perspective, &c.

Hoebeit, these are but trifles in respect of other experiments to this effect, specially when great Princes maintain and give countenance to students in those magickal 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 that moveth admiration and estimation of miraculous workings. As for example, If I affirm, that with certain charms and popish prayers I can set an horse or an asses head upon a mans shoulders, I shall not be beleued; or if I doe it, I shall be thought a witch. And yet if I.Bap.Neap. experiments be true, it is no difficult matter to make it seem so; and the charm of a witch or a papist joined with the experiment, will also make the wonder seem to proceed thereof. The words used in such case are uncertain, & to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or confessor. But the conclusion of this, cut off the head of a horse or an ass (before they be dead, otherwise the virtue or strength thereof will be lost effectually) and make an earthen vessel of fit capacity to contain the same, and let it be filled with the oil and fat thereof, cover it close, and daw it over with lome; let it boil over a soft fire three days continually, that the flesh boiled may run into oil, so as the bare bones may be seen; beat the hair into powder, and mingle the same with the oil; and anoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall seem to have horses or ass's heads. If beasts heads be anointed with the like oil made of a mans head, they shall seem to have mens faces, as divers authours soberly affirm. If a lamp be anointed herewith, every thing shall seem most monstrous. It is also written, that if that which is called Sperma in any beast be burned, and any bodies face therewith anointed, he shall seem to have the like face as the beast had. But if you burn arsenick very fine, and boil it with a little sulphur in a covered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seem to be headlesse. Aqua composita and salt being fired in the night, and all other lights extinguished, make the standers by seem as dead. All these things might be very well perceived and known, and also practised by James and Jambres. But the wondrous devices, and miraculous sights, and conceits made and contained in glasse, doe far exceed all other: whereunto the art perspective is very necessary. For it sheweth the illusions of them, whose experiments be seene in divers sorts of glases; as in the hollow, the plain, the embossed, the columnary, the pyramidate or piked, the turbinall, the bunched, the round, the cornered, the inverted, the covered, the maffie, the regular, the irregular, the coloured and clere glases; for you may have glases so made, as what image or favour ever you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as therein one may see what others do in
in places far distant; others, whereby you shall see men hanging in the air; others, whereby you may perceive men flying in the air; others, wherein you may see one coming, and another going; others, where one image shall seem to be one hundred, &c. There be glasse also where one man may see another man's image, and not his own; others, to make many similitudes; others, to make none at all. Others, contrary to the use of all glasses, make the right side turn to the right, and the left side to the left; others, that burn before and behind; others, that represent not the images received within them, but cast them far off in the air, appearing like airy images, and by the collection of sun beams, with great force seteth fire (very far off) in every thing that may be burned. There be clear glasses, that make great things seem little, things far off to be near; and that which is near to be far off; such things as are covered, to seem under us; and those that are under us, to be above us. There are some glasses also, that represent things in divers colours, and them most of all, specially any white thing. Finally, the thing most worthy of admiration concerning these glasses, is, that the leafer glass doth lessen the shape; but how big soever it be, it maketh the shape no bigger than it is. And therefore Augustine thinketh some hidden mystery to be there in. Vitellius, and I. Bap. Neap. write largely hereof. These 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 down. But I think not but Pharaoh's Magicians had better experience than I for those and such like devices. And as Pomponius faith it is most true, that some of these feats have been accounted Saints, some other witches. And therefore I say, that the Pope maketh rich witches, saints; and burneth the poor witches.

CHAP. XX.

Comparison betwixt Pharaohs Magicians and our Witches, and how their cunning consisted in juggling tricks.

Thus you see that it hath pleased God to shew unto men that seek for knowledge, such cunning in finding out, compounding, and framing of strange and secret things, as thereby he seemeth to have bestowed upon man, some part of his Divinity. Howbeit, God (of nothing, with his word) hath created all things, and doth at his will, beyond the power and also the reach of man, accomplish whatsoever he list. And such miracles in times past he wrought by the hands of his Prophets, as here he did by Moses in the presence of Pharaoh, which James and Jambres apishly followed. But to affirm that they by themselves, or by all the devils in bres of work-bell, could do indeed as Moses did by the power of the Holy Ghost, is ing wonders worse than infidelity. If any object and say, that our witches can doe such feats with words and charms, as Pharaohs Magicians did by their art, I deny it; and all the world will never be able to shew it. That which they did was openly done; as our witches and conjurers never doe any thing;
13. Book

The discovery of Pharaohs Magicians.


Magicians were not masters of their own actions.

Exod. 10.

God useth the wicked as instruments to execute his counsels and judgements.

That the Serpents and Frogs were truly presented, and the water poisoned indeed by Jannes and Jambres, of false prophets and of their miracles, of Balaams affe.

Truly I think there were no inconvenience granted, though I should admit that the serpent and frogs were truly presented, and the water truly poisoned by Jannes and Jambres; not that they could execute such miracles of themselves, or by their familiars or divels: but that God, by the hands of those counterfeit counsels, contrary to their own expectations, overtook them, and compelled them in their ridiculous wickelenesse to be instruments of his will and vengeance, upon their matter Pharaoh; so as by their hands God shewed some miracles, which he himself wrought; as appeareth in Exodus. For God did put the spirit of truth into Balaams mouth, who was hired to curse his people. And although he were a corrupt and false prophet, and went about a mischievous interprize; yet God made him an instrument (against his will) to the confusion of the wicked. Which if it pleased God to do here, as a special work, whereby to shew his omnipotency, to the confirmation of his peoples faith, in the doctrine of their Messias delivered unto them by the Prophet Moses; then was it miraculous and extraordinary, and not to be looked for now. And (as some suppose) there were then a comfort or crew of false prophets, which could also foretell things to come, and work miracles. I answer, it was extraordinary and miraculous, and that it pleased God to
to try his people; but he worketh not so in these days; for the working of miracles is ceased. Likewise in this case it might well stand with God's glory, to use the hands of Pharaoh's Magicians, towards the hardening of their Masters heart; and to make their illusions and ridiculous conceits to become effectual. For God had promised and determined to harden the heart of Pharaoh. As for the miracles which Moses did, they mollified it so as he always relented upon the sight of the same. For unto the greatness of his miracles were added such modesty and patience, as might have moved even a heart of steel or flint. But Pharaoh's frowardness always grew upon the Magicians actions; the like example, or the resemblance whereof, we find not again in the Scriptures. And though there were such people in those days suffered and used by God, for the accomplishment of his will and secret purpose; yet it followeth not, that now, when God will is wholly revealed unto us in his word, and his Son exhibited (for whom, or rather for the manifestation of whole coming all those things were suffered or wrought,) such things and such people should yet continue. So as I conclude, the cause being taken away, the thing proceeding thence remaineth not. And to assign our witches and conjurers their room, is to mock and contempt God's wonderfull works; and to oppose against them covenances, juggling, knacks and things of nought. And therefore, as they must confess, that none in these days can doe as Moses did; so it may be answered, that none in these days can doe as James and Jambres did: who, if they had been false Prophets, as they were Jugglers, had yet been more priviledged to exceed our old women or conjurers, in the accomplishing of miracles, or in prophecyng, &c. For who may be compared with Balaam? Nay, I dare say, that Balaams ashe wrought a greater miracle, and more supernatural, than either the Pope or all the conjurers and witches in the world can doe at this day.

To conclude, it is to be avouched (and there bee prooses manifest enough) that our Jugglers approach much nearer to resemble Pharaoh's Magicians, than either witches or conjurers, and make a more lively shew of working miracles than any enchantors can doe: for these practise to shew that in action, which witches doe in words and terms. But that you may think I have reason for the maintenance of mine opinion in this behalf, I will surcease by multitude of words to amplify this place, referring you to the drast following of the art of juggling, where you shall read strange practices and cunning conveyances; which because they cannot so conveniently be described by phrase of speech, as that they should presently sink into the capacity of you that would be practitioners of the same; I have caused them to be set forth in form and figure, that your understanding might be somewhat helped by instrumentall demonstrations. And when you have perused that whole discovery of Juggling, compare the wonders thereof with the wonders imputed to conjurers and witches, (not omitting Pharaohs Sorcerers at any hand in this comparision,) and I beleve you will be resolved, that the miracles done in Pharaohs sight by them, and the miracles ascribed unto witches, conjurers, &c., may be well taken for false miracles, meer delusions, &c., and for such actions as are commonly praetified by cunning jugglers; be it either by legierdemain, confederacy, or otherwise.
The art of juggling discovered, and in what points it doth principally consist.

Now, because such occasion is ministered, and the matter so pertinent to my purpose, and also the life of witchcraft and counterfeite, so manifestly delivered in the art of juggling; I thought good to discover it, together with the rest of the other deceitful arts; being sorry that it fell out to my lot, to lay open the secrets of this mystery, to the hinderance of such poor men as live thereby: whose doings herein are not only tolerable, but greatly commendable; so they abuse not the name of God, nor make the people attribute unto them his power, but always acknowledge wherein the art consisteth, so as thereby the other unlawful and impious arts may be by them the rather detected and bewrayed.

The true art therefore of juggling consisteth in legierdemain; to wit, the nimble conveyance of the hand, which is especially performed three ways. The first and principal consisteth in hiding and conveying of bals, the second in the alteration of mony, the third in the shuffling of the cards. He that is expert in these may shew much pleasure, and many feats, and hath more cunning than all other witches or magicians. All other parts of this art are taught when they are discovered; but this part cannot be taught by any description or instruction, without great exercise and expense of time. And forasmuch as I professe rather to discover than teach these mysteries, it shall suffice to signifie unto you, that the endeavour and drift of jugglers is only to abuse mens eyes and judgements. Now therefore my meaning is, in words as plain as I can, to rip up certain proper tricks of that art; whereof some are pleasant and dexterable, others some dreadful and desperate, and all but mere delusions, or counterfeit actions as you shall soon see by due observation of every knack by me hereafter deciphered.

Of the ball, and the manner of legierdemain therewith, also notable feats with one or divers bals.

Concerning the ball, the plays and devices thereof are infinite, in so much as if you can by use handle them well, you may shew therewith a hundredth feats. But whether you seem to throw the ball into your left hand, or into your mouth, or into a pot, or up into the air, &c. it is to be kept still in your right hand. If you practise first with a leaden ball, you shall the sooner and better do it with bals of cork. The first place at your first learning, where you are to befall a great ball, is in the palm of your hand, with your ringfingers; but a small ball is to be placed with your thumb.
thumb, betwixt your ring-finger and middle-finger, then are you to practise to doe it betwixt the other fingers, then betwixt the fore-finger and the thumb, with the fore-finger and middle-finger jointly, and therein is the greatest and strangest cunning showed. Lastly, the same ball is to be These feats are practised in the palm of the hand, and by use you shall not only seem to put nimbly, cleanly any one ball from you, and yet retain it in your hand; but you shall keep and swiftly to four or five as cleanly and certainly as one. This being attained unto, you be conveyed, so shall work wonderfull feats; as for example, as the cies of Lay three or four balls before you, and as many small candlesticks, bols, the beholdors falefellers or falsefeller covers, which is the best. Then first seems to put may not dene bal into your left hand, & therewithall seem to hold the same fast; then cern or per-take one of the candlesticks, or any other thing (having a hollow foot, and cew the drift, not being too great) and seem to put the ball which is thought to be in your left hand, underneath the same, and so under the other candlesticks seem to bestow the other balls; and all this while the beholdors will suppose each ball to be under each candlestick; this done, some charm or form of words is commonly used. Then take up one candlestick with one hand, and blow, saying; Lo, you see that is gone; and so likewise look under each candlestick with like grace and words, and the beholdors will wonder where Memorandum they are become. But if you, in lifting up the candlesticks with your right that the juggler hand, leave all those three or four balls under one of them (as by use you must set a good may easily doe, having turned them all down into your hand, and holding grace on the them fast with your little and ring-fingers) and take the candlestick with matter: for your other fingers, and cast the balls up into the hollow ness; thereof for so that is very re- they will not roll so soon away; the standers by will be much astonied. quipsc. But it will seem wonderfull strange, if also in shewing how there remaineth nothing under another of those candlesticks, taken up with your left hand, you leave behind you a great ball or any other thing, the miracle will be the greater. For first they think you have pulled away all the balls by miracle; then, that you have brought them all together again by like means, and they neither thinke nor looke that any other thing remaineth behind under any of them. And therefore, after many other feats done, return to your candlesticks, remembering where you left the great ball, and in no wise touch the same; but having another like ball about you, seem to bestow the same in manner and form aforesaid, under a candlestick which standeth furthest off from that where the ball lieth. And when you shall with words or charms seeme to convey the same ball from under the same candlestick and afterward bring it under the candlestick which you touched not, it will (I say) seem wonderfull strange.

To make a little ball swell in your hand till it be very great.

Take a very great ball in your left hand, or three indifferent big balls; & shewing one or three little balls, seem to put them into your said left hand, concealing (as you may well doe) the other balls which were there in before; then use words, and make them seem to swell, and open your hand, &c. This play is to be varied a hundred ways; for as you finde them all under one candlestick, so may you goe to a stander by, and take
The discovery of juggling with money.

If you take one ball, or more, and seem to put it into your other hand, and whilst you use charming words, you convey them out of your right hand into your lap; it will seem strange. For when you open your left hand immediately, the sharpest lookers on will say it is in your other hand, which also then you may open; and when they see nothing there, they are greatly overpowered.

How to wrap a ring upon the knuckles.

But I will leave to speak any more of the ball, for herein I might hold you all this day, and yet shall I not be able to teach you to use it, nor scaredly to understand what I mean or write concerning it; but certainly many are persuaded that it is a spirit or a spirit, &c. Memorandum, that always the right hand be kept open and straight, only keep the palm from view, and therefore you may end with this miracle. Lay one ball upon your shoulder, another on your arm, and the third on the table; which because it is round, and will not easily lie upon the point of your knife, you must bid a stranger lay it thereon; that you may throw also three balls into your mouth at once: and holding a knife as a pen in your hand, when he is laying it upon the point of your knife, you may easily with haste rap him on the fingers, for the other matter will be hard to do.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of conveyance of money.

The conveying of money is not much inferior to the ball, but much easier to doe. The principal place to keep a piece of money is the palm of your hand; the best piece to keep is a teftor; but with exercise all will be alike, except the money be very small, and then it is to be kept between the fingers, almost at the fingers end, whereas the ball is to be kept below next to the palm.

To convey money out of one of your hands into the other by legierdemain.

First you must hold open your right hand, and lay therein a teftor, or some big piece of money: then lay thereupon the top of your long left finger, and use words, and upon the sudden slip your right hand from your finger. Whereupon you hold down the teftor, and bending your hand a very little, you shall remain the teftor still therein: and suddenly (I say) drawing your right hand through your left, you shall seem to have left the teftor there, specially when you shut in due time your left hand. Which
that it may more plainly appear to be truly done, you may take a knife. This is pretty and seem to knock against it, so as it shall make a great sound: but in stead if it be cun-
of knocking the piece in the left hand (where none is) you shall hold the ningly han-
point of the knife fast with the left hand, and knock against the teftor dled; for both
held in the other hand, and it will be thought to hit against the mouth of the ear and the
ney in the left hand. Then use words, and open your hand, and eie is deceived
when nothing is seen, it will be wondered at how the teftor was remo-
ved.

To convert or transubstantiate money into counters, or counters into
money.

A nother way to deceive the lookers on, is to do as before, with a teftor;
and keeping a counter in the palm of the left hand secretly to seem to
put the teftor thereinto; which being received still in the right hand,
when the left hand is opened, the teftor will seem to be transubstantiated
into a counter.

To put one teftor into one hand, and another into the other hand, and with
words to bring them together.

He that hath once attained to the facility of retaining one piece of mo-
ney in his right hand, may shew a hundredth pleasant conceits by that
tricks may be
means, and may reserve two or three as well as one. And to them may shewed in jug-
you seem to put one piece into your left hand, and retaining it still in gling with mo-
your right hand, you may together therewith take up another like piece, ney,
and so with words seem to bring both pieces together.

To put one teftor into a strangers hand, and another into your own, and to con-
vey both into the strangers hand with words.

Also you may take two teftors evenly set together, and put the same in
head of one teftor, into a strangers hand, & then making as though you
did put one teftor into your left hand, with words you shall make it seem
that you convey the teftor in your hand, into the strangers hand: for when
you open your said left hand, there shall be nothing seen; and he opening
his hand shall find two, where he thought was but one. By this device (I
say) a hundredth conceits may be shewed.

How to do the same or the like seat otherwise.

To keep a teftor, &c. betwixt your finger, serveth specially for this and
such like purpofes. Hold out your hand, and cause one to lay a te-
You must take
for upon the palm thereof, then shake the same up almost to your fingers heed
that
ends, and putting your thumbe upon it; you shall easily, with a little you be close
practice, convey the edge betwixt the middle and forefinger, whilst you and the
fier or else;
proffer to put it into your other hand (provided always that the edge ap-
pear not through the fingers on the backside) which being done, take up the art.

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Another testor (which you may cause a stranger by to lay down) and put them both together, either closely in stead of one into a stranger's hand, or keep them still in your owne; and (after words spoken) open your hands, and there being nothing in one, and both pieces in the other, the beholders will wonder how they came together.

To throw a piece of money away, and to find it again, where you list.

Use and exercise. You may, with the middle or ring finger of the right hand, convey a testor into the palme of the same hand, and seeming to cast it away, keep men ready and it still: which with confederacy will seem strange; to wit, when you find it again, where another hath bestowed the very like piece. But these things without exercice cannot be done, and therefore I will proceed to shew things to be brought to passe by mony, with lest difficulty; and yet as strange as the rest; which being unknown are marvellously commended, but being knowne are derided, and nothing at all regarded.

With words to make a great or a testor to leap out of a pot, or to run along a table.

This feat is the stranger if it be done by night; a candle placed between the lookers on and the juggler; for by that means their eye-sight is hindered from discerning the conceit.

You shall see a juggler take a great or a testor, and throw it into a pot, or lay it in the midst of a table, and with enchanting words cause the same to leap out of the pot, or run towards him, or from him, outwardly on the table. Which will seem miraculous, ’till you know it is done with a long black hair of a woman’s head, fastned to the brim of a groat, by means of a little hole driven through the same with a Spanish needle. In like sort you may use a knife, or any other small thing; but if you would have it go from you, you must have a confederate, by which means all juggling is graced and amended.

To make a great or a testor to sink through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher very strangely.

A juggler also sometimes will borrow a great or a testor, &c. and make it before you, and seem to put the same into the midst of a handkercher, and wind it so, as you may the better see and feel it. Then will he take the handkercher, and bid you feel whether the groat be there or nay; and he will also require you to put the same under a candlestick, or some such thing. Then will he lend for a bason, and holding the same under the board right against the candlestick, will use certaine words of enchantments; and in short space you shall hear the great fall into the bason. This done, one takes off the candlestick, and the juggler taketh the handkercher by a tassel, and shaketh it; but the money is gone: which seemeth as strange as any feat whatsoever, but being known, the miracle is turned to a tale. For it is nothing else, but to saw a groat into the corner of a handkercher, finely covered with a piece of linen, little bigger then your groat; which corner you must convey instead of the groat delivered to you, into the middle of your handkercher; leaving the other either in your hand or
A notable trick to transform a counter to a groat.

Take a groat, or some loose piece of money, and grind it very thin at the one side; and take two counters, and grind them, the one at the one side, the other on the other side: glue the smooth side of the groat to the smooth side of one of the counters, joining them so close together as may be, specially at the edges, which may be so filed, as they shall seem to be but one piece, to wit, one side a counter, and the other side a groat, then take a very little green waxe (for that is sootest and therefore best) and lay it flat upon the smooth side of the other counter, as it do not much discolour the groat: and so will that counter with the groat cleave together, as though the juggler they were glued; and being filed even with the groat and the other counter have teen, it will seem so like a perfect entire counter, that though a stranger none of his handle it, he shall not betray it; then having a little touched your forefingers, and the thumb of your right hand with soft waxe, take therewith ting: besides this counterfeit counter, and lay it down openly upon the palm of your hand, it being left hand, in such sort as an auditor layeth down his counters, wringing with him to be the same hand, so as you may leave the glued counter with the groat ap\_mindful, left partially in the palm of your left hand; and the smooth side of the waxed he mistaketh his counter will stick fast upon your thumb, by reason of the waxe wherewith tricks, it is smeared, and so may you hide it at your pleasure. Provided always, that you lay the waxed side downward, and the glued side upward: then close your hand, and in or after the closing thereof turne the piece, and so instead of a counter (which they supposed to be in your hand) you shall seem to have a groat, to the astonishment of the beholders, if it be well handled.

CHAP. XXV.

An excellent feat, to make a two penny piece lie plainly in the palm of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you lift.

Put a little red wax (not too thin) upon the nail of your longest finger, then let a strange put a two penny piece into the palm of your hand, and shut your hand suddenly, and convey the two penny piece upon the wax, which with use you may so accomplish, as no man shall perceive it. Then and in the mean time use words of course, and suddenly open your hand, holding the tips of your fingers rather lower than higher than the palm of your hand, and the beholders shall wonder where it is become. Then shut your hand suddenly again, and lay a wager whether it be there or no; and you may either leave it there, or take it away with you as 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 upon the two penny piece, but then must you lay it in your hand your self.
The discovery of jugglimg with money.

To convey a reftor out of ones hand that holdeth it fast.

Stick a little waxe upon your thumb, and take a stander by by the finger, shewing him the reftor, and telling him you wil put the same into his hand: then wring it down hard with your waxed thumb, and using many words look him in the face, and as soon as you perceive him to look in your face, or from your hand, suddenly take away your thumb, and close his hand, and so will it seem to him that the reftor remaineth; even as if you wring a reftor upon ones forehead, it will seem to stick, when it is taken away, especially if it be wet. Then cause him to hold his hand still, and with speed put it into another mans hand (or into your owne) two refters in stead of one, and use words of course, whereby you shall make not only the beholders, but the holders believe, when they open their hands, that by enchantment you have brought both together.

To throw a piece of money into a deep pond, and to fetch it again from whence you lift.

Here be a marvellous number of feats to be done with money, but if you will work by private confederacy, as to mark a shilling, or any other thing, and throw the same into a river or deep pond, and having bid a shilling before with like marks in some other secret place; bid some go presently and fetch it, making them believe that it is the very same which you threw into the river; the beholders will marvell much at it. And if such feats there may be done a marvellous number; but more may be done by publick confederacy, whereby one may tell another how much money he hath in his purse, and a hundred like toyes, and all with money.

To convey one shilling being in one hand into another, holding your hands abroad like a rood.

Another to the same purpose, read in pag. 228.

Deliver one piece of money 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 ungracious and subtle) seeing the other receive money, will not lightly refuse it; and when he offereth to take it, you may rap him on the fingers with a knife, or somewhat else held in the right hand.
Chapter XXVI.

To transform any one small thing into any other forme by folding of paper.

Take a sheet of paper, or a handkercher, and fold or double the same, so as one side be a little longer than another: then put a counter between the two sides or leaves of the paper or handkercher, up to the middle of the top of the fold, holding the same so as it be not perceived, and lay a groat on the outside thereof, right against the counter, and fold it down to the end of the longer side: and when you unfold it again, the groat will be where the counter was, and the counter where the groat was; so as some will suppose that you have transubstantiated the money into a counter, and with this many feats may be done.

The like or rather stranger than it may be done, with two papers three inches square a piece, divided by two folds into three equall parts at either side, so as each folded paper remain one inch square: then glue the back sides of the two papers together as they are folded, & not as they are open, and so shall both papers seem to be but one; and which side soever you open, it shall appear to be the same, if you hide handomely the botomme, as you may well do with your middle finger, so as if you have a groat in the one and a counter in the other, you (having shewed but one) may by turning the paper seem to transubstantiate it. This may be best performed, by putting it under a candlestick, or a hat, &c., and with * words seem to do the fact.

Chapter XXVII.

Of cards, with good caution how to avoid couenant therein: special rules to convey and handle the cards, and the manner and order how to accomplish all difficult and strange things wrought with cards.

Having now bestowed some waste money among you, I will let you to cards, by which kind of witchcraft a great number of people have juggled away not only their money, but also their lands, their health, their time, and their honesty. I dare not (as I could) shew the lewd juggling that cheaters practice, left it minister some offence to the well disposed, to the simple hurt and losses, and to the wicked occasion of evil doing. But I would with all gamesters to beware, not only with what cards and dice sodales, or dice pacts (as whereby a man may be inevitably couened) one that pendent in illis: is skilful to make and use Bume cards, may undo a hundred wealthy men, and remember that are given to gaming: but if he have a confederate present, either of them.

* Such as you shall find in pag. 217, and 330, in the marginal notes, or some strange terms of your own devising.

Of dice play & the like unthrifty games, mark these two old verses:

Ludens taxillis bene respice quid sit in illis, Mortua, mortua, mortua, mortua, mortua.
The discovery


The players or tricksters, by the mischief cannot be avoided. If you play among strangers, beware of him that seems simple or drunken; for under their habit the most specified🌼someone are pretented, and while you think by their simplicity and imperfections to beguile them (and thereof per chance are persuaded by their confederates, your very friends as you think) you your self will be most of all overtaken. Beware also of the better, and lookers on, and namely of them that bet on your side: for whilst they look on your game without suspicion, they discover it by signs to your adversaries, with whom they bet, and yet are their confederates.

But in shewing feats, and juggling with cards the principal point consists in shuffling them nimbly, and alwayes keeping one certain card either in the bottome, or in some known place of the pack, four or five cards from it. Hereby you shall seem to work wonders; for it will be easier for you to see or splice one card, which though you be perceived to do, it will not be suspected, if you shuffle them well afterwards. And this note must give you, that in referring the bottome card, you must always keep him a little before or a little behind all the cards lying underneithe him, before and after (I say) either a little beyond his fellows before, right over the forefinger, or else behind the rest, so as the little finger of the left hand may meet with it; which is the easier, the readier, and the better way. In the beginning of your shuffling, shuffle as thickly as you can; and in the end throw upon the pack the nearest card (with so many more at the least as you would have preserved for any purpose) a little before or behind the rest. Provided alwayes, that your fore finger, if the pack be laid before, or the little finger, if the pack lie behind, creep up to meet with the bottome card, and not lie betwixt the cards; and when you feel it, you may there hold it, until you have shuffled over the cards again, still leaving your kept card below. Being perfect herein, you may do almost what you lift with the cards. By this means, what pack soever you make, though it consist of eight, twelve, or twenty cards, you may keep them still together unsevered next to the nearest card, and yet shuffle them often to satisfy the curious beholders. As for example, and for brevity sake, to shew your divers feats under one.

How to deliver out four aces, and to convert them into four knaves.

Make a pack of these eight cards; to wit, four knaves and four aces, and although all the eight cards must lie immediately together, yet must each knave and ace be evenly severed, and the same eight cards must lie also in the lowest place of the bunch. Then shuffle them so, as alwayes at the second shuffling, or at least wise at the end of your shuffling the said pack, and of the pack one ace may lie neathmost, or so as you may know where he goeth and lyeth; and alwayes (I say) let your foresaid pack with three or four cards more lie unseverably together immediately upon and with that ace. Then using some speech or other device, and putting your hands with the cards to the edge of the table to hide the action, let out privily a piece of the second card, which is one of the knaves holding

Note.
forth the stock in both your hands, and shewing to the standers by the nearest card (which is the ace or kept card) covering also the head or piece of the knife (which is the next card) with your four fingers, draw out the same knife, laying it down on the table: then shuffle again, keeping your pack whole, and so have you two aces lying together in the bottome. And therefore, to reforme that disordered card, as also for a grace and countenance to that action, take off the uppermost card of the bunch, and thrust it into the midst of the cards; and then take away the uppermost card, which is one of your laid aces, & bestow him likewise. Then may you begin as before, shewing another ace, and instead thereof lay down another knave: and so forth, untill instead of four aces you have laid downe four knaves. The beholders all this while thinking that there lie four aces on the table, are greatly abused, and will marvel at the transfor-mation.

How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stock.

When you have seen a card privily, or as though you marked it not, lay the same undermost, and shuffle the cards as before you are taught, till your card lie again below in the bottome. Then shew the same to the beholders, willing them to remember it: then shuffle the cards, or let any other shuffle them; for you know the card already; and therefore may at any time tell them what card they saw: which * neverthelesse would be done with great circumstance and shew of difficultie.

Another way to do the same, having your selfe indeed never seene the card.

If you can see no card, or be suspected to have seen that which you mean to shew, then let a stander by first shuffle, and afterwards take you the cards into your hands, and (having shewed and not seen the bot-om card) shuffle again and keep the same card as before you are taught; and either make shifte then to see it when their suspicion is past, which may be done by letting some cards fall, or else lay down all the cards in heaps, remembering where you laid your bottome card. Then spie how many cards lie in some one heap, and lay the heap where your bottome card is upon that heap, and all the other heaps upon the same: and so, if there were five cards in the heap wherein you laid your card, then the same must be the first card, which now you may throw out, or look upon without suspicion; and tell them the card they saw.

To tell one without confedecraty what card he thinketh.

Lay three cards on a table, a little way distant, and bid a stander by the eie be true and not waver, but think one them of three; and by his eie you wraie thy shall assuredly perceive which he both seeth and thinketh. And you shall think, do the like, if you cast down a whole pair of cards with the faces upward.
The discovery Juggling with cards.

whereof there will be few or none plainly perceived, and they also are cards. But as you cast them down suddenly, so must you take them up presently, marking both his eye and the card whereon he looketh.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How to tell what card any man thinketh, how to convey the same into a kernell of a nut or cherifstone, &c. and the same again into one's pocket, how to make one draw the same or any card you lift, and all under one devise.

Take a nut, or a cherifstone, and burn a hole through the side of the top of the shell, and also through the kernell (if you will) with a hot bodkin, or bore it with an awl; and with the eye of a needle pull out some of the kernell, so as the same may be as wide as the hole of the shell. Then write the number or name of the card in a piece of fine paper one inch or half an inch in length, and half as much in breadth, and roll it up hard; then put it into a nut, or cherifstone, and close the hole with a little red wax, and rub the same with a little dust, and it will not be perceived, if the nut or cherifstone bee brown or old. Then let your confederate think that card which you have in your nut, &c. and either convey the same nut or cherifstone into some bodies pocket, or lay it in some strange place: then make one draw the same out of the flock held in your hand, which by use you may well do. But say not; I will make you performe draw such a card: but require some stranger by to draw a card, saying that it skils not what card he draw. And if your hand serve you to use the cards well, you shall preferable him, and he shall receive (even though he snatch at another) the very card which you kept, and your confederate thought, and is written in the nut, and hidden in the pocket, &c. You must (while you hold the flock in your hands, tossing the cards to and fro) remember always to keep your card in your eyes and not to loose the sight thereof. Which fare, till you be perfect in, you may have the same privily marked; and when you perceive his hand ready to draw, put it a little out towards his hand, nimblie turning over the cards, as though you numbed them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw any other; which if he should doe, you must let three or four fall, that you may begin again. * This will seem most strange, if your said paper be inclosed in a button, and by confederacie fowen upon the doubler or coat of any body. This trick they commonly end with a nut full of ink, in which case some wag or unhall boy is to bee required to think a card; and having so done, let the nut be delivered him to crack, which he will not refuse to doe, if he have seen the other feast played be.
CHAP. XXIX.

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

The Egyptians juggling witchcraft or sortilege standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I have written somewhat generally already, yet having such opportunity I will here shew some of their particular feats, not being of their common tricks which is so tedious, nor of their fortune-telling which is so impious; and yet both of them meer covenage.* Make fast and loose one plain loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and seeming to draw the same very hard; hold fast the body of the said handkercher (near to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrary end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close up handsomely the knot, which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand as the left hand end may be near to the knot; then will it seem a true and a firm knot. And to make it appear more alluredly to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilst you hold fast the other in your right hand and then holding the knot with your fore-finger and thumb, and the other part of your handkercher with your other fingers, as you hold a bridle when you would with one hand slip up the knot and lengthen your reins. This done, turn your handkercher over the knot with the left hand, in doing whereof you must sodainly slip out the end or corner, putting up the knot of your handkercher with your fore-finger and thumb, as you would put up the foresaid knot of your bridle. Then deliver the same (covered and wrapt in the midst of your handkercher) to one, to hold fast, and so after some words used, and wagers layed, take the handkercher and make it, and it will be loose.

A notable feat of fast or loose, namely, to pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without removing of your hand.

Take two little whip cords of two foot long a piece, double them equally so as there may appear four ends. Then take three great beadstones, the hole of one of them being bigger than the rest; and put one beadstone upon the eye or bow of the one cord, and another on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bows be hidden therein, which may be the better done, if you put the eye of the one into the eye or bow of the other. Then pull the middle bead upon the same, being doubled over his fellow, and so will the beads seem to be put over the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may toss them as you like, and make it seem manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you have done it, that the beadstones are put upon the two cords without any fraud. Then must you seem to add more effectual binding of those beadstones to the string, and make one

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* Footnote: *covenage*: In this context, likely referring to a magical or magical-herbal practice.
This conveyance must be closely done; therefore it must be no bunglers work.

The discovery of a knot with one of the ends of each side; which is for no other purpose, but that when the head-stones be taken away, the cords may be seen in the case which the beholders suppose them to be in before. For when you have made your half knot (which in any wise you may not doubly to make a perfect knot) you must deliver into the hands of some foundlers by those two cords; namely, two ends evenly see in one hand, and two in the other, and then with a wager, &c. begin to pull off your head-stones, &c. which if you handle nimbly, and in the end cause him to pull his two ends, the two cords will fly to be placed plainly, and the headstones to have come through the cords. But these things are so hard and long to be described, that I will leave them, whereas I could shew great variety.

CHAP. XXX.

Juggling knacks by confederacy, and how to know whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.

Lay a wager with your confederate (who must seem simple, or obliquely opposed against you) that standing behind a door, you will, by the sound or ringing of the money, tell him whether he cast crosse or pile: so as when you are gone, and he hath flipp'd the monie before the witnessed who are to be cousten'd, he must say, What is it, if it be crosse; or What is it, if it be pile: or some other such sign, as you are agreed upon, and so you need not fail to guess right. By this means (if you have any invention) you may seem to do a hundred miracles, and to discover the secrets of a man's thoughts, or words spoken at a distance.

To make a shoal of goslings draw a timber log.

To make a shoal of goslings, or (as they say) a gaggle of Geese to seem to draw a timber log, is done by that very means that is used, when a cat doth draw a fool through a pond or river: but handled somewhat farther off from the beholders.

To make a pot or any such thing standing fast on the cupboard, to fall down thence by virtue of words.

Let a cupboard be so placed, as your confederate may hold a black thred without in the court, behind some window of that room; and at a certain loud word spoken by you, he may pull the same thred being wound about the pot, &c. And this was the feat of Eleazer, which Josephus reporteth to be such a miracle.

To make one dance naked.

Make a poor boy confederate with you, so as after charms, &c. spoken by you, he uncoth himself, and stand naked seeming (whilst he under
Of Witchcraft.

Chap. xxxi.

...to shake, stamp, and cry, till hastening to be unclothed, till he be stark naked; or if you can procure none to go so far, let him only begin to stamp and shake, &c.and to unclothe him, and then you may (for the reverence of the company) seem to release him.

To transform or alter the colour of one's cap or hat.

Take a confederate's hat, and use certain words over it, and deliver it.* As Drach to him again, and let him seem to be wroth, and cast it back to you again, and gain, affirming that his was a good new black hat, but this is an old senaroth bet, blew hat, &c., and then you may seem to countercharm it, and redo it, baroch almanaroth, round, &c., or such like.

How to tell where a stolen horse is become.

By means of confederacies, Steven Tailor, and one Pope abused divers strange words, country people. For Stephen Tailor would hide away his neighbours' horses, &c., and send them to Pope, whom he before had told where they were, promising to send the parties unto him, whom he described and Tailor, made known by divers signs: so as this Pope would tell them at their first entrance unto the door. Wherefore they came, &c., would say that their horses were stolen, but the thief should be forced to bring back the horses, &c., and leave them within one mile south and by west, &c., of his house, even as the plot was laid, and the packet made before by Stephen and him. This Pope is laid of some to be a witch, of others he is accounted a conjurer, but commonly called a wise man, which is all one with soothsayer or witch.

Chap. xxxi.

Boxes to alter one grain into another, or to consume the grain or corn to nothing.

There be divers juggling boxes with false bottoms, wherein many false fears are wrought. First they have a box covered or rather footed alike at each end, the bottom of the one end being no deeper than it may contain one lane of corn or pepper glewed thereupon. Then use they to put into the hollow end thereof some other kind of grain, ground or unground; then doe they cover it, and put it under a hat or candlestick: and either in putting it thereunto, or pulling it thence, they turn the box, and open the contrarie end, wherein is shewed a contrary grain; or else they shew the glewed end first (which end they sodainly thrust into a boll or bag such of grain as is glewed already thereupon) and secondly the empty box.

Note the manner of this conveyance.
The discovery of new ways to convey the corn contained in one box into another.

There is another box fashioned like a bell, wherein they do put so much, and such corn or spice as the aforesaid hollow box can contain. Then they stop or cover the same with a piece of leather, as broad as a reeler, which being thrust up hard towards the middle part or waste of the said bell will stick fast, and bear up the corn. And if the edge of the leather be wet, it will hold the better. Then take they the other box dipped (as is aforesaid) in corn, and set down the same upon the table, the empty end upward, saying that they will convey the grain therein into the other box or bell: which being set down somewhat hard upon the table, the leather and the corn therein will fall down, so as the said bell being taken up from the table, you shall see the corn lying therein, and the stopple will be hidden therewith, and covered; and when you uncover the other box, nothing shall remain therein. But presently the corn must be swept down with one hand into the other, or into your lap or hat. Many feats may be done with this box, as to put therein a rood, affirming the same to have been so turned from corn, and then many beholders will suppose the same to be the jugglers' devil, whereby his feats and miracles are wrought. But in truth, there is more cunning witchcraft used in transferring of corn after this sort, than is in the transferring of one man's corn in the grating into another man's field, which the law of the twelve tables doth forcibly condemn; for the one is a cheating sleight, the other is a false lie.

Of another box to convey wheat into flour with words, &c.

There is another box usual among jugglers, with a boromie in the middle thereof, made for the like purposes. One other also like a tun, wherein is shewed great variety of stupe, as well of liquors as spices, and all by means of another little tun within the same, wherein and whereon liquor and spices are shewed. But this would ask too long a time of description.

Of divers pettyjuggling knacks.

These are such sleights that even a bungler may do them; and yet pretty, &c.

There are many other beggarly feats able to beguile the simple, as to make an oat stir by setting thereon, as though it came to pass by words. Item to deliver meal, pepper, ginger, or any powder out of the mouth after the eating of bread, &c. which is done by retaining any of these things stuffed in a little paper or bladder conveyed into your mouth, and grinding the same with your teeth. Item, a rift through a piece of a trenched, having three holes, and at the one side the rift appearing out in the second, at the other side in the third hole, by reason of a hollow place made betwixt them both, so as the sleight consisteth in turning the piece of trenched.
To burn a thread, and to make it whole again with the ashes thereof.

It is not one of the worst feats to burn a thread handsonly, and to make Mark the man whole again; the order whereof is this. Take two threads, or small one of this kind, of one foot in length each, roll up one of them round, which cutt and devise will be then of the quantitie of a piece, bestow the same between your left fore-finger and your thumb. Then take the other thread, and hold it forth a length, between the fore-finger and thumb of each hand, holding all your fingers dainty, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take up a morsell of meat. Then let one cut a sunder the same thred in the middle. When that is done, put the tops of your two thumbs together, and so shall you with little determination receive the piece of thread which you hold in your right hand into your left, without opening of your left finger and thumb; then hold there are two pieces as you did the same before it was cut, let these two be cut also a sunder in the midst, and they conveyed againe as before, untill they be cut very short, and then roll all those ends together, and keep that ball of small threads before the other in your left hand, and with a knife thrust out the same into a candle, where you may hold it untill the said ball of short threads be burnt to ashes. Then pull back the knife with your right hand, and leave the ashes with the other ball between the fore-finger and thumb of your left hand, and with both thumbs and two fore-fingers together seem to take pains to first and rub the ashes underr all your thread be renewed, and draw out that thread at length which you A thred cut in kept all this while between your left finger and thumb. This is not many pieces necessary to any jugglers feate if it be well handled, for if you have legierde- and burned to main to bestow the same ball of thread, and to change it from place to place ashes made bewixt your other fingers (as may easily be done) then will it seeme whole again.

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

By a devise not much unlike to this, you may seem to cut asunder any lace that hangeth about one's neck, or any point, girdle, or garter, &c. and with witchcraft or conjuration to make it whole and closed together again. For the accomplishment whereof, provide (if you can) a piece of the lace, &c. which you mean to cut, or at least a pattern like the same, one inch and a half long, (and keeping it double privily in your left hand, betwixt some of your fingers near to the tips thereof) take the other lace which you mean to cut, still hanging about one's neck, and draw downe your said left hand to the bought thereof; and putting your own piece a little before the other (the end or rather middle whereof you must hide betwixt your fore-finger and thumb) making the eie or bought, which shall be seen, of your own pattern, let some stander by cut the same asunder.
The discovery of juggling with a book.


It will be surely thought that the other lace is cut, which with words and frotting, you shall seem to renew and make whole again. This, if it be well handled, will seem miraculous.

How to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth, of what colour or length you lift, and never any thing seen to be therein.

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

As for pulling laces out of the mouth, it is somewhat a stale jest, whereby jugglers gain mony among maids, selling lace by the yard, putting into their mouths one round bottom as fast as they pull out another, and at the just end of every yard they tie a knot, so as the same resteth upon their teeth: then cut they off the same, and so the beholders are double and treble deceived, seeing as much lace as will be contained in a hat, and the fame of what colour you lift to name, to be drawn by so even yards out of his mouth, and yet the juggler to talk as though there were nothing at all in his mouth.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How to make a booke wherein you shall shew every leaf therein to be white, blacke, blewe, red, yeallow, green, &c.

There are a thousand jugglings, which I am loath to spend time to describe, whereof some be common, and some rare, and yet nothing else but deceit, coulenage, or confederacie: whereby you may plainly see the art to be a kind of witchcraft. I will end therefore with one devil, which is not common, but was specially used by Clarus, whom though I never saw to exercise the feat, yet am I sure I conceive aright of that invention. He had (they say) a book, whereof he would make you think first, that every leaf was clean white paper: then by virtue of words he would shew you every leaf to be painted with birds, then with beasts, then with serpents, then with angels, &c. the devil thereof is this. * Make a book seven inches long, and five inches broad, or according to that proportion; and let there be 49 leaves; to wit, seven times seven contained therein, so as you may cut upon the edge of each leaf six notches, each notch in depth half a quarter of an inch, and one inch distant. Paint every fourteenth and fifteenth page (which is the end of every six: leaf, and the beginning of every seventh) with like colour or one kind of picture. Cut off with a pair of sheers every notch of the first leaf, leaving only one inch of paper in the uppermost place uncut, which will remain almost half a quarter of an inch higher than any part of that leaf. Leave another like inch in the second place of the second leaf, clipping away one inch of paper in the highest place immediately above it, and all the notches below the same, and so orderly to the third, fourth, &c., so as there shall rest upon each leaf one only inch of paper above the rest. One high uncut inch of paper must answer to the first, directly, in every seventh leaf of the book, so as when you have cut the first seven leaves, in such sort as I first described, you
you are to begin in the same order at the eight leaf, descending in such wise in the cutting of seven other leaves, and so again at the fifteenth, to 21, &c. until you have passed through every leaf, all the thicknesse of your book.

Now you shall understand, that after the first seven leaves, every seventh leaf in the book is to be painted, saving one seven leaves, which must remain white. Howbeit, you must observe, that at each Bumleaf or high inch of paper, seven leaves distant, opposite one directly and lineally against the other, through the thicknesse of the book, the same page with the page precedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture, and so must you passe through the book with seven severall sorts of colours or pictures; so as, when you shall rest your thumb upon any of those Bumleaves, or high inches, and open the book, you shall see in each page one colour or picture rare to the be-throughout the book: in another row, another colour, &c. To make holders, that matter more plain unto you, let this be the description hereof. Hold the book with your left hand, and (betwixt your fore-finger and thumb of your right hand) flip over the book in what place you list, and your thumb will always rest at the seventh leaf, or, at the bunleaf or high inch of paper from whence you have strayed, or will fall or slide to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, and open the book, the beholders seing each leaf to have one colour or picture with so many varieties, all passing continually and directly through the whole book, will suppose that with words you can discolour the leaves at your pleasure. But because perhaps you will hardly conceive hereof by this description, you shall (if you see books may be disposed) see or buy for a small value the like book, at the shop of W. Brine, gotten in Pauls churchyard, for your further instruction. * There are certaine feats of activity, which beautifie this art exceedingly: howbeit even in these, some are true, and some are counterfeit; to wit, some done by practice, and some by confederacy. * There are likewise divers feats, arithmetical and geometrical: for them read Gemma Phrygins, and Record, &c. which being exercised by jugglers, add credit to their Art. * There are also (besides them which I have set down in this title of Hartuminim) sundry strange experiments reported by Pliny, Albert, Joh. Bapt. Port. Neap. and Thomas Lupton, whereof some are true, and some false, which being known to James and Jambres, or else to our jugglers, their occupation is the more magnified, and they thereby more reverenced. * Here is see more here-place to discover the particular knaveries of casting of lots, and drawing of in the 11. cuts, and as they term it) whereby many counsenages are wrought: so as book of this I dare not teach the sundry deviws thereof, lest the ungodly make a pra-discovery, in title of it in the commonwealth, where many things are decided by those the title Nameans, which being honestly meant may bee lawfully used. But I have bas, cap. 10. said already somewhat hereof in generall, and therefore also the rather have suppressed the particulars, which (in truth) are meer juggling knacks: whereof I could discover a great number.
CHAP. XXXIII.

Desperate or dangerous juggling knacks, where in the simple are made to think, that a sly juggler with words can hurt and help, kill and revive any creature at his pleasure: and first to kill any kind of pulle, and to give it life again.

Take a hen, a chick, or a capon, and thrust a nail or a fine sharp pointed knife through the midst of the head thereof, the edge towards the bill, so as it may seem impossible for her to escape death: then use words, and pulling out the knife, lay oats before her, &c., and she will eat and live, being nothing at all grieved or hurt with the wound; because the brain lyeth so farre behind the head as it is not touched, though you thrust your knife between the combe and it; and after you have done this, you may convert your speech and actions to the grievous wounding and present recovering of your own selfe.

To eat a knife, and to fetch it out of any other place.

Take a knife, and contain the same within your two hands, so as no part be seen there of but a little of the point, which you must so bite at the first, as noise may be made therewith. Then seem to put a great part thereof into your mouth, and letting your hand slip down, there will appear to have been more in your mouth then is possible to be contained therein. Then send for drink, or use some other delay, until you have let the said knife slip into your lap, holding both your fists close together as before, and then raise them to the edge of the table where you sit (for from thence the knife may most privately slip down into your lap) and instead of biting the knife, kneale a little upon your nail, and then seem to thrust the knife into your mouth, opening the hand next unto it, and thrust up the other, so as it may appear to the standers by, that you have delivered your hands thereof, and thrust it into your mouth; then call for drink, after countenance made of pricking and danger, &c. Lastly, put your hand into your lap, and taking that knife in your hand, you may seem to bring it out from behind you, or from whence you lift, but if you have another like knife and a confederate, you may do twenty notable wonders hereby; as to send a stander by into some garden or orchard, describing to him some tree or herb, under which it flicketh; or else some strangers sheath or pocket, &c.

To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt.

The manner and means of this action.

Take a bodkin so made, as the haft being hollow, the blade thereof may dip thence into assoun as you hold the point upward, and let the same to your forehead, and seem to thrust it into your head, and so (with a little sponge in your hand) you may bring out blood or wine, making the beholders
holders think the blood or the wine (whereof you may say you have drunk very much) runneth out of your forehead. Then, after countenance of pain and grief, pull away your hand suddenly, holding the point downward; and it will fall to out, as it will seem never to have been thrust into the haft; but immediately thrust that bodkin into your lap or pocket, and pull out another plain bodkin like the same, laying in that conceit.

To thrust a bodkin through your tongue, and a knife through your arm; a pil full sight, without hurt or danger.

Make a bodkin, the blade thereof being furred in the middle, so as the pattern or one part be not near to the other, almost by 3 quarters of an inch, each part being kept asunder with one small bought or crooked piece of iron, bodkin and of the fashion described hereafter in place convenient. Then thrust your knife you shall tongue betwixt the foresaid space; to wit, into the bought left in the bodkin blade, thrusting the said bought behind your teeth, and biting the you turne over same; and then shall it seem to stick so fast in and through your tongue, a few leaves that one can hardly pull it out. * Also the very like may be done with forward, a knife so made, and put upon your arm; and the wound will appear the more terrible, if a little blood be powdered thereupon.

To thrust a piece of lead into one eye, and to drive it about (with a stick) between the skin and flesh of the forehead, until it be brought to the other eye, and there thrust out.

Put a piece of lead into one of the inner lids of your eye, as big as a tag of a point, but not so long (which you may do without danger) and with a little juggling stick (one end thereof being hollow) seem to thrust the like piece of lead under the other eye lid; but convey the same indeed into the hollowness of the stick, the fipple or peg thereof may be privily kept in your hand until this feat be done. Then seem to drive the said piece of lead, with the hollow end of the said stick, from the same eye: and so with the end of the said stick, being brought along upon your forehead to the other eye, you may thrust out the piece of lead, which before you had put thereinto; to the admiration of the beholders. * Some eat the lead, and then shove it out of the eye; and some put it into both, but the first is best.

To cut half your nose asunder, and to heat it again presently without any salve. This is easily done, howbeit it is being cleanly done.

Take a knife having a round hollow gap in the middle, and lay it upon your nose, and so shall you seem to have cut your nose half asunder. Provided always, that in all these you have another like knife handled it will without a gap, to be shewed upon the pulling out of the same, and words of enchantment to speak, blood also to bewray the wound, and nimble con-
To put a ring through your cheek.

There is another old knack, which seemeth dangerous to the cheek. For the accomplishing wherein you must have two rings of like colour and quantity: the one filed at under, so as you may thrust it upon your cheek; the other must be whole and conveyed upon a stick, holding your hand thereupon in the middle of the stick, delivering each end of the same stick to be holpen saft by a stander by. Then conveying the same cleanly into your hand, or (for lack of good conveyance) into your lap or pocket, pull away your hand from the stick; and in pulling it away, whilst about the ring, and so wilt it be thought that you have put thereon the ring which was in your cheek.

To cut off one's head, and to lay it in a platter, &c. which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.

This was done by one Kingsfield of London, at a Bartholomewtide, An. 1582. in the sight of divers that came to view this spectacle. To show a most notable execution by this art, you must cause a board, a cloth, and a platter to be purposely made, and in each of them holes fit for a bodyes neck. The board must be made of two planks, the longer and broader the better; there must be left within half a yard of the end of each plank half a hole; so as both the planks being thrust together, there may remain two holes, like to the holes in a pair of stocks; there must be made likewise a hole in the tablecloth or carpet. A platter also must be set directly over or upon one of them, having a hole in the middle thereof, of the like quantity, and also a piece cut out of the same, so big as his neck, through which his head may be conveyed into the midst of the platter; and then sitting or kneeling under the board, let the head only remain upon the board in the same. Then to make (the sight more dreadful) put a little brimstone into a chafing dish of coals, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaze two or three times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth (which is not wholesome) and the head presently will appear stark dead; if the boie let his countenance accordingly; and if a little blood be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger.

This is commonly practiced with a boie instructed for that purpose, who being familiar and conversant with the company, may be known as well by his face, as by his apparel. In the other end of the table, where the like hole is made, another boie of the bignesse of the known boie must be placed, having upon him his usuall apparel; he must lean or lie upon the board, and must put his head under the board through the said hole; so as his body shall seem to lie on the one end of the board, and his head shall lie in a platter on the other end. There are other things which might be performed in this action, the more to astonish the beholders, which because they offer long descriptions, I omit; as to put about his neck a little dough kneaded with bullocks blood, which being cold will appear like dead flesh; and being pricked with a sharp round hollow quill, will bleed, and seem very strange, &c. * Many rules are to be observed herein, as to

Necessary observations to astonish the beholders.
To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts very strangely, and to recover immediately.

Another miracle may be shewed touching counterfeit executions; namely, that with a bodkin or a dagger you shall seem to kill your self, or at the least make an unrecoverable wound in your belly; as (in truth) not long since a juggler caufed himself to be killed at a tavern in Cheapside, from whence he presently went into Paul's churchyard and dyed. Which misfortune fell upon him through his owne folly, as being then drunken, and having forgotten his place, which he should have had for his defence. The device is this. * You must prepare a paste board, to be made according to the fashion of your belly and breast: the same must by a painter be coloured cunningly, not only like to your flesh, but with paps, navill, hair, &c. so as the same (being handomely truffled unto you) may seem to be your naturall belly. Then next to your true belly you may put a linen cloth, and thereupon a double plate (which the juggler that killed himself forgot, or willfully omitted) over and upon which you may place the false belly. Provided alwaies, that betwixt the plate and the false belly you place a gut or bladder of blood, which blood must be of a calf or of a sheep; but in no wife of an ox or a cow, for that will be too thick. Then thrust or cause to be thrust into your breast a round bodkin, but herein see to the point of a dagger, so far as it may pierse through your gut or bladder: you becircum-which being pulled out againe, the said blood will stand or spurt out a good distance from you, especially if you strain your body to swell, and thrust therewith against the plate. You must ever remember to use (with words, countenance and gesture) such a grace, as may give a grace to the action, and more admiration in the beholders.

To draw a cord through your nose, mouth or hand, so sensible as is wonderful to see.

There is another juggling knack, which they call the bridle, being made a form or of two elder sticks, through the hollowness thereof is placed a cord, pattern of this the same being put on the nose like a pair of tongs or pinfers; and the bridle you shall cord, which goeth round about the same, being drawn to and fro, the before described holders will think the cord to go through your nose very dangerously. The if you turne over-knots at the end of the cord, which doe stay the same from being drawn yet a few out of the stick, may not be put out at the very top (for that must be stop leaves, ed up) but half an inch beneath each end; and so I say, when it is pulled, it will seem to passe through the nose; and then may you take a knife, and seem to cut the cord asunder, and pull the bridle from your nose.
The conclusion, wherein the reader is referred to certain patterns of instruments with which divers feats here specified are to be executed.

Herein I might write infinitely, but I hope it sufficeth, that I have delivered unto you the principles, and also the principal feats belonging to this art of juggling, so as any man conceiving thoroughly hereof may not only do all these things, but also may devise other as strange, and vary every of these devises into other forms as he can best conceive. And so long as the power of almighty God is not transposed to the juggler, nor offence minished by his uncleasing speech and behaviour but the action performed in public, to the delight of the beholders, so as always the juggler conveys in the end that these are no supernatural actions, but devices of men, and nimble conveyances, let all such curious conceited men as cannot afford their neighbours any comfort or commodity, but such as please their melancholick dispositions say what they list, for this will not only be found among indifferent actions, but such as greatly advance the power and glory of God, discovering their pride and falseness that take upon them to work miracles, and to be the mighty power of God, as Jannes and Jambres also, Simon Magnus did.

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

Neither do I speak (as they say) without book herein. For if time, place, and occasion serve, I can shew to much herein, that I am sure Badin, Spinaeus, and Fairsworsh, would swear I were a witch, and had a familiar devil at commandement. But truly my study and travell herein hath only beene employed to the end, I might prove them fools, and finde out the fraud of them that make them fools, as whereby they may become wiser, and God may have that which to him belongeth.

And because the manner of these juggling conveyances are not easily conceived by discourse of words; I have caused divers forms of instruments used in this art, which may serve for patterns to them, that would thoroughly see the secrets thereof; and make them for their own private practices, to try the effect of such devices, as in this treatise of legierdemain are shewed. Where note, that you shall find every instrument that is most necessarily occupied in the working of these strange feats, to bear the just and true number of the page, where the use thereof is in ample words declared.

Now will I proceed with another confounding point of witchcraft, that for the place, necessary for the time, and in mine opinion meet to be discovered, or at the least, to be defaced among deceitful arts. And because many are abused hereby to their utter undoing, for that it hath had passage under the protection of learning, whereby they pretend to accomplish their works, it hath gone freely without general controlment through all ages, nations, and people.
Here follow patterns of certain instruments to be used in the former juggling knacks.

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

To draw a cord through your nose, mouth or hand, which is called the bridle.

To be instructed in the right use of the said beadstones, read pag. 237 and 238. As for the bridle, read pag. 247. Place this after 248. fol.
The discovery

To thrust a Bodkin into your head, and through your tongue, &c.

The hitherto-most is the bodkin with the bowt; the middle-most is the bodkin with the hollow haft; the furthermost is the plain bodkin serving for show.

To be instructed and taught in the right use and ready practice of these bodkins, read pag. 244, 245.
To thrust a knife through your arme, and to cut halfe your note asunder, &c.

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

To be ready in the use and perfect in the practice of these knives here portraied, see page 245, 246.
The discovery

To cut off one's head, and to lay it in a platter, which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.

The form of the planks, &c.

The order of the action, as it is to be shewed.

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

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

CHAP. I.

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

They take upon them to turn upside downe,
All the earth between Southwark and Canterburie towne;
And to poyse it all of silver and gold, &c.
But ever they lack of their conclusion,
And to much folke they doe illusion.
For their stuffe slides away so fast,
That it makes them beggers at the last,
And by this craft they doe never win,
But make their purse empty, and their wits thin.

And because the practicers hereof would be thought wise, learned, cunning, and their crafts masters, they have devised words of art, sentences and epithets obscure, and conceptions so innumerable (which are the compounded of strange and rare simples) as confound the capacities of them that are either set on work herein, or be brought to behold or expect their conclusions. For what plain man would not believe, that they are learned and jolly fellows, that have in such readiness to many mysticall termes of art: as (for a taste) their subliming, amalgemeating, enluting, imbiving, incorporating, cementing, retinuation, terminations, mollifications, and inductions of bodies, matters com- bined and coagulated, ingots, texts, &c. Or who is able to conceive (by fit of purpose) the abrupt confusion, contrariety, and multitude of drugs, to bring credite, simples, and conceptions) the operation and mystery of their stuffe and to coulenage, workmanship. For these things and many more, are of necessity to be prepared and used in the execution of this indeavour; namely orpiment, sublimed Mercury, iron squames, Mercury crude, groundly large, balsam, verdigree, borace, holes, gall, arsenick, sal armoniack, brim-
brimstone, salt, paper, burnt bones, unslaked lime, clay, salt peter, vitriol, saltarre, alcalie, sal preparat, clay made with horse dung, mans hair, oile of tartrre, allum, gallie, woort, yest, argoll, refager, gleir of an eye, powders, ashes, dung, pisse, &c. Then have they waters corrosive and lincally, waters of alification, and water, rubifying, &c. Also oiles, ablusion, and metals fusible. Also their lamps, their urinals, dissectors, sublimatories, alembacks, viols, croflets, cucubits, stillatories, and their furnace of calcination: also their soft and subtle fires, some of wood, some of coale, compos'd specially of beech, &c. And because they will not seem to want any point of couenage to astonish the simple, or to move admiration to their enterprises, they have (as they affirm) four spirits to work withall, whereof the first is opimem; the second, quicksilver; the third, sal armoniack; the fourth, brimstone. Then have they seven celestiall bodies; namely, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Saturne, Jupiter, and Venus; to whom they apply seven terrestrial bodies; to wit, gold, silver, iron, quicksilver, lead, tinne, and copper, attributing unto these the operation of the other; specially if the terrestrial bodies be qualified, tempered, and wrought in the houre and day according to the farts of the celestiall bodies: with more like vanity.

CHAP. II.

The Alchymisters drift, the Chanoys yeomans tale, of Alchymisticall stones and waters.

Now you must understand that the end and drift of all their work is, to attain unto the composition of the philosophers stone, called Alixer, and to the stone called Titanus; and to Magnatia, which is a water made of the four elements, which (they say) the philosophers are sworn neither to discover, nor to write of. And by these they mortifie quicksilver, and make it malleable, and to hold touch: whereby also they convert any other metall (but specially copper) into gold. This science (forsooth) is the secret of secrets; even as Salomon's conjuration is said among the conjurers to be so likewise. And thus, when they chance to meet with young men, or simple people, they boast and brag, and say with Simon Magnus, that they can work miracles, and bring mighty things to passe. In which respect Chaucer truly hereof saith:

Each man is as wise as Solomon,
When they are together everichone:
But he that seemes wisest, is most fool in priest
And he that is truest, is a very thief.
They seem friendly to them that know-nought,
But they are fiendly both in word and thought
Yet many men ride and seek their acquaintance,
Not knowing of their false governance.
He also faith, and experience verifieth his assertion, that they look ill favouredly, and are alwayes beggerly attired: his words are these:

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

The tale of the chantons yeoman published by Chaucer, doth make (by way of example) a perfect demonstration of the art of Alchemy, or multiplication: the effect whereof is this. A chanon being an Alchemister or coutener, espied a covetous priest, whose purse he knew to be well lined, whom he assaulted with flattery and subtil speech, two principall points belonging to this art. At the length he borrowed money of the priest, which is the third part of the art, without which the professors can doe no good, nor indeur in good estate. Then he at his day repaid the money, which is the most difficult point in this art, and a rare experiment. Finally, to requite the priests courtesie, he promised unto him such instructions, as whereby with expedition he should become infinitely rich, and all through this art of multiplication. And this is the most common point in this science; for herein they must be skillfull before they can be famous, or attain to any credit. The priest disliked not his proffer; specially because it tended to his profit, and embraced his courtesie. Then the chanon willed him forthwith to send for three ounces of quicksilver, which he said he would transubstantiate (by his art) into perfect silver. The priest thought that a man of his profession could not dissemble, and therefore with great joy and hope accomplished his request.

And now (forthwith) goeth this jolly Alchemister about his businesse and work of multiplication, and catcheth the priest to make a fire of coales, in the bottom whereof he placeth a croset; and pretending only to help the priest to lay the coals handsomely, he soifeth into the middle ward or lane of coales, a beechen coal, within the which was conveyed an ingot of perfect silver; which (when the coals was consum'd) fell down into the croset, that was (I say) directly under it. The priest perceived not the fraud, but received the ingot of silver, and was not a little joyfull.

The points or parts of the art Alchemystical which may be called the mystic or smoky science.
full to see such certain success proceed from his owne handy work wherein could be no fraud (as he surely conceived) and therefore very willingly gave the chanon forty pounds for the receipt of this experiment, who for that sum of money taught him a lesson in Alchymistry, but he never returned to hear repetitions or to see how he profited.

CHAP. III.

Of a yeoman of the countrey consuened by an Alchymist.

I could site many Alchymisticall couenances wrought by Doctor BarcoFF, Penzey, and such other; but I will passe them over, and only repeat three experiments of that art; the one practiced upon an honest yeoman in the county of Kent, the other upon a mighty prince; the third upon a covetous priest. And first touching the yeoman, he was overtaken and used in manner and forme following, by a notable cunning varlet, who professed Alchymistry, juggling, witchcraft, and conjuration: and by means of his companions and confederates deftly did mock the simplicity and ability of the said yeoman, and found out his estate and humour to be convenient in this purpose; and finally came a wooing (as they say) to his daughter, to whom he made love cunningly in words, though his purpose tended to another matter. And among other illusions and tales concerning his owne commendation, for wealth, parentage, inheritance, alliance, activity, learning, pregnancy, and cunning, he boasted of his knowledge and experience in Alchymistry, making the simple man believe that he could multiply, and on one angell make two or three. Which seemed strange to the poor man; insomuch as he became willing enough to see that conclusion: whereby the Alchymister had more hope and comfort to attain his desire, than if his daughter had yeilded to have married him. To be short, he in the presence of the said yeoman, did include within a little ball of virgine wax, a couple of angels; and after certain ceremonies and conjuration words he seemed to deliver the same unto him: but in truth (through legierdemain) he conveyed into the yeomans hand another ball of the same scangling, wherein were inclosed many more angels than were in the ball which he thought he had received. Now (fortieth) the Alchymister bad him lay up the same ball of wax, and also use certain ceremonies (which I thought good here to omit.) And after certain dazes, hours, and minutes, they returned together, according to the appointment, and found great gaines by the multiplication of the angels. Insomuch as he, being a plain man, was hereby persuaded, that he should not only have a rare and notable good sonne in law, but a companion that might help to adde unto his wealth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and felicity. And to increase this opinion in him, as also to win his further favour; but specially to bring his cunning Alchymistry, or rather his lewd purpose to passe; he told him that it were folly to multiply a pound of gold; when as easily they might multiply a million: and therefore counselled him
to produce all the money he had, or could borrow of his neighbours and friends; and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiply the same, and redouble it exceedingly, even as he saw by experience how he dealt with the small summe before his face. This yeoman in hope of gains and preferment, &c. consented to this sweet motion, and brought out and laid before his feet, not the one half of his goods, but all that he had, or could make or borrow any manner of way. Then this juggling Alchymister, having obtained his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantity farre bigger than the other, and conveying the same into his boseme or pocke, delivered another ball (as before) of the like quantity unto the yeoman, to be reserved and safely kept in his chest; whereof (because the matter was of importance) either of them must have a key, and a several lock, that no interruption might be made to the ceremony, nor abuse by either of them, in defrauding each other. Now (forsooth) these circumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the Alchymisters purpose thereby performed; he told the yeoman that (until a certain day and hour limited to returne) either of them might imploy themselves about their businesse and necessary affairs; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the city of London, and in the mean time the gold should multiply, &c. But the Alchymister (belike) having other matters of more importance came, not just at the hour appointed, nor yet at the day, nor within the year: So as, although it were somewhat against the yeomans conscience to violate his promise, or break the league; yet partly by the longing he had to see, and partly the desire he had to enjoy the fruit of his excellent experiment, having (for his owne security) and the others satisfaction, some testimony at the opening thereof, to witnesse his sincere dealing, he brake up the coffer, and loe he soon espied the ball of waxe, which he himselfe had laid up there with his owne hand. So as, he thought (if the hardest should fall) he should find his principall: and why not as good increase hereof now, as of the other before? But alas! when the waxe was b. oken, and the mettall discovered, the gold was much abased, and became perfect lead.

Now who so lift to utter his folly,
Let him come forth and learn to multiply 5;
And every man that hath ought in his cofer,
Let him appear, and waxe a Philosopher,
In learning of his elvish nicelore,
All is in vain, and pardee much more
Is to learn a lewd man this suitetee,
Fie, speak not thereof it wolle not be:
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none;
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.
CHAP. IV.

A certain King abused by an Alchymist, and of the Kings fool.

A King confused by Alchymistry.

The second example is of another Alchymist that came to a certain King, promising to work by his art many great things, as well in compounding and transubstantiating of metals, as in executing of other exploits of no lesser admiration. But before he began, he found the means to receive by virtue of the Kings warrant, a great sum of money in present, alluring the King and his counsell, that he would shortly return, and accomplish his promise, &c. Soone after, the Kings fool among other fools, fell into a discourse and discovery of fools, and handled that common place so pleasantly, that the King began to take delight therein, and to like his merry vein. Whereupon he would needs have the fool deliver unto him a schedull or scroll, containing the names of all the most excellent fools in the land.

So he caused the Kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of his privy counsellors. The King seeing him so lawfully and maleficiently, meant to have had him punished; but some of his counsellors, knowing him to be a fellow pleasantly conceived, besought his Majesty rather to demand of him a reason of his libell, &c. than to proceed in extremity against him. Then the fool being asked why he so lawfully accused the King and his counsellors of principal folly, answered; Because he saw one foolish knave beguile them all, and to confound them of so great a maffe of money, and finally to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the counsellors) he may returne and performe his promise, &c. Then (quoth the fool) I can help all the matter easilly. How (said the King) canst thou doe that? Marry sir (laid he) then I will blot out your name, and put in his, as the most fool in the world. Many other practices of the like nature might be hereunto annexed, for the detection of their knavery and deceits whereupon this art dependeth, whereby the readers may be more delighted in reading, than the practisers benefited by simply using the same. For it is an art consisting wholly of subtlety and deceit, whereby the ignorant and plain minded man through his too much credulity is circumvented, and the humour of the other flye counsellor satisfied.

CHAP. V.

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

The third example is reported by Erasmus, whose excellent learning, and wit is had to this day in admiration. He in a certain dialogue intituled Alchymistica doth finely bewray the knavery of this crafty art, where-
Hartumum.  
of Witchcraft.  
Chap. 5.

wherein he proposeth one Balbine, a very witty, learned, and devout priest; howbeit such a one as was bewitched, and mad upon the art of Alchymistry. Which thing another coulenteer priest perceived, and dealt with him in manner and forme following.

M. Doctor Balbine (said he) I being a stranger unto you may seem very faiy to trouble your worship with my bold suit, who alyues are busied in great and divine studies. To whom Balbine, being a man of few words, gave a nodde: which was more then he used to every man. But the priest knowing his humour, said: I am sure sir, if you knew my suit, you would pardon my importunity. I pray thee good sir Jobs (said Balbine) shew me thy mine, and be brief. That shall I doe sir (said he) with a good will. You know M. Doctor, through your skill in Philosophy, that every mans destiny it not alikes: and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whether I may be counted happy or infortunate. For when I weigh mine owne case, or rather my fate, in part I seem fortunate, and in part miserable. But Balbine being a man of some judicene, alyues willed him to draw his matter to a more compendious forme: which thing the priest said he would doe, and could the better performe, because Balbine himselfe was so learned and expert in the very matter he had to repeat; and thus he began.

I have had, even from my childhood, a great felicity in the art of Alchymistry, which is the very marrow of all Philosophy. Balbine at the naming of the word Alchymistry, inclined and yeelded himselfe more attentively to hearken unto him: marry it was only in gesture of body; for he was spare of speech, and yet he bad him proceed with his tale. Then said the priest, wretch that I am, it was not my luck to light on the best way: for you M. Balbine know (being so universally learned) that in this art there are two wayes, the one called Longation, the other Curtacion; and it was mine ill hap to fall upon Longation. When Balbine asked him the difference of those two wayes; Oh sir said the Priest, you might count me impudent, to take upon me to tell you, that of all other are best learned in this art, to whom I come, most humbly to beseech you to teach me that lucky way of Curtation. The cunninger you are, the more easilie you may teach me: and therefore hide not the gift that God hath given you, from your brother, who may perish for want of his desire in this behalf: and doubleffe Jesus Christ will enrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

Balbine being abashed partly with his importunity, and partly with the strange circumstance, told him that (in truth) he neither knew what Longation or Curtacion meant; and therefore required him to expound the nature of the words. Well (quoth the priest) since it is your pleasure, I will doe it, though I shall thereby take upon me to teach him that is indeed much cunninger then my selfe. And thus he began: O sir, they that have spent all the dayes of their life in this divine faculty, doe turne one nature and forme into another, two wayes, the one is very brief; but somewhat dangerous; the other much longer, marry very safe, and commendious. Howbeit, I think my selfe most unhappy that have spent my time and travel in that way which utterly misliketh me; and

Note how the coulenteer circumventeth Balbine.
never could get any one to shew me the other that I so earnestly desire.
And now I come to your worship, whom I know to be wholly learned
and expert herein, hoping that you will (for charities sake) comfort,
your brother, whose felicity and well doing now resteth only in your
hands; and therefore I beseech you relieve me with your counsel.

By these and such other words when this confounding valour had avoided
suspiion of guile, and assured Balbine that he was perfect and cunning
in the other way: Balbine his fingers itched, and his heart tickled; so
as he could hold no longer, but burst out with these words: Let this
Curation go to the devill, whose name I did never so much as once
hear of before, and therefore doo much leeffe understand it, But tell me
in good faith, doo you exactly understand longation? Ye aye said
the priest, doubte you not hereof: but I have no fanstie to that way, it is so
tediuous. Why (quoth Balbine) what time is required in the accom-
plishment of this work by way of longation? Too too much said
the Alchymister, even almost a whole year: but this is the best, the
surest and safest way, though it be for so many moneths prolonged,
before it yeeld advantage for cost and charges expended thereabouts.
Set your heart at rest (laid Balbine) it is no matter, though it were two years,
so as you be well assured to bring it then to passe.

Finally, it was there and then concluded, that presently the priest
should goe in hand with the work, and the other should bear the charge,
the gains to be indifferentely divided betwixt them both, and the work
to be done privily in Balbine's house. And after the mutuell oath was
taken for silence, which is usifull and requisite alwayes in the beginning of
this mysterie; Balbine delivered money to the Alchymister for bellows,
glasses, coales, &c. which should serve for the erection and furniture of
the forge. Which money the Alchymister had no sooner fingered, but
he ran merrily to the dice, to the alehouse, and to the stewes, and who
there so lusty as coullening fit John: who indeed this way made a kinde
of alchymistical transformation of money. Now Balbine urged him to
go about his businesse, but the other told him, that if the matter were
once begun, it were halfe ended: for therein consisted the greatest
difficulty.

Well, at length he began to furnish the furnace, but now forsooth a
new supply of gold must be made, as the feed and spawn of that which
must be ingendered and grow out of this work of Alchymistry. For even
as a fisch is not caught without a bairn, no more is gold multiplied with-
out some parcels of gold: and therefore gold must be the founda-
tion and groundwork of that art, or else all the fat is in the fire. But all
this while Balbine was occupied in calculating, and musing upon his ac-
count; casting by arithmetick, how that if one owne yeelded fifteen,
then how much garnes two thousand ownces might yeeld: for so much he
determined to employ that way.

When the Alchymister had also consumed this mony, shewing great
travell a moneth or twain, in placing the bellowes, the coales, and such
other stuffe, and no whet of profit proceeding or comming thereof. Bal-
bine demanded how the world went, our Alchymister was as a man amazed.

Howbeit
Now he said at length; forsooth even as such matters of importance commonly doe goe forward, whereunto there is alwayes very difficult necessity. There was (faith he) a fault (which I have now found out) in the choyse of the coales, which were of oake, and should have been of beech. One hundred dukers were spent that way, so as the dicing house and the strewe were partakers of Balbine's charges. But after a new supply of money, better coales were provided, and matters more circumspectly handled. Howbeit, when the forge had travelled long, and brought forth nothing, there was another excuse found out, to wit, that the glases were not tempered as they ought to have been. But the more money was disbursed hereabout, the worse willing was Balbine to give over, according to the dices vein, whom fruitlese hope bringeth into a fools paradise.

The Alchymist, to cast a good colour upon his knavery, took on like a man moonflick, and protested with great words full of forgery and lies, that he never had such luck before. But having found the error, he would be sure enough never hereafter to fall into the like oversight, and that henceforward all should be safe and sure, and thoroughly recompensed in the end, with large increase. Hereupon the workhouse is now the third time repaired, and a new supply yet once again put into the Alchymists hand; so as the glases were changed, and now at length the Alchymist uttered another point of his art and cunning to Balbine; to wit, that those matters would proceed much better, if he lent our Lady a few french crownes in reward; for the art being holy, the matter cannot prosperously proceed, without the favour of the saints. Which counsel exceedingly pleased Balbine, who was so devout and religious, that no day escaped him, but he said our Lady matters.

- Now our Alchymister having received the offering of money, goeth on his holy pilgrimage, even to the next village, and there contumeth it every penny, among bawd and knaves: and at his returne, he told Balbine that he had great hope of good luck in his businesse; the holy virgin gave such favourable countenance, and such attendent ear unto his prayers and vows. But after this, when there had been great travell bestowed, and not a dram of gold yeelded nor levied from the forge; Balbine began to expostulate, and reason somewhat roundly with the counsaying fellow; who still said he never had such filthy luck in all his life before, and could not devise by what means it came to passe, that things went so overthwartly. But after much debating betwixt them upon the matter, at length it came into Balbine's head to ask him if he had not foreflowed to hear masse, or to say his hours; which if he had done, nothing could prosper under his hand. Without doubt (said the counsener) you have hit the nail of the head. Wretch that I am! I remember once or twice being at a long feast, I omitted to say mine Ave Mary after dinner. So so (said Balbine) no marvel then that a matter of such importance hath had so ill success. The Alchymister promis'd to do penance; as to hear twelve masses for two that he had foreflowed; and for every Ave overspill'd, to render and repeat twelve to our Lady.

Soone after this, when all our Alchymisters money was spent, and also
his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this device, as a man wonderfully fraied and amazed, piteously crying and lamenting his misfortune. Whereas Balbine being astonished, desired to know the cause of his complaint. Oh (said the Alchymister) the courriers have spied our enterprise; so as I for my part look for nothing but present imprisonment. Whereas Balbine was abashed, because it was flat felony to go about that matter, without special licence. But (quoth the Alchymister) I fear not to be put to death, I would it would fall our for marry I fear lest I should be shut up in some castle or tower, and there shall be forced to tug about this work and broyle in this businesse all the daisies of my life.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, Balbine, because he was cunning in the art of Rhetorick, and not altogether ignorant in law, beat his brains in devising how the accusation might be answered, and the danger avoided. Alas (said the Alchymister) you trouble your self all in vain, for you see the crime is not to be denied, it is so generally bruited in court: neither can the fact be defended, because of the manifest law published against it. To be short, when many wights were devis'd, and diverse excuses alledged by Balbine, and no sure ground to stand on for their security; at length the Alchymister having present want and need of money, framed his speech in this fort: Sir, said he to Balbine, we use now counsel, and yet the matter requireth haste. For I think they are coming for me yet this time to take me away to prison; and I see no remedy but to die valiantly in the cause. In good faith (said Balbine) I know not what to say to the matter. No more do I, said the Alchymister, but that I see these courriers are hungry for money, and so much the readier to be corrupted and framed to silence. And though it be a hard matter to give those rakeshels till they be satisfied, yet I see no better counsel or advice at this time. No more could Balbine, who gave him thirty ducats of gold to stop their mouths, who in an honest cause would rather have given so many teeth out of his head, then one of those pieces out of his pouch. This coin had the Alchymister, who for all his pretences and gay glosses was in no danger, other than for lack of money to leese his leman or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not give over, nor forbear her company, for all the goods that he was able to go, were it by never so much indirect dealing and unlawful means.

Well, yet now once againe doth Balbine newly furnish the forge, a prayer being made before to our Lady to bless the enterprise, and all things being provided and made ready according to the Alchymister's own asking, and all necessaries largely ministred after his owne liking; a whole year being likewise now consumed about this bootleffe business, and nothing brought to passe there fell out a strange chance, and that by this means ensuing, as you shall hear.

Our Alchymister forsooth used a little extraordinary lewd company with a courriers wife, whiles he was from home; who suspecting the matter, came to the door unlooked for, and called to come in, threatening them that he would break open the doores upon them. Some present device (you see) was now requisite, and there was none other to be had,
but such as the opportunity offered; to wit, to leap out at a back window, which be did, not without great hazard, and some hurt. But this was soon blazed abroad, so as it came to Balbine's ear, who shewed in con- tenance that he had heard hereof, though he said nothing. But the Alchymister knew him to be devout, and somewhat superstitious; and such men are easy to be intreated to forgive; how great soever the fault be, and devised to open the matter in manner and forme following.

O Lord (faith he before Balbine) how unfortunately goeth our business forward! I marvell what should be the cause. Whereat Balbine, being one otherwise that seemed to have vowed silence, took occasion to speak, saying; it is not hard to know the impediment and stop hereof: for it is sinne that hindereth this matter; which is not to be dealt in but with pure hands. Whereat the Alchymister fell upon his knees, beating his breast, and lamentably crying, saying; Oh matter Balbine, you say most truly, it is sinne that hath done us all this displeasure, not your sinnes but mine owne, good matter Balbine. Neither will I be ashamed to discover my misshapen unto you, as unto a most holy and ghostly father. The infirmity of the flesh had overcome me, and the Devil had caught me in his snare. Oh wretch that I am! Of a Priest I am become an adulterer. Howbeit, the money that erewhile was sent to our Lady, was not utterly lost; for if she had not been, I had certainly been slain. For the good man of the house brake open the door, and the window was less than I could get out thereat. And in that extremity of danger it came into my minde to fall down prostrate to the virgins, beseeching her (if our gift were acceptable in her sight) that she would, in consideration thereof, assist me with her help. And to be short, I ran to the window, and found it big enough to leap out at. Which thing Balbine did not only believe to be true, but in respect thereof forgave him, religiously admonishing him to shew himself thankful to that pitiful and blessed Lady.

Now once again more is made a new supply of money, and mutuell promise made to handle this divine matter hence forward purely and holy. To be short, after a great number of such parts played by the Alchymister; one of Balbine's acquaintance espied him, that knew him from his childhood to be but a cunning merchant, and told Balbine what he was, & that he would handle him in the end, even as he had used many others; for a knave he ever was, and so he would prove. But what did Balbine think you? Did he complain of this counterfeit, or cause him to be punished? No, but he gave him money in his purse, and sent him away, desiring him of all courtezie, not to blab abroad how he had confedered him. And as for the knave Alchymister, he need not care who knew it, or what came of it; for he had nothing in goods or fame to be lost. And as for his cunning in Alchymistry, he had as much as an affe. By this discourse Erasmus would give us to note, that under the golden name of Alchymistry there lyeth lurking no small calamity; wherein there be such several shifts and suits of rare subtleties and deceits, as that not only wealthy men are thereby many times impoverished, and that with the sweet allurement of this art, through their owne covetousnesse;
The discovery of Alchymistrie

as also by the flattering baits of hoped gain: but even wise and learned men hereby are shamefully overshot, partly for want of due experience in the wiles and subtleties of the world, and partly through the softness and pliability of their good nature, which confessing knaves doe commonly abuse to their own lust and commodity, and to the others utter undoing.

Chap. VI.

The opinion of diverse learned men touching the folly of Alchymistrie.

Albert in his book of Minerals reporteth, that Avicenna treating of Alchymistrie, saith: Let the dealers in Alchymistrie understand, that the very nature and kind of things cannot be changed, but rather made by art to resemble the same in shew and likeness: so that they are not the very things indeed, but seem to be in appearance; as castles and towers do seem to be built in the clouds, whereas the representations thereof shewed, are nothing else but the resemblance of certain objects below, caufed in some bright and clear cloud, when the aire is void of thicknesse and grossnesse. A sufficient proofe hereof may be the looking glaffe. And we see 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 saith: He that shall professe the professions and practice, saying; I hope for prosperous successe in Alchymistrie. Petrarch answereth him: It is a wonder from whence that hope should spring, for the fruit thereof did never yet fall to thy lot, nor yet at any time chance to any other; as the report commonly goeth, that many rich men, by this vanity and madnesse have been brought to beggary, whiles they have wearied themselves therewith, weakened their bodies, and wafted their wealth in trying the means to make gold in gonder gold. I hope for gold according to the workman's promise, faith the disciple. He that hath promised the gold, will run away with thy gold, and thou never the wiser, faith Petrarch. He promiseth me great good, faith the disciple. He will first serve his own turn, and relieve his private poverty, faith Petrarch; for Alchymisters are a beggerly kind of people, who though they confess themselves bare and needy, yet will they make others rich and wealthy: as though others poverty did more molest and pity them then their owne. These be the words of Petrarch: a man of great learning and no lesse experience; who as in his time he saw the fraudulent fetches of this compassing craft; so hath there been no age, since the same hath been broached, wherein some few wise men have not smelt out the evil meaning of these lascivious merchants, and bewrayed them to the world.

An ancient writer of a religious order, who lived above a thousand years since, discovering the diversities of thefts, after a long enumeratio, in Alchymisters, whom he calleth Falsificantes metallorum & mineralium, witches and counterfeiters of metals and minerals; and setteth thep
them as deep in the degree of thesees, as any of the rest, whose injuri-ous dealings are brought to open arraignement. It is demanded (if that be) why the art of Alchymistry doth never prove that in effect, which is pretendeth in precept and promise. The answer is ready; that if by art gold might be made, then were it behooveswell to know the manner and proceeding of nature in generation; 7th art is said to imitate and counterfeit nature. Again, it is because of the lameness and unperfectness of philosophy, especially concerning minerals; no such manner of proceeding being set down by consent and agreement of philosophers in writing, touching the true and undoubted effect of the same. Whereupon one supposeth that gold is made of one kind of stuffe this way, others of another kind of stuffe that way. And therefore it is a chance if any attaine to the artificial applying of the actives and passives of gold and silver. Moreover, it is certain, that quicksilver and sulphur are the materials (as they terme them) of metals, and the agent is heat, which directeth; howbeit it is very hard to know the due proportion of the mixture of the materials; which proportion the generation of gold doth require. And admit that by chance they attaine to such proportions; yet can they not readily resume or doe it again in another work, because of the hidden diversities of materials, and the uncertainty of applying the actives and passives.

The same ancient author concluding against this vain art, saith, that of all christian lawmakpers it is forbidden, and in no case tolerable in any commonwealth; first because it presume to forge idols for covetousnesse, which are gold and silver; wherupon saith the apostle, Covetousnesse is idol worship; secondly, for that (as Aristotle saith) coin should be scant and rare, that it might be dear; but the same would wax vile, and of small estimation, if by the art of Alchymistry gold and silver might be multiplied; thirdly, because (as experience proveth) wise men are thereby bewitched, counsellers increaseth, princes abused, the rich impoverished, the poor beggered, the multitude made fools, and yet the craft and craftsmasters (oh madnesse!) credited. Thus saith he. Whereby in few words he disaccountenanceth that profession, not by the imaginations of his owne brain, but by manifold circumstances of manifest proof. Touching the which practice I think enough hath been spoken, and more a great deal than needed; 7th so plain and demonstrable a matter requireth the lesse travell in confusion.

CHAP. VII.

That vain and deceitful hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that their labours therein are bootlesse, &c.

Hitherto somewhat at large I have detected the knavery of the art Alchymistical, partly by reasons, and partly by examples: so that the thing it selfe may no lesse appear to the judicall eye of the considerers, then
than the bones and sinews of a body anatomized, to the corporal eye of the beholders. Now it shall not be amiss nor impertinent, to treat somewhat of the nature of that vain and fruitless hope, which induceth and draweth men forward as it were with cords, not only to the admiration, but also to the approbation of the same: in such sort that some are compelled ruthfully to sing (as one in old time did, whether in token of good or ill luck, I do not now well remember) Spes & fortuna valet; Hope and good hap adieux.

No marvell then though Alchymists allure men so sweetly, and tangle them in snares of folly; such the bases which it useth is the hope of gold, the hunger whereof is by the poet termed Sacra, which some doe English, Holy; not understanding that it is rather to be interpreted, Curled or detestable, by the figure Acyron, when a word of an improper signification is cast in a clause as if were a cloud: or by the figure Antiphrasis, when a word importeth a contrary meaning to that which it commonly hath. For what reason can there be, that the hunger of gold should be counted holy, the same having (as depending upon it) to many millions of mishapen and miseries: as treasons, thefts, adulteries, man slaugher, truce breaking, perjuries, coupliances, and a great troope of other enormities, which were here too long to rehearse. And if the nature of every action be determinable by the end thereof, then cannot this hunger be holy, but rather accursed, which pulleth after it as it were with iron chains such a band of outrages and enormities, as of all their labour, charge, care, and cost, &c. they have nothing else left them in lieu of lucre, but only some few burned bricks of a ruinous furnace, a peck or two of ashes, and such light stubble, which they are forced peradventure in fine to fell when beggary hath arrested and laid his mace on their shoulders. As for all their gold, it is resolved in primam matritiam, or rather in levem quendam fumulum, into a light smoke or fumigation of vapors, than which nothing is more light, nothing lesse substantiall, spiris only excepted, out of whose nature and number these are not to be exempted.

CHAP. VIII.

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

That which I have declared before, by reasons, examples, and authorities, I will now prosecute and conclude by another example; to the end that we, as others in former ages, may judge of vain hope accordingly, and be no less circumspect to avoid the inconveniences thereof, than Ulysses was wary to escape the incantations of Circe that old transforming witch. Which example of mine is drawn from Lewis the French King, the eleventh of that name, who being, on a time at Burgundia, fell acquainted by occasion of hunting with one Conan, a clownish but yet an honest and hearty good fellow. For princes and great men de
light much in such plain clubhutches. The king oftentimes, by means of his game, used the countryman's house for his refreshing; and as noble men sometimes take pleasure in homely and coarse things, so the King did not refuse to eat turnips and rape roots in countryage. Shortly after King Leves being at his palace, void of troubles and disquietude, Conan's wife will'd him to repair to the court, to shew himself to the King, to put him in mind of the old entertainment which he had at his house, and to present him with some of the fairest and choicest rape roots that he had in store. Conan seemed loth, alledging that he should but lose his labour; for princes (faith be) have other matters in hand, than to intend to think of such trifling courtseises. But Conan's wife overcame him, and persuaded him in the end, choosing a certain number of the best and most fair rape roots that she had; which when she had given her husband to carry to the court, he set forward on his journey a good trading pace. But Conan being tempted by the way, partly with the desire of eating, and partly with the toothsome ness of the meat which he bare, that by little and little he devoured up all the roots saving one, which was a very fair and a goodly great one indeed. Now when Conan was come to the court, it was his luck to stand in such a place, as the King passing by, and spying the man, did well remember him, and commanded that he should be brought in. Conan very cheerfully followed his guide hard at the heels, and no sooner saw the King, but bluntly comming to him, reached out his hand, and presented the gift to his Majesty. The King received it with more cheerfulness than it was offered, and had one of those that stood next him, to take it, and lay it up among those things which he esteemed most, and had in greatest accept. Then he had Conan to dine with him, and after dinner gave the countryman great thanks for his rape root; who made no bones of the matter, but boldly made challenge and claim to the King's promised courtseise. Whereupon the King commanded, that a thousand crowns should be given him in recompenze for his root.

The report of this bountifulness was spread in short space over all the kings househould: in so much as one of his courtiers, in hope of the like or a larger reward gave the King a very proper gennet. Whose drift the King perceiving, and judging that his former liberality to the clown, provoked the courtier to this covetous attempt, took the gennet very thankfully; and calling some of his noblemen about him, began to confute with them, what mends he might make his servant for his horse. While this was a doing, the courtier conceived pasting good hope of some princely largesse, calculating and calling his cards in this manner: If his Majesty rewarded a silly clown so bountifully for a simple rape root, what will he do to a jolly courtier for a gallant gennet? While the King was debating the matter, and one said this, another that, and the courtier travelled all the while in vain hope, at last faith the King, even upon the sudden: I have now beheld you what to bestow upon him: and calling one of his nobles to him, whispered him in the ear, and willed him to fetch a thing, which he should unde in his chamber wrapped up in silk. The root is brought wrapped in silk, which the King
King with his owne hands gave to the courtier, using these words therewithall, that he sped well, in so much as it was his good hap to have for his horse a jewell that cost him a thousand crownes. The courtier was a glad man, and at his departing longed to be looking what it was, and his heart danced for joy. In due time therefore he unwrapped the silk (a sort of his fellow courtiers flocking about him to tell him his good luck) and having unfolded it, he found therein a dry and withered rape root. Which spectacle though it set the standers about in a loud laughter, yet it quailed the courtiers courage, and cast him into a shrewd fit of penitvenelle. Thus was the confidence of this courtier turned to vanity, who upon hope of good speed was willing to part from his horse for had I wif.

The morall of the premises, drive undiscreet and unexpert men. And therefore no marvel though Alchymisters dream and doe after double advantage, saving like Aesop's dogs, who greedily coveting to catch and snatch at the shadow of the fleth which he carried in his mouth over the water, lost both the one and the other, as they doe their increafe and their principall. But to break off abruptly from this matter, and to leave these hypocrites (for why may they not be so named, who as Homer, speaking in detestation of such rakehels, saith very divinely and truly;

Homer. Odi etenim cecum vobis, quicumque loquuntur
Ore alind, tacitoque alind sub pede claudunt:

Englished by Abraham Fleming. I hate even even as the gates of hell,
Those that one thing with tongue do tell,
And notwithstanding closely keep
Another thing in heart full deep.

To leave these hypocrites (I say) in the dregs of their dishonesty, I will conclude against them peremptorily, that they, with the table abovehearted, and the rout hereafter to be mentioned, are rank counsellers, and consuming cankers to the common wealth, and therefore to be rejected and excommunicated from the fellowship of all honest men. For now their art, which turneth all kind of metals that they can come by into mist and smoke, is no leffe apparent to the world, than the clear sunny rayses at noon fled; in so much that I may say with the poet;

Aul. Persius, Satyr. 3. Haec populus videt, multumque sorosa juventutem
Ingemina tremulor noso crismata cachinnos:

Englished by Abraham Fleming. All people laugh them now to scorne,
each strong and lusty blond
Redoubleth quavering laughter loud
with wrinkled nose a good.

So that, if any be so addicted unto the vanity of the art, Alchymisticall
Of Witchcraft.

Chap. I.

Idoni expounded.

as every fool will have his fancy and that (beside so many experimented examples of divers, whose wealth hath vanished like a vapor, while they have beene over rash in the practice heretof) this discourse will not move to descent from such extreme dotage, I say to him or them and that

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dicitque factique quod ipse
Namn esse hominis non sanus sive mel.

He faith and doth that every thing, which mad Orestes might;
With oath averre became a man
hereof of reason right.

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The xv. Booke.

The exposition of Idoni, and where it is found, whereby the whole art of conjuration is deciphered.

CHAP. I.

His word Idoni is derived of Iada, which properly signifieth to know: it is sometimes translated, Divinum, which is a diviner or soothsayer, as in Deut. 18. Levit. 20. Sometimes Ariolus, which is one that also taketh upon him to foretell things to come, and is found Levit. 19. 2 Kings 23. Esa. 19. To be short, the opinion of them that are most skilfull in the tongues, is, that it comprehendeth all them, which take upon them to know all things past and to come and to give answers accordingly. It always followeth the word Ob, and in the scriptures is not named severally from it, and differeth little from the same in sense, and doe both conceit oracles uttered by spirits, possessed people, or confusers. What will not confusers or witches take upon them to doe? Wherein will they profess ignorance? Aske them any question, they will undertake to resolve you, even of that which none but God knoweth. And to bring their purposes the better to passe, as also to winne further credit unto the counterfeit art which they profess, they procure confederates, whereby they work wonders. And when they have either learning,
15. Book. The discovery

Divels & spirits.

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

CHAP. II.

An inventarie of the names, shapes, powers, government, and effects of divels and spirits, of their several signories and degrees: a strange discourse worth the reading.

Salomon's notes of conjuration, Baell.

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

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

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

Amon, or Aaron, is a great and mighty marques, and commeth abroad in the likeness of a wolfe, having a serpents tale, specking out and breathing
breathing flames of fire, when he putteth on the shape of a man, he sheweth out dogs teeth, and a great head like to a mighty raven, he is the strongest prince of all other, and understandeth all things past and to come, he procureth favour, and reconcileth both friends and foes, and ruleth forty legions of devils.

Barbatos, a great countre or earle, and also a duke, he appeareth in Signa Sagittariae Sylvetris, with foure kings, which bring companies and great troops. He understandeth the singing of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowing of bullocks, and the voice of all living creatures. He detecteth treasures hidden by magicians and enchanters, and is of the order of virtues, which in part beare rule: he knoweth all things past and to come, and reconcileth friends and powers, and governeth thirty legions of devils by his authority.

Buer is a great presdient, and is seen in this signe, he absolutely teacheth philosophy morall and natural, and also logicke, and the vertue of herbs: he giveth the best familiars, he can heale all diseases, specially of men, and reigneth over fifty legions.

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 over forty legions of devils.

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

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

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

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

Lerdje, alias Oray, a great marquett, shewing himselfe in the like.
15. Book. The discovery of a gallant archer, carrying a bowe and a quiver, he is author of all barcelis, he doth puttrife all such wounds as are made with arrowes by archers, Quos optimos obiect tribus diebus diebus, and he hath regiment over thirty legions.

**Valcavar.**

Valcavar, alias Malephar, is a strong duke, comming forth in the shape of a lion, and the head of a sheef, he is very familiar with them to whom he maketh himself acquainted, till he hath brought them to the gallowes, and ruleth ten legions.

**Morax.**

Morax, alias Fwajj, a great earle and a president, he is scene like a bull, and if he take unto him a mans face, he maketh men wonderfull cunning in astronomy, and in all the liberal sciences: he giveth good familiars and wise, knowing the power and vertue of hearts and stones, which are precious, and ruleth thirtie six legions.

**Ipas.**

Ipas, alias Ayppox, is a great earle and a prince, appearing in the shape of an angel, and yet indeed more obscure and filthy than a lion, with a lions head, a gooses feet, and a hares tales: he knoweth things to come and past, he maketh a man witty, and bold, and hath under his jurisdiction thirty six legions.

**Naberius.**

Naberius, alias Carbenus, is a valiant marquesse, shewing himselfe in the form of a crow, when he speakeith with a hoarse voice, he maketh a man amiable and cunning in all arts, and specially in rhetorick, he procureth the loste of prelacies and dignities, thencene legions heare and obey him.

**Glasya Labolas.**

Glasya Labolas, alias Caarcrinolas, or Caasimolax, is a great president, who commeth forth like a dog, and hath wings like a griffin, he giveth the knowledge of arts, and is the captain of all manslayers: he understandeth things present and to come, he gaineth the minds and love of friends and foes, he maketh a man go invisible, and hath the rule of six and thirty legions.

**Zepar.**

Zepar is a great duke, appearing as a fouldier, inflaming women with the love of men, and when he is hidden he changeth his shape, untill they may enjoy their beloved, he also maketh them barren, and six and twenty legions are at his obey and commande.

**Bileth.**

Bileth is a great king and a terrible, riding on a pale horse, before whom go trumpets, and all kind of melodious musick. When he is called up by an exorcist, he appeareth rough and furious, to deceie him. Then let the exorcist or conjuror take heed to himselfe, and to allay his courage, let him hold a hazell bat in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out towards the est and southe, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand unto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirit, let the conjuror proceed to reading, and by and by he will submit himselfe, and come in, and do whatsoever the exorcist commandeth him, and he shall be safe. If Bileth the king be more stubborn, and refuse to enter into the circle at the first call, and the conjuror shew himselfe full of fear, or if he have not the chaine of spirits, certainly he will never feare nor regard him after. Also if the place be

\[\text{...} \text{made without the circle, then set there a boll of wine.} \]
wine, and the exorcist shall certainly know when he cometh out of his house, with his fellows, and that the aforesaid Bileth will be his helper, his friend, and obedient unto him when he cometh forth. And when he cometh, let the exorcist receive him courteously, and glorifie him in his pride, and therefore shall adore him as other kings do, because he faith nothing without other princes. Also, if he be cited by an exorcist, alwayes a silver ring of the middle finger of the left hand must be held against the exorcist's face, as they do for Amaimon. And the dominion and power of so great a prince is not to be determined; for there is none under the power and dominion of the conjuror, but that detaine all men and women in doing love, till the exorcist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the seaventh throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eighty five legions.

Siti, alias Bireu, is a great prince, appearing with the face of a Stiri a baudy leopard, and having wings as a griffin; when he taketh humane shape, he is very beautifull, he inflameth a man with a womans love, and also stirreth up women to love men, being commanded unwillingly detaine the secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them luxuriously naked, and there obey him sixty legions.

Paimon is more obedient to Lucifer than other kings are. Lucifer is Paimon here to be understood he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge: he would needs be like God, and for his arrogancy was thrown into destruction, of whom it is said; Every precious stone is thy covering. Paimon is constrained by divine virtuous to stand before the exorcist, where he putteth the likeness of a man: he sistreth on a beast called; a dromedary, which is a swift runner, and weareth a glorious crowne, and hath an effeminate countenance. There goeth before him an host of men with trumpets and well sounding cimbals, and all musicall instruments. At the first he appeareth with a great cry and roaring, as in Circulo Salomonis, and in the art is declared. And if this Paimon speake sometime that the conjuror understand him not, let him not therefore be dismayed. But when he hath delivered him the first obligation, to observe his desire, he must bid him also answer him distinctly and plainely to the questions he shall ask you, of all philosophy, wisdome, and science, and of all other secret things. And if you will know the disposition of the world, and what the earth is, or what holdeth it up in the water, or any other thing, or what is Abyssus, or where the wind is, or from whence it commeth, he will reach you abundantly. Confessions also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. He giveth dignities and confirmations; he bindeth them that resist him in his own chains, and subjecteth them to the conjuror; he prepareth good familiars, and hath the understanding of all arts. Note, that at the calling up of him, the exorcist must looke towards the northwest, because there is his house. When he is called up, let the exorcist receive him constantly without fear, let him ask what questions or demands he lift, and no doubt he shall obtain the same of him. And the exorcist must beware he

Vide Amaimon.

Ezech. 88.
he forget not the creator, for those things, which have been rehearsed before of Paimon, some say, he is of the order of dominations, others say, of the order of cherubim. There follow him two hundred legions, partly of the order of angels, and partly of potestates. Note that if Paimon be cited alone by an offering or sacrifice, two kings follow him; to wit, Beball and Abalam, and other potentates: in his host are twenty-five legions, because the spirits subject to them are not always with them, except they be compelled to appear by divine virtue.

Some say that the king Belial was created immediately after Lucifer, and therefore think he was father and seducer of them which fell being of the orders. For he fell first among the worthier and wiser sort, which went before Michael and other heavenly angels, which were lacking. Although Belial went before all them that were thrown down to the earth, yet he went not before them that tarryeth in heaven. This Belial is constrained by divine virtue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he again may give unto the offerers true answers. But he tarryeth not one house in the truth, except he be constrained by the divine power, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautiful angel, sitting in a fiery chariot; he speaketh fair, he distributeth preferments of senatorship, and the favour of friends, and excellent familiarities; he hath rule over eighty legions, partly of the order of virtues, partly of angels; he is found in the forme of an exorcist in the bonds of spirits. The exorcist must consider, that this Belial doth in every thing assist his subjects. If he will not submit himself, let the bond of spirits be read: the spirits chained is sent for him, wherewith wise Solomon gathered them together with their legions in a brazen vessel, where were inclosed among all the legions seventy-two kings, of whom the cheefe was Balth, the second was Belial, the third Asmodeus, and above a thousand thousand legions. Without doubt (I must confess) I learned this of my master Solomon; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them up for but I believe it was for the pride of this Belial. Certaine nigromancers do say, that Solomon being on a certaine day seduced by the craft of a certaine woman, inclined himselfe to pray before the same idol, Belial 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 arrogancy, and throwne into a deep lake or hole in Babylon. For wise Solomon did accomplis his worke by the divine power, which never forsooke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshipped not the image Belial; for then he could not have constrained the spirits by divine virtue: for this Belial, with three kings were in the lake. But the Babylonians wondering at the matter, supposed that they should find therein a great quantity of treasure, and therefore with one consent went downe into the lake, and uncovered and brake the vessel, out of the which immediately flew the captaine divels, and were delivered to their former and proper places. But this Belial entred into a certaine image, and there gave answer to them that offered and sacrificed unto himnatis Tecx, in his sentences reporteth, and the Babylonians did worship and sacrifice thereunto.
Bune is a great and a strong duke, he appeareth as a dragon with three heads, the third whereof is like a man, he speaketh with a divine voice, he maketh the dead to change their place, and devils to assemble upon the sepulchres of the dead: he greatly instriceth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise: answereth truly to all demands, and thirty legions obey him.

Foincus is a great marquess, like unto a monster of the sea, he maketh men wonderfull in rhetoric, he adorneth a man with a good name, and the knowledge of tongues, and maketh one beloved as well of foes as friends; there are under him nine and twenty legions, of the order partly of thrones, and partly of angels.

Ronove a marquess and an earle, he is resembled to a monster, he bringeth singular understanding in rhetoric, faithfull servants, knowledge of tongues, favour of friends and foes; and nineteen legions obey him.

Berith is a great and a terrible duke, and hath three names. Of Berith a golden home he is called Beall; of the Jews Berith; of Nigromancers Bolfray: devill. he cometh forth as a red souldier, with red clothing, and upon a horfe of that colour, and a crowne on his head. He answereth truly of things present, past, and to come. He is compelled to a certain hour, through divine virtue, by a ring of art magick. He is also a hier, he turneth all metals into gold, he adorneth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a clear and subtil voice, and six and twenty legions are under him.

Aslaroth is a great and a strong duke, comming forth in the shape of a foule angell, sitting upon an infernall dragon, and carrying on his right hand a viper: he answereth truly to matters present, past, and to come, and of all secrets. He talketh willingly of the creator of spirits, and of their fall, and how they sinned and fell: he saith he fell not of his owne accord. He maketh a man wonderfull learned in the liberall sciences, he ruleth forty legions. Let every exorcist take heed, that he admit him not too near him, because of his slinking breath. And therefore let the conjuror hold near to his face a magical ring, and that shall defend him.

Foras, alias Forcas is a great president, and is seen in the form of a strong man, and in humane shape, he understandeth the virtue of hearbs and precious stones: he teacheth fully logick, ethick, and their parts: he maketh a man invisible, witty, eloquent, and to live long; he recovereth things lost, and discovereth treasures, and is lord over nine and twenty legions.

Forwyr is a great earle, appearing as an hart, with a fiery talle, he lyeth in every thing, except he be brought up within a triangle: being hidten, he taketh angelicall forme, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, and willingly maketh love between man and wife; he raiseth thunders and lightnings, and blasts. Where he is commanded, he answereth well, both of secret and also of divine things, and hath rule and dominion over six and twenty legions.

Marchosias is a great marquess, he sheweth himself in the shape of a cruel

The discovery of

Divels & spirits.

cruell the wolfe, with a griffens wings, with a serpents tale, and spea-
ting I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans shape, he
is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions truly, he is faithfull in
all the conjurors businesse; he was of the jorder of dominations, under
him are thirty legions: he hopeth after 1200 years to return to the se-
venth throne, but he is deceived in that hope.

Malphas.

Malphas is a great president, he is seen like a crowe, but being clothed
with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth houses
and high towers wonderfully, and quickly bringeth artificers together,
he throweth downe into the enemies edifications, he helpeth the good fami-
liars, he receiveth sacrifices willingly, but he deceiveth all the sacrifices,
there obey him forty legions.

Vepar.

Vepar, alias Separ, a great duke and a strong, he is like a mermaid, he
is the guide of the waters, and of ships laden with armour; he bringeth to
p. sc (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shall be rough
and storme, and shall appear full of ships; he killeth men in three days,
with purifying their wounds, and producing maggots into them; how-
beit, they may be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and twenty
legions.

Saphake.

Saphake, alias Salmack, is a great marquess and a strong, he cometh
forth as an armed soldier with a lions head, sitting on a pale horse, he
doeth marvellously change mans forme and favour, he buildeth high tow-
ers full of weapons, and also cattles and cities; he inflicteth men thirty
days with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists com-
mandement, he provideth good familiars, and hath dominion over fifty
legions.

Sidonay.

Sidonay, alias Asmoday, a great King, strong and mighty, he is seen
with three heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a man,
the third like a ram, he hath a serpents tale, he belcheth flames out of his
mouth, he hath feet like a geese, he stretteth on an infernall dragon, he
carryeth a lances and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, which
are under the power of Amaymon. When the conjuror exerciteth this
office, let him be abroad, let him be wary and standing on his feet; if
his cap be on his head, he will cause all his doings to be bewrayed, which
if he doe not, the exorcist shall be deceived by Amaymon in every thing.
But so soon as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by his
name, saying; Thou art Asmoday; he will not deny it; and by and by he
boweth downe to the ground; he giveth the ring of vertues, he abso-
lutely teacheth geometry, arithmetick, astronomy, and handicrafts. To
call all the conjurors he answereth fully and truly, he maketh a man invi-
bible, he sheweth the places where treasure lyeth, and gardeth it, if it be
among the legions of Amaymon, he hath under his power seventy
two legions.

Gyap.

Gyap, alias Tap, a great president and a prince, he appeareth in a
meridionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of the
four principlall Kings, as mighty as Bileth. There were certain necro-
mancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings unto him; and to
call him up, they exercised an art, saying that Solomon the wisdome made it.
which is false: for it was rather Cham, the son of Noah, who after the flood began first to invoke wicked spirits. He invoked Bileth, and first necromancer made an art in his name, and a book which is known to many mathematicians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts given, and much wickedness wrought by the exorcists, who mingled themselves with the holy names of God, the which in that art are everywhere expressed. Mabry there is an Epistle of those names written by Solomon, as also write Helias Hierophylinthus and Helias. It is to be noted, that if any exorcist have the art of Bileth, and cannot make him stand before him, nor see him, I may not betray how and declare the means to contain him, because it is an abomination, and for that I have learned nothing from Solomon of his dignity and office. But yet I will not hide this; to wit, that he maketh a man wonderful in philosophy and all the liberal sciences: he maketh love, hatred, intemperance, and consecration, and consecration of those things that are belonging unto the domination of Amaymon, and delivereth familiars out of the possession of other functionaries, answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, and to come, and transferreth men most speedily into other nations, he ruleth sixty six legions, and was of the order of potestates.

Shax alias Scax, is a dark and great marquess, like unto a Turk, with a hoarse and subtile voice he doth marvellously take away the sight, hearing, and understanding of any man, at the commandment of the conjurer: he taketh away money out of every Kings house, and carrieth it back after 1200 years, if he be commanded, he is a horsestealer, he is thought to be faithfull in all commandments; and although he promise to be obedient to the conjurer in all things; yet is he not so, he is a liar, except he be brought into a triangle, and there he speaketh divinely, and null of things which are hidden, and not kept of wicked spirits, he promizeth good familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceivers, he hath thirty legions.

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

Furcas is a knight and cometh forth in the similitude of a cruel man, with a long beard and a hoary head, he sitteth on a pale horse, carrying in his hand a sharp weapon, he perfectly teacheth practical philosophy, rhetoric, logic, astronomy, chiromancy, pyromancy, and their parts; there obey him twenty legions.

Murmar is a great duke and an earl, appearing in the shape of a hound, riding on a griffon, with a dukes crown on his head; there go before him two of his ministers, with great trumpets, he teacheth philosophy absolutely, he constraineth souls to come before the exorcist, to answer what he shall asketh, he was of the order partly of thrones, and partly of angels, and ruleth thirty legions.

Caim is a great president, taking the form of a thrush, but when he putteth

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

Rauin, or Raim is a great earle, he is seen as a crow, but when he putteth on humane shape, at the commandement of the exorcist, he sweareth wonderfully out of the King's house, and carryeth it whither he listeth, he destroyeth cities, and hath great delight in horrid abominations, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends and foes; he was of the order of thrones, and governeth thirty legions.

Halphas is a great earle, and commeth abroad like a phoenix, with a hoarse voice, he notably buildeth up towees full of munition and weapons, he sendeth men of war to places appointed, and hath under him six and twenty legions.

Focalor is a great duke cometh forth as a man, with wings like a griffin, he killeth men, and drowneth them in the waters, and overturneth ships of war, commanding and ruling both windes and seasa. And let the Conjurer note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willingly consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000 years to return to the seventh throne, but he is deceived; he hath three legions.

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

Bestons is seen in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the image of man, he maketh one wonderful cunning in astrology, absolutely declaring the mansions of the planets, he doth the like in geometry, and other admeasurements; he perfectly understandeth the strength and vertue of hearbs, precious stones, and woods; he changeth dead bodies from place to place; he seemeth to light candles upon the sepulchres of the dead, and hath under him six and twenty legions.

Gamigin is a great marquell, and is seen in the forme of a little horse, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a hoarse voice, disputing of all liberall sciences; he bringeth al to pass, that the soules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatory (which is called Carisagra, that is, affliction of soules) shall take airy bodies, and evidently appear and answer to interrogatories at the conjurors commandement; he carrieth with the exorcist, until he have accomplished his desire, and hath thirty legions under him.

Zagan is a great King and a president, he commeth abroad like a bull, with griffen's wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men witty, he turneth all metals into the coin of that dominion, and turneth water into wine, and wine into water, he also turneth blood into wine, and wine into blood; and a fool into a wise man; he is head of thirty and three legions.
Orias is a great marquess, and is seen as a lion riding on a strong horse, with a serpent's tail, and carrying in his right hand two great serpents hissing. He knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectly teacheth the virtues of the stars, he transformeth men, he giveth dignities, privileges, and confirmations, and also the favour of friends and foes, and hath under him thirty legions.

Valac is a great president, and cometh abroad with angels wings like a boy, riding on a two headed dragon, he perfectly answereth of treasures hidden, and where serpents may be seen, which he delivereth into the conjurors hands, void of any force or strength, and hath dominion over thirty legions of devils.

Gemory a strong and mighty duke, he appeareth like a fair woman with a duchess crownet about her middle, riding on a camel, he answereth well and truly of things present, past, and to come, and of treasures hid, and where it lyeth: he procureth the love of women, especially of maids, and hath six and twenty legions.

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

Amduceias a great and a strong duke, he cometh forth as an unicorne, when he standeth before his master in humane shape, being commanded, he easily bringeth to passe, that trumpeters and all musicall instruments may be heard and not seen, and also that trees shall bend and incline, according to the conjurors will, he is excellent among familiars, and hath nine and twenty legions.

Andras is a great marquess, and is seen in an angels shape with a head like a black night raven, riding upon a black and a very strong wolf, flourishing with a sharp sword in his hand; he can kill the master, the servant, and all assistants, he is author of discord, and ruleth thirty legions.

Andrealphus is a great marquess, appearing as a peacock, he raiseth great noises, and in humane shape perfectly teacheth geometry, and all things belonging to admeasurments, he maketh a man to be a subtill disputter, and cunning in astronomy, and transformeth a man into the like shape of a bird; and there are under him thirty legions.

Ofe is a great president, and cometh forth like a leopard, and counterfeiting to be a man, he maketh one cunning in the liberal sciences, he answereth truly of divine and secret things, he transformeth a manse shape, and bringeth a man to that madness, that he thinketh himself to be that which he is not; as he that is a king or a pope, or that he weareth a crown on his head. Durante id regnum ad horam.

Aym or Haborim is a great duke and a strong, he cometh forth with three heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a man having two *, the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper, carrying in his hand a light firebrand, with the flame whereof cattle and cities are fired, he maketh one witty every kinde of way, he answereth truly of privy matters, and reigneth over twenty six legions.
Orobas. Orobas is a great prince, he cometh forth like a horse, but when he purseth on him a man's idol, he talketh of divine virtue, he giveth true answers of things present, past and to come, and of the divinity, and of the creation, he deceiveth none, nor suffereth any to be tempted, he giveth dignities and prerogatives, and the favour of friends and foes, and hath rule over twenty legions.

Vapula. Vapula is a great duke and a strong, he is seen like a lion with gilded wings, he maketh a man subtil and wonderful in handicrafts, philosophy, and in sciences contained in books, and is ruler over thirty six legions.

Cimeries. Cimeries is a great marquess and a strong, ruling in the parts of Africa; he teacheth perfectly grammar, logic, and rhetoric, he discovereth treasures and things hidden, he bringeth to passe, that a man shall seem with expedition to be turned into a fouldier, he rideth upon a great black horse, and ruleth twenty legions.

Amy. Amy is a great president, and appeareth in a flame of fire, but having taken man's shape, he maketh one marvellous in astrology, and in all the liberal sciences, he procureth excellent familiars, he bewrayeth treasures preserved by spirits, he hath the government of thirty six legions, he is partly of the order of angels, partly of poeasts, he hopeth after a thousand two hundred years to return to the seventh throne: which is not credible.

Flavus. Flavus is a strong duke, is seen in the forme of a terrible strong lepord, in humane shape, he sheweth a terrible countenance, and fiery eyes, he answereth truly and fully of things present, past, and to come; if he be in a triangle, he lyeth in all things and deceivereth in other things, and beguileth in other businesses, he gladly talketh of divinity, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by divine virtue, and so are all devils or spirits, to beware and destroy all the conjurers adversaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the conjuror not to be tempted, and he hath legions under him.

Balam. Balam is a great and a terrible king, he commeth forth with three heads, the first of a bull, the second of a man, the third of a ram, he hath a serpent's tail, and flaming eyes, riding upon a furious beare, and carrying a hawke on his fist, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, answering perfectly of things present, past, and to come, he maketh man invisible and wife, he governeth forty legions, and was of the order of dominations.

Allocus. Allocus is a strong duke and a great, he cometh forth like a fouldier, riding on a great horse, he hath a lion's face, very red, and with flaming eyes, he speaketh with a big voice, he maketh a man wonderfull in astronomy, and in all the liberal sciences, he bringeth good familiars, and ruleth thirty six legions.

Saleos. Saleos is a great earle, he appeareth as a gallant fouldier, riding on a crocodile, and weareth a dukes crowne, peaceable, &c.

Vwall. Vwall is a great duke and a strong, he is seen as a great and terrible dromedary, but in humane forme, he foundeth out in a bafe voice the Egyptian tongue. This man above all other procureth the especiall love of
of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, precuring the love of friends and foes, he was of the order of potestates, and governeth thirty seven legions.

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

Phænix is a great marquess, appearing like the bird Phænix, having a child's voice: but before he standeth still before the conjuror, he singeth many sweet notes. Then the exorcist with his companions must beware he give no care to the melody, but must by and by bid him put on humane shape; then will he speake marvellously of all wonderfull sciences. He is an excellent poet, and obedient, he hopeth to returne to the seventh throne, after a thousand two hundred yeares, and governeth twenty legions.

Stolas is a great prince, appearing in the forme of a night-raven, before the exorcist, he taketh the image and shape of a man, and teacheth astronomy, absolutely understanding the vertues of herbs and precious stones; there are under him twenty six legions.

Note that a legion is 6666, and now by Multiplication count how many legions doe arise out of every particular.

Secretum secretorum,
The secret of secrets,
In operum sis secretus horum,
Thou that workst them, be secret in them.

CHAP. III.

The houres wherein principall devils may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from doing of hurt.

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

This was the worke of one T.R. written in faire letters of red & black upon parchement, and made by him, Ann. 1570. to the maintenaunce of his living, the edifying of the poore, and the glory of Gods holy name: as he himselfe faith.
The forme of adjuring or citing of the spirits aforesaid to arise and appeare.

When you will have any spirit, you must know his name and office; you must also fast, and be clean from all pollution, three or four days before; so will the spirit be more obedient unto you. Then make a circle, and call up the spirit with great intention, and holding a ring in your hand, rehearse in your own name, and your companions (for one must always be with you) this prayer following, and so no spirit shall annoy you, and your purpose shall take effect. And note how this agreeth with popish charms and conjurations.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, holy trinity and inseparable unity, I call upon thee, that thou mayest be my salvation and defence, and the protection of my body and soul, and of all my goods through the virtue of thy holy cross, and through the virtue of thy passion, I beseech thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, by the merits of thy blessed mother S. Mary, and of all thy saints, that thou give me grace and divine power over all the wicked spirits, so as which of them soever I do call by name, they may come by and by from every coast, and accomplish my will, that they neither be hurtful nor faithful unto me, but rather obedient and diligent about me. And through thy virtue stedfastly commanding them, let them fulfill my commandments, Amen. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, which wilt come to judge the quick and the dead, thou which art A and O, first and last, King of kings and Lord of lords, I am, Agnus Dei, El, Abiél, Anathiel, Amen, Sedemiel, Gravies, Hel, Melchias, Tolimi, Ethias, Isabios, Athanatos, Imas. By these thy holy names, and by all other I do call upon thee, and beseech thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, by thy nativity and baptism, by thy cross and passion, by thine ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost, by the bitterness of thy soul when it departed from the body, by thy five wounds, by the blood and water which went out of thy body, by thy virtue, by the sacrament which thou gavest thy disciples the day before thou sufferedst, by the holy trinity, and the inseparable unity, by blessed Mary thy mother, by thine angels, arch-angels, prophets, patriarchs, and by all thy saints, and by all the sacraments which are made in thine honour, I do worship and beseech thee, to accept these prayers, conjurations, and words of my mouth, which I will utter. I require thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou give me thy virtue and power over all thine angels (which were thrown from heaven to deceive mankind) to draw them to me, to tie and bind them, and also to loose them, to gather them together before me, and to command them to do all that they can, and that by no means they contemne my voice, or the words of my mouth.
but that they obey me and my sayings, and fear me. I beseech thee by thine humanity, mercy and grace, and I require thee Adonay, Amay, Hurai, Vegerdora, Mitai, Hel, Saronat, Yson, Ysey, and by all thy holy names, and by all thine holy he saints and the saints, by all thine angels and archangels, powers, dominations, and virtues, and by that name that Salomon did bind the divels, and shut them up, Elbrach, Ebanher, Agli, Gath, Isib, Othie, Venoch, Nabrat, and by all thine holy names which are written in this book, and by the virtue of them all, that thou enable me to congregate all thy spirits thrown down from heaven, that they may give me a true answer of all my demands, and that they satisfy all my requests, without the hurt of my body or soule, or any thing else that is mine through our Lord Jesus Christ thy sonne, which liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy ghost, one God world without end. Oh father omnipotent, oh wise sonne, oh Holy ghost, the searcher of hearts, oh you three in persons, one true Godhead in substance, which didst spare Adam and Eve in their sinnes, and oh thou sonne, which didst for their sinnes a most filthy death, sustaining it upon the holy cross; oh thou most mercifull, when I die unto thy mercy, and beseech thee by all the means I can, by these thy holy names of thy sonne; to wit, A and O, and all other his names, grant me thy vertue and power, that I may be able to cite before me, thy spirits which were thrown downe from heaven, and that they may speake with me, and dispatch by and by without delay, and with a good will, and without the hurt of my body, soule, or goods, &c., as is contained in the book called Annulus Salomonis.

Oh great and eternall vertue of the highest, which through disposition, these being called to judgement, Vatchon, Stimulamaton, Espheres, Tetragrammaton, Oloram, Cryon, Epsyion, Exilion, Eriona, Oleta, Brasim, Noym, Meias, Sotere, Emanuell Sabbath, Adonays, I worship thee, I invoke thee, I imploy thee with all the strength of my mind, that by thee, my present prayers, confessions, and conjurations be hollowed, and whereas ever wicked spirits are called in the vertue of thy names, they may come together from every coast, and diligently fulfill the will of me the exorcist. Fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen.

CHAP. V.

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

He that can be perswaded that these things are true, or wrought indeed according to the affection of confencers, or according to the supposition of witchmongers and papists, may soone be brought to beleive that the moone is made of green cheese. You see in this which is called Salomon conjuration, there is a perfect inventory registred of the number of divels, of their names, of their offices, of their personages, of their qualities, of their powers, of their properties, of their kingdoms,
This is contrary the scripture, which saith that every good gift cometh from the father of light, &c.

A breviary of the inventory of spirits.

The discovery of their governors, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their subjection, of their submission, and of the ways to bind or loose them; with a note what wealth, learning, office, commodity, pleasure, &c. they can give, and may be forced to yeild in spite of their hearts, so such (forsooth) as are cunning in this art: of whom yet was never seen any rich man, or at least that gained anything that way; or any unlearned man, that became learned by that means; or any happy man, that could with the helpe of this art either deliver himselfe, or his friends, from adversity; or add unto his estate any point of felicity: yet these men, in all worldly happiness, must needs exceed all others; if such things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed. For if they may learne of Marbus, all seers, and to cure all diseaseth and of Furies, wise, and to be cunning in all mechanical arts; and to change any man's shape, or Zephar: if Bune can make them rich and eloquent, or Baroth can tell them of all things present, past, and to come; if Asmodee can make them go invisible and shew them all hidden treasure; if Salmacke will afflict whom they lift, and Allosor can procure the love of any woman; if Amy can provide them excellent familiars; if Caym can make them understand the voyse of all birds and beasts, and Buerc and Bisrons can make them live long; and finally, if Orius could procure unto their great friends, and reconcile their enemies, and they in the end had all these at commandement; should they not live in all worldly honor and felicity? whereas contrariwise they lead there lives in all obloquy, misery, and beggary, and in fine come to the gallows; as though they had chosen unto themselves the spirit Valefuer, who they say bringeth them with whom he entareth into familiarities, to no better end than the gibbet or gallows. But before I proceed further to the confusion of this book, I will shew other conjurations, devised more lately, and of more authority, wherein you shall see how fools are trained to believe these absurdities, being wonne by little and little to such credulity. For the author hereof beginneth, as though all the cunning of conjurors were derived and fetched from the planetary motions, and true course of the stars, celestiall bodies, &c.
CHAP. VI.

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

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

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<td>Aries</td>
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<td>Gemini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libra</td>
<td>Scorpio</td>
<td>Sagittarius</td>
<td>Capricornus</td>
<td>Aquarius</td>
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Their dispositions or inclinations.

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<td>Good</td>
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<td>Very good signes.</td>
<td>Very evill signes.</td>
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The disposition of the Planets.

The aspects of the Planets.

The five planetary aspects.
- Conjunct
- Sextile
- Trine
- Quartile
- Opposite

○ Is the best aspect with good planets, and the worst with evil.
★ Is a mean aspect in goodnesse or badnesse.
△ Is very good in aspect to good planets, and hurteth not in evil.
□ This aspect is of enimity not full perfect.
◊ This aspect is of enimity most perfect.

How the day is divided or distinguished.

A day natural is the space of four and twenty hours, accounting the night withall, and beginneth at one of the clocke after midnight.

An artificial day is that space of time, which is betwixt the rising and setting of the ☀ &c. All the rest is night, and beginneth at the ☀ rising.

Hereafter followeth a table, shewing how the day and the night is divided by hours, and reduced to the regimen of the planets.
The division of the day, and the planetary regiment.

The division of the night, and the planetary regiment.
CHAP. VII.

The characters of the angels of the seven days, with their names: of figures, scales and periapts.

Michael.

Gabriel.

Samael.

Raphael.

Sachiel.

Anael.

Caphriel vel gaphriel.

These figures are called the scales of the earth; without the which no spirit will appear, except those have them with them.
CHAP, VIII.

An experiment of the dead.

First fast and pray three days, and abstain thee from all filthy ness; go to one that is new buried, such a one as killed himself, or destroyed himself willfully: or else get thee promise of one that shall be hanged, and let him swear an oath to thee, after his body is dead, that his spirit shall come to thee, and do thee true service, at thy commandments, in all days, hours, 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 say with a bold faith, and hearty desire, to have the spirit come that thou dost call for, thy fellow having a candle in thy hand, can do no harm. And in his right hand a crystal stone, and say these words following, the matter having a hazel wand in his right hand, purpose with these names of God written thereupon, Tetragrammaton, Adonay, out his confluence.

Agla. Craton × Then strike three strokes on the ground, and say, Arise, arise. N. Arise, N. Arise, N. I conjure thee spirit N., by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou do obey my words, and come unto me this night verily and truly, as thou believest to be saved at the day of judgement. And I will swear to the an oath, by the peril of my soule, counted my soul that if thou wilt come to me, and appeare to me this night, and shew me true visions in this crystal stone, and fetch me the fairie Sibylia, ved, that I may talke with her visibly, and she may come before me, as in so doing, I will give thee an alme.
The discovery

A heavy sentence denounced of the conqueror against the spirit in case of disobeience, contempt, or negligence.
of Witchcraft.

Chap. 8.

Jesus Christ; so thou spirit. be thou bound into the perpetuall paines of hell fire, for thy disobedience and unreverent regard, that thou hast to the holy names and words, and his precepts. I conjure thee in the two edged sword, which thou sawid proceed out of the mouth of the Almighty, and so thou spirit. be torne and cut in peaces with that sword, and to be condemned into everlasting pain, where the fire goeth not out, and where the worm dyeth not. I conjure thee by the heavens, and by the celestiall city of Jerusalem, and by the earth and the sea, and by all things contained in them, and by their virtues and powers. I conjure thee spirit. by the obedience that thou dost owe unto the principal prince. And except thou spirit. doe come and appear visibly in this crystal stone in my presence, here immediately as it is aforesaid. Let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadow and darkness of death, and of eternall condemnation be upon thee spirit. for ever and ever; because thou hast denied thy faith, thy health, and salvation. For thy great disobedience, thou art worthy to be condemned. Therefore let the divinethinity, thrones, dominions, principats, potestats, virtuets, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of saints, both of men and women, condemn thee for ever, and be a witness against thee at the day of judgement, because of thy disobedience. And let all creatures of our Lord Jesus Christ, say thereunto; Fiat, fiat, fiat: Amen.

And when he is appeared in the crystal stone, as is said before, bind him with this bond as followeth; to wit, I conjure thee spirit. that are appeared to me in this crystal stone, to me and to my fellow; I conjure thee by all the royall words aforesaid, the which did constraint thee to appear therein, and their vertues; I charge thee by them all, that thou shalt not depart out of this crystal stone, until my will being fulfilled, thou be licenced to depart. I conjure and bind thee spirit. by that omnipotent God, which commanded the angell S. Michael, to drive Lucifer out of the heavens with a sword of vengeance, and words quoth to fall from joy to paine; and for dread of such paine as heis in, I charge thee spirit. by God that thou shalt not goe out of the crystal stone; nor yet to alter thy shape at this time, except I command thee otherwise; but to come unto me at all places and in all hours and minutes, when and wheresoeuer I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, or by any conjuration of words, that is written in this book, and to shew me and my friends true visions in this crystal stone; of anything or any things that we would see at any time or times; and also to goe and fetch me the fairy Sibylla, that I may talk with her in all kind of talk, as I shall call her by any conjuration of words contained in this book. I conjure thee spirit. by the great widsom and divinity of his Godhead, my will to fulfill as is aforesaid; I charge thee upon paine of condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; Fiat, fiat, fiat: Amen.

This done goe to a place fast by, and in a faire parlor or chamber, make a circle with chalk, as hereafter followeth: and make another circle for the faire Sibylla to appear in four foot from the circle thou art in, and make no names therein, or cast any holy thing therein; but make: How can that be, when a spirit hath nothing else but blood, nor bones?
The discovery of dead spirits.

And why might not he do it himself? as well as madam Sibylia?

The fairie Sibylia conjured to appeare, &c.

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brede, rehearse the words therein, and say, *Sorthie, Sorthia, Sorthios, * then begin your conjuration as followeth here, and say; I conjure thee, Sibylia, *O gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercy of the Holy Ghost; and by the dreadfull day of doom; and by their vertues and powers; I conjure thee Sibylia, *O gentle virgine of fairies, and by all the angels of that and their characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of that and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters, that be in the firmament, and by the king and queen of fairies, and their vertues, and by the faith and obedience that thou bearest unto them. I conjure thee Sibylia, by the bloud that ran out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the opening of heaven, and by the renting of the Temple, and by the darkness of the Sunne in the time of his death, and by the rising up of the dead in the time of his resurrection, and by the Virgin Mary Mother.
Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the unspeakable name of God Tetragrammaton, I conjure thee O Sibylia; O blest and beautifull Virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid, I conjure thee Sibylia by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the form and shape of a beautifull woman in a bright and white vesture, adorne and garnished most fair, and to appear to me quickly without deceit or tarrying; and that thou faile not to fulfill my will and desire effectually. For I will choose thee to be my blest virgin, and will have common copulation with thee. Therefore make haste and speed to come unto me, and to appear as I have said before. To whom be honor and glory for ever ever Amen.

The which done and ended, if thee come not, repeat the conjuration till they doe come: for doubtfull they will come. And when thee is appeared, take your censers, and incense her with frankincense; then bind her with the bond as followeth. * I doe conjure thee Sibylia, by God the Father. God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three perfections and one God, and by the blessed virgin Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; and by all the whole and holy company of heaven, and by the dreadfull day of doome, and by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principates, potestates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I conjure thee and binde thee Sibylia, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeard, nor yet to alter thy shape; except I give thee licence to depart. I conjure thee Sibylia by the bloud that ran out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I conjure thee Sibylia to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visibly, as the conjuration of words leadeth, written in this book, I conjure thee Sibylia, O blest Virgine of fairies, by the opening of heaven, and by the renting of the Temple, and by the darkness of the Sun at the time of his death, and by the rising of the dead in the time of his glorious resurrection; and by the unspeakable name of God Tetragrammaton and by the king and queen of fairies, and by their vertues I conjure thee Sibylia to appeare before the conjuration be read over four times, and that visibly to appeare, as the conjuration leadeth written in this book, and to give mee good counsell at all times, and to come by treasures hidden in the earth, and all other things that is to do me pleasure, and to fulfill my will without any deceit or tarrying; nor yet that thou shalt have any power of my body or soul, earthly or ghostly; nor yet to perish so much of my body as one hair of my head. I conjure thee Sibylia by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues and powers, I charge and binde thee by the vertue thereof, to be obedient unto me, and to all the words aforesaid and this bond to stand between thee and me, upon pain of everlasting condemnation, Fiat fiat fiat Amen.
CHAP. IX.

A license for Sibylia to goe and come by at all times.

I conjure thee Sibylia, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt have no powers in thy going or coming unto me, imagining any evil in any manner of ways, in the earth or under the earth, of evil doings, to any person or persons. I conjure and command thee Sibylia by all the riall words and virtues that be written in this Book, that thou shalt not goe to the place from whence thou camest, but shalt remaine peaceably, invisibly, and look thou be ready to come unto me, when thou art called by any conjuration of words that be written in this book, to come (I say) at my commandement, and to answer unto me truly and duly of all things, my will quickly to be fulfilled. *Vade in pacem, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti.* And the holy *X* strike be between thee and me, or between us and you, and the Lion of Judah, the root of Jesse, the kindred of David, be between thee and me. Christ commandeth *X* Christ giveth power *X* Christ defends me *X* and his innocent blood *X* from all perils of body and soul, sleeping or waking: *Fiat, fiat, Amen.*

CHAP. X.

To know of treasure hidden in the earth.

Write in paper these characters following, on the saturday, in the hour of D, and lay it where thou thinkest treasure to be: if there be any the paper will burn, else not. And these be the characters.

```
X ☥️ X
remen
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This is the way to goe invisible by these three
takers of Fairies.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,
First goe to a faire parlor or chamber, and an even ground, and in no
loft, and from people nine dayes; for it is the best; and let all thy
dothing be clean and sweet. Then make a candle of Virgine wax, and
light it, and make a faire fire of charcoles, in a faire place, in the midle
of the parlour or chamber. Then take faire clean water, that runneth aga
against the east, and set it upon the fire; and yer thou wasteth thy selfe,
lay these words, going about the fire three times, holding the candle in
Diaton + Maton + Tetragrammaton, + Aga + Agarion + Tegra +
Penteleron + Tindicata. Then rehearse these names: Sothie + Soth
Sorothe + Sibyria + Millia + Achilia + Sibylia + In nomine patris, et
filii, & spiritus sancti; Amen. I conjure you three takers of fairies, Millia, Achili
lia, Sibylia; by the Father, by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost, and by
their vertues and powers, and by the moost mercifull and living God, that
will command his angell to blow the trump at the day of Judgement; and
he shall say, Come, come, come to judgement; and by all angels, arch-
angels, thrones, dominations, principals, potentates, vertues, cherubim
and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I conjure you three
takers, by the vertue of all the riall words aforesaid: I charge you that
you doe appear before me visibly, in form and shape of faire women, in
white vestures, and to bring with you to me, the ring of invisibility, by
which I may goe invisible at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in
all hours and minutes: In nomine patris, et filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen.

* Being appeared, say this bond following.

O blessed virgins, Millia, Achilia. I conjure you in the name of the
Father, in the name of the Son, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, & by
their vertues, I charge you to depart from me in peace for a time. And Siby
lia I conjure thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the vertu
of his flesh and precious blood, that he took of our blessed Lady the
Virgine, and by all the holy company in heaven: I charge thee Sibylia, by
all the vertues aforesaid, that thou be obedient unto me, in the name of
God; that when, and in what time and place I shall call thee by this
foresaid conjuration written in this book, look thou be ready to come
unto me, at all hours and minutes, and to bring unto me the ring of in
vissibility, whereby I may goe invisible at my will and pleasure, and that
at all hours and minutes: fiat, fiat, Amen.

And if, they come not the first night, then doe the same the second night
and so the third night, untill they doe come: for doublistely they will
come, and lie thou in thy bed, in the same parlor or chamber. And lay thy
right hand out of the bed, and look thou have a faire silken kercher bound
about thy head, and be not afraid, they will doe thee no harm. For there
will come before thee three faire women, and all in white clothing; and
one of them will put a ring upon thy finger, wherewith thou shalt goe

N n 2

The ring of invisibility.

* Such a ring was that advanced Giger
of Sylia.
15. Book. The discovery To goe invisible.

invisable. Then with speed bind them with the bond aforesaid, When thou hast this ring on thy finger, looke in a glasse, and thou shalt not see thy self. And when thou wilt goe invisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and every new drenwe it again. For after the first time thou shalt ever have it, and ever begin this work in the new of the D and in the houre of Y and the D in Σ X.

CHAP. XI.

An experiment following, of Citrael, &c. angeli diei dominici.

Say first the prayers of the angels every day, for the space of seven days.

Michael. O
Gabriel. O
Samael. O
Raphael. O
Sachiel. Y
Anael. Y
Caffiel. Y

O Ye glorious angels written in this square, be ye my coadjutors and helpers in all questions and demands, in all my businesse, and other caules, by him which shall come to judge both the quick and the dead, and the world by fire. O angeli gloriosi in hac quadra scripti, estote coad- jutores & auxiliares in omnibus questionibus & interrogationibus, in omnibus negotiis. Quoniam consequi eum qui veniturus est judicare vivos & mortuos & mun- dum per ignem.

*O queen or governesse of the tongue.

LemaeSolmaac†elmay†gezagra†raamaasin†exieregmo†al-
egziophax†sofamin†sachach†ba†aem†ve†bo†sephas†sephar†ram-
mar†semnt†lemajo†pheralon†amic†aphin†leov† 
Amin†amin†j.

In the name of the most pitifull left and and mercifullest God of Israel and of paradise, of heaven and of earth, of the seas and of the infernals, by thine omnipotent help may perform this work, which livet and reignet over one God world without end, Amen.

O most strongest and mightieth God, without beginning or ending, by thy clemency and knowledge, I desire, that my questions, work, and labour may be fully and truly accomplished through thy worthinesse, good Lord, which livet and reignet, ever one God world without end Amen.

O holy, patient, and mercifull great God, and to be worshippd, the Lord of all wisdom, clear and just; I most heartily desire thy holinesse and clemency, to fulfill, perform and accomplish this my whole work, through thy worthinesse and blessed power: which livet and reignet ever one God; Per omnia saecula saeculorum; Amen.
CHAP. XII.

How to inclose a spirit in a crystal stone.

This operation following, is to have a spirit inclosed into a crystal stone or beryl glasse, or into any other like instrument, &c. First thou observest in the new of the zodiac being clothed with all new, and fresh and clean array, of cleanliness, and shaven, and that day to fast with bread and water; and being cleansed abstinence, and convicted, say the seven Psalms, and the Lettany for the space of two days, devotion, with this prayer following.

I desire thee, O Lord God, my mercifull and most loving God, the giver of all graces, the giver of all sciences; grant that I thy well-beloved N., (although unworthy) may know thy grace and power, against all the deceits and craftiness of devils. And grant to me thy power good Lord, to constrain them by this art: for thou art the true, and lively, and eternall God, which livest and reignest ever one God through all world; Amen.

Thou must doe this five dayes, and the sixth day have in a readiness, 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, thruf in thy sword into that name. And write again Marathmon, with another sword; and Thamaor, with another; and Falur, with another; and Sitrami; with another: and doe as ye did with the first. All this done, turn thee to Sitrael, and kneeling say thus; having the crystal stone in thine hands.

O Sitrael, Marathmon, Thamaor, Falur, and Sitrami, Written in these circles, appointed to this work; I doe conjure, and I doe exorcise you, by the Father, by the Sonne, and by the Holy-Ghost, by him which sent you out of Paradise, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and the world by fire, that all you infernal matters and princes doe come unto me, to accomplish and to fulfill all my desire and request, which I shall command you. Also I conjure you devils, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Jesus Christ, the sonne of the most high God, and by the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, and by all the Saints, both of men and women of God, and by all the Angels, Archangels, Patriarches, and prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, martyrs and confessours, virgins, and widowers, and all the elect of God. Also I conjure you, and every of you, ye infernal Kings by the heaven, by the starse, by the zodiac and by the earth; and by all the planets, by the fire, air and water, and by the terrestrial paradise, and by all things in them contained, and by your hell, and by all the devils in it, and dwelling about it; and by your vertue and power, and by all whatsoever it be, which may contraine and bind you. Therefore by all these forefoaid vertues and powers, I doe bind you and constrain you into my will and power; that you being thus bound, may
come unto me in great humility, and to appear in your circles before me visibly, in fair form and shape of mankind kings, and to obey unto me all things, whatever I shall desire, and that you may not depart from me without my licence. And if you do against my precepts, I will promis unto you that you shall descend into the profound deepness of the Sea, except that you do obey unto me, in the part of the living son of God, which liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen.

Say this true conjuration five courses, and then shalt thou see come out of the North part five Kings with a marvellous company: which when they are come to the circle, they will alight down off from their horses, and will kneel down before thee, saying: Master, command us what thou wilt, and we will out of hand be obedient unto thee. Unto whom thou shalt say; see that ye depart not from me, without my licences and that which I will command you to do, let it be done truly, surely, faithfully, and essentially. And then they all will swear unto thee to do all thy will; And after they have sworn, say the conjuration immediately following.

I conjure, charge, and command you, and every of you Sireael, Malanathan, Thamarat, Palaur, and Sivami, you infernal kings, to put into this crystal stone one spirit learned and expert in all arts and sciences, by the virtue of this name of God Tetragrammaton, and by the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the blood of the innocent lamb, which redeemed all the world, and by all their virtues and powers: I charge you, ye noble kings, that the said spirit may teach, shew, and declare unto me, and to my friends, at all hours and minutes, both night and day, the truth of all things both bodily and ghostly, in this world, whatsoever I shall request or desire, declaring also to me my very name. And this I command in your part to do, and to obey thereunto, as unto your own Lord and Master. That done, they will call a certain spirit, whom they will command to enter into the centre of the circled or round crystal. Then put the crystal between the two circles, and thou shalt see the crystal made black.

Then command them to command the spirit in the crystal, not to depart out of the stone, till thou give him licence, and to fulfill thy will for ever. That done, thou shalt see them goe upon the crystal, both to answer your requests, and to carry your licence: That done, the spirits will crave licence: and say; Go ye to your place appointed of Almighty God in the name of the father, &c. And then take up thy crystal, and look therein, asking what thou wilt, and it will shew it unto thee. Let all your circles be nine foot every way, and made as followeth. Work this work in & M or in the house of the Π or Y. And when the spirit is inclosed, if thou feare him, bind him with some bond, in such sort as is elsewhere expressed already in this our treatise.
A figure or type proportionall, shewing what form must be observed and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in crystall is to be accomplished, &c.

The names written within the five circles doe signifye the five infernall kings: See pag. 292, 293, 294.
An experiment of Bealpares.

This is proved the noblest carrier that ever did serve any man upon the earth, and here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit, and how to have a true answer of him, without any craft or harm; and he will appear unto thee in the likeness of a fair man or fair woman, the which spirit will come to thee at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thee of hidden treasures that be in any place, hee will tell it thee; or if thou wilt command him to bring to thee gold or silver, he will bring it thee; or if thou wilt goe from one country to another, he will bear thee without any harm of body or soul. Therefore he that will doe this work, shall abstaine from lecherousnesse: and drunkennesse, and from false swearing, and doe all the abstinence that he may do; and namely three dayes before hee goeth to work, and in the third day when the night is come, and when the stars do shine, and the elementiaie and clear, he shall bath himselfe and his fellows (if he have any) all together in a quick welspring. Then he must be cloathed in clean white cloathes, and he must have another privy place, and bear him inke and pen, wherewith he shall write this holy name of God Almighty in his right hand +Agla+ and in his left hand this name +XeC+ +XeC+ and he must have a drye thong of a lions or of a hare skin, and make thereof a girdle, & write the holy names of God all about and in the end +A & O+. And upon his breast he must have this present figure or mark written in virgin parchment, as it is here shewed: And it must be wowed upon a peice of new linen, and so made fast upon thy breast. And if thou wilt have a fellow to worke with thee, hee must bee appointed in the same manner. You must have also a bright knife that was never occupied, and he must write on the one side of the blade of the knife +Agla+ and on the other side of the knife's blade +XeC+. And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called Salomons circle. When that hee is made, goe into the circle, and close again the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and say: Per crucis hoc signum +XeC+ at procul omne malignum; Et per idem signum +Agla+ salvetur quaunque benigne. By the sign of the Croce may all evil fly farre away, and by the same signe may all that is good be preserved; and make suffumiations to thy self, and thy fellow or fellows, with frankincense, myrrhe, lignum aloes: then put it in wine, and say with good devotion,
in the worship of the high God Almighty, all together, that he may defend you from all evils. And when he that is master will cloe the spirit, he shall say towards the east with meekness and devout devotion, these psalms and prayers as followeth here in order.

The two and twentieth Psalm.

O My God, look upon me, why hast thou forsaken me, and are so farre from my health, and from the words of my complaint? And so forth to the end of the same psalm, as it is to be found in the book.

This psalm also following, being the fifty one psalm, must be said three times over, &c.

Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness, according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. And so forth to the end of the same psalm, concluding it with, Glory to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be world without end. Amen. Then say this verse: O Lord, leave not my soul with the wicked; nor my life with the bloud-thirsty. Then say, Ave, Ave Maria, Ave Maria. O Lord, have mercy, and we shall be saved. Lord, beare our prayer, and let our cry come unto thee. Let us pray.

O Lord God Almighty, as thou warnedst by thine angels, the three kings of Cullen, Lasper, Melchiors, and Bathasar, when they came with worshipfull presents toward Bethlehem; Lasper brought myrrh; Melchior, incense; Bathasar, gold; worshipping the high king of all the world, Jesus God's son of heaven, the second person in Trinity, being born of the holy and clean virgin Mary, queen of heaven, empress of hell, and lady of all the world; at that time the holy angel Gabriel warned and bad the foresaid three kings, that they should take another way, for dread of perill, that Herod the king by his ordinance would have destroyed these threes noble kings, that meekly sought out our Lord and Saviour. As wittily and truly as these three Kings turned for dread, and took another way; so wisely and so truly, O Lord God, of thy mighty, sufficient mercy, blest us now at this time, for thy blessed passion save us, and keep us all together from all evil; and thy holy angel defend us.

Let us pray.

O Lord, King of all Kings, which containest the throne of heavens, and beholdst all deeps, weighest the hills, and shuttest up with thy hand the earth, hear us most meekly God, and grant unto us (being unworthy) according to thy great mercy, to have the verity and virtue of knowledge of hidden treasure by this spirit invoked, through thy help. O Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be all honour and glory, from worlds to worlds everlasting, Amen. Then say these names: Helios, helos, heloia, heloia, Deus nostrum, eloy, clemens, heloia, Deus sanctus, sabath, Deus exercituum adomin, Deus mirabilis, et, verax, anaphelost, Deus ineffabilis, &c.
The discovery To bind and loose a spirit.

don, dominus, fortissimus, Deus qui, the which wouldst be prayed unto of sinners receive (we beseech thee) these sacrifices of praise, and our neck prayers, which we unworthy doe offer unto thy divine majesty. Deliver us, and have mercy upon us, and prevent with thy holy spirit this work, and with thy blessed help to follow after; that this our work begun of thee, may be ended by thy mighty power; Amen.

Then say this anon after ➚ homo ➚ sacarus ➚ Muscolamens ➚ cherubica, being the figure upon thy breast aforesaid, the girdle about thee, the circle made, blest the circle with holy water, and fit down in the midst, and read this conjuration as followeth, sitting back to back at the first time.

I exorcise and conjure Bealphares, the practitioner and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heavens and of earth, and by his virtue and by his unpeachable name Tetragrammaton, and by all the holy sacraments, and by the holy majesty and deity of the living God. I conjure and exorcise thee Bealphares by the virtue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principatis, potestatis, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim; and by their virtues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your matter, that you do come unto us, in faire form of man or woman kinde, here visibly before this circle; and not terrible by any manner of ways.

* Which must be environed with a goodly company of crosses.

This circle being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull goodness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that you do make answer truly, without craft or deceit, unto all my demands and questions, by the virtue and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

CHAP. XIII.

To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to loose him again.

Now when he is appeared, bind him with these words which follow.

* I conjure thee Bealphares, by God the father, by God the Son and by God the Holy Ghost, and by all the holy company in heaven; and by their virtues and powers I charge thee Bealphares, that thou shalt not depart out of my sight, nor yet alter thy bodily shape, that thou art appeared in, nor any power shalt thou have of our bodies or soules, earthly or ghostly, but to be obedient to me, and to the words of my conjuration, that be written in this book. I conjure thee Bealphares, by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principatis, potestatis, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their virtues and powers. I conjure and charge, binde and constraine thee Bealphares, by all the said words aforesaid, and by their virtues that thou be obedient unto me, and to come and appeare visibly unto me, and that in all days, hours and minutes, wherefoever I be, being called by the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, the which words are written in this book. Look ready thou be to appeare unto me, and to give mee good counself, how to come by treasures hidden in the earth, or in the water, and how to come to dignity.
Of Witchcraft.

Chap. 14.

And on the other side this name XI V E

A GLA

Chapter 14.

The use and knowledge of all things, that is to say, of the astrological art, and of grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry, and of astronomy, and in all other things my will quickly to be fulfilled; I charge upon pain of everlasting condemnation, Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.

When he is thus bound, ask him what thing thou wilt, and he will tell thee, and give thee all things that thou wilt request of him, without any sacrifice doing to him, and without forsaking thy God, that is, thy maker. And when the spirit hath fulfilled thy will and intent, give him license to depart as followeth.

A license for the spirit to depart.

Go unto the place predestinated and appointed for thee, where thy Lord God hath appointed thee, until I shall call thee again. Be thou ready unto me and to my call, as often as I shall call thee, upon pain of everlasting damnation. And if thou wilt, thou mayst recite, two or three times the last conjuration, until thou dost come to this term, In诃, If he will not depart, and then say In诃, that thou depart from this place, without hurt or damage of any body, or of any deed to be done; that all creatures may know, that our Lord is of all power, most mighty, and that there is none other God but he, which is three, and one, living for ever and ever. And the majesty of God the Father omnipotent, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, descend upon thee, and dwell always with thee except thou dost depart without damage of us, or of any creature, or any other still to be done; and thou to go to the place predestinated. And by our Lord Jesus Christ I do else send thee to the great pit of hell, except (I say) that thou depart to the place, whereas thy Lord God hath appointed thee, and see thou be ready to me and to my call, at all times and places, in mine own will and pleasure, day or night, without damage or hurt of any creatures upon pain of everlasting damnation: Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen, Amen. The peace of Jesus Christ be between us and you; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Per crucem hoc signum & c. Say In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum; In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word; and so forward, as followeth in the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel, praying at these words, Full of grace and truth; to whom be all honour and glory world without end, Amen.

The fashion or form of the conjuring knife, with the names thereon to be grave or written.
A type or figure of the circle for the master and his fellows to sit in, shewing how, and after what fashion it should be made.

This is the circle for the master to sit in, and his fellow or fellows; at the first calling, sit back to back, when he calleth the spirit; and for the fairies make this circle with chalk on the ground, as is said before. This spirit Bealphares being once called and found, shall never have power to hurt thee. Call him in the hour of Y or Z the D in decreasing.
The making of the holy water.

Exorcismo, te creaturam salis, per Deum vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum sanctum, per Deum qui te per Elizæum prophetam in aquam mittit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aquæ, ut essiacaris saltexorcisatus in salum credensum; ut sit omnibus te sumentibus salutem anime & corporis, & essia etque alicubi ab eo loco qui alpersus fuerit omnis phantaasia & nequitia, vel vera figuris diabolicae, frandis, omnibus spiritus, adjutator per omnia, qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem.

Amen. Oremus:

Immensam clementiam tuam, omnipotens eternæ Dei, humiliter imploramus, ut hanc creaturam salis aquam in usum generis humani tribuasit, bene dicere & sanæare tua petrae digerendis, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salutem anime & corporis, & quicquid ex eo tuæ fœcundæ, vel resperit, cæræat omni immundiciae, omnibus impugnationibus spirituæs nequitias, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

To the water say also as followeth.

Exorcismo, te creaturam aquæ in nomine patris, & Iesu Christi filii ejus, Dominus nostris, in virtute spiritus sancti, ut sit aqua essiacaris, ad essiacandam omnem poteftatem inimicis, et ipsum inimicum eradicare & expleante valeat, cum angelis suis apostatis, per virtutem ejusdem Dominii nostri Iesu Christi, qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem.

Amen. Oremus:

Deus, qui ad salutem humanæ generis maxima quaque sacramenta in aquam suæ consignasti, adeo propitiatus invocationibus nostris, & elemento buic multiformis purificationibus preparato, virtutem tuae bene dicallis insine; ut creatura tua mysteriis tuæ servius, ad abigendos demones, marbus pelendos, divinae gratia sumam effectum, ut quicquid in domibus, vel in locis siccum hoc unde resperit, cæræat omni immundicia, liberetur a mora, non illic resideat spiritus peccatorum, non auro corrupit, discedat omnes insidiæ latentibus inimicis, & si quid est, quod ante incolumitati habitantium invisit aut qui sit, aperisse huic aquæ essiacat, ut salubritas per invocationem sancti unum nominis expelatur ab omnis sit impugnationibus defenso, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.
Then take the salt in thy hand, and say putting it into the water, making in the manner of a Cross.

Oration ad Deum. Commixtio salis & aquae pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus ui salis exorcisa sancti, Amen. Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo. Orenda: *Deus vivens ad terram, invocante victoriis author, & in superabiles imperii rexi, ac semper magnificis triumphator, qui adversus dominationis vives reprimes, qui inimico ugentis sanctorum superas, qui hostes nequitiar potens expugnas, te Domine trementes & supplices deprecationis ac petitoris, ut bane creaturam salis & aquae aspergis, benigne illus in terris, cura terrae sanctorum, sancta, sanctificata, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnium infestari in mundi spiritus abjiciat, terroque vendienos serpentis pruclu pallat, & praesentia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit & regnat in unitate spiritus sancti, Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.

Then sprinkle upon any thing and say as followeth.

Oration in quae dicenda, exorcissa sanctis sacrati laticis aspergine debet ferorare.

Asperges me Domine bysopo, & mundabor, lavabis me, & supra nivem dealbabor, Misericordia mei Deus, secundum magnum misericordiam tuam, & supra nivem dealbabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & Spiritu sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in saecula saeculorum, Amen. Et supra nivem dealbabor, asperges me & c. Offende nobis domine misericordiam tuam, & salutare tuum da nobis, exaudi nos, Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, eternus Deus, et misere dignare sanctorum angelorum tuorum de caelo, qui custodiat sacerdotem, visiter, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.

CHAP. XVI.

To make a spirit to appeare in a crystal.

I do conjure thee N, by the father, and the sonne, and the Holy ghost, which is the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, and by the latter day of judgement, that thou N. do appeare in this crystal stone, or any other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and my fellow, gently and beautifully, in faire forme of a boy of twelve yeares of age, without hurt or damage of any of our bodies or soules, and certainly to informe and to shew me, without any guile or craft, all that we do desire or demand of thee to know, by the vertue of him, which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fire, Amen.

Also I conjure and exorcise thee N, by the sacrament of the altar, and by the substance thereof, by the wisdom of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, and by all things that are above the earth, and by
of Witchcraft.

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by their vertues, by the ☽ and the ☽ and ☽ and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the virgins and widows, and the craft, and by all saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principates, potestats, virtutes, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the holy names of God, Tetragrammaton, El, Ophan, Agla, and by all the other holy names of God, and by their vertues, by the circumcision, passion, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the heavines of our lady the virgin, and by the joy which she had when she saw her sonne rise from death to life, that thou N. do appear in this cyrtaall stone, or any other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my fellow, gently, and beautifully, and visibly, in faire forme of a child of twelve years of age, without hurt or damage of any of our bodyes or soules, and truly to informe me and shew unto me and to my fellow, without fraud or guile, all things according to thine oath and promise to me, whatsoever I shall demand or desire of thee, without any hindrance or tarrying, and this conjuration be read of me three times, upon paine of eternal condemnation, to the last day of judgement: Fiat, fiat, fiat.

Amen.

And when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of the dead above written: then say as followeth. * I charge thee N. by the father, to shew me true visions in this cyrtaall stone, if there be any treasure hidden in For hidden such a place N. and wherein it lieth, and how many foot from this piece treasure, of earth, east, west, north, or south.

CHAP. XVII.

An experiment of the dead.

First go and get of some person that shall be put to death, a promise, and swear an oath unto him, that if he will come to thee, after his death, his spirit to be with thee, and to remaine with thee all the dayes of thy life, and will do thee true service, as it is contained in the oath and promise following. Then lay thy hand on thy booke, and swear this oath unto him. I N. do swear and promise to thee N. to give for thee an almesse every moneth, and also to pray for thee once in every weeke, to say the Lords prayer for thee, and so to continue all the dayes of my life, as God me helpe and holy doome, and by the contents of this booke, Amen.

Then let him make his oath to thee as followeth, and let him say after thee, laying his hand upon the booke. * I N. do swear this oath to thee N. by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Jesus Christ, and by his precious blood which hath redeemed all the world, by the which blood I do trust to be saved at the general day of judgement; and by the vertues thereof, I N. do swear this oath to thee N. that my spirit that is within my body now, shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to any place of rest, but shall come to thee N. and be very well pleased to remaine with
with thee, all the days of thy life, and so to be bound to thee, and to appear to thee, in any crystal stone, glass, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so soon as my spirit is departed out of my body, straightway to be at your commandments, and that in and at all days, nights, hours, and minutes, to be obedient unto thee, being called of thee by the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and out of hand to have common talk with thee at all times, and in all hours and minutes, to open and declare to thee, the truth of all things present, past and to come, and how to work the magic art and all other noble sciences, under the throne of God, If I do not perform this oath and promise to thee, but doe fly from any part thereof, then to be condemned for ever and ever, Amen.

Also I, do swear to thee by God the Holy Ghost, and by the great wisdom, that is in the divine Godhead, and by their virtues, and by all the holy angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principals, powers, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and by all their virtues do I, swear, and promise thee to be obedient as is rehearsed. And here, for a witness, do I, give thee, my right hand, and do plight thee my faith and troth, as God me help and holydome. And by the holy contents in this book do I, swear, that my spirit shall be thy true servant, all the days of thy life, as is before rehearsed, and here for a witness, that my spirit shall be obedient unto thee, and to those bonds of words that be written in this book, before the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thine, else to be damned for ever, and thereto say all faithfull soules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

*Three times, in reverence (peradventure) of the Trinity, P.P., SS.

Then let him swear this oath, three times, and at every time kiss the book, and at every time make marks to the bond. Then perceiving the time that he will depart, get away the people from you, and get or take your stone or glass, or other thing in your hand, and say the Pater noster, Ave, and Credo, and this prayer as followeth. And in all the time of his departing, rehearse the bonds of words; and in the end of every bond, say oftentimes; Remember thine oath and promise. And bind him strongly to thee, and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, reading thy bond 24 times. And every day when you do call him by your other bond, bind him strongly by the first bond; by the space of 24 days apply it, and thou shalt be made a man for ever.

Now the Pater noster, Ave, and Credo must be said, and then the prayer immediately following.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God of Tobias, the which diddest deliver the three children from the hot burning oven, Sidrac, Misac, and Abednago, and Susanna from the false crime, and Daniel from the lions power: even so O Lord omnipotent, I beseech thee, for thy great mercy sake, to help me in these my works, and to deliver me this spirit of thee, that he may be a true subject unto me, all the days of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this N, all the days of my life.
O glorious God, Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, I beseech thee to help me at this time, and to give me power by thy holy name, merits and virtues, whereby I may conjure and constrain this spirit of N., that he may be obedient unto me, and may fulfill his oath and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine holiness. This grant O Lord God of hosts, as thou art righteous and holy, and as thou art the word, and the word God, the beginning and the end, sitting in the thrones of thine everlasting kingdomes, and in the divinity of thine everlasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glory, now and for ever and ever, Amen, Amen.

CHAP. XVIII.

A bond to binde him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.

N. conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the living God, by the true God, and by the holy God, and by their virtues and powers I conjure and constrain the spirit of thee N. that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy body, nor place of rest, but onely to take thy resting place with N. and with this N. all the days of my life, according to thine oath and promise. I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by thine holy names of God, Tetragrammaton, Adonay, Agla, Saday, Sabaoth, plan右手, panthon, creston, nupmanon, Deus, homo, omnipotens, sempiternus, Iesus, terra, unigenitus, salvator, via, vita, manus, fons, origo, filius, and by their virtues and powers I conjure and constrain the spirit of N., that thou shalt not remaine in the fire, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in any privy place of the earth, but onely with me N. and with this N. all the days of my life. I charge the spirit of N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation, remember thine oath and promise. Also I conjure the spirit of N. and constrain thee by the excellent name of Jesu Christ, A and Ω, the first and the last; for this holy name of Jesu is above all names, for unto * it all knees doe bow and obey both of heavenly things, earthly things, and infernals. Nor is there any other name given to man, whereby we have any salvation, but by the name of Jesus. Therefore by the name, and in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and by his nativity, resurrection and ascension, and by all that appertaineth to his passion, and by their virtues and powers, I do conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that thou shalt not take any resting place in the 0 nor in the D nor in the Ω nor in the Ω nor in the Ω nor in any of the twelve signes, nor in the concavity of the clouds, nor in any other privy place, to rest or stay in, but onely with me N. or with this N. all the days of my life. If thou be not obedient unto me, according to thine oath and promise, I N. do condemme the spirit of N. into the pit of hell for ever, Amen.

I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the blood of the innocents, lambe Jesus Christ, the which was shed upon the croffe, for all those that

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do obey unto it, and believe in it, shall be saved and by virtue thereof, and by all the aforesaid iiall names and words of the living God by me pronounced, I do conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that thou dost be obedient unto me, according to thine oath and promise. If thou refuse to do as is aforesaid, I N. by the Holy Trinity, and by his virtue and power do condemn the spirit of N. into the place where there is no hope of remedy, but everlasting condemnation, and horror, and pain upon paine, daily, horribly, and lamentably the paines there to be augmented, so thicke as the stars in the firmament, and as the gravell round in the sea, and all the other paines, and in the twelfe apostles, and by the twelve apostles, and by all patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, innocents, and by all the elect and chosen, and shall be, which followeth the Lamb of God; and by their virtues and powers I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. strongly, to have common talk with me, at all times, and in all days, nights, hours, and minutes, and to talke in my mother tongue plainly, that I may heare it, and understand it, declaring the truth unto me of all things, according to thine oath and promise; else to be condemned for ever; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Also I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the golden girdle, which girdeth the loines of our Lord Jesus Christ; so thou spirit of N. be thou bound and cast into the pit of everlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and unworthy regard that thou hast to the holy names and words of God almighty, by me pronounced: Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Also I conjure, constrain, command, and bind the spirit of N. by the two edged sword which John saw proceed out of the mouth of God almighty; except thou be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thee in pieces, and condemn thee into the pit of everlasting paines, where the fire goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.

Also I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. by the thrones of the Godhead, and by all the heavens under him, and by the celestial city new Jerusalem, and by the earth, by the sea, and by all the things and contained therein, and by their virtues and powers, and by all the internals, and by their virtues and powers, and by all things contained therein, and by their virtues and powers, I conjure and constrain the spirit of N. that now immediately thou be obedient unto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced according to thine oath and promise: * else let the great curse of God, the anger of God, the shadow and darkness of everlasting condemnation be upon thee spirit of N. for ever and ever, because thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and salvation, for the great disobedience thou art worthy to be condemned.
ned. Therefore let the divine trinity, angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principals, potentates, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and all the foules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the generall day of judgement, condemne the spirit of N. for ever and ever, and be a witness against thee, because of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises, Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Being thus bound, he must needs be obedient unto thee, whether he will or no; prove this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your N. and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the hour of h to bind or enchant any thing, and in the hour of y for peace and concord. These planets in the hour of c to marre, to destroy, and to make sicke, in the hour of y hours must of the o to bind tongues and other bonds of men in the hour of q to in any case be increase love, joy, and good will, in the hour of y to put away enmity observed, or hatred, to know of theft, in the hour of the d for love, goodwill and concord, h lead y time c iron o gold q copper y quicksilver d silver, &c.

CHAPEL. XIX.

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your crystal stone, or glasse, &c.

Also I do conjure thee spirit N. by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holy ghost, A and Ω, the first and the last, and by the latter day of judgement, of them which shall come to judge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fire, & by their virtues and powers I constrain the spirit N. to come to him that holdeth the crystal stone in his hand, and to appear visibly, as hereafter followeth. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by these holy names of God * Tetragrammonon Adonay * El * Onson * Aga * Jesus * of Nazareth * and by the virtues thereof, and by his nativity, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things appertaing unto his passion, and by the * blessed virgin Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the joy which she had when she saw her sonne rise from death to life, and by the virtues and powers thereof I constrain thee spirit N. to come into the crystal stone, and to appear visibly, as hereafter shall be declared. Also I conjure thee N. thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principals, potentates, * Belike he had virtues, cherubim and seraphim, and by the o D in y c y q, and by the gift to ap-twelve signes, and by their virtues and powers, and by thine oculi confirmed in the firmament, and by their virtues and powers I constraint shapes, as it is the spirit N. to appear visibly in that crystal stone, in faire * forme and shap of Perseus shape of a white angell, a greene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, in Ovid. lib. me a boy, a maiden virgin, a white greyhound, a divell with great horns, tempor. 8 fab. io, without any hurt or danger of our bodyes or souls, and truly to informe and of Vertum, and shew unto us, true visions of all things in that crystal stone, according to thine oath and promise, and that without any hindrance or mors. 14. fab. 16.
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rarrying, to appear visibly, by this bond of words read over by mee three times, upon pain of everlasting condemnation; Fiat, fiat, Amen.

Then being appeared, say these words following.

I conjure thee spirit, by God the father, that thou shew true visions in that crystal stone, where there be any N. in such a place or no, upon pain of everlasting condemnation, Fiat, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by God the sonne Jesus Christ, that thou shew true visions unto us, whether it be gold or silver, or any other metals, or whether there were any or no, upon pain of condemnation, Fiat, Amen. Also I conjure thee spirit N. by God the Holy ghost, the which sanctifie all faithful seers and spirits, and by their virtues and powers I constrain thee spirit N. to spake, open and to declare the true way, how we may come by these treasures hidden in N. & how to have it in our custody, & who are the keepers thereof, and how many there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to shew me true visions of what sort and similitude they be, and how long they have kept it, and to know in what dayes and hours we shall call such a spirit, N. to bring unto us these treasures, into such a place N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation. Also I constrain thee spirit N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principals, potestats, virtues, cherubims & seraphims, that you do shew a true vision in this crystal stone, who did convey or steal away such a N. and where it is, and who hath it, and how far off, and what is his or her name, and how and when to come unto it, upon paine of eternal condemnation, Fiat, Amen.

Also I conjure thee spirit N. by the C D H Y S R Q I & by all the characters in the firmament, that thou shew unto me a true vision in this crystal stone, where such N. and in what state he is, and how long he hath been there, and what time he will be in such a place, what day and howe: and this and all other things to declare plainly, in paine of hell fire; Fiat, Amen.

A licence to depart.

Depart out of the sight of this crystal stone in peace for a time, and ready to appear therein againe at any time or times I shall call thee, by the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appear visibly, as the words be rehearsed, I constrain thee spirit N. by the divinity of the Godhead, to be obedient unto these words rehearsed, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come, Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.
CHAP. XX.

When to talk with spirits, and to have true answers to find out a theft.

The dayes and hours of larınd�  Stand and the OrUpdate is best to doe all crafts of This is necromancy, and for to speak with spirits, and for to find the end, and to demure for have true answer thereof, or of any other such like. * And in the dayes and hours of ornado  Order and minutes of love, and so put the doctors, as chale grace, and for to be invisible, and to do any operations whatsoever by 𒏕 𒏕 𒏕 𒏕, for any thing, the ╘ being in a convenient sige. * As when thou la-Math.Gregor.- boust for theft, see the moon be in an earthy signe, as 𒏕 𒏕 𒏕, or of the air, as 𒏕 𒏕 𒏕. * And if it be for love, favour or grace, let the ╘ be in a signe of the fire, as 𒏕 𒏕 𒏕, and for hatred, in a signe of the water, as 𒏕 𒏕 𒏕. For any other experiment, let the  Lauderdale be in 𒏕. * And if thou findest the 𓃩 and the ╘ in one sign that is called in even number, then thou mayst write conjura, conjure, and make ready all manner of things that thou wilt doe, &c.

To speak with spirits.

Call these names, Handled, Belan, Lyne, and say thus: I conjure you up by the names of the angels ⒜ and  Scarborough, that you intend to me in this house, and send unto me a spirit called �� ��, that he do fulfill my commandement and desire, and that he can understand my words for one or two years, or as long as I will, &c.

CHAP. XXI.

A confusion of conjuration, especially of the raising, binding, and dismissing of the dwellings of going invisible, and other lewd practices.

Thus far have we waded in shewing at large the vanity of necromancers, conjurors, and such as pretend to have real conference and consultation with spirits and divels: wherein (I trust) you see what notorious blasphemy committed, besides other blind superstitious ceremonies, a disorderly heap, which are so far from building up the endeavours of these black art practitioners, that they do altogether ruinate and overthrow them, making them in their follies and falsehoods as bare and naked as an anatomy. As for these ridiculous conjurations, last rehearsed, being of no small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part made by T.R. (for so much of his name he bewrayeth) and John Colet, invented and devised for the augmentation and maintenance of their living, for the edifying of the poor, and for the propagating and enlarging of God's glory, as in the beginning of their book of conjurations they profess, which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impudence, and of the witchmongers folly, and credulity, I thought good to insert, whereby the
residue of their proceedings may be judged, or rather detected. For if
we seriously behold the matter of conjuration, and the drift of conjurers, we
shall finde them, in mine opinion, more faulty then such as take upon them
to be witches, as manifest offenders against the majesty of God, and his
holy law, and as apparent violators of the laws and quietnesse of this
realm: although indeed they bring no such thing to passe, as is surmised
and urged by credulous persons, coufemors, liars, and witchmongers. For
these are always learned, and rather abusers of others, than they them-
selves by others abused.

But let us see what appearance of truth or possibility is wrapped with-
in thefe mysteries, and let us unfold the deceipt. They have made choice
of certaine words, whereby they say they can work miracles, &c. And
first of all, that they call devils and soules out of hell, (though we find in
the Scripture manifest proofs that all passagges are stopped concerning the
egregious out of hell) so as they may goe thither, but they shall never get
out, for **Ab inferno nulla est redemptione**, out of hell there is no redemp-
tion. Well, when they have gotten them up, they shut them in a circle
made with chalk, which is so strongly belefit and environed with croles
and nimes, that they cannot for their lives get out; which is a very
probable matter. Then can they bind them and loose them at their plea-
sures, and make them that have been liers from the beginning, to tell
the truth, yea they can compell them to doe any thing. And the devils
are forced to be obedient unto them, and yet cannot be brought to due
obedience unto God their creator. This done (I say) they can work
all manner of miracles (saving blew miracles) and this is beleived of
many to be true;

Tam credula mens hominis, & arretae fabulis aure.
So light of beleef is the mind of man,
And attentive to tales his ears now and then.

But if Christ (only for a time) left the power of working miracles
among his Apostles and Disciples for the confirmation of his Gospel,
and the faith of his elect: yet I deny altogether that hee left that power
with these knaves, which hide their couening purposes under those lewd
and foolish words, according to that which Peter faith: With fainned
words they make merchandize of you. And therefore the counsell is
good that Paul giveth us, when he biddeth us take heed that no man de-
ceive us with vain words. For it is the Lord only that worketh great
wonders, and bringeth mighty things to passe. It is also written, that
Gods Word, and not the words of conjurers, or the charmes of witches
healeth all things, maketh tempests, and filleth them.

But put case the Divell could be fetched up and fettered, and loosed
again at their pleasure &c, I marvel yet, that any can be so bewitched
as to be made to beleve, that by vertue of their words, any earthly
creature can be made invisible. We think it a lye to say that white is black;
and black white; but it is a more shamelesse affirming to affirm, that
white is not, or black is not at all; and yet more impudence to hold that
A man is a horse; but most apparent impudence to say, that a man is no man, or to be exterminated into such a quantity, as thereby he may be invisible, and yet remain in life and health, and that in the cleare light of the day, even in the presence of them that are not blinde. But surely he that cannot make one hair white or black, whereof (on the other side) not one sallieth from the head without God's special providence, can never bring to passe, that the visible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace powerd thereinto by God the creator of all things.

If they say that the devil covereth them with a cloud or veil, as M.Mal. Ezek. 8 & 9 Bodin, and many other doe affirm; yet (he thinks) we should either see 10.6. & 26. the cover, or the thing covered. And though perchance they say in & 30. their hearts; Truth, the Lord seeth not, who indeed have blinde them, to as seeing, they see not; yet they shall never be able to perwade the * John Laveng" wife, but that both God and man doth see both them and their knavery servant to Ga in this behalf, I have heard of a fool, who was made believe that he should see invisible and naked, while he was well whipped by them, who (as both Span he thought) could not see him. Into which fools paradise they say * he ards anno dom. was brought, that entred them to kill the prince of Orange. 1582. March, 18. after dinner

upon a s Sunday this mischief was done. Read the whole discourse hereof printed at Lon don for Tho. Chard, and Wll. Brome book-sellers.

CHAP. XXII.

A comparison between popish exorcists and other conjurers, a popish conjuration published by a great doctor of the Romish Church, his rules and cautions.

I see no difference between these and popish conjurations; for they agree in order, words, and matter, differing in no circumstance, but that the Papists doe it without shame openly, the other doe it in hugger mugger secretly. The papists (I say) have officers in this behalfe, which are called exorcists or conjurers, and they look narrowly to other cowenours, as having gotten the upper hand over them. And because the papists shall be without excuse in this behalfe, and that the world may see their counselage, impiety, and folly to be as great as the others, I will cite one conjuration (of which sort I might cite a hundred) published by Iacobus de Chusa, a great doctor of the Romish church, which serveth to find out the cause of noile and spiritual rumbling in houses, churches, or chappels, and to conjure walking spirits; which evermore is knavery and counelage in the highest degree. Mark the counsailing devise hereof, and confer the impiety with the others.

First (forsooth) he saith it is expedient to fast three days, and to celebrate a certain number of masses, & to repeat the seven psalms penitential; then four or five priests must be called to the place where the haunt or noile is, then a candle hallowed on candlemas day must be lighted, and in the lighting
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ing thereof also must the seven psalms be said, and the Gospel of St. John. Then there must be a cross and a censer with frankincense, and there-withall the place must be fumigated or perfumed, holy water must be sprinkled, and a holy stoup must be used, and (after divers other ceremonies) a prayer to God must be made, in manner and form following.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the knower of all secrets, which always reveal all wholesome and profitable things to thy faithful children, and which sufferest a spirit to dwell in this place, we beseech thee for thy bitter passion, &c. vouchsafe to command this spirit, to reveal and signifie unto us thy servants, without our terror or hurt, what he is, to thine honour, and to his comfort; In nomine patris, &c. And then proceed in these words. We beseech thee, for Christ's sake, O thou spirit, that if there be any of us, or among us, whom thou wouldst answer, name him, or else manifest him by some sign. Is it fryer P., or doctor B., or sir F., or sir J., or sir R.; Et sic de eandem ceremoniis. For it is well tried (as the gloss) he will not answer every one. If the spirit make any sound of voice, or knocking, at the naming of any one, he is the counsellor (the conjurer I would say) that must have the charge of this conjuration or examination. And therefore must be the interrogatories, to wit? Whose soule art thou? Wherefore camest thou? What wouldst thou have? Wantest thou any sustaiges, masts, or alms? How many masts will serve thy turn, three, six, ten, twenty, thirty, &c. By what priest? Must he be religious or secular? Wilt thou have any tafts? What? How many? How great? And by what person? Among hospitals, lepers? Or beggars? What shall be the sign of thy perfect deliverance? Wherefore liest thou in purgatory? and such like. This must be done in the night.

If there appear no sign at this hour, it must be deferred until another. Holy water must be left in the place. There is no fear (they say) that such a spirit will hurt the conjurer; for he can sinne no more, as being in the mean estate between good and evil, and as yet in the state of satisfaction. * If the spirit doth hurt, then it is a damned soule, and not an elect. Every man may not be present hereat, specially such as be weak of complexion. They appear in divers manners, not always in body or bodily shape, (as it is read in the life of S. Martin, that the devill did) but sometimes invisible, as only by sound, voice, or noise. Thus fare Iacobus de Chistia.

But because you shall see that these be not empty words, nor fancies; but that in truth such things are commonly put in practice in the Romish church, I will here set downe an instance, lately and truly, though lewdly performed; and the same in effect as followeth.

Memorandum that he must be the veriest knave or fool in all the company.

The spirits are not so cunning by day as by night.

* For so they might be bewrayed.

For so the counenage must be best handled.
A late experiment or confining conjuration practised at Orleance by the Franciscan Friers, how it was detected, and the judgment against the authors of that comedy.

In the year of our Lord 1534, at Orleance in France, the Maiors wife dyed, willing and desiring to be buried without any pomp or noise, &c. Her husband, who reverenced the memorial of her, did even as she had willed him. And because she was buried in the church of the Franciscans, besides her Father and Grandfather, and gave them in reward only six crownes, whereas they hoped for a greater prey; shortly after it chanced, that as he felled certain woods and sold them, they desired to give them some part thereof freely without money; which he readily denied. This they took very grievously. And whereas before they disliked him, now they conceived such displeasure as they devised this means to be revenged 3 to wit, that his wife was damned for ever. The chiefest workmen and framers of this tragedy were Colimannus and Stephanus Agerbatenis, both Doctors of Divinity; this Colimannus was a great Conjurer, and had all his implements in a readinesse, which he was wont to use in such businesse. And thus they handle the matter. They place over the arches of the church a young novice, who about midnight when they came to mumble their prayers, as they were wont to do, maketh a great rumbling, and noise. Out of hand the Monks began to conjure and to charm, but he answered nothing. Then being required to give a signe, whether he were a dum spirit or no, he began to rumble againe; which thing they took as a certain signe. Having laid this foundation, they goe unto certain citizens, chief men, and such as were favoured men, in their monastyre; there, after learning what the matter was, but desiring them to come to their Matthias at midnight. When these citizens were come, and that prayers were begun, the counterfeit spirit beginneth to make a marvellous noise in the top of the church. And being asked what he meant, and who he was, gave signes that it was not lawfull for him to speak. Therefore they commanded him to make answer by tokens and signes to certayne things they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in the ravel, through the which he might heare and understand the voice of a conjuror. And then had he in his hand a little board, which at every question he strake, in such sort as he might easily be heard beneath. First they asked him, whether he were one of them that had been buried in the same place. Afterwards they reckoning many by name, which had been buried there; at the last also they name the Maiors wife; and there by and by the spirit gave a signe that he was her soule. He was further asked whether he was damned or no; and if he were, for what cause, for what defect or fault; whether for covetousness, or wanton lust, for pride or want of charity; or whether it were for heresie, or for the sect of Luther newly
newlie sprung up: also what he meant by that noise and stirre he kept there; whether it were to have the body now buryed in holy ground to be digged up again, and laid in some other place. To all which points he answered by signes, as he was commanded, by the which he affirmed or denied any thing, according as he strike the board twice or thrice together. And when he had thus given them to understand, that the very cause of his damnation was Luther's heresie, and that the body must needs be digged up againe: the monks requested the citizens, whose presence they had used or rather abused, that they would bear witnesse of those things which they had seen with their eye; and that they would subscribe to such things as were done before. The citizens taking good advice on the matter, left they should offend the Maior, or bring themselves in trouble, refused so to doe. But the monks notwithstanding take from thence the sweet bread, which they called the hoft and body of our Lord, with all the reliques of saints, and carry them to another place, and there lay their mafs. The Bishops substitute judge (whom they called Official) understanding that matter, cometh thither, accompanied with certaine honest men, to the intent he might know the whole circumstance more exactly: and therefore he commanded them to make conjuration in his presence; and also he required certain to be chosen to goe up into the top of the vaut, and there to see whether any ghost appeared or not. Stephanus Aterbatensis sthillic denied that to be lawfull, and marvellously perwading the contrary, affirmed that the spirit in no wise ought to be troubled. And albeit the Official urged them very much, that there might be some conjuring of the spirit; yet could he nothing prevail.

Whilst these things were doing, the Maior, when he had stewed the other Justices of the city, what he would have them to doe, took his journey to the king, and opened the whole matter unto him. And because the monks refused judgement upon plea of their owne laws and liberties, the king choosing out certain of the Aldermen of Paris, gave them absolute and full authority to make enquiry of the matter. The like doth the Chancellor master Anthonius Pratenis cardinall and Legat for the Pope throughout France. Therefore when they had no exception to alledge, they were conveyed unto Paris, and there constrained to make their answer. But yet could nothing be wrung out of them by confession, where upon they were put a part into divers prisons, the novice being kept in the house of master Fumannus, one of the Aldermen, was oftentime examined, and earnestly requested to utter the truth, but would not withstanding confess nothing; because he feared that the monks would afterward put him to death for wounding their order, and putting it to open shame. But when the Judges had made him sure promisse that he should escape punishment, and that he should never come into their handling, he opened unto them the whole matter as it was done: and being brought before his fellows, avouched the same to their faces. The monks, albeit they were convicted, and by these means almost taken tardy with the deed doing; yet did they refuse the Judges, bragging and themselves vaunting on their privileges, but all in vain. For sentence passed upon them, and they were condemned.
condemned to be carried back again to Orleans, and thereto be cast in prison, and so should finally be brought forth into the chiefe church of the city openly, and from thence to the place of execution, where they should make open confession of their delusions.

Surely this was most common among monks and friars, who maintained their religion, their lust, their liberties, their pomp, their wealth, their estimation and knavery by such confounding practices. Now I will shew you more speciell orders of popish conjurations, that are so shamefully admitted into the church of Rome, that they are not only suffered, but commanded to be used, not by night secretly, but by day impudently. And these forbode concerning the curing of bewitched persons, and such as are possessed, such as have a devil put into them by witches enchantments, and here withall I will set down certain rules delivered unto us by such popish doctors, as are of greatest reputation.

CHAP. XXIV.

Who may be conjurors in the Roman Church besides Priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be used and not used in exorcismes, rebaptism allowed, it is lawfull to conjure any thing, differences between holy water and conjuration.

Thomas Aquinas saith, that any body, though he be of an inferior or inferior order, yea though of none order at all (and as Guilemnus Dunstent, tandus glossator Raimundis affieth, a woman, so the belfe or not the girdle or the garment, but the person of the bewitched) hath power to exercise the order of an exorcist or conjuror, even as well as any priest may say mass in a house unconsecrated. But that is (saith M. Mal.) rather through the goodness and license of the Pope, than through the grace of the Sacrament. Nay, there are examples set down, where some being bewitched were cured (as M. Mal. taketh it) without any conjuration at all. Marry there were certain Pater nosters, Ave, and Creedes said, and crosses made, but they are charms, they lay, and no conjurations. For they lay, that such charms are lawfull, because there is no superstition in them, 

And it is worthy my labour to shew you how papists define superstition, and how they expound the definition thereof. Superstition (they say, superstition) is a religion observed beyond measure, a religion pratiit with evil and imperfect circumstances. Also, whatsoever usurpeth the name of religion, through humane tradition, without the Popes authority is superstition, as to add or join any hymnes to the masse, to interrupt any dirigés, to bridge any part of the creed in the singing thereof, or to sing when the organs goe, and not when the quieter singeth, not to have one to help the priest to masse, and such like.

These popish exorcists doe many times forget their owne rules, they should not directly in their conjurations call upon the devil they doe, with interpracy, but with authority and commandement.
ther should they have in their charmes and conjurations any unknowne names. Neither should there be (as always there is) any falsehood contained in the matter of the charm or conjuration, as (say they) old women have it in theirs, when they say; the blessed Virgin passed over Jordan, and then S. Steven met her and asked her, &c. Neither should they have any other vain characters, but the cross (for those are the words:) and many other such cautions have they, which they observe not, for they have made it lawfull elsewhere.

But Thomas their chief pillar proveh their conjuring and charmes lawfull by S. Mark who saith; *Signa cos qui crediderunt;* and, in nomine meo *demonia efficiem,* &c. whereby he also proveh that they may conjure serpents. And there he taketh pains to prove, that the words of God are of as great holinesse as reliques of saints, whereas (in such respect as they mean) they are both alike, and indeed nothing worth. And I can tell them further, that so they may be carried, as either of them may doe a man much harm either in body or soul.

But they prove this by S. Augustines, saying; *Non est minus verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi:* whereupon they conclude thus; By all men's opinions it is lawfull to carry about reverently the reliques of saints; *Ergo it is lawfull against evil spirits,* to invoke the name of God every way; by the *Pater Noster,* the *Ave,* the nativitie, the passion, the five wounds, the title triumphant, by the seven words spoken on the cross, by the nails, &c. and there may be hope repose of them. *Yes,* they say, it is lawfull to conjure all things, because the divell may have power in all things. And if it be the person or thing wherein the divell is, must be exorcised, and then the divell must be conjured. Also they affirm, that it is as expedient to consecrate and conjure porrage and mead, as water and salt, or such like things.

The right order of exorcism in rebaptism of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exhortation and abnunciation be done toward the west. Item, there must be erection of hands, confession, profession, oration, benediction, imposition of hands, denudation andunction, with holy oil after baptism, communion, and inductum of the surplus. But they say that this needeth not, where the bewitched is exorcised; but that the bewitched be first confessed, and then to hold a candle in his hand, and in stead of a surplise to tie about his bare body a holy candle of the length of Christ, or of the cross whereupon he dyed, which for many may be bad at Rome. *Ergo (faith M. Male) this may be said,* I conjure thee Peter or Barbara being sick, but regenerate in the holy water of baptism, by the living God, by the true God, by the holy God, by the God which redeemed thee with his precious blood, that thou mayst be made a conjugated man, that every fantasie and wickednesse of diabolical deceit doth void and depart from thee, and that every uncleane spirit be conjured through him that shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire, Amen. *Oremus,* &c. And this conjuration with *Oremus* and a prayer, must be thrice repeated, and at the end always must bee said; *Ergo maledicete diabolet recognoscite sententiam tuam,* &c. Therefore cursed divell know thy sentence, &c. And this order must always be followed.
of Witchcraft.

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followed: and finally, there must be diligent search made, in every corner, and under every coverlet and pallet, and under every threshold of the doors, for instruments of witchcraft. And if any be found, they must straightway be thrown into the fire. Also they must change all their bedding, their clothing, and their habitation; and if nothing be found, the party that is to be exorcised or conjugated, must come to the church rath in the morning: and the holy the day is, the better, specially our Lady day. And the priest if he be shrouned himself and in perfect state, shall doe the better therein. And let him that is exorcised hold a holy candle in his hand, &c. Always provided, that the holy water be thrown upon him, and a strow put about his neck, with Deus in adiutorium, and the Lector, with invocation of saints: and this order may continue thrice a week, so as (say they) through multiplication of intercessions, or rather intercessions grace may be obtained, and favour procured.

There is also some question in the Romish church, whether the sacrament of the altar is to be received before or after the exorcism. Item in shrift, the confessor must learn whether the party be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endureth this vexation. Thomas sheweth the difference between holy water and conjuration, laying that holy water driveth the devil away from the externall and outward parts; but conjurations from the internall and inward parts; and therefore unto the bewitched party both are to be applied.

CHAP. XXV.

The seven reasons why some are not rid of the devil with all their popish conjurators, why there were no conjurors in the primitive Church, and why the devil is not so soon cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.

The reason why some are not remedied for all their conjurators, the papists say is for seven canons. First, for that the faith of the standers by is naught; secondly, for that theirs that present the party is no better; thirdly, because of the sins of the bewitched; fourthly, for the neglecting of meet remedies; fifthly, for the reverence of virtues going out into others; sixthly, for the purgation; seventhly, for the merit of the party bewitched. And lo, the first four are proved by Matthew the 7, and Mark the 4. when one presented his sonne, and the multitude wanted faith, and the father said, Lord help mine incredulity or unbelief. Whereupon was said, Oh faithless and perverie generation, how long shall I be with you? and, where these words are written? And Jesus rebuked him, &c. That is to say, say they, the possessed or bewitched of the seven for his sinnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appeareth, that reasons, there were not with Christ good & perfect men. For the pillars of the faith; to wit, Peter, James, and John were absent. Neither was there fasting and prayer, without which that kind of devils could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith may appeare
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peare; for that afterwards the disciples asked the cause of their impotency therein. And Jesus answered, it was for their incredulity, saying that if they had as much faith as a graine of mustard seed, they should move mountains, &c. The first is proved by Vitus patrum, the lives of the fathers, where it appeareth that S. Anthony could not do that cure, when his scholar Paulus could do it, and did it. For the proof of the first excuse it is said, that though the fault be taken away thereby; yet it followed not that always the punishment is released. Last of all it is said, that it is possible that the devil was not conjured out of the party before baptism by the exorcist, or the midwife hath not baptized him well, but omitted some part of the sacrament. If any object that there were no exorcists in the primitive church, it is answered, that the church cannot now err. And saint Gregorius would never have instituted it in vain. And it is a general rule, that who or whatever is newly exorcised, must be rebaptized, as also such as walk or talk in their sleep; for (say they) call them by their names, and presently they wake, or fall if they clime; whereby it is gathered, that they are not truly named in baptism. Item they say, it is somewhat more difficult to conjure the devil out of one bewitched then out of one possessed; because in the bewitched, he is doubles in the other single. They have a hundred such beggarly, foolish, and frivolous notes in this behalfe.

CHAP. XXVI.

Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers in this matter of conjurations.

Surely I cannot see what distinction the witchmongers do put between the knowledge and power of God and the devil; but that they think, if they pray or rather talk to God, till their hearts ache, he never heareth them; but that the devil doth know every thought and imagination of their minds, and both can and also will do any thing for them. For if any that meaneth good faith with the devil, read certaine conjurations, he commeth up (they say) at a trice. Marry if another that hath no intent to raise him, read or pronounce the words, he will not stirre. And yet Bodin confesseth, that he is afraid to read such conjurations, as John Wierus reciteth; lest (belike) the devil would come up, and scratch him with his fowle long nails. In which sort I wonder that the devil dealth with none other, then witches and conjurers. I for my part have read a number of their conjurations, but never could see any divels of theirs, except it were in a play. But the devil (belike) knoweth my mind; to wit, that I would be both to come within the compass of his claws. But by what reason such people have. Bodin, Bartholomew, Spinex, Spranger, and Inflatus, &c do constantly affirm, that witches are to be punished with more extremity than conjurors; and sometimes with death, when the other are to be pardoned doing the same offense; because (say they) the witches make a league with the devil, and
Now if conjurers make no league by their own confession, and devils indeed know not our cogitations (as I have sufficiently proved) then would I weet of our witchmongers the reason, (if I read the conjuration and performe the ceremony) why the devil will not come at my call? But oh absurd credulity! Even in this point many wise and learned men have been and are abused: whereas, if they would make experience, or duly expend the cause, they might be soone resolved; specially when the whole art and circumstance is so contrary to God's word, as it must be false, if the other be true. So as you may understand, that the papists do not only by their doctrine, in books and sermons teach and publish conjurations, and the order thereof, whereby they may induce men to bestow, or rather cast away their money upon masses and suffrages for their souls, but they make it also a parcel of their sacrament or orders (of the which number a conjuror is one) and insert many forms of conjurations into their divine service, and not only into their pontificals, but into their mass books; yea into the very canon of the mass.

**CHAP. XXVII.**

**Certaine conjurations taken out of the pontificall and out of the missall.**

But see yet a little more of popish conjurations, and conferre them with the other. In the *Pontificall* you shall find this conjuration, which the other conjurers use as solemnly as they: I conjure thee thou creature of water in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou drive away the devil from the bounds of the just, that he remaine not in the darke corners of this church and altar. You shall find in the same title, these words following, to be used at the halloving of churches. There must a crose of alifes be made upon the pavement, from one end of the church to the other, one handfull broad: and one of the priests must write on the one side thereof the Greeke alphabet, and one the other side the Latin alphabet. Duryndus yeeldeth this reason thereof, to wit, It representeth the union in faith of the Jewes and Gentiles. And yet well agreeing to himselfe he saith even there, that the crose reaching from the one end to the other signifies that the people, which were in the head, shall be made the tail.

*A conjuration written in the masse booke. Fol. i.*

I conjure thee, O creature of salt by God, by the God, that liveth, by the true God, by the holy God, which by Elias the prophet commanded, that thou shouldst be thrown into the water, that it thereby might be made whole & found: that thou (al)here let the priest looke upon the salt] must be conjured for the health of all believers, and that thou be

be to all that take thee, health both of body and soule: and let all phantasies and wickedness, or diabolical craft or deceit, depart from the place wherein it is sprinkled; as also every unclean spirit, being conjured by him that judgeth both the quick and the dead by fire, Resp. Amen. Then followeth a prayer to be said, without Dominus vobiscum; but yet with Oremus; as followeth:

Oremus.

A prayer to be applied to the former exorcisme.

Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly desire thy clemency [here let the p. eft looke upon the ialt] that thou wouldest vouchsafe through thy piety, to bless and sanctifie this creature of salt, which thou hast given for the use of mankind, that it may be to all that receive it, health of mind and body; so as whatsoever shall be touched thereby, or sprinkled therewith, may be void of all uncleanness, and all resistance of spiritual iniquity, through our Lord, Amen.

What can be made but a conjuration of these words also, which are written in the canon, or rather in the consecration of mass? This holy commission of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, let it be made to me, and to all the receivers thereof, health of mind and body, and a wholesome preparative for the deserving & receiving of everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus, Amen.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That popish priests leave nothing unconjured, a forme of exorcisme for incense.

A conjunction at frankincense set forth in forme.

Although the papists have many conjurations, so as neither water, nor fire, nor bread, nor wine, nor wax, nor tallow, nor church, nor churchyard, nor altar, nor altar cloth, nor ashes, nor coales, nor bells, nor bell ropes, nor copes, nor vestments, nor oil, nor salt, nor candle, nor candlestickes, nor beds, nor bedstaves, &c. are without their form of conjuration: yet I will for brevity let all paffe, and end here with incense, which they do conjure in this sort. I conjure thee most filthy and horrible spirit, and every vision of our enemie, &c. that thou go and depart from out of this creature of frankincense, with all thy deceit and wickedness: this creature may be sanctified, and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; that all they that taste, touch, or smell the same, may receive the virtue and assistance of the Holy ghost; so as wherever 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 unclean spirit so ever thou be, that thou with all thy craft and subtilty avoid and depart, being conjured by the name of God the father almight, &c. And that wherefover the fume or smoke thereof shall come, every kind and sort of devils may be driven away, and expelled: as they were at the increase of the liver of fish, which the archangell Raphael made, &c.

CHAP.
The rules and lawes of papists Exorcists and other conjurers all one, with a conjuration of their whole power, how S. Martine conjured the devill.

Papists and conjurers countenancing compers.

The papists you see, have their certaine generall rules and lawes, as to abstaine from sinne, and to fast, as also otherwise to be cleane from all pollutions, &c: and even so likewise have the other conjurers. Some will say that papists use divine service, and prayers, even to do common conjurers (as you see) even in the same papistical forme, no whit swarring from theirs in faith and doctrine, nor yet in ungodly and unreasonable kinds of petitiones. Me thinks it may be a sufficient argument to overthrow the calling up and miraculous works of spirits, that it is written; God only knoweth and searcheth the hearts, and only worketh great wonders. The which argument being preseced to the end, can never be answered: in so much as that divine power is required in that action.

And if it be said, that in this conjuration we speak to the spirits, and they heare us, and therefore need not know our thoughts and imaginations: I first ask them whether king Baal, or Amoimon, which are spirits reignings in the furthest regions of the east (as they say) may heare a conjurers voice, which calleth for them, being in the extremest parts of the west, there being such noises interposed, where perhaps also they may be softe, and set to work upon the like affaires. Secondly, whether those spirits be of the same power that God is, who is every where, filling all places, and able to heare all men at one instant, &c. Thirdly, whenever commeth the force of such words as raise the dead, and command devils, if he sends do it, then may it be done by a rabor and a pipe, or any other instrument that hath no life. If the voyce do it, then may it be done by any beasts or birds. If words, then a parrot may do it. If in mans words only, where is the force, in the first, second, or third syllable? If in syllables, then not in words. If in imaginations, then the devill knoweth our thoughts. But all this stuffe is vaine and fabulous.

It is written; All the generations of the earth were healthfull, and were there no poysen of destruction in them. Why then do they conjure Ecclesiast.9. wholesome creatures; as farre, water, &c. where no devils are? God looked upon all his works, and saw they were all good. What effect (I pray you) Acts.19. but the 7, sones of Seers, which is the great objection of witchmongers? They would needs take upon them to conjured devils out of the possesed. But what brought they to passe? Yet that was in the time, whilst God suffered miracles commonly to be wrought. By that you may see what conjurers can do.

Where is such a promise to conjurers or witches, as is made in the God. Mark.16.17, full to the faithfull? where it is written; In my name they shall cast.
out devils, speak with new tongues: if they shall drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall take away serpents, they shall lay hands on the sicke, and they shall recover. According to the promise, this grant of marvulous working was performed in the primitive church, for the confirmation of Christ's doctrine, and the establishing of the Gospel.

But as in another place I have proved, the gift thereof was but for a time, and is now sealed; neither was it ever made to papists, witches or conjurors. They take upon them to call up and cast out devils; and to undo with one divell, that which another divell hath done. If one divell could cast out another, it were a kingdom divided, and could not stand. Which argument Christ himselfe maketh: and therefore I may the more boldly say even with Christ, that they have no such power. For besides him, there is no saviour; b none can deliver out of his hand. Who but he can declare, set in order, appoint, and tell what is to come? He destroyeth the tokens of forsoothyers and maketh the conjecturers foolish, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot withes.

There is no help in enchanters and forsoothyers, and other such vain sciences. For devils are cast out by the finger of God, which Matthew calleth the spirit of God, which is the mighty power of God, and not by the virtue of the bare name only, being spoken or pronounced; for then might every wicked man do it. And Simon Magus needed not then to have proffered money to have brought the power to do miracles and wonders; for he could speak, and pronounce the name of God, as well as the apostles. Indeed, they may loome throw out all the devills that are in frankincense, and such-like creatures, wherein no devils are: but neither they, nor all their holy water can indeed cure a man possessed with a divell, either in body and mind, as Christ did. Nay, why do they not cast out the divell that possesseth their owne soules?

Let me heare any of them all speake with new tongues; let them drinke but one dramme of a potion which I will prepare for them, let them cure the sicke by laying on of hands (though witches take it upon them, and witchmongers believe it) and then I will subscribe unto them. But if they which repose such certainty in the actions of witches and conjurors, would diligently note their deceit, and how the scope whereat they shooe is money (I mean, not such witches as are falsely accused, but such as take upon them to give anwers, &c. as mother Bungie did) they should apparently see the confidence. For they are abused, as are many beholders of jugglers, which suppose they do miraculously, that which is done by sleight and subtility.

But in this matter of witchcrafts and conjurations, if men would rather trust their owne eyes, than old wives tales and lies; I dare undertake this matter would soone be at a perfect point; as being easier to be perceived than juggeling. But I must needs confesse, that it is no great marvell, though the simple be abused therein, when such lies concerning those matters are maintained by such persons of account, and thrust into their divine service. As for example:
It is written that S. Martinus thrust his fingers into one's mouth that had a devil within him, and used to bite folk; and then did bid him devour them if he could. And because the devil could not get out at his mouth, being stopp'd with S. Martinus' fingers, he was fain to run out at his fundament. O thinking thee!

**CHAP. XXX.**

That it is a shame for popes to believe other conjurers doings, their own being of so little force, Hippocrates his opinion herein.

And still me thinks popes (of all others) which indeed are most credulous, and doe most maintain the force of witches' charmes, and of conjurers' counenages should perceive and judge conjurers doings to be void of effect. For when they see their owne stuffe, as holy water, &c., conjured by their holy bishop and priests; and that in the words of consecration or conjuration (far so their own Doctor's termeth them) they adjure the water, &c., to heal, not onely the soules infirmities, but also every malady, hurt, or ach of the body; and doe also command the candles, with the force of all their authority and power, and by the effect of all their holy words, not to consume: and yet neither heal nor body, nor thing recover, nor the candles last one minute the longer: with what face can they defend the others miraculous workes, as though the witches and conjurers' actions were more effectual than their own? Hippocrates being but a heathen, and not having the perfect knowledge of God, could see and perceive their counenage and knavery well enough, who saith: They which boast so, that they can remove or help the infections of diseases, with sacrifices, conjurations, or other magical instruments or means, are but needy fellows, wanting living, and therefore refer their words to the devil: because they would seeme to know somewhat more than the common people. It is marvell that papists doe affirm, that their holy water, crosses, or bugges words have such virtue and violence, as to drive away devils; so as they dare not approach to any place or person besmeared with such stuffe; when as it appeareth in the Gospell, that the devil presump'ted to assault and tempe the Christ himself. For the devil indeed most earnestly beseeched himselfe to seduce the godly: as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and just account of them, as of his own already. But let us goe forward in our reparation.
How conjurors have beguiled witches, what books they carry about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Joseph.

Thus you see that conjurors are no small fools. For whereas witches being poor and needy, go from doore to doore for relief, have they never so many todes or cats at home, or never so much hogs dung and charvill about them, or never so many charmes in store; these conjurors (I say) have gotten them offices in the church of Rome, whereby they have obtained authority and great estimation. And further to add credit to that art, these conjurors carry about at this day, books entituled under the names of Adam, Abel, Tobie, and Enoch; which Enoch they repute the most divine fellow in such matters. They have also among them books that they say Abraham, Aaron, and Solomon made. Item they have books of Zachary, Paul, Honorius, Cyprian, Jerome, Jeremy, Albert, and Thomas of the angels, Riziel, Razael, and Raphael; and doubtless these were such books as were said to have been burnt in the letter Asia. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be & are skilfull and learned in these arts; viz. Ars Almadel, Ars Notoria, Ars Bulaphia, Ars Arthophia, Ars Dovina, Ars Revelationis, &c. Yea, these conjurors in corners stick not (with Justin) to report and affirm, that Joseph who was a true figure of Christ that delivered and redeemed us, was learned in these arts; and thereby prophesied and expounded dreams; and that these arts came to him from Moses, and finally from Moses to them: which thing both Pliny and Tacitus affirm of Moses. Also Strabo in his cosmographic maketh the very like blasphemous report; and likewise Apollonius Molon, Posidonius, Lissimachus, and Apollinaris both: a magician and a conjuror, whom Eusebius confuteth with many notable arguments. For Moses differed as much from a magician, as truth from fallacy, and piety from vanity: for in truth, he confounded all magic, and made the world see, and the cunningest magicians of the earth confess, that their own doings were but illusions, and that his miracles were wrought by the finger of God. But that the poor old witches knowledge reacheth this far, (as Damas affirmeth it doth) is untrue; for their forresee forth, that I can comprehend, are but to feech a pot of milk, &c., from their neighbours house, half a mile distant from them.
CHAP. XXXII.

All magical arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gallus have left written thereof, and proved by experience.

Surely Nero proved all these magical arts to be vain and fabulous lies, and nothing but conufenge and knavery. He was a notable prince, having gifts of nature enough to have conceived such matters, treasure enough to have employed in the search thereof, he made no conscience therein, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would have given half his kingdom to have learned those things, which he heard might be wrought by magicians; he procured all the cunning magicians in the world to come to Rome, he searched for books also, and all other things necessary for a magician; and never could find any thing in it, but conufenge and legier demaine. At length he met with one Tridates, the great magician, who having with him all his companions, and fellow magicians, witches, conjurors, and covenors, invited Nero to certain magical banquets and exercises: Which when Nero required to learn, he (not to hide his conufenge) answered that he would not, nor could not teach him, though he would have given him his kingdom. The matter of his refusal (I say) was, lest Nero should esp'y the conufenge devises thereof. Which when Nero conceived, and saw the same, and all the residue of that art to be vain, lying and ridiculous, having only shadows of truth, and that their arts were only venefical; he prohibited the same utterly, and made good and strong laws against the use and the practises thereof, as Pliny and others doe report. It is marvell that any man can be so much abused, as to suppose that Satan may be commanded, compelled, or ty'd by the power of man; as though the Dwell would yield to man, beyond nature; that will not yield to God his Creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they confess) good angels as well as bad; I would know why they call up the angels of hell, and not call downe the angels of heaven. But this answer (as Agrippa saith) Good angels (for tooth) doe hardly appeare, and the other are ready at hand. Here I may not omit to tell you how Cornelius Agrippa bewrayeth, detecteth, and defaceth this art of conjuration, who in his youth travelled into the bottom of all these magical sciences, and was not only a good conjuror and practifer thereof, but also wrote cunningly De occultis philosophia. Howbeit afterwards in his wiser age, he recanteth his opinions, and lamenteth his follies in that behalf, and discovereth the imperti and vanities of magicians, and enchanters, which boast they can doe miracles; which action is now ceased (faith he) and assigneth them a place with Janus and Jambres, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vain toyes for a few. Carolus Gallus also faith; I have tried oftentimes, by the witches and conjurors themselves, that their arts, (especially those which doe consist of charmes, impossibilities,
15. Book. The discovery of Salomons Conjuration, conjurations, and witchcrafts, whereof they were wont to boast to be mere foolishness, doting lies and dreams. I for my part can say as much, but that I delight not to allege mine owne proofs and authorities; for that mine adversaries will say they are partial, and not indifferent.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Salomon's conjurations, and of the opinion conceived of his cunning and practice therein.

It is affirmed by sundry authors, that Salomon was the first inventor of those conjurations; and thereof Josephus is the first reporter, who in his first book De ludeum antiquitatis, cap. 22. rehearsed soberly this story following; which Polydore Virgil, and many other repeat verbatim, in this wise, and seem to credit the fable, whereof there is scant a true word.

Salomon was the greatest philosopher, and did philosophy about all things, and had the full and perfect knowledge of all their properties: but he had that gift given from above to him, for the profit and health of mankind; which is effectually against devils. He made also incantations whereby diseases are driven away; and left divers manners of conjurations written, whereby devils giving place are driven away, that they never return. And this kind of healing is very common among my countrymen: for I saw a neighbour of mine, one Eleazar, that in the presence of Josephus and his companions, and the rest of the sufferers, cured many that were possessed with spirits. The manner and order of his cure was this. He did put unto the nose of the possessed a ring, under the seal whereof was inscribed a kind of root, whose virtue Salomon declared, and so they of him drew the devil out at his nose; so as down fell the man, and then Eleazar conjured the devil to depart, and to return no more to him. In the mean time he made mention of Salomon, reciting incantations of Salomons own making. And then Eleazar being willing to shew the standers by his cunning, and the wonderfull efficacy of his art, did set not far from thence, a pot of water full of water, and commanded the devil that went out of the man, that by the overthrowing thereof, he would give a signe to the beholders, that he had utterly forsaken and left the man. Which thing being done, none there doubted how great Salomons knowledge and wisdom was. Wherein a jugling knave was produced, to confirm a cogging cast of knavery or couzenage.

Another story of Salomons conjuration I finde cited in the first book, read in the church of Rome upon St. Margaret's day, 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 Ratione Casuarius, doe all soberly affirm Salomons cunning in this behalf, and specially this tale; to wit, that Salomon included certain thousand devils.
of Witchcraft.

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Helen in a brazen bowl, and left it in a deep hole or lake, as afterwards the Babylonians found it, and supposing there had been gold or silver therein, brake it, and out flew all the devils, &c. And that this fable is of credit, you shall perceive, in that it is thought worthy to be read in the Roman church, as parcel of their divine service. Look in lessons of the day of S. Margaret the virgin, and you shall finde these words verbatim, which I rather recite, because it serveth me for divers turns: to wit, for Salomon's conjuraciones, for the tale of the brazen vessel, and for the pope's conjuraciones, which extendeth both to faith and doctine, and to shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefully is stained with lies and fables.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Lessons read in all Churches, where the Pope hath authority, on S. Margaret's day, translated into English word for word.

Holy Margaret required of God, that she might have a conflict face to face with her secret enemy the devil; and rising from prayer, she saw a terrible dragon, that would have devoured her, but she made the sign of the cross, and the dragon burst in the midst.

Afterwards, she saw another man, sitting like a Niger, having his hands bound fast to his knees, she taking him by the hair of the head, threw him to the ground, and set her foot on his head; and her prayers being made, a light shined from heaven into the prison where she was, and the cross of Christ was seen in heaven, with a dove sitting thereon, who said: Blessed art thou S. Margaret, the gates of Paradise attend thy coming. Then she giving thanks to God, said to the devil, Declare to me thy name. The devil said: Take away thy foot from my head, that I may be able to speak, and tell thee: which being done, the devil said: I am Viteris, one of them whom Salomon that in the brazen vessel, and the Babylonians conjuring, and supposing there had been gold therein, brake the vessel, and then we flew out; ever since lying in wait to annoy the just. But seeing I have recited a part of her story, you shall also have the end thereof: for at the time of her execution this was her prayer following.

Grant therefore O Father, that whosoever writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or maketh memorial of me, may deserve pardon for all his sins: whosoever calleth on me, being at the point of death, deliver him out of the hands of his adversaries. And I also require, O Lord, that whosoever shall build a church in the honour of me, or ministrith unto me any candles of his just labour, let him obtain whatsoever he asketh for his health. Deliver all women in travail that call upon me, from the danger thereof.

Her prayer ended, there were many great thunder claps, and a dove came down from heaven, saying: Blessed art thou S. Margaret the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted unto thee; therefore.

*For the priests' profit, I warrant you.

This is common (they say) when a witch or conjuror dieth.
fore come thou into everlasting rest, &c. Then the hangman (though he did bid him) refused to cut off her head: to whom she said, Except thou do it, thou canst have no part with me, and then she did it, &c. But then I have been, and must be tedious, I thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable story, depending upon the matter precedent; reported by many grave authors, word for word, in manner and form following.

CHAP. XXXV.

A delicate story of a Lombard, who by S. Margaret's example would needs fight with a real devil.

There was (after a sermon made, wherein this story of S. Margaret was recited, for in such stuffe consisted not only their service, but also their sermons in the blind time of popery;) there was I say, a certain young man, being a Lombard, whose simplicity was such, as he had no respect unto the commodity of worldly things, but did altogether affect the salvation of his soule, who hearing how great S. Margaret's triumph was, began to consider with himself, how full of sleights the devil was. And among other things thus he said, O that God would suffer, that the devil might fight with me hand to hand in visible form! I would then surely in like manner overthrow him, and would fight with him till I had the victory. And therefore about the twelf houre he went out of the town, and finding a convenient place where to pray, secretly kneeling on his knees, he prayed among other things, that God would suffer the devil to appear unto him in visible form, that according to the example of S. Margaret, he might overcome him in battell. And as he was in the midst of his prayers, there came into that place a woman with a hook in her hand, to gather certaine herbs which grew there, who was dumb born. And when they came into the place, and saw the young man among the herbs on his knees, she was afraid and waxed pale, and going back, the rooted in such sort, as her voice could not be understood, and with her head and limbs made threatening signes unto him. The young man seeing such an ill-favoured foul quean, that was for age deceitful and full of wrinkles, with a long body, lean of face, pale of colour, with ragged clothes, crying very loud, and having a voice not understandable, threatening him with the hook which she carried in her hand, he thought surely she had been a woman, but a devil appearing unto him in the shape of a woman, and thought God had heard his prayers. For the which causes he fell upon her lustily, and at length threw her dowe to the ground, saying; Art thou come thou cursed devil, art thou come? [No no, thou shalt not overthrow mee in visible fight, whom thou hast often overcome in invisible temptations.

And as he spake these words, he caught her by the hair, and drew her about, beating her sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his heels, and sometimes with the hook so long, and wounded her so sore, that he
Of Witchcraft.

Chap. 30.

left her a dying. At the noise whereof many people came running unto them, and seeing what was done they apprehended the young man, and thrust him into a vile prison. S. Vincent, by virtue of his holiness understanding all this matter, caulis the body that seemed dead to be brought unto him, and thereupon (according to his manner) he laid his hand upon her, who immediately revived, and he called one of his chaplains to hear her confession. But they that were present said to the man of God, that it was altogether in vain to do, for that she had been from her nativity dumb, and could neither hear nor understand the priest, neither could in words confess her sins. Notwithstanding, S. Vincent had the priest S. Vincent make her confession, affirming that she should very distinctly speak all keth the dumb things unto him. And therefore, whatsoever the man of God commanded, the priest did confidently accomplish and obey; and as soon as the priest approached unto her, to hear her confession, she, whom all Catholicks knew to be dumb born, spake and confessed herself, pronouncing every word as distinctly, as though she had never been dumb. After her confession, she required the eucharist and extreme unction to be ministred unto her, and at length she commended her selfe to God; and in the presence of all that came to see that miracle, she spake as long as she had any breath in her body. The young man that killed her being saved from the gallows by S. Vincent's means, and at his intercession, departed home into Italy. This story last rehearsed is found in D. 8. exempl. Speculo exemplorum, and repeated also by Robert Caracul, bishop of Aquinas, and many others, and preached publickly in the church of Rome.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The story of Saint Margaret proved to be both ridiculous and impious in every point.

First, that the story of S. Margaret is a fable, may be proved by the incredible, impossible, foolish, impious, and blasphemous matters contained therein, and by the ridiculous circumstance thereof. Though it were cruelly done of her to beat the devil, when his hands was bound; yet it was curteously done of her, to pull away her foot at his desire. He could not speak so long as he trod on his head; and yet he said, Tread off, that I may tell you what I am. She saw the heavens open, and yet she was in a close prison. Her sight was very clear, that could see a little dove sitting upon a crosle so far off. For heaven is higher than the Sun, and the Sun, when it is nearest to us, is 3966 miles from us. And she had a good pair of ears, that could hear a dove speak so far off. And S. Peter, who (they say) is porter, or else the Pope, who hath more doings than Peter, had such leisure as to stay the gates so long for her. S. Solomon provided no good place, neither took good order with his brazen bowl. I marvelli how they escaped that let out the devils. It is marvelli also that they melted it not with their breath long before.
before: for the devils carry hell and hell fire about with them always; in so much as (they say) they leave albes evermore where they stand. Surely she made in her prayer an unreasonable request, but the devil of her patent is out; for I believe that whosoever at this day shall burn a pound of good candles before her, shall be never the better, but three pence the worse. But now we may find in S. Margaret's life, who it is that is Christ's wife; whereby we are so much wiser than we were before. But look in the life of S. Katharine, in the golden legend, and you shall find that she was also married to S. Katharine, and that our Lady made the marriage, &c. An excellent authority for bigamie. Here I will also cite another of their notable stories, or miracles of authority, and to leave shameing of them, or rather troubling you the reader thereof, Neither would I have written these fables, but that they are authentick among the papists, and that we that are protestants may be satisfied, as well of conjurors and witches miracles, as of others; for the one is as grolier as the other.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A pleasant miracle wrought by a papish Priest.

What time the Waldenses heresies began to spring, certain wicked men, being upheld and maintained by diabolicall vertue, shewed certain signes and wonders, whereby they strengthened and confirmed their heresies, and perverted in faith many faithfull men; for they walked on the water and were not drowned. But a certain catholick priest seeing the same, and knowing that true signs could not be joyned with false doctrine, brought the body of our Lord, with the pix, to the water, where they shewed their power and vertue to the people, and said in the hearing of all that were present: I conjure thee, O devil, by him, whom I carry in my hands, that thou exercisest not these great visions and phantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the priest in a rage threw the body of our Lord, with the pix into the river; and by and by, so soon as the sacrament touched the element, the phantastie gave place to the verity; and they being proved and made false, did sink like lead to the bottome, and were drowned; the pix with the sacrament immediately was taken away by an angell. The priest seeing all these things, was very glad of the miracle, but for the loss of the sacrament he was very pensive, passing away the whole night in tears and mourning; in the morning he found the pix with the sacrament upon the altar.
CHAP. XXXVIII.

The former miracle confuted, with a strange story of St. Lucy.

How glad St. John was now it were folly for me to say, how would he have plagued the devil, that threw his God in the river to be drowned? But if other had had no more power to destroy the Waldenses with sword and fire, than this priest had to drown them with his conjuring box and confounding sacraments, there should have been many a life saved. But I may not omit one fable, which is of authority, wherein though there be no conjuration expressed, yet I warrant you there was confusage both in the doing and telling thereof. * You shall read in the lesson on Saint Lu. Leet. in die San-

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds, and of other illusions, of wandering souls: with a confusion thereof.

Many through melancholy doe imagine, that they see or hear visions, spirits, ghosts, strange noises, &c. as I have already proved before, at large. Many again through fear proceeding from a cowardly nature and complexion, or from an effeminate and fond bringing up, are timorous and afraid of spirits and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their own shadows, &c. (as Aristotle saith) see themselves sometime as it were in a glasse. And some through weakness of body have such imperfect imaginations. Drunken men also sometimes suppose they see trees walk, &c. according to that which Salomon saith to the drunkards; Thine eyes shall see strange visions, and marvellous appearances.

In all ages monks and priests have abused and bewitched the world against the with counterfeit visions; which proceeded through idleness, and re-counterfeit vi-

frant of marriage, whereby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore devised such means to confuse and obtraine their loves. And the simple priests, and o-

people being then so superstitious, would never seem to mistrust, that ther confusifying such holy men would make them cuckholds, but forsooke their beds in devices.

that cafe, and gave room to the levy. Item, little children have been so scared with their mothers, maids, that they could never after endure to be in the dark alone, for fear of bugs. Many are deceived by glasses through
art perspective. Many hearkening unto false reports, conceive and believe that which is nothing to. Many give credit to that which they read in authors. But how many stories and bookes are written of walking spirits and soules of men, contrary to the word of God; a reasonable volume cannot contain. How common an opinion was it among the papists, that all soules walked on the earth, after they departed from their bodies? In so much as it was, in the time of popery, a usual matter, to desire sick people in their death beds, to appear to them after their death, and to reveal their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulous herein, &c. Therefore no marvel, though the common simple sort of men, and least of all, that women be deceived herein. God in times past did send downe visible angels & appearances to men; but now he doth not so. Through ignorance of late in religion, it was thought, that every churchyard swarmed with soules and spirits: but now the word of God being more free, open, and known, those conceits and illusions are made more manifest and apparent, &c.

The doctors, counsellors, and popes, which (they say) cannot err, have confirmed the walking, appearing, and raising of soules. But where find they in the scriptures any such doctrine? And who certified them, that those appearances were true? Truly all they cannot bring to pass, that the lies which have beene spread abroad herein, should now beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seal, and liewe thereunto never so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who heareth their noyse? Who seeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such moane for trentals, where by to be eased of the paines in purgatory? Are they all gone into Italy, because masses are growne deere here in England? Marke well this illusion, and see how contrary it is unto the word of God. Consider how all papists beeleeve this illusion to be true, and how all protestants are driven to say it is & was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that wandered to have burial for their bodies? For many of those walking soules went about their busines. Do you not thinke, that the papists shew not themselves Godly divines, to preach and teach the people such doctrine; and to insert into their divine service such fables, as are read in the Romish church, all scripture giving place thereto for the time? You shall see in the lessons read there upon S. Stevens day, that Gamaliel Nicodemus his kinsman and Abia his sonne, with his friend S. Steven, appeared to a certain priest, called Sir Lucian, requestong him to remove their bodies, and to bury them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of their death, untill then, being in the regne of Honorius the emperor; to wit, foure hundred yeares buried in the field of Gamaliel) who in that repect said to Sir Lucian: Non mei solium terrae sum, sed perpetuus, qui mecum suis; that is, I am not only careful for my selfe, but chiefly for those my friends that are with me. Whereby the whole course may be perceived to be a false practive, and a counterfeit vision, or rather a lewd invention. For in heaven mens soules remaine not in sorrow and care; neither studie they there how to complie and
and get a worshipfull buriall here in earth. If they did, they would not have foreclosed it so long. Now therefore let us not suffer our selves to be abused any longer, either with conjuring priestes, or melancholicall witches; but be thankfull to God that hath delivered us from such blindnedde and error.

CHAP. XL.

Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfeit visions grow to be credited, of popish appearances, of pope Boniface.

Cardanus speaking of noises; among other things, faith thus: A noise is heard in your house; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among dishes; it may be a counterfeit or a theafe indeed, or the fault may be in your ears, I could recite a great number of tales, how men have even forsooken their houses, because of such apparitions and noisés; and all hath beene by meere and ranke knavery. And wheresoeuer you shall heare, that there is in the night season suet rumbling and fearefull noisés, be you well assured that it is that knavery, performed by some that beareth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And hereof there is a very art, which for some respects I will not discover. The devell seeketh dayly as well as nightly whom he may devout, and can do his feares as well by day as by night; or else he is a young devell, and a very bungler. But of all other outher, these conjurors are in the highest degree, and are most worthy of death for their blasphemous impietie. But that these popish visions and conjurations used as well by papists, as by the popes themselves, were meere cousenages; and that the tales of the popes recited by Bruno and Platina, of their magicall devices, ware but plaine cousenages and knarvities, may appear by the history of Bonifacius the eight, who used this kind of enchantement, to get away the popedom from his predecessour Celestinus. He counterfeitt a voyce through a cane reed, as though popedom by it had come from heaven, persuading him to yeeld up his authority of popeship, and to institute therein one Bonifacius, a worthy man; otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therefore the fool yeelded it up accordingly, to the said Bonifacius, An. 1264, of whom it was said; He came in like a fox, lived like a woolfe, and died like a dog.

There be innumerable examples of such visions, which when they are not detected, goe for true stories: and therefore when it is answered that some are true tales and some are false, untill they be able to shew forth before your eyes one matter of truth, you may reply upon them this distinction; to wit: visions triyed are false visions; undecided and untryed are true.
Las! how many naturall things are there so strange, as to many seem miraculous; and how many counterfeit matters are there, that to the simple seem yet more wonderful? cardane telleth of one Comansis, who comming late to a rivers side, not knowing where to passe over, cried out alowd for some body to shew him the foord: who hearing an echo to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the way, he passed through the river, even there where was a deepe whirlepoole, so as he hardly escaped with his life; and told his friends, that the divell had almost persuaded him to drown himselfe. And in some places these noies of echo are farre more strange than other, specially at Ticinum in Italy, in the great hall, where it rendereth sundry and manifold noies or voyces, which seeme to end so lamentably, as it were a man that lay a dying: so as few can be persuaded that it is the echo, but a spirit that answereth.

The noise at Winchester was said to be a very miracle, and much wondering was there at it, about the yeare 1569. though indeed a meere natural noise ingendered of the wind, the concavity of the place, and other instrumental matters helping the sound to seeme strange to the hearers; specially to such as would adde new reports to the augmentation of the wonder.

CHAP. XLII.

Of Theurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter sent to me concerning these matters.

Here is yet another art professed by these confusening conjurers, which some fond divines affirme to be more honest and lawfull than necromancy, which is called Theurgie, wherein they worke by good angels. Howbeit, their ceremonies are altogether papistical and superstitious, consisting in cleansines partly of the mind, partly of the body, and partly of things about and belonging to the body; as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in the vesseell and household Stuffe, in obligations and sacrifices; the cleansines whereof they say, doth dispole men to the contemplation of heavenly things. They cite these words of Ely for their authority; to wit: Wash your selves and be cleane, &c. In so much as I have knowne divers superstitious persons of good account, which usually washed all their apparell upon conceits ridiculously. For uncleanliness (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chaseth away eleane spirits,
The copy of a letter sent unto me R. S. by T. E.
Master of art, and practiser both of physick,
and also in times past, of certaine vaine sciences;
now condemned to die for the fame; wherein he openeth the truth
touching these deceits.

Master R. Sco, according to your request, I have drawn out certaine Markes the abuses worth the noting, touching the work you have in hand; things sum and scope which I myselfe have seen within these xxvi. yeares, among those which of this letter, which were counted famous and skilfull in those sciences. And because the whole discourse cannot be set downe, without nominating certaine persons, of whom some are dead and some living, whose friends remaine yet of great credit: in respect thereof, I knowing that mine enemies doe already in number exceed my friends; I have considered with myselfe, that it is better for me to lay by what I had to commit that to the world, which may increase my miserie more than relieve the same. Notwithstanding, because of what was aboved, many others have had some dealings in those vaine arts and wicked practisers; I am therefore to signifie unto you, and I speak it in the presence of God, that among all those famous and noted practisers, that I have beene conversant withall these xxvi. yeares, I could never see any matter of truth to be done in those wicked sciences, but one by one more confusions and illusions. And this, whom I thought to be most skilfull therein, sought to see some things at my hands, who had spent my time a dozen or fourteen years, to my great losse and hindrance, and could never...
never at any time see any one truth, or spark of truth therein. Yet at this
discovery, Art magicke confuted.

present, I stand worthily condemned for the same; for that contrary to my prime
lawes, and the law of God, and also to mine owne conscience, I did spend
my time in such vain and wicked studies and practices: being made and re-

remaining a spectacle for all others to receive warning by. The Lord grant I
may be the last (I speake it from my heart,) and I wish it, not only in my
native country, but also through the whole face of the earth, specially among
Christians. For mine owne part I lament my time lost, and have repented me
five years past: at which time I saw a booke, written in the old Saxon
tongue, by one Sir John Malborne a divine of Oxonford, three hundred
years past, wherein he openeth all the illusions and inventions of those
arts and sciences: a thing most worthy the noting. I left the booke with the
parson of Slangham in Sufleex, where if you send for it in my name, you may
have it. You shall thinke your labour well bestowed, and it shall greatly fur-

ther the good enterprise you have in hand, and there shal you see the whole
science throughly discovered, and all their illusions and vanities deciphered at large. Thus craving pardon at your hands for that I

promised you, being very carefull, doubtfull, and loth to let my name under anything that may be offensive to the world, or hurtful to
myselfe, considering my cause, except I had the better warrant from my
L. of Leicestershire, who is very good Lord, and by whom next under God
(her Majesty one excepted) I have bene preserved; and therefore loth to
do any thing that may offend his Lordsships cares. And so I leave your worship
to the Lords keeping, who bring you, &c. at your actions to good end and purp;
to Gods glory, and to the profit of all Christians. From the Bench this 8,
of March, 1582. Your worshipes poore and desolate friend and servant,
T.E.

The author his conclusion.

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of Slangham, and pre-
cured his best friends, men of great worship and credit, to deal
with him, that I might borrow it for a time. But such is his folly
and superstition, that although he confessed he had it; yet he would
not lend it: albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire,
would have given his word for the restitution of the same safe and
found.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, whatsoever heretofore hath
gone for current, touching all these fallible arts, whereof hitherto I
have written in ample sort, be now counted counterfeit, and therefore
not to be allowed, no not by common sense, much less by reason, which
should shew such cloaked and pretended pratty, turning them out of their
rags and patched cloaths, that they may appear discovered, and shew
themselves in their nakedness. Which will be the end of every secret in-
tent, privy purpose, hidden pratty, and close devise, have they never such
throwes and shelteres for the time: and be they with never so much cau-
treousness and subtill circumsteciption clouded and shadowed, yet will they
at length be manifestly detected by the light, according to that old rime
terse:

Quicquid
Of Witchcraft.

Chap. I.

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne revelat:

What thing soever snow doth hide,
Heat of the sunne doth make it spide.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Nazarite, who never told untruth, but who is the substance and groundworke of truth it selfe, saying; Nihil est tam occultum quod non sit detegendum, Nothing is so secret, but it shall be knowne and revealed.

The xvi. Booke.

CHAP. I.

A conclusion, in manner of an epilogue, repeating many of the former absurdities of witchmongers conceits, confutations thereof, and of the authority of James Sprenger and Henry Institor inquisitors and compilers of M. Mal.

Itherto you have had delivered unto you, that which I have conceived and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principal parts whereof I can see no difference among the writers hereupon; of what country, condition, estate, or religion so ever they be; but I find almost all of them to agree in unconstancy, falsenes, and impossibilities; stratching out of M. Mal. the substance of all their arguments: So as their authors being disapproved, they must come new stuff, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wives tales, whereof this art of witchcraft is contrived. But you must know that James Sprenger and Henry Institor, whom I have had occasion to allledge many times were copartners in the composition of that profound and learned booke called Malleus Maleficarum, and were the greatest doctors of that art; out of whom I have gathered matter and absurdities enough to confound the opinions conceived of witchcraft; although they were allowed inquisitors and assigned by the pope, with the authority and commendation of all the doctors of the universitie of Colle, &c. to call before them, to imprison, to condemn, and to execute witches; and finally to seaze and confiscate their goods.

The compilers or makers of the booke called a Mallet to braine witches.

These
No marvell that they were so opinionative herein, for God gave them over into strong delusions.

16. Book. The discovery. Witchcraft described

These two doctors, to maintaine their credit, and to cover their injuries, have published those same monstrous lies, which have abused all Christendome, being spread abroad with such authority, as it will be hard to suppress the credit of their writings, be they never so ridiculous and false. Which although they maintain and stir up with their owne praises; yet men are so bewitched, as to give credit unto them. For proof whereof I remember they write in one place of their said book, that by reason of their severe proceedings against witches, they suffered intolerable afflicts, especially in the night, many times finding needles sticking in their biggens, which were thither conveyed by witches charmes: and through their innocency and holiness (they say) they were ever miraculously preserved from hurt. Howbeit they affirm that they will not tell all that might make to the manifestation of their holiness: for then should their owne praisethink in their owne mouths. And yet God knoweth their whole book containeth nothing but stinking lies and popery. Which groundwork and foundation how weak and wavering it is, how unlike to continue, and how slenderly laid, a child may soone discern and perceive.

CHAP. II.

By what means the common people have been made beleefe in the miserable works of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.

The common people have been so astolled and bewitched, with whatsoeuer poets have signified of witchcraft, either in earnest, in jest, or else in derision; and with whatsoever lowd liers and confusers for their pleasures herein have invented, and with whatsoever tales they have heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids, and with whatsoever the grandfoole their ghostly father, or any other morrow malle priest had informed them; and finally with whatsoever they have swallowed up through tract of time, or through their owne timorous nature or ignorant conceit, concerning these matters of hags and witches: as they have so seed their opinion and credit thereupon, that they think it hereof to doubt in any part of the matter; especially because they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures; which is as to defend praying to saints, because Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus is written in Te Deum.

And now to come to the definition of witchcraft, which hitherto I did defer and put off purposely: that you might perceive the true nature thereof, by the circumstances, and therefore the rather to allow of the same, seeing the variety of other writers. Witchcraft is in truth a confusing 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 supernaturall work, contrived between a corporall old woman, and a spirituall divell. The manner thereof is so secret, mysticall,
and strange, that to this day there hath never been any credible witness thereof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull, a probable matter to children, fools, melancholick persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes evil, as when thereby man or beast, grave, trees, or corn, &c. is cause. 

The final cause, sometimes good, as whereby sick folks are healed, thieves bewrayed, and true men come to their goods, &c. The matter and instruments whereby it is accomplished, are words, charms, signs, images, characters, &c. The which words although any other creature do pronounce, in manner and form as they do, leaving out no circumstance requisite or usual for that action; yet none is said to have the grace or gift to perform the matter, except she be a witch, and so taken, either by her own consent, or by others imputation.

CHAP. III.

Reasons to prove that words and characters are but bables, and that witches cannot doe such things as the multitude supposeth they can; their greatest wonders proved trifles, of a young gentleman confuted.

That words, characters, images, and such other trinkets, which are thought so necessary instruments for witchcraft (as without the which no such thing can be accomplished) are but bables, devised by confusers, to abuse the people withall; I trust I have sufficiently proved. And the same may be further and more plainly perceived by these short and compendious reasons following.

First, in that the Turks and infidels, in their witchcraft, use both other A necessary words, and other characters than our witches doe, and also such as sequel.

are most contrary. In so much as, if ours be very bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doe anything, ours can doe nothing. For as our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despite his sacraments; so doe the other for sake Mahomet and his laws, which is one large step to christianity.

It is also to be thought, that all witches are confusers; when mother Probatum est, Bunzie, a principal witch, so reputed, tried, and condemned of all men, by mother and continuing in that exercise and estimation many years, (having confes-

shefened and abused the whole realm, in so much as there came to her, witches from all the furthest parts of the land, the being in divers books set out with authority, registred and chronicled by the name of the great witch of Rochester, and reputed among all men for the chief ringleader of all other witches) by good proof is found to be a mere confuser; confessing in her death bed freely, without compulsion or enforcement, that her cunning consisted only in deluding & deceiving the people, saying that she had (towards the maintenance of her credit in that confusing trade) some light in phisick and surgery, and the assistance of a friend of hers.
called Heron, a professor thereof. And this I know, partly of mine own knowledge, and partly by the testimony of her husband, and others of credit, to whom (I say) in her death bed, and at sundry other times she protested these things; and also that she never had indeed any material spirit or divell (as the voice went) nor yet knew how to work any supernatural matter, as she in her life time made men believe she had and could doe.

The like may be said of one T. of Canterbury, whose name I will not literally discovery, who wonderfully abused many in these parts, making them think he could tell where any thing lost became; with divers other such practises, whereby his fame was far beyond the others. And yet on his death-bed he confessed, that he knew nothing more then any other, but by sleight and devices, without the assistance of any divell or spirit, saving the spirit of couphenage: and this did he (I say) protest before many of great honesty, credit, and wisdom, who can witness the same, and also gave him good commendations for his godly and honest end.

Again, who will maintain, that common witchcrafts are not counenages, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had stolen credit not only from all the common people, but from men of great wisdome and authority, are discovered to be beggerly sleights of couphening varlets? Which otherwise might and would have remained a perpetually objection against me. Were there not three images of late yeares found in a dung-hill, to the terror and astonishment of many thousands? In so much as great matters were thought to have been pretended to be done by witchcraft. But if the Lord preserve those persons (whose destruction was doubted to have been intended thereby) from all other the lewd practises and attempts of their enemies; I fear not, but they shall easily withstand these and such like devises, although they should indeed be practised against them. But no doubt, if such bables could have brought those matters of mischief to passe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papists; we should long since have been deprived of the most excellent jewel and comfort that we enjoy in this world. Howbeit, I confess, that the fear, conceit, and doubt of such mischievous pretences may breed inconvenience to them that stand in awe of the same. And I wish, that even for such practises, though they never can or doe take effect, the practisers be punished with all extremity; because therein is manifested a traitorous heart to the Queen, and a presumption against God.

But to return to the discovery of the foresaid knavery and witchcraft. So it was that one old counseler wanting mony, devised or rather praticed (for it is a stale devise) to supply his want, by promising a young Gentleman, whose humor he thought would that way be well served, that for the sum of forty pounds, he would not fail by his cunning in that art of witchcraft, to procure unto him the love of any three women whom he would name, and of whom he should make choice at his pleasure. The young Gentleman being abused with his cunning devices, and too hastily yielding to that motion, satisfied this cunning mans demand of money, which, because he had it not presently to disburse, provided it for him at the
hands of a friend of his. Finally, this cunning man made the three pup-
pees of wax, &c. leaving nothing undone that appertained to the cou-
senage, until he had buried them, as you have heard. But I omit to tell
what adoe was made herof, and also what reports and lies were bruised;
as what white dogs and black dogs there were seen in the night season
pulling through the watch, mawre all their force and preparation against
them, &c. But the young Gentleman, who for a little space remained in hope
mixed with joy and love, now through tracts of time hath those his felici-
ties powdered with doubt and despair. For in stead of achieving his love
he would gladly have obtained his money. But because he could by no means
get either the one or the other (his money being in hackers handling,
and his fute in no better forwardness) hee revealed the whole matter,
hoping by that means to recover his money, which he neither can yet get
again, nor hath payed it where he borrowed. But till trial was had of his
simplicity, or rather folly herein, he received some trouble himselfe, where-
about though now dismissed.

CHAP. III.

Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no Scriptures but ca-
nonically, or a divell that could speak no Latine, a proof that witch-
craft is flat couisenage.

Here I may aptly insert another miracle of importance, that happened
within the compass of a childes remembrance, which may induce any
reasonable body to conclude, that these supernatural actions are but fa-
bles and couisenages. There was one, whom for some respects I name
not, that was taken blind, deaf, and dumb; so as no Physician could help
him. That man (forsooth) though he was (as is said) both blind, dumb
and deaf, yet could he read any canonically Scriptures; but as for apo-
crypha, hee could read none: wherein a Gods name consisteth the
miracle. But a leaf of apocrypha being extraordinarily inserted among
the canonically scriptures, he read the same as authentick; wherein his
knavery was bewrayed. Another had a divell, that answered men to
all questions, Mary her divell could understand no Latine, and so
was thee (and by such means all the rest may be) bewrayed. Inde-
ed our witching writers say, that certaine divells speake onely the
language of that countrey where they are resiante, as French, or En-
GLISH, &c.

Furthermore in my conceipt, nothing proveth more apparently that
witchcraft is couisenage, and that witches instruments are but ridiculous
babes, and altogether void of effect, than when learned and godly Di-
vines in their serious writings, produce experiments as wrought by witches,
and by divers at witches commandements: which they expound by mira-
cles, although indeed mere trifles. Whereof they conceive amisse, being
overtaken with credulity.
Of the divination by the sive and sheers, and by the book and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clock, of certain juggling knacks, manifold reasons for the overthrow of witches and conjurors, and their confenages, of the devils transformations of Ferrum candens, &c.

To passe over all the fables, which are vouched by the popish doctors, you shall heare the words of N. Hemingius, whose zeal and learning otherwise I might justly commend: howbeit I am sorry and ashamed to see his ignorance and folly in this behalf. Neither would I have bewrayed it, but that he himself, among other absurdities concerning the maintenance of witches omnipotency, hath published it to his great discredit. Papish priests (faith he) as the Chaldeans used the divination by sive and sheers for the detection of theft, doe practice with a platter and a key fastened upon the 49. psalme, to discover a thief, and when the names of the suspected persons are orderly put into the pipe of the key, at the reading of these words of the psalme [If thou sawest a thief thou didst consent unto him] the book will wagge and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the key must be the thief. Hereupon Hemingius inferreth, that although conjuring priests and witches bring not this to passe by the absolute words of the psalme, which tend to a far other scope; yet Satan doth nimbly, with his invisible hand, give such a twitch to the book, as also in the other case to the sive and the sheers, that down falls the book and key; sive and sheers, upstart the thief, and away runneth the devil laughing, &c.

But alas, Hemingius is deceived, as not perceiving the conceipt, or rather the deceipt thereof. For where he supposeth those actions to be miraculous, and done by a devil; they are in truth meer bables wherein confeseth not so much as legierdemain. For every carter may conceive the sleight hereof; because the book and key, sive and sheers, being stayed up in that order, by natural course of necessity must within that space (by means of the air, and the pulse beating at the fingers end) turn and fall down. Which experience being known to the witch or conjuror, the or hee doe form and frame their prophesie accordingly; as whatsoever maketh proofe thereof shall manifestly perceive it. By this art, practice, or experience, you shall know what it is a clock, if you hold between your finger and your thumb a thread of six or seven inches long, unto the other end whereof is tied a gold ring, or some such like thing; in such sort as upon the beating of your pulse, and the moving of the ring, the same may strike upon either side of a goblet or glasse. These things are (I confesse) witchcraft, because the effect or event proceedeth not of that cause which such counfencers say, and others believe they do. As when they lay a medicine for the ague, &c., to a child's wrists, they also pronounce certain words or charmes, by vertue whereof (they say) the
And proved cousenage of Witchcraft. Chap. 5.

And proved cousenage of Witchcraft. Chap. 5.

the child is healed; whereas indeed the medicine only doth the fear. And this is also a silly jugglers knack, which wanteth legierdemaine, whom you shall see to thrust a pinne, or a small knife, through the head and brain of a chicken or puller, and with certain mysticall words seeme to cure him; whereas, though no such words were spoken, the chicken would live, and doe well enough, as experience teacheth and declareth.

Again, when such as have maintained the art and profession of conjuring, and have written thereupon most cunningly, have published recantations, and confessed the deceits thereof, as Cornelius Agrippa did, why should we defend it? Also, when heathen princes, of great renown, authority, and learning, have searched with much industry and charge, the knowledge and secrecy of conjuration and witchcraft, and finally found by experience all to be false and vain that is reported of them, as Nero, Julianus apostata, and Valence did; why should we seek for further trial, to prove witchcraft and conjuration to be cousenage?

Also, when the miracles impuased unto them, exceed in quantity, quality, and number, all the miracles that Christ wrought here upon earth, for the establishing of his Gospel, for the confirmation of our faith, and for the advancement of his glorious name; what good christian will beleive them to be true? And when Christ himselfe faith; The works that I do, no man else can accomplish; why should we think that a foolish old woman can doe them all, and many more?

Also, when Christ knew not these witches, nor spake one word of them in all the time of his being here upon earth, having such necewrit occasion (if a leastwise they with their familiars could doe as he did by the spirit of God, as is constantly affirmed) why should we suppose that they can doe as they say, but rather that they are deceivers? When they are fain to say, that witches wrought not in that art, all these thirty three years that Christ lived, and that there were none in Job's time, and that the guiding oracles are now ceased; who seeth not that they are wise? and see not that the witchcraft was so at the time of Job?

When all the mischiefes are accomplished by poisons and natural means, which they affirm to be brought to passe by words, it manifesteth to the world their cousenage. When all the places of Scripture, which witchmongers allow for the proof of such witches, are proved to make nothing for their purpose, their own fables, and lies deserve small credit. When one of the chief points in controversy, to wit, execution of witches, is grounded upon a false translation; namely, You shall not suffer a witch to live (which is in Latin Veneciam non retinebitis in uite) where the word in every mans ear foundeth to be a poisoner, rather than a worker of miracles, and so interpreted by the seventy interpreters, Josephus, and almost all the Rabbins which were Hebrews born; why should any of their interpretations or allegations bee trusted, or well accomplished? When working of miracles is ceased, and the gift of prophesie also; so as the godly, through invocation of the holy spirit, cannot perform such wonderfull things, as these witches and conjurors by the invocation of devils and wicked spirits undertake, and are bid to doe; what man that knoweth and honoureth God will be so in-
fatuated as to believe these lies, and so prefer the power of witches and
devils before the godly indued with God's holy spirit? When many prin-
ted bookees are publisht, even with authority, in confirmation of such
miracles wrought by these enchanters, for the detection of witchcraft:
and it is all not onely found false, and to have been accomplished by con-
trage, but that there hath been therein a set purpose to defame honest
matrones, as to make them be thought to be witches: why should we be-
lieve Bodin, Mal. etc, in their concofing tales and fables? When they
say that witches can fly in the air, and come in at a little coane, or a hole
in a glasse window, and steal away sucking children, and hunt their
mothers; and yet when they are brought into prison, they cannot escape
out of the grate, which is far bigger: who will not condene such ac-
cumulations or confessions to be frivolous, &c? When (if their affections were
true) concerning the devils usuall taking of shapes, and walking, talking,
conferring, hurrying, and all manner of dealing with mortall creatures,
Christ's argument to Thomas had been weak and easily answered; ye the
one halfe, or all the whole world might be inhabited by devils, every poor
man's house might be hired over his head by a devil; he might take the
shape and favour of an honest woman, and play the witch; or of an honest
man and play the thief, and so bring them both, or whom he lift to the
gallows: who seeth not the vanity of such affections? For then the di-
vell might in the likenesse of an honest man commit any criminal of-
fense; as Lavater in his nineteenth chapter De spebris, reporteth of a grave
wise magistrate in the territory of Tigris, who affirmed, that as hee and
his servant went through certain pastures, he espied in the morning, the
divell in likeness of one whom he knew very well, wickedly dealing with
a mare. Upon the sight whereof he immediately went to that fellow's
house, and certainly learned there, that the same person went not out of his
chamber that day, and if he had not wisely bolted out the matter, the good
honest man (he faith he) had surely been cast into prison, and put on the
rack, &c.

The like story we read of one Cunegunda, wife to Henry the second em-
peror of that name, in whose chamber the devil (in the likenesse of a
youngman, with whom she was suspected to be too familiar in court) was
often seen coming in and out. Howbeit, she was purged by the trial
Candertis ferri, and proved innocent; for she went upon glowing iron
unhurt, &c. And yet Salomon saith; May a man carry fire in his bos-
some, and his clothes not be burned? Or can a man goe upon coals, and
his feet not scorchted? And thus might the devil get him up into every
pulpit, and spread heresies, as I doubt not but he doth in the mouth of
wicked preachers, though not so grossely as is imagined and reported by
the papists and witchmongers. And because it shall not be said that I be-
lieve them, I will cite a story credibly reported by their cheerfust doctours;
whereas James Spranger, & Henry Institor, who say as followeth, even word
for word.

Mal. malef.
par. 2. que. 1.
cap. 9.
CHAP. VI.

How the divell preached good doctrine in the shape of a priest, how he was discovered, and that it is a shame (after confection of the greater witchcrafts) for any man to give credit to the lesser points thereof.

On a time the divell went up into a pulpit, and there made a very catholic sermon: but a holy priest comming to the good speed, by his holiness perceived that it was the divell. So he gave good ear unto him, but could finde no fault with his doctrine. And therefore so soon as the sermon was done, he called the divell unto him, demanding the cause of his sincere preaching, who answered: Behold I speak the truth, knowing that while men be hearers of the word, and not followers, God is the more offended, and my kingdom the more enlarged. And this was the strangest device (I think) that ever any divell used: for the apostles themselves could have done no more. Again, when with all their familiars, their ointments, &c. whereby they ride invisibly, nor with all their charmes, they can neither convey themselves from the hands of such as lay wait for them; nor can get out of prison, that otherwise can goe in and out at a mouse hole; nor finally can save themselves from the gallows, that can transubstantiate their owne and others bodies into flies or fleas, &c. who seeth not, that either they lye, or are belied in their miracles; when they are said to transfer their neighbours, and yet are perpetual beggers, and cannot inrich themselves, either with money or otherwise: who is so foolish as to remain longer in doubt of their supernaturrell power? When never any yet from the beginning of the world till this day, hath openly shewed any other trick, concepct, or cunning point of witchcraft, than legier demaine or coulenage: who will carry any longer for further tryall? when both the common law and also the injunctions doe condemn prophesying, and likewise false miracles, and such as believe them in these dayes: who will not be afraid to give credit to those knaveries? When whereby they make the divell to be a god that heareth the prayers, and understandeth the mindes of men: who wil not be ashamed, being a christian, to be so abused by them? When they that doe write most frankly of these matters, except lying Spranger and Inquisitio, have never seen any thing herein; infomuch as the most credible proof that Bodin bringeth of his wonderfull tales of witchcraft, is the report of his host at an alehouse where he baited: who will give further ear unto these incredible tales? When in all the new testament, we are not warned of these bodily appearances of divels, as we are of his other subtilties, &c. who will be afraid of their bugs? When no such bargain is mentioned in the scriptures, why should we believe so incredible and impossible covenants, being the ground of all witchmongers religion, without the which they have no probability in the rest of their foolish assertions? When as, if any honest mans conscience be appealed unto, he must confess he never saw tryall of such witchcraft.

He should rather have asked who gave him orders and licence to preach.

John Bodin.

Craft or conjuration to take effect, as is now so certainly affirmed: what conscience can condemn poor soules that are accused wrongfully, or believe them that take upon them impiously to doe or work those impossible things? When the whole course of the scripture is utterly repugnant to these impossible opinions, laying a few sentences, which nevertheless rightly understood, relieve them nothing at all: who will be seduced by their fond arguments? When as now that men have spied the knavery of oracles, and such pelf, and that there is not one oracle in the world remaining, who cannot perceive that all the residue heretofore of these devices, have been confenages, knaveryes, and lies? When the power of God is so impudently transferred to a base creature, what good Christian can abide to yeeld unto such miracles wrought by fools? When the old women accused of witchcraft, are utterly insensible, and unable to say for themselves, and much leffe to bring such matters to passe, as they are accused of: who will not lament to see the extremity used against them? When the foolish sort of people are always most mistrustful of hurt by witchcraft, and the simplest and dotingest people mistrust to doe the hurt: what wise man will not conceive all to be but folly? When it were an easie matter for the devil, if he can do as they affirm, to give them great store of money, and make them rich, and doth it not; being a thing which would procure him more disciples than any other thing in the world; the wise must needs condemn the devil of folly, and the witches of perversenesse, that take such pains, and give their soules to the devil to be tormented in hell fire, and their bodies to the hangman to be trussed on the gallows, for nichels in a bag.

A general conclusion against witchcraft, in manner and forme of an Induction.

By this time all Kentishmen know (a few fools excepted) that Robin goodfellow is a knave. All wightmen understand that witches miraculous enterprises, being contrary to nature, probability and reason, are void of truth or possibility. All protestants perceive, that popish charmes, conjurations, execrations, and benedictions are not effectual, but be toies and devices only to keep the people blinde, and to enrich the clergy. All christians see, that to confesse witches can do as they say, were to attribute to a creature the power of the Creator. All children well brought up conceive and see, or at the least are taught, that jugglers miracles doe consist of lies and deceit, and confederacy. The very heathen people are driven to confesse, that there can be no such conference between a spiritual devil and a corporal witch, as is supposed; for no doubt, all the heathen would then have every one his familiar devil, for they would make no conscience to acquaint themselves with a devil that are not acquainted with God.

I have dealt, and conferred with many (marry I must confesse papists for
And proved consumer of Witchcraft. Chap. 8, 9.

for the most part) that maintain every point of these absurdities, and surely I allow better of their judgments than of others, unto whom some part of these consumeras are discovered and seen; and yet concerning the residue, they remain as wise as they were before; specially being satisfied in the highest and greatest parts of conjuring and confusing; to wit, in poverty, and yet will be abused with beggerly juglings, and witchcraft.

CHAP. VIII.

Of natural witchcraft or fascination.

But because I am loth to oppose myself against all the writers herein or altogether to discredit their stories, or wholly to deface their reports touching the effects of fascination or witchcraft; I will now set downe certain parts thereof, which although I myself cannot admit, without some doubt, difficulties and exceptions, yet will I give free liberty to others to beleve them, if they list; for that they do not directly oppugne my purpose.

Many great and grave authors write, and many fond writers also affirm, that there are certain families in Aphrodis, which with their voices bewitch whatsoever they prale. Infomuch as, if they commend either plan, corne, infant, horse, or any other beasts, the same presently withereth, decayeth and dyeth. This mystery of witchcraft is not unknowne to the witchmengers, and superstitious fools here in Europe. But to shew you examples near home here in England, as though our voice had the like operation; you shall not hear a butcher or horsecourser cheapen a bullock or a jade, but if he buy him not, he faith, God save him; if he do forget him, and the horse or bullock chance to die, the fault is imputed to the Chapman. Certainly the sentence is godly, if it do proceed from a faithful and a godly mind; but if it be spoken as a superstitious charmee, by those words and syllables to compound with the fascination, and inadventure of unfortunate words, the phraze is wicked

CHAP. IX.

Of enchanting or bewitching eyes.

Many writers agree with Virgil and Theocritus in the effect of witching eyes, affirming that in Scythia there are women called Bithiae, having two bals or rather blacks in the apple of their eyes. And as Didimus reports, some have in the one eye two such bals, and in the other the image of a horse. These (forsooth) with their angry looks do bewitch upon the rest, not only young lambs, but young children. There be other that port of Aul.
retain such venom in their eyes, and send it forth by beams and streams so violently, that therewith they annoy not only them with whom they are conversant continually; but also all other, whole company they frequent, of what age, strength or complexion ever they be: as Cicero, Plutarch, Philarchus, and many others give out in their writings.

This fascination (as it is called in Baptista Porta Neapolitanus) though it begin by touching or breathing, is always accomplished and finished by the eye, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits through the eyes, approaching to the heart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Whereby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a young man endowed with a clear, whole, fruitful and sweet blood, yeeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapours springing from the purer blood of the heart. And the lightest and finest spirits, ascending into the highest parts of the head, do fall into the eyes, and so are thence sent forth, as being of all other parts of the body the most clear, and fullest of veins and pores, and with the very spirit or vapour proceeding thence, is conveyed out as it were by beams and streams a certain fiery force; whereof he that beholdeth these eyes shall have good experience. For the poison and disease in the eye infecteth the air next unto it, and the same proceedeth further, carrying with it the vapour and infection of the corrupted blood: with the contagion whereof, the eyes of the beholders are most apt to be infected. By this same means it is thought that the cockatrice depriveth the life, and a wolf taketh away the voice of such as they suddenly meet withal and behold.

Old women, in whom the ordinary course of nature failleth in the office of purging their natural monthly humours, tell also some proof hereof. For (as the said I. B. P. N. reporteth) alleging Aristoteles for his author) they leave in a looking glass a certain froth, by means of the grosse vapours proceeding out of their eyes, which commeth so to passe, because those vapours or spirits, which so abundantly come from their eyes, cannot pierce and enter into the glass, which is hard and without pores, and therefore resisteth: but the beams which are carried in the chariot or conveyance of the spirits, from the eyes of one body to another, do pierce to the inward parts, and there breed infection, whilst they search and seek for their proper region. And as these beams and vapours do proceed from the heart of the one, so are they turned into blood about the heart of the other: which blood disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched party, infecteth the rest of his body, and maketh him sick; the contagion whereof doth long continueth, as the distempered blood hath force in the members. And because the infection is of blood, the fever or sickness will be continuall: whereas if it were of choler, or hæmorrhage, it would be intermittent or alterable.
Of naturall witchcraft for love, &c.

But as there is fascination and witchcraft by malicious and angry eies \emph{Nescio quis o-\textit{unto} diuiseasure;} so are there witching aspects, tending contrariwise to \emph{culus teneros love, or at the least, to the procuring of good will and liking. For if mibi fascinate the fascination or witchcraft be brought to passe or provoked by the desire, \emph{agnor, faith by the wishing and coveting of any beau\textit{tiful}} shape or favour, the venome \emph{V\textit{sigil}; and is restrained through the eyes, though it be from a far, and the imagination}} thus Englished of a beautiful forme reflecteth in the heart of the lover, and kindleth by \emph{Abraham Fleming.}}

Thus much may seem sufficient touching this matter of natural magick; whereunto though much more may be annexed, yet for the avoiding of tediousness, and for speedier passage to that which remaineth, I will break off this present treatise. And now somewhat shall be laid concerning devils and spirits in the discourse following.
A Discourse upon divels and spirits, and first of Philosophers opinions, also the manner of their reasoning hereupon; and the same confuted.

Chapter 1

Here is no question nor theme (as Hierome Cardan) so difficult to deal in, nor so noble an argument to dispute upon, as this of divels and spirits. For that being confessed or doubted of, the eternity of the soul is either affirmed or denied. The heathen philosophers reason hereof amongst themselves in this sort. First, they that maintain the perpetuity of the soul, say that if the soul died with the body, to what end should men take pains either to live well or die well, when no reward for virtue nor punishment for vice ensued after this life, which the other might spend in ease and security? The other say that virtue and honesty is to be pursued, non se præmia, sed virtutis amores, that is, not for hope of reward, but for love of virtue. If the soul live ever (say the other) the least portion of life is here. And therefore we that maintain the perpetuity of the soul, may be of the better comfort and courage, to sustain with more constancy the losse of children, yea and the losse of life itself; whereas, if the soul were mortal, all our hope and felicity were to be placed in this life, which many Atheists (I warrant you) at this day do. But both the one and the other missed the cushion. For, to do any thing without Christ, is to wear our selves in vain; sith in him only our corruptions are purged. And therefore the folly of the Gentiles, that place sumnum bonum in the felicity of the body, or in the happiness or pleasures of the mind, is not only to be derided, but also abhorred. For, both our bodies and minds are intermingled with most miserable calamities; and therefore therein cannot consist perfect felicity. But in the word of God is exhibited and offered unto us that hope, which is most certain, absolute, sound and sincere, not to be answered or denied by the judgment of philosophers themselves. For they that preferre temperance before all other things as sumnum bonum, must needs see it to be but a witness of their natural calamity, corruption and wickednesse; and that it serveth for nothing, but to restrain the dissoluteness, 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 modesty. Wherefore serveth our philosophers prudence, but to provide for their owne folly and misery; whereby they might else be utterly overthrown? And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should have no need of...
Divels and spirits. Chap. 2.

The justice whereof they speake, serveth but to keep them from rayne, theft, and violence; and yet none of them all are so just but that the very best and uprightest of them fall into great infirmitie, both doing and suferring much wrong and injury. And what is their fortitude but to arm them to endure misery, griefe, danger, & death it selfe? But what happinesse or goodnesse is to be repose in that life, which must be waited upon with such calamities; and finally must have the helpe of death to finish it? I say, if it be so miserable, why do they place Summum bonum therein? S. Paul to the Romans sheweth, that it cannot be that we should attaine to justice, through the morall and natural actions and duties of this life: because that never the Jewes nor the Gentiles could express so much in their lives, as the very law of nature or of Moses required. And therefore he that worketh without Christ, doth as he that reckoneth without his host.

Chap. 11.

Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to the disproofe of some writers hereupon.

For my part do alfo thinke this argument, about the nature and substance of divels and spirits, to be fo difficult, as I am perswaded that no one author hath in any certain or perfect lost hitherto written thereof. In which respect I can neither allow the ungodly and prophanefacts and doctrine of the Sadduces and Peripatetickes, who deny that there are any divels or spirits at all; nor the fond and superstitious creasse of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyrius, or yet the vaine and absurd opinions of Pselus, Nider, Sprenger, Cumanus, Bodin, Michael, Andreas, Ianus, Matthaeus, Laurentius Ananias, Iamblichus, & c: who with many others write so ridiculofy in these matters, as if they were Babes fraied with bugges; some affirming that the foules of the dead become spirits, the good to be angels, the bad to be divels; some that spirits or divels are onely in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some that divels are of such gender as they lift themselves; some, that they had no beginning, nor shall have ending, as the Manichees maintaine; some, that they are mortall and die, as Plutarch affirmeth of Pan; some, that they have no bodies at all, but receive bodies, according to their phantasies and imaginations; some, that their bodies are given unto them; some, that they make themselves. Some, say they are wind; some, that they are the breath of living creatures; some, that one of them begat another; some, that they were created of the least part of the male, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances betwene God and man, and that of them some are terrestrial, some celestial, some watery, some airy, some fiery, some earthy; and some of each and every part of the elements, and that they know our thoughts, and carry our good works and prayers to God, and returne his benefitts backe unto us; and that they are to be worshipp'd: wherein they meete and agree iumpe with the papists; as if you read the notes upon the second chapter to the

Colossians.
Colossians, in the Seminaries testament printed at Rhemes, you shall mani-
stinctly see, though as contrary to the word of God as blacke to white, as 
appeareth in the Apocalypse, where the angell expressly forbade John to 
worship him.

Apoc. 19. 10. 
ibid. 22. 8. 9.

Again, some say that they are meane betwixt terrestiall and celestiall 
bodies, communicating part of each nature; and that although they be 
eternall, yet that they are moved with affections: and as there are birds 
in the aire, fishes in the water, and wormes in the earth; so in the fourth 
element, which is the fire, is the habitation of spirits and divels. And 
left we should thinke them idle, they say they have charge over men, 
and governement in all countries and nations. Some say that they are 
onely imaginations in the mind of man. Tertullian saith they are 
birds, and fly after then any fowle of the aire. Some say that 
divels are not, but when they are sent; and therefore are called 
evil-angels. Some thinke that the devil sends his angels abroad, 
and he himselfe maketh his continual abode in hell, his mansion 
place.

CHAP. III.

The opinion of Pселlus touching spirits, of their severall orders, and 
a confutation of his errors therein.

Pséllus being of authority in the church of Rome, and not impugna-
ble by any catholike, being also instructed in these supernaturall or 
rather diabolical matters by a monke called Marcus, who had been 
familiarly conversant a long time, as he said, with a certaine divell, re-
ported upon the same divels owne word, which must needs understand 
but the state of this question, that the bodyes of angels and divels 
consist not now of all one element, though perhaps it were otherwise 
before the fall of Lucifer; and that the bodyes of spirits and divels can 
feele and be felt, do hurt and be hurt: in so much as they lament 
when they are stricken; and being put to the fire are burnt, and 
yet that they themselves burne continually; in such sort as 
they leave ashes behind them in places where they have beeved; 
as manifest tryall thereof hath been (if he say truly) in the 
borders of Italy. He also saith upon like credit and assurance, that di-
vels and spirits do avoid and shed from out of their bodyes, such seed or 
nature, as whereby certaine vermine are ingendered; and that they are 
nourished with food, as we are, saving that they receive it not into 
their mouthes, but sucke it up into their bodies, in such sort as sponges 
foke up water. Also he saith that they have names, shapes, and dwelling 
places, as indeed they have, though not in temporall and corporall 
fort.

Furthermore, he saith, that there are six principal kind of divels,
Oh heathenish, which are not only corporall, but temporall and worldly. The first 
nay oh papista, fort consist of fire, wandering in the region neere to the moone, but 
call folly.
Divels and spirits. Chap. 3.

have no power to go into the moon. The second sort consisting of aire, have their habitation more low and near unto us: these (though he) are proud and great boastes, very wise and deceitful, and when they come downe are seen with streams of fire at their tylle. He saith that these are commonly conjured up to make images laugh, and lamps burne of their own accord; and that in Assyria they use much to prophesie in a baron of water. Which kinde of incantation is usuall among our con-
jurors: but it is here commonly performed in a pitcher or pot of water; or else in a viall of glass filled with water, wherein they lay at the first a little sound is heard without a voice, which is a token of the divels comming. Anon the water seemeth to be troubled, and then there are heard small volues, wherewith they give their answers, speaking so softly as no man can well heare them: because (saith Cardane) they would not be argued or rebuked of lies. But this I have else where more largely des-
cribed and confused. The third sort of divels Ptolomys saith are earthly; the fourth watery, or of the sea; the fifth under the earth; the sixth are Lucifers, that is, such as delight in darknes, and are scant minded with sense, and so dull, as they can scarce be moved with charmes or co-
nurations.

The same man saith, that some divels are worse than other, but yet that they all hate God, and are enemies to men. But the worser moist of divels are Aquæs, Subterraneis, and Lucifuges; that is, watery, under the earth, and thunderers of light: because (saith he) these hurt not the soules of men, but destroy mens bodies like mad and raving beasts, molesting both the inward and outward parts thereof. Aquæs are they that raffe tempests, and drown sea-faring men, and do all other mischieues on the water. Subterraneis and Lucifuges enter into the bowels of men, and tore-
ment them that they possesse with the phrenzie, and the falling evil. They also assault them that are miners or pioners, which use to work in deepe and darke holes under the earth. Such divels as are earthy and airy, he saith enter by subtility into the minds of men, to deceive them, provoking men to absurd and unlawful afflic-
tions.

But herein his philosophy is very unprobable, for if the divell be earthy, he must needs be palpable: if he be palpable, he must needs kill them into whose bodies he entereth. Item, if he be of earth created, then must he also be visible and untransferrable in that point: for Gods creation cannot be abolished by the creature. So as, though it were granted, that they might add to their substance matter and forme, &c., yet it is most certaine, that they cannot diminish or alter the substance whereof they consist, as not to be (when they lift) spirituall, or to re-
linquish and leave earth, water, fire, aire, or this and that element where-
of they are created. But howsoever they imagine of water, aire, or fire, I am sure earth must always be visible and palpable, yea, and aire must always be invisible, and fire must be hot, and water must be moist. And of these three other bodies, specially of water and aire, no forme nor shape can be exhibited to mortal eyes nautrally, or by the power of any creature.

X

CHAP.
More absurd assertions of Pселlος and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein.

Moreover, the same author saith that spirits whisper in our minds, and yet not speaking so loud, as our ears may hear them: but in such sort as our souls speak together when they are dissolved, making an example by lowd speaking a farse off, & a comparison of soft whispering here hand, so as the devilth entrenches to neere to the mind, as the ear need not hear him: and that every part of a devil or spirit seemeth, heareth, and speaketh, &c. But herein I will believe Paul better than Pселlος, or his monke, or the monks devil. For Paul saith, if the whole body were an eye, where were hearing? If the whole body were hearing, where were smelling, &c. Whereby you may see what accord is between God's words and witchmongers.

The papists proceed in this matter, and say, that these spirits use great knavery and impudence to bawdry in the breach and middle parts of man and woman, by tickling, and by other lecherous devices: so that they fall jumpe in judgement and opinion, though very erroneously, with the forefaid Pселlος, of whose doctrine also this is a parcel, to wit, that these devils hurt not cattell for the hate they bear unto them, but for love of their natural and temperate heate and moisture, being brought up in deep, dry and cold places; and that this kind of heate of the sun and fire, because that kind of heate drieth too fast. They throw down stones upon men, but the blows thereof do no harm to them whom they hit; because they are not cast with any force: for faith he the devils have little and small strength, so as these stones do nothing but fray and terrify men, as scarecrowes do birds out of the corn fields. But when these devils enter into the pors, then do they raise wonderfull tumults in the body and mind of man. And if it be a subterraneous divell, it doth writh and bow the possed, and speaketh by him, using the spirit of the patient as his instrument. But he saith, that when Lucifugus possesseth a man, he maketh him dumb, and as it were dead: and there be they that are cast out (faith he) only by fasting and prayer.

The same Pселlος, with his mates Bodin and the penners of M. Mal. and others, do find fault with the physitians that affirm such infirmities to be curable with diet, and not by enchantments; saying, that physitians do only attend upon the body, and that which is perceivable by outward sense; and that as touching this kind of divine philosophy, they have no skill at all. And to make devils and spirits seem yet more corporall and terrene, he saith that certaine devils are belonging to certaine countries, and speake the languages of the same countries, and none other; some the Assyrian, some the Chaldaean, and some the Persian tongue, and that they feel stripes, and feare burn, and specially the dinst of the sword
Divelis and spirits.

Chap. 5.

(in which respect conjurers have swords with them in their circles, to terrify them) and that they change shapes, even as sodainly as men doe change colour with blushing, fear, anger, and other moods of the mind. He that yet further, that there be beaute beasts among them, and yet divels, and subject to any kind of death; insomuch as they are so foolish, as they may be compared to flies, fleas, and worms, who have no respect to any thing but their food, not regarding or rememering the hole from out of whence they came last. Marry, divels compounded of earth, cannot often transform themselves, but abide in some one shape, such as they best like, and most delight in; to wit, in the shape of birds of women, and therefore the Greeks call them Nīdas, Nereidas, and Dryads, in the feminine gender; which Dreida inhabited, (as some write) the Islands beside Scotland called Dryne, which by that means had their denomination and name. Other divels that dwell in dryer places transforme themselves into the masculine kind. Finally Pselius 

faith they know our thoughts, and can prophesie of things to come. His definition is, that they are perpetually minded in a passible body.

To verify these toyes he faith, that he himselfe saw in a certain night a But Pselius man brought up by Ictus Libius into a mountain, and that hee took an saw nothing heart, and spat thricke into his mouth, and annointed his eyes with a himself, certain ointment, so as therby he saw great troops of divels, and perceivd a crow to flye into his mouth; and since that houre he could prophesie at all times, saving on Good-friday, and Easter-sunday. If the end of this tale were true, it might not only have satisfied the Greek church, in keeping the day of Easter, together with the church of Rome; but might also have made the pope (that now is) content with our Christmas and Easter day, and not to have gathered the minutes together, and restored it so, as to shew how falsely he and his predecessors (whom they say could not erre) hath observed it hitherto. And truly this, and the dancing of the fun on Easter day morning sufficiently or rather miraculously proveth that compurgation, which the pope now begins to doubt of, and to call in question.

CHAP. V.

The opinion of Fasciis Cardanus touching spirits, and of his familiar divell.

Fascius Cardanus had (as he himselfe and his son Hierome Cardanus report) a familiar divell, consisting of the fiery element, who, so long as he used conjuration, did give true answers to all his demands; but when he burned up his book of conjurations, though he reported still unto him, yet did he make false answers continually. He held him bound twenty and eight years, and loose five years. And during the time that he was bound, he told him that there were many divels or spirits. 

He came not always alone, but sometimes some of his fellows with him, 

He rather a-
Chap. VI. A discourse of

greed with Psellus then with Plato: for he said they were begotten, born, died, and lived long; but how long they told him not: howbeit, as he might conjecture by the divels face, who was 42 years old, and yet appeared very young, he thought they lived two or three hundred yeares; and they said that their soules and ours also died with their bodies. They had scholes and universities among them: but he conceived not that any were so dull headed, as Psellus maketh them. But they are very quick in credite, that believe such fables, which indeed is the ground-woke of witchcraft and conjuration. But these histories are so grosse and pappable, that I might be thought as wise in going about to confute them, as to answer the histories of Fryer Ruste, Adam Bell, or the golden Legend.

CHAP. VI.

The opinion of Plato concerning spirits, devils, and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of Socrates his familiar divell.

The Platonists' opinion. Plato and his followers hold, that good spirits appear in their own likeness; but that evil spirits appear and shew themselves in the form of other bodies; and that one divell reigneth over the rest, as a prince doth in every perfect common-wealth over men. Item, they obtain their purposes and desires, only by intreaty of men and women; because in nature they are their inferiors and use authority over men none otherwise than priests by practice of their function, and because of religion, wherein (they say) they execute the office of God. Sometimes they say that the fiery spirits or supreme substances enter into the purity of the minde, and so obtaine their purpose; sometimes otherwise, to wit, by practice of holy charmes, and even as a poore man obtaineth for God's sake anything at a princes hand as it were by improprienes.

The other sort of devils and defiled soules are so conversant on earth, as that they doe much hurt unto earthly bodies, specially in leachery. Gods and angels (say they) because they want all materiall and grosse substance, desire most the pure sacrifice of the minde. The groser and more terrestiall spirits desire the groser sacrifices; as beasts and cattell. They in the middle or mean region delight to have frankincense, and such meaneuffle offered unto them: and therefore (say they) it is necessary to sacrifice unto them, all manner of things, so the same be fine, and dye not of their own accord; for such they abhor. Some say that spirits fear wonderfully vain threats, and thereupon will depart; as if you tell them that you will cut the heavens in pieces, or reveal their secrets, or complain of them to the gods; or say that you will do any impossibility, or such things as they cannot understand; they are so timorous, as they will presently be gone: and that is thought the best way to be rid of them. But these be most commonly of that sort or company, which
Divels and spirits. Chap. 2.

which are called Principates, being of all other the most easy to be conjured.

They say Socrates had a familiar divell; which Plato repons much upon; using none other argument to prove that there are such spirits, but because Socrates (that would not lye) said so; and partly because that divell did ever distwade and prohibit, not only in Socrates his own case, but sometimes in his friends behalf; who (if they had been ruled) might through his admonition have saved their lives. His disciples gathered that his divell was Saturnall, and a principall fiery divell; and that he, and all such as do naturally know their devils, are only such as are called Demonii vivi, otherwise, counselors. Item, they say that fiery spirits urge men to contemplation, the airy to business, the watery to lust; and among these there are some that are Martial, which give certitude; some are Jovial, giving wisdom; some Saturnial, always using dissuasion and decoyng. Item, some are born with us, and remain with us all our life; some are meer strangers, who are nothing else but the souls of men depair'd this life, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Plato's nine orders of spirits and angels, Dionysius his division thereof not much differing from the same, all disproved by learned Divines.

Plato proposeth or setteth forth nine severall orders of spirits, besides the spirits and foules of men. The first spirit is God, that commandeth all the residue; the second are those that are called Ideae, which give all things to all men; the third are the foules of heavenly bodies which are mortal; the fourth are angels; the fifth are divels; the sixth are ministers to infernal powers, as angels are to supernal; the seventh are half Gods; the eight are principalities; the ninth are princes. From which division Dionysius doth not much swarve, saving that he dealeth (as he saith) only with good spirits, whom he likewise divideth into nine parts or offices. The first he calleth Seraphim, the second cherubim, the third thrones, the fourth dominations, the fifth virtues, the sixth powers, the seventh principalities, the eight archangels, the ninth and inferior sort he calleth angels. Howbeit, some of these (in my thinking) are evill spirits; or else Paul gave us evill counsel, when he would us to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spirituall wickedness.

But Dionysius in that place goeth further, impropriating to every country, and almost to every person of any account, a peculiar angel; as to Jeremy, he assigneth Michael; to Adam, Raziel; to Abraham, Zadkiel; to Isaac, Raphael; to Jacob, Peluel; to Moses, Metatron, &c. But in these discourses he either followed his owne imaginations and conceits, or else the corruptions of that age. Nevertheless, I had rather confute him by M. Calvin, and my kinsman M. Döring, than by my selfe, or mine.
mune own words. For _Calvins_ saith, that _Dionysius_, herein speaketh not as by hear and, but as though he had flipped down from heaven, and told of things which he had seen. And yet (faith he) _Paul_ was rapt into the third heaven, and reported no such matters. But if you read _M. Deering_ upon the first chapter to the _Hebrews_, you shall see this matter notably handled; where he saith, that whenever an angell is mentioned in the Scriptures, it signifieth our Saviour _Christ_ and no creature. And certain it is that _Christ_ himself was called an angell. The names also of angels, as _Michael_, _Gabriel_, &c. are given to them (faith _Calvins_) according to the capacity of our weakness. But because the decision of this is neither within the compass of man's capacity, nor yet of his knowledge, I will proceed no further to discourse the same, but to shew the absurd opinions of papists and witchmongers on the one side, and the most sober and probable collections of the contrary minded on the other side.

**CHAP. VIII.**

The commencement of devils fondly gathered out of the 14. of _Isa. of Lucifer and of his fall; the Cabalists the Thalmudists_ and Schoolmen's opinions of the creation of angels.

The witchmongers, which are most commonly bastard divines, doe fondly gather and falsely conceive the commencement of devils out of the fourteenth of _Isa._, where they suppose _Lucifer_ is cited, as the name of an angell; who on a time being desirous to be checkmate with God himself, would needs (when God was gone a little aside) be sitting down or rather piking up in God's own principall and cathedrall chair; and that therefore God cast him and all his confederates out of heaven: as some fell down from thence to the bottom of the earth; some having descended but into the middle region, and the tail of them having not yet passed through the higher region, stayed even then and there, when God said, Ho. But God knoweth there is no such thing meant nor mentioned in that place. For there is only fore-chewed the depositing and deprivation of King _Nebuchadnezzar_, who exalting himself in pride (as it were above the starrs) esteemed his glory to surmount all others, as farre as _Lucifer_ the bright morning starre shone; more gloriously than the other common starrs, and was punished by exile, untill such time as he had humbled himself; and therefore metaphorically was called _Lucifer._

But forsooth, because these great clerks would be thought methodical, and to have crept out of wildomes bosome, who rather crawled out of fancies breeches; they take upon them to shew us, first, whereas these angels that fell from heaven were created; to wit, of the left side of that maffle mold, whereof the world was compounded, the which (lay they) was _Puteado terre_; that is, the rottenness of the earth. The Cabalists, with whom _Avicen_ seemeth to agree, say that one of these beget another; others
Divel's and spirits.

Chap. IX.

Of the contention between the Greek and Latine church, touching the fall of angels; the variance among papists themselves herein, a conflict between Michael and Lucifer.

There was also another contention between the Greek church and the Latine; 'twas of what orders of angels they were that did fall with Lucifer. Our schoolmen say they were of all the nine orders of angels in Lucifer's conspiracy. But because the superior order was of the more noble constitution and excellent estate, and the inferior of a less worthy nature, the more part of the inferior orders fell as guilty and offenders with Lucifer. Some say the divell himself was of the inferior order of angels, and some that he was of the highest order; because it is written, In cherubim extensus & protegens posuit te in monte sahétos Dei, Extended upon a cherubin and protecting, I have put thee in the holy mountain of God. And these say further, that he was called the dragon, because of his excellent knowledge. Finally these great doctors conclude, that the divell himself was of the order of Seraphim, which is the highest, because it is written, Quomodo enim mane oriebaris Lucifer? For when thou didst rise in the morning O Lucifer? They of this sect affirm, that Cadamones were they that rebelled against Jove; I mean they of Plato; his sect, himself also holding the same opinion. Our schoolmen differ much in the cause of Lucifer's fall. For some say it was for speaking these words, Po-nam sedem meam in aquilone, & similis erat altissimo, I will put my seat in the North, and I will be like the most High. Others say, because he utterly refused felicity, and thought scorn thereof; others say, because he thought all his strength proceeded from himself, and not from God; others say that it was, because he attempted to do that by himself, and his own ability, which he should have obtained by the gift of another; others say,
Chap. 10. A discourse of

say, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for that he challenged the
place of the Messiah; others say, because he detracted the time to adore
the majesty of God, as other angels did; others say, because he utterly
refused it. Scotus and his disciples say that it was, because he rebelliously claimed equall omnipotency with God; with whom lightly the Thomists never agree. Others say it was for all these causes together, and many more: so as hereupon (saith Laurentius Ananias) grew a wonderful conflict between Michael and the good angels on the one side, and Lucifer and his friends on the other: so as, after a long and doubfull skirmish, Michael overthrew Lucifer, and turned him and his fellows out of the doores.

CHAP. X.

Where the battell between Michael and Lucifer was fought, how
long it continued, and of their power; how fondly papists and
infidels write of them, and how reverently Christians ought to
think of them.

Now where this battel was fought, and how long it continued, there is
as great contention among the Schoolemen, as was between Michael
and Lucifer. The Thomists say this battel was fought in the empyreal hea-
ven, where the abode is of blessed spirits, and the place of pleasure and felicity. Augustine and many others say, that the battel was fought in the highest region of the air; others say, in the firmament; others in paradys. The Scotists say it continued but one instant or prick of time; for they told but two instants in all, even from their creation to their expulsion. The Scotists say, that between their production and their fall, there were but four instants. Nevertheless, the greatest number of
Schoolemen affirm, that they continued only three instants; because it
stood with Gods justice, to give them three warnings; so as at the third
warning Lucifer fell down like lead (for so are the words) to the bottom
deell; the rest were left in the air, to tempt man. The Sadduces were
as grosse the other way; for they said, that by angels was meant nothing
cle, but the motion that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens of his
power. He that readeth Enchirion shall see many more absurd opinions and
asseverations of angels; as how many thousand years they serve as an-
gels, before they come to the promotion of archangels, &c.

Monseur Bodin, M. Mal, and many other papists gather upon the seventh
of Daniel, that there are just ten millions of angels in heaven. Many say
that angels are not by nature, but by office. Finally, it were infinite to
shew the abuses and curious collections hereabout. I for my part think
with Calvin, that angels are creatures of God; though Moses spake no-	hing of their creation, who only applied himselfe to the capacity of the
common people, reciting nothing but things seen, And I say further with
him, that they are heavenly spirits, whose ministaration and service God
neth; and in that respect are called angels. I say yet again, with him that
Divels and spirits.  

That it is very certain, that they have no shape at all; for they are spirits, who never have any; and finally, I say with him, that the scriptures, for the capacity of our wit, doth not in vain paint out angels unto us with wings; because we should conceive, that they are ready swiftly to succour us. And certainly all the sounder divines do conceive and give out, that both the names and also the number of angels are set downe in the scripture by the Holy-ghost, in terms to make us understand the grandeur and the manner of their messenges; which (I say) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

Furthermore, the Schoole doctors affirm, that four of the superior orders of angels never take any forme or shape of bodies, neither are sent of any kind at any time. As for archangels, they are sent only about great and secret matters; and angels are common hacknies about every trifle; and that these can take what shape or body they find; marry they never take the form of women and children. Item they say that angels take most terrible shapes: for Gabriel appeared to Mary, when he saluted her, Facie formative, voce coruscante, ingessu mirabili, aspectu terribili, &c. that is, with a bright countenance, shining attire, wonderful gesture, and a dreadful visage, &c. But of apparitions I have spoken somewhat before, and will say more hereafter. It hath been long, and continueth yet a constant opinion, not only among the papists; but among others also, that every man hath assigned him, at the time of his nativity, a good angel and a bad. For which there is no reason in nature, nor authority in scripture. For not one angel, but all the angels are said to rejoice more of one convert, than of ninety and nine just. Neither did one only angel convey Lazarus into Abraham's bosom. And therefore I conclude with Calvin, that he which referreth to one angel, the care that God hath to every one of us, doth himself great wrong: as may appear by so many fiery chariots shewed by Eleazer to his servant. But touching this mystery of angels, let us reverently think of them, and not curiously search into the nature of them, considering the wileness of our condition, in respect of the glory of their creation. And as for the forreft fond imaginations and fables of Lucifer, &c. they are such as are not only ridiculous, but also accountable among these impious curiosities, and vain questions, which Paul speaketh of: neither have they any title or letter in the scripture for the maintenance of their grosse opinions in this behalfe.

CHAP. XI.

Whether they became divels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Jude and Peter; of the fond opinion of the Rabbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof.

Wee do read in Jude, and finde it confirmed in Peter, that the angels Jud. ver. 6; kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation, and sinned, 2 Pet. 2.4; and (as Job faid) committed folly: and that God therefore did cast them.
Chap. 11. A discourse of

them down into hell, reserving them in everlasting chains under

darkness, unto the judgement of the great day. But many divines say,

that they find not any where, that God made divers of them, or that they

became the princes of the world, or else of the aire; but rather prisoners.

Howbeit, divers doctors affirm, that this Lucifer, notwithstanding his

fall hath greater power than any of the angels in heaven; marly they say

that there be certain other divers of the inferior sort of angels, which

were then thrust out for smaller faults, and therefore are torment with

little pains, beside eternal damnation; and these (say they) can doe lit-

tle hurt. They affirm also, that they only use certain judging knacks,

delighting thereby to make men laugh, as they travel by the high waits;

but other (say they) are much more churlish. For proof hereof they al-

ledge the eighth of Matthew, where he would none otherwise be satisfied

but by exchange, from the annoying of one man, to the destruction of a

whole herd of owne. The Rabbines, and namely Rabbie Abraham, writ-

ing upon the second of Genesis, doe say, that God made the fairies, bugs,

Incubus, Robin good fellows, and other familiar or domestical spirits and

divels on the Friday; and being prevented with the evening of the sabbath,

finished them not, but left them imperfect; and therefore, that ever

since they use to flie the holiness of the sabbath, seeking dark holes in

mountains and woods, wherein they hide themselves till the end of the sabbath,

and then come abroad to trouble and molest men.

But as these opinions are ridiculous and fondly collected; so if we

have only respect to the bare word, or rather to the letter, where spirits

or divels are spoken of in the scriptures, we shall run into as dangerous

aburdities as these are. For some are so carnally minded, that a spirit is

no sooner spoken of, but immediately they think of a black man with

clowne feet, a pair of horns, a tail, claws, and eies as broad as a baton, &c.

But surely the divel were not so wise in his generation, as I take him to be,

if he would terrifie men with such ugly shapes, though he could doe it at his pleasure.

For by that means men should have good occasion and

opportunity to flie from him, and to run to God for succour; as the

manner is of all them that are terrified, though perchance they thought

not upon God a long time before. But in truth we never have so much

cause to be a feared of the divel, as when he flatteringlly insinuate him-

self into our hearts, to satisfie, please, and serve our humours, enticing

us to procure our owne appetites and pleasures, without any of these ex-

ternal terrours. I would were of these men where they doe finde in

the scriptures, that some divels be spiritual, and some corporal; or how

these earthly or watery divels enter into the minde of man, Augustine

faith, and divers others affirm, that Satan or the divel while we feed, all-

ureth us with glutony; he thrusteth lust into our generation; and flotth

into our exercise; into our conversation, envie; into our traffick, avar-

rice; into our correction, wrath; into our government, pride; he put-
teth into our hearts evil cogitations; into our mouthes, lies, &c. When

we wake, he moveth us to evill works; when we sleep, to evil and filthy

dreames; he provoketh the merry to loosenesse, and the sad to despair.
That the devils assaults are spiritual and not temporall, and how grossely some understand those parts of the scripture.

Upon that, which hitherto hath been said, you see that the assaults of Satan are spiritual, and not temporall; in which respect Paul witheth us not to provide a corselet of steel to defend us from his clawes; but biddeth us put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the invasions of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against principalities, powers, and spiritual wickednesses. And therefore he adviseth us to be sober and watch; for the devil goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. He meaneth not with carnal teeth; for it followeth thus, Whom resist ye steadfastly in faith. And again he saith, That which is spiritual only discerneth spiritual things; for no carnal man can discern the things of the spirit. Why then should we think that a devil, which is a spirit, can be known, or made tame and familiar unto a natural man; or contrary to nature, can be by a witch made corporal, being by God ordained to a spiritual proportion?

The cause of this gross conceit is, that we hearken more diligently to old wives, and rather give credit to their fables, than to the word of God; imagining by the tales they tell us, that the devil is such a bul-begger, as I have before described. For whatsoever is proposed in scripture to us by parable, or spoken figuratively or signification, or framed to our gross capacities, &c. is by them so considered and expounded, as though the bare letter, or rather their gross imaginations thereupon were to be preferred before the true sense and meaning of the word. For I dare say, that when these blockheads read Jotham's parable in the ninth of Judges to the men of Sichem, to wit, that the trees went out to appoint a king over them, saying to the olive tree, Reigne thou over us; who answered and said, Should I leave my fatness, &c. they imagine that the wooden trees walked, and spake with a man's voice; or else, that some spirit entred into the trees, and answered as is imagined they did in the idols and oracles of Apollo, and such like; who indeed have eyes, and see not; ears and hear not; mouths, and speak not, &c.
The equivocation of this word spirit, how diversely it is taken in the scriptures, where (by the way) is taught that the scripture is not always literally to be interpreted, nor yet allegorically to be understood.

Such as search with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, shall finde, that spirits, as well good as bad, are in the scriptures diversely taken; yea they shall well perceive, that the devil is no horned beast. For sometimes in the scriptures, spirits and devils are taken for infirmities of the body; sometimes for the vices of the minde; sometimes also for the gifts of either of them. Sometimes a man is called a devil, as Judas in the sext of John, and Peter in the xvi. of Matthew. Sometimes a spirit is put for the Gospel; sometimes for the mind or soul of man; sometimes for the will of man, his minde and counsell; sometimes for teachers and prophets; sometimes for zeal towards God; sometimes for joy in the Holy-ghost, &c.

And to interpret unto us the nature and signification of spirits, we find these words written in the scripture; to wit, The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him; The spirit of counsel and might; The spirit of wisdom and understanding; The spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.

Again, I will pour out my spirit upon the house of David, &c. The spirit of grace and compassion. Again, Ye have not received the spirit of bondage, but the spirit of adoption. And therefore Paul faith, To one is given, by the spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another, the gift of faith; to another, the gift of healing; to another, the gift of prophecy; to another, the operation of great works; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, the diversify of tongues; to another, the interpretation of tongues: and all these things worketh one and the self same spirit. Thus farre the words of Paul. And finally, Essai faith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of error. And in another place, The Lord hath covered you with a spirit of slumber.

As for the spirits of divination spoken of in the scripture, they are such as was in the woman of Endor, the Philippian woman, the wench of Welwell, and the holy maid of Kenz; who were indued with spirits or gifts of divination, whereby they could make shift to gain money, and abuse the people by sleights and crafty inventions. But these are possessed of borrowed spirits, as it is written in the book of Wildome; and spirits of maer counfence and deceipt, as I have sufficiently proved elsewhere. I deny not therefore that there are spirits and devils, of such substance as it hath pleased God to create them. But in what place soever it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or devil is to be understood spiritually, and is neither a corporall nor a visible thing. Where it is written, that God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Sisem, we are to understand...
Divels and spirits.

Chap. 14.

understand that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bulbegger. Also where it is said; If the spirit of jealousy come upon him: it is as much to say as; If he be moved with a jealous minde: and not that a corporal divel affayleth him. It is said in the Gospel; There was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmity 18 years, who was bowed together, &c. whom Christ, by laying his hand upon her, delivered of her diseaue. Whereby it is to be seen, that although it be said, that Satan had bound her, &c. yet that it was a sickness or disease of body that troubled her: for Christ's own words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some say was the cause thereof.

There were seven divels cast out of Mary Magdalen. Which is not so grossly understood by the learned, as that there were in her just seven corporal divels, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seven divels, a great multitude, and an uncertain number of vices is signified; which figure is usual in divers places of the scripture. And this interpretation is more agreeable with God's word, than the papistical paraphrase, which is; that Christ, under the name of the seven divels, recounted the seven deadly sins only. Others allow neither of these expositions; because they suppose that the efficacy of Christ's miracle should this way be confounded; as though it were not as difficult a matter, with a touch to make a good christian of a vicious person; as with a word to cure theague, or any other disease of a sick body. I think not but any of both these cures may be wrought by means, in process of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physitian. But I say that Christ's work in both was apparently miraculous: for with power and authority, even with a touch of his finger, and a word of his mouth, he made the blinde to see, the halt to goe, the lepers clean, the deaf to hear, the dead to rise again, and the poor to receive the Gospel, out of whom (I say) he cast devils, and miraculously conformed them to become good christians, which before were dissolute livers; to whom he John 8.11. said, Go your wayes and sin no more.

CHAP. XIV.

That it pleased God to manifest the power of his Sonne and not of witches by miracles.

Jesus Christ, to manifest his divine power, rebuked the winds, and they ceased; and the waves of water, and it was calme; which if neither our divines nor physitians can do, much lesse our conjurors, and least of all our old witches can bring any such thing to passe. But it pleased God to manifest the power of Christ Jesus by such miraculous and extraordinary means, providing and as it were preparing diseases, that none otherwise could be cured, that his sons glory, and his peoples faith might the more plainly appear; as namely, leprosie, lunacy, and blindness; as it is Levit. 14. 7, 8. apparent in the Gospel, where it is said, that the man was not stricken Luk. 7. 17, 4. with blindness for his owne sinnes, nor for any offence of his ancestors; John 9.
Chap. 15. A discourse of

but that he was made blinde, to the intent the works of God should be shewed upon him by the hands of Jesus Christ. But witches with their charms can cure (as witchmongers affirm) all these diseases mentioned in the scripture, and many other more; as the gout, the toothach, &c., which we find not that ever Christ cured.

As touching those that are said in the Gospel to be possessed of spirits, it seemeth in many places that it is indifferent, or all one, to say, He is possessed with a devil; or, he is lunatick or phrenetick; which diseases in these days is said to proceed of melancholy. But if every one that now is lunatick, be possessed with a real devil; then might it be thought, that devils are to be thrust out of men by medicines. But who saith in these times with the woman of Canaan. My daughter is vexed with a devil, except it be presupposed, that she said her daughter was troubled with some disease? Indeed we say, and say truly, to the wicked, the devil is in him: but we mean not thereby, that a real devil is gotten into his guts. And if it were so, I marvel in what shape this real devil, that possessed them, remaineth. Entertain him into the body in one shape, and into the minde in another? If they grant him to be spiritual and invisible, I agree with them.

Some are of opinion, that the said woman of Canaan meaneth indeed that her daughter was troubled with some disease; because it is written in stead of that the devil was cast out, that her daughter was made whole, even the selfsame houre. According to that which is said in the 12. of Matthew; There was brought unto Christ one possessed of a devil, which was both blinde and dumb: and he healed him: so, he that was blinde and dumb both spake and saw. But it was the man, and not the devil, that was healed, and made to speak and see. Whereby (I say) it is gathered, that such as were diseased, as well as they that were lunatick, were said sometimes to be possessed of devils.

CHAP. XV.

Of the possessed with devils.

Here I cannot omit to shew, how fondly divers writers, and namely, James Sprenger, and Henry Institor do gather and note the cause, why the devil maketh choice to possess men at certaine times of the moon; which is (say they) in two respects: first, that they may do ease so good a creature as the moon; secondly, because the moon is the moistest part of the body. The devil therefore considereth the apetites and conveniency thereof (the moon having dominion over all moist things) so as they take advantage thereby, the better to bring their purposes to passe. And further they say, that devils being conjured and called up, appear and come sooner in some certaine constellations, than in other some: thereby to induce men to think, that there is some godhead in the steares. But when Saul was relieved with the sound of the harp, they say that the departure of the devil was by means of the signe of the cross imprinted in David's veins: whereby we may see how ablosd the imaginations and devices
Divels and spirits.

CHAP. XVI.

That we being not thoroughly informed of the nature of divels and spirits, must satisfy ourselves with what is delivered us in the Scriptures touching the same, how this word divell is to be understood both in the singular and plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the divell, of same spirits, of Ahab.

The nature therefore and substance of divells and spirits, because in the Scripture it is not so set down, as we may certainly know the same, we ought to content and frame ourselves faithfully to believe the words and sense there delivered unto us by the high spirit, which is the Holy Ghost, who is Lord of all spirits; always considering, that evermore spirits are spoken of in Scripture, as of things spiritual, though for the help of our capacities they are there sometime more grossly and corporally expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indeed they are. As for example (and to omit the history of Job, which elsewhere I handle) it is written; The Lord said, Who shall entice Abab, that he may fall at Ramoth Gilgal, &c. Then came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said; I will goe entice him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said; I will goe and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then he said; Go forth, thou shalt prevail, &c.

This story is here set forth in this wise, to bear with our capacities, and specially with the capacity of that age, that could not otherwise conceive of spiritual things, than by such corporal demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted, that one spirit, and not many or diverse, did possesse all the false prophets at once. Even as in another place, many thousand devils are said to possesse one man; and yet it is also said even in the self same place, that the same man was possesed only with one divell. For it is there said that Christ met a man, which had a devill, and he commanded the foul spirit to come forth of the man, &c. But Calvin, and Where satan or the devill is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickedness, that standeth against the kingdom of justice. And where many devills are named in the scriptures, we are thereby taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, left delifying the fineness of them, we should more slack to enter into batell, and to fall into security and idlenesse.

On the other side, it is as plainly set down in the scripture, that some are
are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the divell. Yea sometimes we read, that one good spirit was put into a great number of persons; and again, that divers spirits rested in and upon one man: and yet no recall corporall spirit meant. As for example, The Lord took of the spirit that was upon Moses, and put it upon the seventy elders, and when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied. Why should not this be as substantiall and corporall a spirit, as that wherewith the maid in the Acts of the Apostles was possessed? Also Elisha intreated Elia, that when he departed, his spirit might double upon him. We read also, that the spirit of the Lord came upon a Othineel, upon b Gideon, c Jephtha, d Samson, e Balaam, f Saul, g David, h Ezekiel, i Zachary, k Amos; and it is written, that Caleb had another spirit than all the Israelites beside; and in another place it is said, that i Samuel had a more excellent spirit than any other. So, though the spirits, as well good as bad, are said to be given by number and proportion; yet the quality and not the quantity of them is always thereby meant and presupposed. Howbeit I must confess, that Christ had the spirit of God without measure, as it is written in the Evangell. But where it is said that spirits can be made tame, and at commandment, I say to those grosse conceivers of Scripture with Solomon, (who as they falsely affirme was of all others the greatest conjuror) faith thus in express words: No man is lord over a spirit, to retaine a spirit at his pleasure.

CHAP. VII.

Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doe extremelly contend and vary.

Some hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume and take unto them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list; of which mind all papists, and some protestants are, being more grosse than another sort, which hold that such bodies are made to their hands. Howbeit, these doe varië in the elements, wherewith these spirituall bodies are composed. For (as I have said) some affirm, that they consist of fire, some think of air, and some of the starres and other celestall powers. But if they be celestall, then (as Peter Martyr faith) must they follow the circular motion: and if they be elementary, then must they follow the motions of those elements, of which their bodies consist. Of air they cannot be, for air is corpus homogeneum; so as every part of air is air, whereof there can be no distinct members made. For an organick body must have bones, sinews, veins, flesh, &c. which cannot be made of air. Neither (as Peter Martyr affirmeth) can an airy body receive or have either shape or figure. But some ascend up into the clouds, where they find (as they say) diverse shapes and formes even in the air. Unto which objection P. Martyr answereth, saying, and that truly, that clouds are not alternating.
Divels and spirits.  

altogether air; but have a mixture of other elements mingled with them.

CHAP. XVIII.

Certaine popish reasons concerning spirits made of air, of day divels and night divels, and why the divell loveth no salt in his meat.

Many affirm (upon a fable cited by M. Mal.) that spirits are of air, because they have been cut (as he faith) in sunder and closed presently again; and also because they vanish away so suddenly. But of such apparitions I have already spoken, and shall shortly to say more, which are rather seen in the imagination of the weak and diseased, than in verity and truth. Which sights and apparitions, as they have been common among the unfaithfull; so now, since the preaching of the Gospel they are most rare. And as among fainthearted people; namely, women, children, and sick folks, they usually swarmed: so among strong bodies and good stomachs they never used to apperare; as elsewhere I have prove; which argueth that they were only phantastical and imaginary. Now say they that imagine divels and spirits to be made of air, that it must needs bee that they consist of that element; because otherwise when they vanish suddenly away, they should leave some earthy substance behind them. If they were of water, then should they moisten the place where they stand, and must needs be shed on the floore. If they consisted of fire, then would they burn anything that touched them; and yet (say they) Abraham and Lot wash'd their feet, and were neither scalded nor burnt.

I finde it not in the Bible; but in Bodin, that there are day divels and night divels. The same fellow faith, that Deber is the name of that divell, which hurketh by night; and Cheleb is he that hurketh by day: howbeit, he confesseth that Satan can hurt both by day and night, although it be certain (as he faith) that he can doe more harm by night than by day; producing for example, how in a night he slew the first born of Egypt. And yet it appeareth plainly in the text, that the Lord himself did it. Whereby it seemeth, that Bodin cuteth no difference between God and the divell. For further confirmation of this his foolish affirrion, that divels are more valiant by night than by day, he alledgegeth the 104 Psalm, wherein is written, Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest creep forth, the lions roar, &c. when the sun riseth, they retire, &c. So as now he maketh all beasts to be divels, or divels to be beasts. Oh barbarous blindness! This Bodin also faith, that the diuell loveth no salt in his meat, for that it is a sign of eternity, and used by Gods commandement in all sacrifices; abusing the Scriptures, which Levit, hee is not ashamed to quote in that behalfe. But now I will declare how the Scripture teacheth our dull capacities to conceive what manner of thing the diuell is, by the very names appropriated unto him in the same.
That such divels as are mentioned in the scriptures, have in their names their nature and qualities expressed, with instances thereof.

Such divels are mentioned in the Scriptures by name, have in their names their nature and qualities expressed, being for the most part the idols of certain nations idolatrously erected, in stead, or rather in spite of God. For Beelzebub, which signifies the lord of the flies, because he taketh every simple thing in his web, was an idol or oracle erected at Ekron, to whom Ahaziah sent to know whether he should recover his disease: as though there had been no God in Israel. This divell Beelzebub was among the Jews reputed the principal divell. The Greeks called him Pluto, the Latines, Sumanus; quasi summum deorum manium, the chief ghost or spirit of the dead whom they supposed to walk by night; although they absurdly believed also that the soul died with the body. So as they did put a difference between the ghost of a man and the soul of a man; and so doe our papists; howbeit, none otherwise but that the soul is a ghost, when it walketh on the earth, after the dissolution of the body, or appeareth to any man, either out of heaven, hell, or purgatory, and not otherwise. 

a Nisroch signifies a delicate taintation, and was worshipped by Sennacherib in Assyria. 
b Tarcat is in English, fettered, and was the divell or idol of the Hittites. 
c Beelphegor, otherwise called Priapus, the gaping or naked god was worshipped among the Moabites. 

d Adramelch, that is, the cloke or power of the king, was an idol at Sepharvais, which was a city of the Assyrians. 
e Chamos, that is feeling, or deputing, was worshipped among the Moabites. 

f Dagon, that is, corn or grief, was the idol of the Philistines. 

g Astaroth, that is, a fold or flock, is the name of a hee idol at Sydonia, whom Salomon worshipped; some think it was Venus. 

b Melchom, that is a king, was an idol or divell, which the Londs of Ammon worshipped.

Sometimes also we find in the Scriptures, that divells and spirits take their names of wicked men, or of the houses or states of abominable persons: as Astaroth, which (as Josephus faith) was the idol of the Philistines, whom the Jews took from them at Salomon's commandment, and was also worshipped of Salomon. Which though it signifieth riches, flocks, &c. yet it was once a city belonging to Og the king of Bashan, where they lay the giants dwelt. In these respects Astaroth is one of the speciall divells named in Salomon's conjuration, and greatly employed by the conjurers. I have sufficiently proved in these quotations, that these idols are Diis gentium, the gods of the Gentiles: and then the prophet David may satisfie you, that they are divells, who faith Diis gentium daemonia sunt. The gods of the gentiles are divells. What a divell was the rood of grace to be thought, but such a one as before is mentioned and described, who took his name of his courteous and gracious behaviour towards his worshippers, or rather those that offered unto
Divers names of the divell, whereby his nature and disposition is manifested.

That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are divers, their divers names, and in what affaires their labours and authorities are employed, wherein also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discovered.

And for so much as the idols of the Gentiles are called divels, and are Psalm 96.
that were said to make men live quietly within doores, But some think
these rather to be such, as the Gentiles thought to be set over kingdoms;
and that Lares are such as trouble private houles, and are set to oversee
crosse ways and cities. Laures are said to be spirits that walk only by night,
Genii are the two angels, which they supposed were appointed to wait up-
on each man. Manes are the spirits which oppose themselves against men
in the way. Demones were feigned gods by poets, as Jupiter, Juno, &c.
Vrunculi terreio are such as was Robin Good-fellow, that would supply the
office of servants, specially of maids; as to make a fire in the morning,
wipe the house, grind mustard and malt, draw water, &c. these also
rumble in houses, draw latches, goe up and down stairs, &c. Di geniales
are the gods that every man did sacrifice unto at the day of their birth.
Terteci be they that make folk afraid, and have such ugly shape, which
many of our Divines doe call Subterranei. Cebali are they that follow men,
and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, juggling, and such like
toies. Vrunculi are dwarfs about three handfuls long, and doe no hurt;
but seem to dig in minerals, and to be very busie, and yet doe nothing.
Guiteli or Trulls are spirits (they say) in the likeness of women, shewing
great kindnesse to all men; and hercelf it is that we call light women,
uids, Demones montani are such as work in the minerals, and further the worke
of the labourers wonderfully, who are nothing afraid of them. Hudgin
is a very familiar divell, which will doe no body hurt, except hee receive
injury: but he cannot abide that, nor yet be mocked: he talketh with
men friendly, sometimes visibly, and sometimes invisibly. There goe
as many tales upon this Hudgin, in some parts of Germany, as there did in
England of Robin Good-fellow. But this Hudgin was so called, because he
always were a cap or a hood; and therefore I think it was Robin Hood.
Fryar Rush was for all the world such another fellow as this Hudgin,
and brought up even in the same school, to wit, in a kitchen; in so much
as the selfe same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the
skullian, which is said to have been flain, &c. for the reading whereof I
I referre you to Fryar Rush his story, or else to John Wierus, De praestigiis
demonum.

There were also Familiaries demones, which we call familiaris: such
as Socrates and Caesar were said to have; and such as Feats sold to Doctor
Burcot. Quintus Sertorius had Diana herself for his familiar; and Numa
Pompilius had Ageria; but neither the one nor the other of all these
could be preserved by their familiars from being destroyed with untimely
death. Simon Samarens boasted, that he had gotten by conjuration, the
soul of a little child that was slaine, to be his familiar, and that hee told
him all things that were to come, &c. I marvel what priviledge foules
have, which are departed from the body, to know things to come more
than the foules within mans body. There were spirits, which they called
Albe mulieres, and Albe Sibylae, which were very familiar, and did
much harm (they say) to women with child, and to suckling children.
Dennus as a divell is worshipped among the Indians in Calecite, who (as
they think) hath power given him of God to judge the earth, &c. his
image is horribly pictured in a most ugly shape. Thever faith, that a divell
Divels and spirits.

in America, called Agnan, beareth sway in that country. In Gine one Grigrie is accounted the great divell, and keepeth the woods; these have Bawdy priests, and these are the divell's ministers. They have a great number of these priests called Charoibes, which prophesie after their fashion; they have lien by the space of one hour's prostrate upon a wench of twelve years old, and all that while they called upon a divell called Hovculera, and then commeth forth and uttereth his prophesies. For the true success of these, it is said that the people pray all the while that he lieth groveling like a lecherous knave. There are a thousand other names, which they say are attributed unto divells, and such as they take to themselves are more ridiculous than the names that are given by others, which have more ease to devise them. In little books containing the confounding possessed at Maidstone, where such a wonder was wrought, as also in other places, you may see a number of counterfeit divell's names, and other things.

Looke in the word (ob)lib. 7. cap. 3.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Romans chiefest gods called Divi selecti, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.

There were among the Romans twenty idolatrous gods, which were called Divi selecti selecti, chosen gods; whereof twelve were male, and eight female, whose names do thus follow: Ianius, Saturnus, Jupiter, Genius, Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, Vulcanus, Npinnus, Sut, Oceus and Vebare, which were all the gods: Tellus, Ceres, Inna, Minerva, Luna, Diana, Venus and Vesta were all the gods. No man might appropriate any of these unto himself, but they were left common and indifferent to all men-dwelling in one realm, province, or notable city. These heathen gentiles had also their gods, which served for sundry purposes; as to raise thunder, they had Statones, Torantes, Feretrii, and Jupiter Elicius. They had Caninius, to whom they prayed for wife children, who was more apt for this purpose than Minerva that issued out of Jupiter Elicius. They had Lucina, to whom they prayed for child safety, as Lucina was to send them that were with child safe delivery, and in that respect was called the mother of childwives. Opis was called the mother of the babe new born, whose image women with child hunged upon their girdles before their belly, and bare it so by the space of nine months; and the midwife always touched the child therewith before the, or any other laid hand thereon.

If the child were well born, they sacrificed thereunto, although the mother miscarried; but if the child were in any part unperfect, or dead, &c., they used to beat the image into powder, or to burn or drown it. Vagianus was he that kept their children from crying, and therefore they The names of也应该 hang his picture about babes' necks: for they thought much certain hea-crying in youth portended ill fortune in age. Cuminus, otherwise Cuminus, then if gods, &c. was he that preserved (as they thought) their children from misfortune in their peculiar the cradle. Ruminus was to keep their dugs from corruption. Volumus offices, and his wife Volumna were gods, the one for yong men, the other for

maids.
Chap. 23. A discourse of maids that desired marriage: for such as prayed devoutly unto them, should soon be married. Agrestis was the god of the fields, and to him they prayed for fertility. Bellus was the god of warre and warriours, and so also was Victoria, to whom the greatest temple in Rome was built. Hortus was he that had charge about inkeepers, that they should well intreat pilgrims. Eutychia was the mother of all the gods. Acuscanus was to discover their mines of gold and silver, and to him they prayed for good success in that behalfe. Acuscanus was to cure the sickke, whose father was Apollo, and served to keepe weeds out of the corne. Segia was to make feeds to grow. Flora preferred the vines from frosts and blatts, Sylvanus was to preserve them that walked in gardens. Bacchus was for drunkards. Favor for cowherds; Meretrix for whores; to whose honour there was a temple built in Rome, in the midst of forty and foure streets, which were all inhabited with common hallots. Finally Co- latrix, alias Clothina, was goddesse of the stoole, the jakes, and the privy, to whom as to every of the rest, there was a peculiar temple edified: besides that notable temple called Pantheon, wherein all the gods were placed together; so as every man and woman, according to the follies and devotions, might go thither and worship what gods they list.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of diverse gods in diverse countres.

The Egyptians were yet more foolishe in this behalfe than the Romans (I meane the heathenish Romans that then were, and not the popish Romans that now are, for no nation approcheth neere to thse in any kind of idolatry.) The Egyptians worshipped Anon in the likenesse of a dog, because he loved dogs and hunting. Yea they worshipped all living creatures, as namely of beasts, a bullocke, a dog, and a cat; of flying fowles, Ibis (which is a bird with a long bill, naturally devouring up venemous things and noisome serpentes) and a sparrowhawk of fishe herbes and other they had two gods to wite, Lepidotus pisiis, and Ocyrinches. The Saitans trumpet: wor- and the Thebans had to their god a heep. In the city Lycopolis they worshipped shipped as gods, a woollie: in Herimopolis, the Cynocephalus; the Leopolitans, a lion; in Le- topolis, a stork in Nilius called Latus. In the city Cynopolis they worshipped Anubis. At Babylon, besides Memphis, they made an onion their God; the Thebans an eagle; the Manes, a goat; the Persians, a fire called Orimaha; the Arabian, Bacchus, Venus, and Diana: the Britans, Amphyaurus; the Africans, Mopsius; the Scythians, Minerva; the Nau- cratis, Serapis, which is a serpent; Aslartes (being as Cicero writeth the fourth Venus, who was the, as others affirm, whom Solomon worshipped at his concubines request) was the goddesse of the Assyrians. At Noricum, being a part of Bavaria, they worship Tibilenus; the Moris worship Iuba; the Macedonians, Gabirus; the Pantic, Vanus; at Samos Iuno was their god. At Paphos, Venus, at Lemnos, Vuleane; at Naxos, Liber; at Lampisca,

Limsacke, Priapus, with the great genialts, who was set up at Hellespont to be adored. In the Ile Diomedea, Diomedes, at Delphos, Apollo; at Ephebus, Diana was worshipped. And because they would play small game rather than sit out, they had Achates Cyrenicus, to keepe them from flies and fleabowes; Hercules Canopus, to keepe them from fleas; Apollo Parapejus, to keepe their chiefes from being mouseten. The Greeks were the first, that I can leare to have assigned to the gods their principal kingdomes and offices: as Jupiter to rule in heaven, Pluto in hell, Neptune in the sea, &c. To these they joyned, as assistants, divers commissioners; as to Jupiter, Saturne, Mars, Venus, Mercurius, and Minerva; to Neptune, Nereus, &c. Tuitina was only a matrux to Jupiter, not to destroy corn in with thunder or tempests, before whom they usually lighted candles in the temple, to appease the same, according to popish custome in these days. But I may not repeat them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by good record, as Paron and others report, to the number of 30, thousand, and upward. Whereby the reasonable reader may judge their superstitious blindness.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of popish provincall gods, a comparison betwene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation every popish god is.

Now if I thought I could make an end in any reasonable time, I would begin with our antichristian gods, otherwise called popish idols, which are as ranke divels as Div gentium, Gods of the Gentiles, spoken of in the psalms; or as Div montium, Gods of the Mountaine; set forth and rehearsed in the first booke of the kings; or as Div terrarum or Div popolarum, Gods of the Earth or of People, mentioned in the second of the Chronicles 32. and in the first of the Chronicles 16. or as Div terrae, Gods of the earth, in Judges 3. or as Div florium Seir, Gods of the fowles of Seir in the second of the Chronicles 25. or as Div alieni, Strange Gods, which are so often mentioned in the scriptures.

Surely, there were in the popish church more of these in number, more in common, more private, more publike, more for lewed purposes, and more for no purpose, than among all the heathen, either heretofore, or at this present time: for I dare undertake, that for every heathen idoll I might produce twenty out of the popish church. For there were proper idols of every nation: as S. George on horsebecke for England, (excepting whom there is said to be no more horsemen in heaven save only S. Martin) S. Andrew for Burgundie and Scotland, S. Michael for France, S. James for Spain, S. Patrick for Ireland, S. David for Wales, S. Peter for Rome, and some part of Italy. Had not every city in all the popes dominions his peculiar patron? As Paul for London, Denis for Paris, Ambrose for Milan, Loven for Lavenz, Romball for Mackline, S. Mark for Venice, the three magitian kings for Cullen, and so of other.

Yea,

Yea, had they not for every small towne, and every village and parish (the names whereof I am not at leisure to repeat) a several Idoll? As S. Schulphe, for one; S. Bride, for another; S. All hallowes, All saints, and our Lady for all at once: which I thought meeter to rehearse, than a bedroll of such a number as are in that predicament. Had they not hee idols and thee idols, some for men, some for women; some for beasts, some for fowles, &c. Do you not think that S. Martin might be opposed to Bacchus? If S. Martin be too weak we have S. Urbanus, S. Clement, and many other to assist him. Was Venus and Mercurius an advocate for whores among the Gentiles? Behold, there were in the ROMISH church to encounter with them, S. Apba, S. Aphrodite, and S. Maidline. But in some as long as Meg was as very a whore, as the best of them, she had wrong that she was not also canonized, and put in so good credit as they: for she was a gentlewoman born; whereunto the pope hath great respect in canonizing of his saints. For (as I have said) he canonizeth the rich for saints, and burneth the poor for witches. But I doubt, Magdalen, and many other godly women are very saints in heaven, and should have been so, though the pope had never canonized them; but he doth them wrong, to make them the patrons of harlots and strong drunkards.

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 Vulcan the protector of the heathen smithes? Yea forsooth, and S. Euloge was patron for ours. Our painters had Luke, our weavers had Steven, our millers had Arnold, our tailors had Goodman, our fowlers had Cristpine, our potter had S. Gore with a divell on his shoulder and a pot in his hand. Was there a better hearth-leech among the gods of the Gentiles than S. Loy? Or a better soweller than S. Anthony? Or a better toothdrawer than S. Apolline? I believe that Apollo Parnopecus was no better a ratcatcher than S. Gertrude, who hath the popes parent and commendation therefore. The Thibans had not a better shepherd than S. Wendeline, nor a better Giffard to keep their geese than Gallus. But for physic and surgery, our idols exceed them all. For S. John, and S. Valentine excelled at the falling evil. S. Roch was good at the plague, S. Petronill at theague. As for S. Margaret, she passed Lucina for a midwife, and yet was but a maid; in which respect S. Margaret is joined with her in commission.

For mad men, and such as are possed with devils, S. Romane was excellent, and seryer Ruffine was also prettily skilful in that art. For botches and bites, S. Cosmas and Damian; S. Clare for the eyes, S. Apolline for teeth, S. Job for the pox. And for sore breasts S. Agatha was as good as Ruminus. Whosoever served Servatius well, should be sure to lose nothing: if Servatius failed in his office, S. Vendren could supply the matter with his cunning; for he could cause all things that were lost to be restored again. But here lay a straw for a while, and I will shew you the names of some, which exceed these very far; and might have been canonized for archsaints; all the other saints or idols being in comparison of them but bunglers, and benchpushers. And with your leave, when all other
Divels and spirits.  

Chapter 25.

Other saints had given over the matter, and the saints utterly forsook of their servitors, they repaired to those that I shall name unto you, with the good consent of the pope, who is the savor, or rather the patron of all the saints, divels, and idols living or dead, and of all the gods save one. And whereas none other saint could cure above one disease, in so much as it was idolatry, folly I should have said, to go to Job for any other malady than the pox; nothing commeth amiss to these. For they are good at any thing, and never a whit nice of their cunning: yea greater matters are said to be in one of their powers, than is in all the other saints. And these are they: S. mother Eugene, S. mother Elaine, S. mother Feats, S. mother Still, S. mother Dutton, S. Kytell, S. Arisula Kempe, S. mother Newman, S. doctor Heron, S. Rosmund a good old father, and diverse more that deserves to be registred in the popes calendar, or rather the divels rubrick.

New saints.

Chapter XXV.

A comparison between the heathen and the papists, touching their excuses for idolatry.

And because I know, that the papists will say, that their idols are saints, and no such divels as the gods of the Gentiles were: you may tell them, that not only their saints, but the very images of them were called Divi. Which though it signify gods, and so by consequence idols or friends: yet put in [209] thereunto, and it is Divini in English. But they will say also, that I do them wrong to give them, because they were holy men and holy women. I grant some of them were so, and further from allowance of the popish idolatry employed upon them, than grieved with the defilement used against that abuse. Yea even as silver and gold are made idols unto them that love them too well, and seek too much for them: so are these holy men and women made idols by them that worship them, and attribute unto them such honour, as to god only appertaineth.

The heathen gods were for the most part good men, and profitable members to the commonwealth wherein they lived, and deserved fame, &c. in which respect they made gods of them when they were dead, as they madedivels of such emperours and philosophers as they hated, or as had deserved ill among them. And is it not even so, and worse, in the commonwealth and church of popery? Doth not the pope excommunicate, curse, and condemn for heretics, and drive to the bottomless pit of hell, proclaiming to the very divels, all those that either write, speak, or think, contrary to his idolatrous doctrine? Cicero, when he derided the heathen gods, and inveighed against them, that yeilded such servile honour unto them, knew the perfons, unto whom such abuse was committed, had well deserved as civil citizens; and that good fame was due unto them, and not divine estimation. Yea the infidels that honoured those gods, as hoping to receive benefits for their devotion employed that way, knew and conceived that the statues and images, before whom with such reverence
A discourse of
they powred forth their prayers, were stocks and stones, and only pictures
of those persons whom they resembled: yea they also knew, that the
parties themselves were creatures, and could not doe so much as the pa-
pists and witchmongers think the Roode of grace, or mother Bungie could
doe. And yet the papists can see the abuse of the Gentiles, and
may not hear of their owne idolatry more grosse and damnable than the
others.

CHAP. XXVI.

The concept of the heathen and the papists all one in ido-
try, of
the counsell of Trent, a notable story of a hangman arraigned
after he was dead and buried, &c.

But papists perchance will deny, that they attribute so much to these
idols as I report; or that they think it so meritorious to pray to the
images of saints as is supposed, affirming that they worship God, and the
saints themselves, under the names of images. Which was also the con-
cept of the heathen, and their excuse in this behalf; whose eyedight and
insight herein reached as farre as the papistical distinctions published by
popes, and their counsellors. Neither doe any of them admit so gross idol-
try, as the council of Trent hath done, who alloweth that worship to the
Rood that is due to Jesus Christ himselfe, and so likewise of other images
of saints. I thought it not impertinent therefore in this place to insert an
example taken out of the Rotarie of our Lady, in which book do remain
(besides this) ninety and eight examples to this effect; which are of such
authority in the church of Rome, that all scripture must give place unto
them. And these are either read there as their speciall homilies, or pre-
ached by their chief doctors. And this is the sermon for this day verbatim
translated out of the said Rotarie, a book much esteemed and reverenced
among papists.

A certain hangman passing by the image of our Lady, saluted her, com-
mending himself to her protection. Afterwards, while he prayed before
her, he was called away to hang an offender; but his enemies intercept-
ted him, and slew him by the way. And loe a certain holy priest, which
nighly walked about every church in the city, rose up that night, and
was going to his Lady, I should say to our Lady church. And in the
churchyard he saw a great many dead men, and some of them he knew, of
whom he asked what the matter was, &c., who answered, that the hang-
man was slaine, and the devil challenged his foul, the which our Lady
said was hers; and the judge was even at hand comming thither to hear
the cause, and therefore (said they) we are now come together. The
priest thought he would be at the hearing hereof, and hid himselfe be-
hind a tree; and anon he saw the judiciall seat ready prepared and fur-
nished, where the judge, to wit, Jesus Christ, sate, who took up his mo-
ther unto him. Soon after the devils brought in the hangman pinnioned,
and proved by good evidence, that his foul belonged to them. On the
other
other side, our Lady pleaded for the hangman, proving that he at the hour of death commended his soul to her. The judge hearing the matter so well debated on either side, but willing to obey (for these are his words) his mothers desire, and loath to do the devils any wrong, gave sentence that the hangmans soul should return to his body, until he had made sufficient satisfaction; ordaining that the pope should set forth a publick forme of prayer for the hangmans soul. It was demanded, who should doe the errand to the pope in linelle? Marry quoth our Lady, that shall yonder priest that lurketh behind the tree. The priest being called forth, and inquired to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope to take the pains to do according to this decree, asked by what token he thould be directed. Then was delivered unto him a roll of such beauty, as when the pope saw it, he knew his message was true. And so, if they do not well, I pray God we may.

CHAP. XXVII.

A confutation of the fable of the hangman, of many other feigned and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproof thereof.

Our B. ladies favour.

BY the case above mentioned you see what it is to worship the image of our lady. For though we kneel to God himself, and make never so humble petitions unto him, without faith and repentance, it shall do us no pleasure at all. Yet this hangman had great friendship shewed him for one point of courtesy used to our lady, having not one dramme of faith, repentance, nor yet of honesty in him. Nevertheless, so credulous is the nature of man, as to believe 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 believe these toises, being so apparently popish: yet we credit and report other appearances, and assuming of bodies by souls and spirits; though they be as profane, absurd, and impious as the other. We are sure the holy maid of Kents vision was a very conuenage: but we can credit, imprint, and publish for a true possession or history, the knavery used by a cunning varlet at Maidstone; and Greg.4, dialog. many other such as that was. We think soules and spirits may come out of heaven or hell, and assume bodies, believing many absurd tales told by the schoolemen and Romish doctors to that effect: but we discredit all the stories that they, and as grave men as they are, tell us upon their cap.9, &c. knowledge and credit, of soules condemned to purgatory, wandering for Greg. lib.4, dia- succour and releafe by trentals and masses said by a popish priest, &c. log. ca.40, idem and yet they in probability are equal, and in number farre exceed the cap. 55.

other.

We think that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fathered upon places else- Luther; to wit, that he knew the devell, and was very convertant with where innume- him, and had eaten many bushels of salt and made jolly good cheererable. with him; and that he was confuted in a disputation with a reall devell Micha. And. Aaaa 2 about thes. 151.
about the abolishing of private mass. Neither do we believe this report, that the devil in the likeness of a tall man, was present at a sermon openly made by Carolo Sedtius; and from this sermon went to his house, and told his sonne that he would fetch him away after a day or twain: as the papists say he did indeed, although they lie in every point thereof most maliciously. But we can believe Platina and others, when they tell us of the appearances of pope Benedict the eight, and also the ninth; how the one rode upon a black horse in the wilderness, requiring a bishop (as I remember whom he met, that he would distribute certain money for him, which he had purloined of that which was given in alms to the poor, &c. and how the other was seen a hundred years after the devil had killed him in a wood, of an hermit, in a bearskin, and an asles head on his shoulders, &c. himselfe saying that he appeared in such a sort as he lived. And diverse such stuffe rehearsed by Platina.

Now because S. Ambrose writeth, that S. Anne appeared to Constance the daughter of Conflantine, and to her parents, watching at her sepulchre; and because Eusebius and Nicephorus say, that the Pontianian virgin, Origenes disciple, appeared to S. Basil, and put a crown upon his head, in token of the glory of his martyrdom, which should shortly follow: and because Hierome writeth of Pauls appearance, and Theodore of S. John the Baptist, and Athenasius, of Ammonius, &c. many do believe the fame stories and miraculous appearances to be true. But few protestants will give credit unto such shamefull fables, or any like them, when they finde them written in the Legendary, Festivall, Rosaries of our Lady, or any other such popish authors, whereby I gather, that if the protestant believe some few lies, the papists believe a great number. This I write, to shew the imperfection of man, how attentive our ears are to hearken to tales, and though herein confess no great point of faith or infidelity; yet let us that profess the gospell take warning of papists, not to be carried away with every vain blast of doctrine; but let us cast away these prophane and old wives fables. And although this matter have passed so long with generall credit and authority; yet many grave authors have condemned long since all those vain visions and apparitions, except such as have been shewed by God, his sonne, and his angels. Athenasius saith, that soules once loosed from their bodies, have no more society with mortal men. Augustine saith, that if soules could walk and visit their friends, &c. or admonish them in sleep; or other-wise, his mother that followed him by land and by sea would shew her self to him, and reveal her knowledge, or give him warning, &c. But most true it is, that is written in the gospell. We have Moses and the prophets, who are to be hearkened unto, and not the dead.
CHAP. XXVIII.

A conjuration of Johannes Laurentius, and of many others, maintaining these fained and ridiculous tales and apparitions, and what driveth them away: of Moses and Elias appearance in mount Thabor.

Furthermore, to prosecute this matter in more words; if I say that these apparitions of fowles are but knaveries and confusions; they object that Moses and Elias appeared in mount Thabor, and talked with Christ, in the presence of the principal apostles. Yea, and that God appeared in the bush, &c. As though spirits and souls could do whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to do, or appoint to be done, for his own glory, or for the manifestation of his name miraculously. And therefore I thought good to give you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this behalf.

And first you shall understand, that they hold, that all the fowles in heaven may come down and appear to us when they list, and assume any body saving their owne; otherwise (say they) such fowles should not be perfectly happy. They lay that you may know the good fowls from the bad very easily. For a damned fowl hath a very heavy and sourre look; but a saint's fowl hath a chearfull and a merry countenance; these also are white and shining, the other, cole black. And these damned fowls also may come up out of hell at their pleasure, although Abraham made Dives believe the contrary. They affirm that damned fowls walk oftentimes next unto them, the souls of purgatory: and most seldom the souls of saints. Also they say that in the old law fowls did appear seldom; and after dooms day they shall never be seen more: in the time of grace they shall be most frequent. The walking of these souls (faith Michael Andr.) is a most excellent argument for the proof of purgatory; for (faith he) those souls have testified that which the popes have affirmed in that behalfe; to wit, that there is not only such a place of punishment, but that they are released from thence by masses, and such other charitable works; whereas the goodnesse of the masse is licensed, and confirmed.

These heavenly or purgatory fowls (say they) appear most commonly to them that are born upon ember daies, and they also walk most usually men, on those ember daies; because we are in best state at that time to pray Gelasius epistola for the one, and to keep company with the other. Also they say, that ad epise, fowles appear oftentimes by night; because men may then be at best leisure, Mich. Andr. and most quiet. Also they never appear to the whole multitude, seldom thef. 345. to a few, and most commonly to one alone; for so one may tell a lie Greg. dial. 4. without controlment. Also they are oftentimes seen by them that are res cap. 1. 12. 14. dy to dye; as Treskilla saw pope Felix; Ursine, Peter and Paul; Galla Mich. Andr. Romana, S. Peter; and as Mula the maid saw our Lady; which are thef. 347. most certain appearances, credited and allowed in the church of Rome; also Greg. dial. 4. they may be seen of some, and of some other in that presence not seen cap. 11.
Chap. 29. A discourse of

at all; as if it were to Peter and Paul, and yet many at that instant being present could not see any such sight, but thought it a lie; as I do. Michael Andreas confesseth, that papists see more visions than Protestants; he faith also, that a good soul can take none other shape than of a man; marry, a damned soul may, and doth take the shape of a black moor, or of a beast, or of a serpent, or specially of an heretick. The christian signs that drive away these evill souls, are the crofe, the name of Jesus, and the relics of saints; in the number whereof are holier water, holy bread, Agnus Dei, &c. For Andrew faith, that notwithstanding Julian was an Apostata, and a betray of a christian religion; yet at an extremity, with the only sign of the crofe, he drave away from him many such evill spirits; whereby also (he faith), the greatest diseases and sickneasses are cured, and the worst dangers avoided.

CHAP. XXIX.

A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced Eve.

They that contend so earnestly for the devils assuming of bodies and visible shapes, do think they have a great advantage by the words uttered in the third of Genesis, where they lay, the divell entered into a serpent or snake; and that by the curse it appeareth, that the whole displeasure of God lighted upon the poor snake only. How those words are to be considered may appear, in that it is of purpose to spoken, as our weak capacities may thereby best conceive the substance, tenor, and true meaning of the word, which is there set downe in the manner of a tragedie, in such humane and sensible forme, as wonderfully informeth our understanding; though it seem contrary to the spirituall course of spirits and devils, and also to the nature and divinity of God himself; who is infinite, and whom no man ever saw with corporall eyes, and lived. And doubledly, if the serpent there had not beene taken absolutely, nor metaphorically for the divell, the Holy-ghost would have informed us thereof in some part of that story. But to affirm it sometimes to be a divell, and sometimes a snake; whereas there is no such distinction to be found or seen in the text, is an invention and a fetch (me thinkes) beyond the compass of all divinity. Certainly the serpent was he that seduced Eve; now whether it were the divell, or a snake; let any wise man, or rather let the word of God judge. Doubledly the scripture in many places expoundeth it to be the divell. And I have (I am sure) one wised man on my side for the interpretation hereof, namely Solomon; who faith, Through envy of the divell came death into the world; referring that to the divell, which Moses in the letter did to the serpent. But a better exppositor hereof needeth not, than the text itself, even in the same place, where it is written; I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, he shall break thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. What christian knoweth not, that in these words the mystery of our
Divels and spirits. Chap. 30.

The objection concerning the divells assuming of the serpents body answered.

This word serpent in holy scripture is taken for the divell: The serpent was more subtill than all the beasts of the field. It likewise signifieth such as be evil speakers, such as have flandering tongues, also heretics, &c. They have sharpened their tongues like serpents. It doth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of Christ: as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up upon the cross. Moreover, it is taken for wicked men: O ye serpents and generation of vipers. Thereby also is signified as well a wise as a subtill man: and in that sense did Christ himself use it; saying, Be ye wise as serpents, &c. So that by this brief collection you see, that the word serpent, as it is equivocal, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the good and sometimes in the evil part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceit: me thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the allegory. Truly Calvin's opinion is to be liked and reverenced, and his example to be embraced and followed, in that he offereth to subsist be to them that hold, that the Holy Ghost in that place did of purpose use obscure figures, that the clear light thereof might be deferred, till Christ's comming. He faith also with like commendations (speaking hereof, and writing upon this place) that Moses doth accommodate and fitten for the understanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there delivereth; forbearing once to rehearse the name of Satan. And further he faith, that this order may not be thought of Moses his owne device; but to be taught him by the spirit of God: for such was (faith he) in those dayes the childish age of the church, which was unable to receive higher or profounder doctrine. Finally, he faith even hereupon, that the Lord hath supplied, with the secret light of his spirit, whatsoever wanted in plainness and clearness of external words.

If it be said, according to experience, that certain other beasts are farre more subtill than the serpent; they answer, that it is not absurd to confess, that the same gift was taken away from him, by God, because he brought destruction to mankind. Which is more (me thinks) than need be granted in that behalfe. For Christ faith not; Be ye wise as serpents were.
Chap. 31.

A discourse of

were before their transgression; but, be wise as serpents are, I would learn what impiety, absurdity, or offence it is to hold, that Moses, under the person of poisoning serpent or snake, describeth the devil that poysoned Eve with his deceitful words, and venomous affront. Whence cometh it else, that the devil is called the serpent? The viper, the serpent, &c., and that his children are called the generation of vipers; but upon this first description of the devil made by Moses? For I think none so grovel, as to suppose, that the wicked are the children of serpents, according to the letter; no more than we are to think and gather, that God kept a book of life, written with penne and ink upon paper, as citizens record their free men.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the curse rehearsed Gen. 3, and that place rightly expounded,

John Calvin's opinion of the devil.

The curse rehearsed by God in that place, whereby witchmongers labour so busily to prove that the devil entered into the body of a snake, and by consequence can take the body of any other creature at his pleasure &c., reacheth I think further into the devils matters, than we can comprehend it, or is needful for us to know, that understand not the ways of the divels creeping, and is far unlikely to extend to plague the generation of snakes; as though they had been made with legs before that time, and through his curse was deprived of that benefit. And yet, if the devil should have entered into the snake, in manner and form as they suppose; I cannot see in what degree of sin the poore snake should be so guilty, as that God, who is the most righteous Judge, might be offended with him. But although I abhorre that lewd interpretation of the family of love, and such other heretiques, as would reduce the whole Bible into allegories: yet (me thinks) the creeping there is rather metaphorically or significately spoken, than literally, even by that figure, which is there prosecuted to the end. Wherein the devil is resembled to an odious creature, who as he creepeth upon us to annoy our bodies, doth the devil there creep into the conscience of Eve, to abuse and deceive her: whose seed, nevertheless shall tread down and dissolve his power and malice. And through him, all good christians (as Calvin doth) obtraine power to doe the like. For we may not imagine such a matter a tragedy, as there is described, for the case of our feeble and weak capacities.

For whatsoever we find in the scriptures, that the devil is called god, the prince of the world, a strong armed man, to whom is given the power of the air: a roaring lion, a serpent, &c., the Holy Ghost moved us thereby, to beware of the most subtil, strong and mighty enemy, and to make preparation, and arm our selves with faith against so terrible an adversary. And this is the opinion and counsell of Calvin, that we seeing our own weakness, and his force manifested in such terms, may beware of the
Divels and spirits.

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the divell, and may fle to God for spirituall aid and comfort. And as for his corporall assaults, or his attempts upon our bodies, his night walkings, his visible appearings, his dancing with witches, &c. we are neither warned in the scriptures of them, nor willed by God or his prophets to flee them; neither is there any mention made of them in the scriptures. And therefore think I those witchmongers and absurd writers to bee as grotte on the one side, as the Sadduces are impious and fond on the other, which say, that spirits and divells are only motions and affections, and that angels are but tokens of God's power. I for my part conteins with Augustine, that these matters are above my reach and capacity; and yet so farre as God's word teacheth me, I will not stick to say, that they are living creatures, ordained to serve the Lord in their vocation. And although they abode not in their first estate, yet that they are the Lord's ministers, and executioners of his wrath, to trie and tempt in this world, and to punish the reprobate in hell fire in the world to come.

CHAP. XXXII.

Mine own opinion and resolution of the nature of spirits, and of the divell, with his properties.

But to use few words in a long matter, and plain termes in a doubtful place, this is mine opinion concerning this present argument. First, 1 Sam. 22, that divells are spirits and no bodies. For (as Peter Martyr saith) spirits are in Ephes. 6, and bodies are by antithesis opposed one to another; so as a body is not spirit, nor a spirit a body. And that the divell, whether he be many as John 8, or one (for by the way you shall understand, that he is so spoken of in the scriptures, as though there were but one, and sometimes as though 2 Tim. 2, one were many legions), the sense whereof I have already declared according to Calvin's opinion, he is a creature made by God, and that for vengeance, as it is written in Eccles. 39, ver. 28, and of himself naught, 1 Cor. 10, though employed by God to necessary and good purporses. For in places Matt. 8, & 10, where it is written, that all the creatures of God are good; and again, Luke 4, when God, in the creation of the world, saw all that he had made was good; the divell is not comprehended within those words of commendation. For it is written that he was a murderer from the beginning 1 Tim. 4, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him; but when he Gen. 1, speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own as being a lyer, and the father of lies, and (as John saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was it Joh. 3, 8, his creation (so far as I can finde) in that week that God made man, 154, 16, and those other creatures mentioned in Gen. the first, and yet God created him purposely to destroy. I take his substance to be such as no man can by learning define, nor by wisdom search out. M. Deering saith, that Gen. 3, 8, 44, Paul himself, reckoning up principallities, powers, &c. addeth, Every name his reading up that is named in this world, or in the world to come. A clear sentence on the H. br. 1, (faith he) of Paul's modesty, in confessing a holy ignorance of the state reading the 6.
of angels, which name is also given to devils in other places of the scripture. His essence also, and his form is also so proper and peculiar (in mine opinion) unto him self, as he himself cannot alter it, but it must needs be content therewith, as with that which God hath ordained him, and assigned unto him, as peculiarly as he hath given to us our substance without power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that a spirit can make a body, more than a body can make a spirit: the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Nevertheless if I learn that their nature is prone to all mischief: for as the very signification of an enemy and an accuser is wrapped up in Satan and Diabolus; so doth Christ himself declare him to be in the thirteenth of Matthew. And therefore he brooketh well his name; for he lyeth daily in wait, not only to corrupt, but also to destroy mankind; being (as I say) the very tormentor appointed by God to afflict the wicked in this world with wicked temptations, and in the world to come with hell fire. But I may not here forget how M. Mal. and the residue of that crew doe expound this word Diabolus; for Dia (say they) is Dux, and Bolus is Morcellus, whereby they gather that the devell eateth up a man both body and soul at two morsels. Whereas in truth the wicked may be said to eat up and swallow down the devill, rather then the devill to eat up them; though it may well be said by a figure, that the devill like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour: which is meant of the soul and spiritual devouring, as very novices in religion may judge.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions concerning corporall devils.

Now, how Brian Darcies be spirits and the spirits, Titty and Tiffin, Suckin and Piddgin, Liard and Robin, &c. his white spirits and blacke spirits, gray spirits and red spirits, divell tede and divell lambe, divells cat and divells dam, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of God, or true philosophy, or heaven and earth judge. In the mean time, let any man with good consideration peruse that book published by W. W. and it shall suffice to satisfy him in all that may be required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions; where, though the tale be told only of the accusers part, without any other answer of theirs than their adversary setteth down; mine assertion will be sufficiently proved true. And because it seemeth to be performed with some kind of authority, I will say no more for the confusion thereof, but referre you to the book it self; where at if nothing be added that may make to their reproach, I dare warrant nothing is left out that may serve to their condemnation. See whether the witnesses be not single, of what credit, sex and age they are; namely lewd, miserable, and envious poor people; most of them which speak
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Chap. XXXIII.

A conclusion wherein the Spirit of spirits is described, by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tried: with a confutation of the Pneumatomachia flatly denying the divinity of this Spirit.

Touching the manifold signification of this word [Spirit] I have elsewhere in this brief discourse told you my minde; which is a word no thing differing in Heb. from breath or wind. For all these words following to wit, Spiritus, Ventus, Flatus, Halitus, are indifferently use by the Holy Ghost, and called by this Hebrew word נַח (Nah) in the sacred scripture, for further proof whereof I cite unto you the words of Isaiah: For his spirit (or breath) is as a river that overfloweth up to the neck, &c. in which place the prophet describeth the comming of God in heat and indignation unto judgment, &c. I cite also unto you the words of Zacharias: These are the four spirits of the heaven, &c. Likewise in Genesis; And the Spirit of God moved upon the waters. Moreover, I cite unto you the words of Christ; The Spirit (or wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said places infinite more might be added out of holy writ, tending all to this purpose; namely, to give us this for a note, that all the sayings above cited with many more that I could alledge, where mention is made of spirit, the Hebrew text useth no word but one, to wit, נַח (Nah) which signifieth (as I said) Spiritus, ventum, flatus, halitus; which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

But before I enter upon the very point of my purpose, it shall not bee amisse, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certaine Schoole divine; who distinguishing and divideth this word [Spirit] into six significations; saying that it is sometimes taken for the air, sometimes for the
A discourse of

the bodies of the blessed, sometimes for the souls of the blessed, sometimes for the power imaginative or the minde of man, and sometimes for God. Again he faith, that of spirits there are two sorts, some created and some uncreated.

A spirit uncreated (they he) is God himselfe, and it is essentially taken, and agreeeth unto the three persons notionally, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost personally. A spirit created is a creature, and that is likewise of two sorts; to wit, bodily, and bodiless. A bodily spirit is also of two sorts, for some kind of spirit is so named of spiritualnesse, as it is distinguished from bodilinesse: otherwise it is called Spiritus a spirando, id est, a flando, of breathing or blowing, as the wind doth.

A bodiless spirit is one way so named of spiritualnesse, and then it is taken for a spiritual substance; and is of two sorts; some make a full and compleat kind, and is called compleat or perfect, as a spirit angelical: some do not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incompleat or imperfect as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certaine subtil or very fine substance necessitily disposing and tending unto life. There be moreover spirits natural, which are a kind of subtil and very fine substances, disposing and tending unto equal complexities of bodies. Again there be spirits animal, which are certaine subtil and very fine substances disposing and tempering the body, that it might be animated of the form, that is, that it might be perfected of the reasonable soul. Thus farre he. In whole division you see a philosophicall kind of proceeding, though not altogether to be condemned, yet in every point not to be approved.

Now to the spirit of spirits, I mean the principal and holy spirit of God, which one defineth or rather describeth to be the third persoun in triinity issuing from the Father and the Son, no more the charity, diletion & love of the Father and the Son, than the Father is the charity, diletion and love of the Son and Holy Ghost. Another treating upon the same argument proceedeth in this reverent manner: The holy spirit is the virtue or power of God, quickning, nourishing, soothing, and perfecting all things; by whose only breathing it cometh to pass that we both know and love God, and become at the length like unto him, which spirit is the pledge and earnest penny of grace, and beareth witness unto our heart, whilst we cry Abba, Father. This spirit is called the spirit of God, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of him which raised up Jesus from the dead.

Jesus Christ, for that he received not the spirit by measure, but in fulness, doth call it his spirit, saying, When the comforter shall come, whom I will send, even the holy spirit, he shall testify of me. This spirit hath divers metaphorical names attributed thereunto in the Holy Scriptures. It is called by the name of water, because it washeth, comforteth, moisteneth, softens, and maketh fruitful with all godliness and virtues the minde of men, which otherwise would be unclean, comfortless, hard, dry, and barren of all goodnes; whereupon the prophet. Ifay faith; I will powre water upon the thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground, &c.
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Wherewithall the words of Christ do agree: He that believeth in me, as faith the scripture, out of his belly shall flow rivers of waters of life. And elsewhere; Whosoever dranketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never be more athirst. Other places likewise there be, wherein the holy spirit is signified by the name of water and flood; as in the 3. of Hay, the 29. of Ezek. the 146. Psalm, &c. The same spirit by reason of the force and vehemency thereof is termed fire. For it doth purifie and cleanse the whole man from top to toe; it doth burn out the soil and dross of sins, and setteth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeal to prefer and further God's glory. Which plainly appeared in the Apostles, who when they had received the spirit, they spake fiery words, yea, such words as were uncontrollable; in so much as in none no, other than in them this saying of this Prophet Jeremia was verified, Nunquid non verba sunt quasi ignis? Are not my words even as it were fire? This was declared and shewed by those fiery tongues, which were seen upon the Apostles after they had received the holy spirit.

Moreover, this spirit is called anointing, or ointment, because that as in old times priests and kings were by anointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and serviceable for the same; even so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training up of the holy spirit, both to live well and also to glorifie God. Whereupon dependeth the saying of John; And ye have no need that any should teach you, but as the same ointment doth teach you. It is also called in Scripture, The oil of gladness and rejoicing, whereof it is said in the book of Psalms; God even thine God hath anointed thee with the oil of joy and gladness, &c. And by this goodly and comfortable name of oil in the Scriptures is the mercy of God oftentimes expressed, because the nature of that doth agree with the property and quality of this. For as oil doth flow and swim above all other liquors, so the mercy of God doth surpass and overreach all his works, and the same doth most of all disclose itself to miserable man.

It is likewise called the finger of God, that is the might and power of God: by the vertue whereof the Apostles did cast out divels; to wit, even by the finger of God. It is called the spirit of truth, because it maketh men true and faithful in their vocations; and for that it is the touchstone to try all counterfeit devices of men's brains; and all vain sciences, profane practices, deceitfull arts, and circumventing inventions; such as be in generall all sorts of witchcrafts and enchantments, within whose number are comprehended all those wherewith I have had some dealing in this my discovery; to wit, charmes or incantations, divinations, augury, judiciall astrologie, nativity casting, alchemy, conjuration, loomane, popery which is mere paltry, with diverse other; not one whereof no nor all together are able to stand to the trial and examination, which this spirit of truth shall and will take of those false and evil spirits. Nay, they shall be found, when they are laid into the balance, to be lighter than vanity; very dross, when they once come to be tryed by the fervent heat of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth upon them, driven away with a violent whirlewind; such is the per-
The holy spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and unclean.

Isai. 29.10.  

Ro. 1.21, 23.

Deut. 28.28, 29.

A question.

In some, this word [Spirit] doth signify a secret force and power, wherewith our minds are moved and directed; if unto holy things, then is it the motion of the holy spirit of Christ and of God; if unto evil things, then is it the suggestion of the wicked spirit, of the devil, and of Satan. Whereupon I interrede by the way of a question, with what spirit we are to suppose such to be moved, as either practice any of the vanities treated upon in this book, or through credulity addit themselves thereunto as unto divine oracles, or the voice of angels breaking through the clouds? We cannot impute this motion unto the good spirit; for then they should be able to discern between the nature of spirits, and not swerve in judgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindness and error doth seduce them; so that it is no marvell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadowes for substances, fancies for verities, &c. for it is likely that the good spirit of God hath forsaken them, or at leastwise absented it selfe from them, else would they detest these divelish devices of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vain practices, whereof (I suppose) this my book to be a sufficient discovery.

A great likelihood no doubt.

Judgement distinguished.

It will be said that I ought not to judge, for he that judgeth shall be judged. Whereeto I answer, that judgement is not to be understood of three kind of actions in their proper nature; whereof the first are secret, and the judgement of them shall appertain to God, who in time will disclose whatsoever is done in covert, and that by his just judgement. The second are mixed actions, taking part of hidden and part of open, so that by reason of their uncertainty and doubtfulness they are discouersable and to be tried; these after due examination are to have their competent judgement, and are incident to the magistrate. The third are manifest and evident
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evident, and such as doe no leffe apparently shew themselves than an inflammation of bloud in the body: and of these actions every private man giveth judgement, because they be of such certainty, as that of them a man may as well conclude, as to gather, that because the sun is riven in the east, Ego it is morning; he is come about and is full south, Ego it is high noon; he is declining and closing up in the west, Ego it is evening. So that the objection is answerd.

Howbeit, letting this passe, and spiritually to speak of this spirit, which whilsts many have wanted, it hath come to passe that they have proved altogether carnall; and not favouring heavenly divinity have tumbled into worse than philosophically barbaristne, and these be such as of writers are called Pneumatomachi, a sect so injurious to the holy spirit of God, that contemming the sentence of Christ, wherein he foretelleth that the sin against the holy spirit is never to be pardoned, neither in this world nor in the world to come, they do not only deny him to be God, but also pull from him all being, and with the Sadduces maintain there is none such; but that under and by the name of holy spirit is meant a certain divine force, where-with our minds are moved, and the grace and favour of God whereby we are his beloved. Against these shameless enemies of the holy spirit, I will not use materiall weapons, but syllogistical charms. And first I will set downe some of their paralogisms or false arguments; and upon the neck of them inferst contumacies grounded upon sound reason and certain truth.

Their first argument is knit up in this manner. The holy spirit is no where expressly called God in the scriptures; Ego he is not God, or at leaftwise he is not to be called God. The antecedent of this argument is false; because the holy spirit hath the title or name of God in the Act. Again, the consequent is false, For although he were not expressly called God, yet should it not thereupon be concluded that he is not very God; because unto him are attributed all the properties of God, which unto this doe equally belong. And as we deny not that the father is the true light, although it benot directly written of the father, but of the sonne; he was the true light giving light to every man that commeth into this world; lo likewise it is not to be denied, that the spirit is God, although the scripture doth not expressly and simply note it; sithence he ascribeth equall things thereunto as the properties of God, the works of God, the service due to God, and that it doth interchangeably take the names of Spirit and of God oftentimes. They therefore that see these things attributed unto the holy spirit, and yet will not suffer him to be called by the name of God; do as it were refuse to grant unto Eve the name of Homo, whom notwithstanding they confesse to be a creature reasonable and mortall.

The second reason is this. Hilarie in all his twelve books of the Trinitie doth not call the holy spirit nothing where write that the holy spirit is to be worshiped; he never spirit God, giveth thereunto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce neither is he thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are usuall so named in prayers of the church commonly called the Collects, whereof some are the common made to the Father, some to the Sonne, but none to the holy spirit; and Collects.

Yet
Chap. 34. A discourse of yet in them all mention is made of the three persons, * Hercunto I answer, that although Hilarie doth not openly call the holy spirit, God: yet doth he constantly deny it to be a creature. Now if any ask me why Hilarie was so coy and nice to name the holy spirit, God, whom he denieth to be a creature, when as notwithstanding between God and a creature there is no mean: I will in good sooth say what I think. I suppose that Hilarie, for himself thought well of the godhead of the holy spirit; but this opinion was thrust and forced upon him of the pneumatomachi, who at that time rightly deeming of theion did credibly join themselves to those that were found of judgement. There is also in the ecclesiastical history a little book which they gave Liberius a bishop of Rome, wherein to they foistned the Nicene creed. And that Hilarie was a friend of the pneumatomachi, it is perceived in his book De synodos where he writeth in this manner: Nihil autem vobis videmus, fratres charissimi, &c. It ought to seem no wonder unto you dear brethren, &c. As for the objection of the prayers of the church called the collects, that in them the holy spirit is not called upon by name: we oppose and set against them the songs of the church, wherein the said spirit is called upon. But the collects are more ancient then the songs, hymnes, and anthems. I will not now contend about ancientness, neither will I compare songs and collects together; but I say thus much only, to wit, that in the most ancient times of the church the holy spirit hath been openly called upon in the congregation. Now if I be charged to give an instance, let this serve. In the collect upon trinityunday it is thus said: Almighty and everlasting God, which hast given unto us thy servants grace by the confession of a truth to acknowledge the glory of the eternall trinity, and in the power of the divine Majesty to worship the unity; we beseech thee through the productions of this faith, we may in all the power be defended from all adversaries, which live and reigneth one God world without end. Now because that in this collect, where the trinity is expressly called upon, the names of persons are not expressed; but almighty and everlasting God invoked, who abideth in trinity and unity; it doth easily appear elsewhere also that the person being not named under the name of almighty, &c. everlasting God, not only the father to be understood, but God which abideth in trinity and unity, that is the father, the sonne, and the Holy-ghost.

A third objection of theirs is this. The sonne of God oftentimes praying in the gospels, speaking unto the father, promiseth the holy spirit, and doth also admonish the apostles to pray unto the heavenly father, but yet in the name of the sonne. Besides that, he prescribeth them this forme of prayer: Our father which art in heaven, Ergo the father only is to be called upon, and consequently the father only is that one and very true God, of whom it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

* Whereto I answer first by denying the consequent; The sonne prayed to the father only, Ergo the father only is of us also to be prayed unto. For the sonne of God is distinguished of us both in person and in office; he as a mediator maketh intercession for us to the father; and although the sonne
Sanne and the holy spirit do both together receive and take us into favour with God; yet is he said to intreat the father for us; because the father is the fountain of all counsels and divine works. Furthermore touching the forme of praying described of Christ, it is not necessary that the fathers name should personally be there taken, sith there is no distinction of persons made; but by the name of father indefinitely wee understand God or the essence of God, the father, the sonne, and the Holy-ghost. For this name hath not alwayes a respect unto the generation of the sonne of God; but God is called the father of the faithfull, because of his gracious and free adopting of them, the foundation whereof is the son of God, in whom we are adopted; but yet so adopted, that not the father only receiveth us into his favour; but with him also the sonne and the holy spirit doth the same. Therefore when we in the beginning of prayer do advertise our selves of God's goodnesse towards us; we do not cast an eye to the father alone, but also to the sonne, who gave us the spirit of adoption; and to the holy spirit in whom we cry Abba, Father. And so be that invocation and prayer were restrained to the father alone, then had the saints done amiss, in calling upon, invoking, and praying to the son of God, and with the son the holy spirit, in baptism, according to the forme by Christ himselfse assigned and delivered.

Another objection is out of the fourth of Amos, in this manner. For lo it is I that make the thunder, and create the spirit, and shew unto men their Christ, making the light and the clouds, and mounting above the high places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. Now because it is read in that place, shewing unto men their Christ; the pneumatoma-chi contended that these words are to be understood of the holy spirit.

* But Ambrose in his book De spiritu sancto, lib. 2, cap. 7, doth rightly answer, that by spirit in this place is meant the wind; for if the prophets purpose and will had been to speak of the holy spirit, he would not have begunne with thunder, nor have ended with light and clouds. Howbeit, the same father faith; If any suppose that these words are to be drawn unto the interpretation of the holy spirit, because the prophet saith, Shewing unto men their Christ; he ought also to draw these words unto the mystery of the Lord's incarnation: and he expoundeth thunder to be the words of the Lord, and spirit to be the reasonable and perfect soul. But the former interpretation is certain and convenient with the words of the prophet, by whom there is no mention made of Christ; but the power of God is set forth in his works. Behold (faith the prophet) he that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, which maketh the morning darkness, and walketh upon the high places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts, is his name. In this sort Santes a right skilful man in the Hebrew tongue tranlateth this place of the prophet. But admit this place were written of the holy spirit, and were not appliable either to the wind or to the Lords incarnation: yet doth it not follow that the holy spirit is a creature; because this word of not creating doth not alwayes signific a making of something out of nothing; Eusebius in expounding these words (The Lord created me in the beginning of his wayes) wrrith thus, The prophet in the person of God, sus Marcumull C c c saying,
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saying: Behold I am he that made the thunder, and created the spirit: and shewed unto men their Christ: this word created is not so to be taken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, sithence by the same he hath shewed and declared his Christ unto all men. Neither was it a thing of late beginning under the sonne: but it was before all beginning, and was then lent, when the apostles were gathered together, when a sound like thunder came from heaven, as it had been the comming of a mighty wind: this word Created being used for sent downe, for appointed, ordained, &c. and the word thunder signifying in another kind of manner the preaching of the gospels. The like laying is that of the Psalmist, A clean heart create in me O God: wherein he prayed not as one having no heart, but as one that had such a heart as needed purifying, as needed perfecting: and this phrase also of the scripture, that he might create two in one new man; that is, that he might join, couple, or gather together, &c.

Furthermore, the Pneumatomachy by these testimonies infusing endeavor to prove the holy spirit to be a creature. Out of John the 1, cha. By this word were all things made, and without it nothing was made. Out of the 1 Cor. 8. We have one God the father, even he from whom are all things, & we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we by him. Out of the Coloss. By him were all things made, things in heaven, and things in earth, visible and invisible, &c. Now if all things were made by the sonne, it followeth that by him the holy spirit was also made.

* 5. Answer. Universal propositions or speeches are to be restrained.

* * Wherefore I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that same universal proposition is restrained by John himself to a certain kind of things: Without him (faith the evangelist) was nothing made that was made. Therefore it is first to be shewed that the holy spirit was made, and then will we conclude out of John, that if he were made, he was made of the sonne. The scripture doth no where say that the holy spirit was made of the father or of the sonne, but to proceed, to come, and to be sent from them both. Now if these universal propositions are to suffer no restraint, it shall follow that the father was made of the son; than the which what is more absurd and wicked?

6. Objection. The spirit knoweth not the father and the sonne.

* Again, they object out of Math. 11. None knoweth the sonne but the father, and none the father but the sonne; to wit, of and by himself; for otherwise both the angels, and to whomsoever else it shall please the sonne to reveal the father, these do know both the father and the son. Now if so be the spirit be not equal with the father and the sonne in knowledge, he is not only unequal and lesser than they, but also no God; for ignorance is not incident unto God.

* * Wherefore I answer, that where in holy scripture we do meet with universal propositions negative or exclusive, they are not to be expounded of one person, so as the rest are excluded; but creatures or false gods are to be excluded, and whatsoever else is without or beside the essence and being of God. Reasons to prove and confirm this interpretation, I could bring very many, whereof I will add some for example. In the seventh of John it is said; When Christ shall come, none shall know from whence he is; notwithstanding which words the Jewes thought that neither God nor his angels should be ignorant from whence Christ should
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should be. In the fourth to the Galatians; A mans covenent or testa-
ment confirmed with authority no body doth abrogate, or add, any
thing thereunto. No just man doth so; but tyrants and truce-breakers
care not for covenants. In John eight; Jesus was left alone, and the wo-
man standing in the midift. And yet it is not to be supposed that a mul-
titude of people was not present, and the disciples of Christ likewise; but
the word Solus, alone, is referred to the womans accusers, who withdrew
themselves away every one, and departed, In the sixt of Mark 3 when it
was evening, the ship was in the midst of the sea, and he alone upon land;
he was not alone upon land or shore, for the same was not utterly void
of dwellers; but he had not any of his disciples with him, nor any body
to carry him a shipboard unto his disciples. Many phrases or formes of
speeches like unto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures, and in au-
thors both Greek and Latine, whereby we understand, that neither uni-
versal negative nor exclusive particles are strictly to be urged, but to be
explained in such sort as the matter in hand will bear. When as there-
fore the son alone is said to know the father, and it is demanded whether
the holy spirit is debarrd from knowing the father; out of other
places of scriptures judgement is to be given in this case. In some places
the holy spirit is counted and reckoned with the father and the son jointly;
wherefore he is not to be separated. Elsewhere also it is attributed to the
holy spirit that he alone doth know the things which be of God, and fear-
eth the deep secrets of God; wherefore from him the knowing of God
is not to be excluded.

They do yet further object, that it is not convenient or fit for God after
the manner of sinners to humble and cast downe himself; but the holy
spirit doth so, praying and intreating for us with unspeakable groans; Rom.
prayth for us.

8. Ergo the holy spirit is not God.

* Whereunto I anfwer that the holy spirit doth pray and intreat, infor-
much as he provoketh us to pray, and maketh us to groan and sigh. Of-
ten times also in the scriptures is that action or deed attributed unto God,
provoke us to which we being stirred up and moved by him doe bring to passe. So it is
said of God unto Abraham; Now I know that thou fearest God: and
yet before he would have sacrificed Isaac, God knew the very heart of
Abraham; and therefore this word Cognovit, I know, is as much as Cos-
secre feci, I have made or causd to know. And that the spirit to pray
and intreat, is the same that, to make to pray and intreat, the apostle
teacheth even there, writing that we have received the spirit of adoption,
in whom we cry Abba Father. Where it is manifest that it is we which cry,
the Holy-ghost provoking and forcing us thereunto.

Howbeit they goe further, and frame this reason, Whosoever is sent,
the same is inferior and lesser than he of whom he is sent, and fur-
The spirit is thermore he is of a comprehensible substance, because he passeth by sent from the
local motion from place to lace: but the holy spirit is sent of the father and the
father and the sonne, John 14, 15, & 16. It is powdered forth and fled up
sonne.
on men, Acts 10. Ergo the holy spirit is lesser than the Father and
the Sonne, and of a comprehensible nature, and consequently not very
God,
A discourse of

* Wherefore I answer first, that he which is sent is not always lesser than he that sendeth: to prove which position any mean wit may infer from many instances. Further, touching the sending of the holy Spirit, we are here to imagine no changing or shifting of place. For if the spirit when he goeth from the Father and is sent, changeth his place, then must the Father also be in a place, that he may leave it and go to another. And as for the incomprehensible nature of the spirit, he cannot leaving his place pass unto another. Therefore the sending of the spirit is the eternal and unvariable will of God, to do something by the holy spirit, and the revealing and executing of this will by the operation and working of the spirit. The spirit was sent to the Apostles; which spirit was present with them, yet it is present everywhere; but then according to the will of God the Father he shewed himself present and powerfully.

Some man may say; if sending be a revealing and laying open of presence and power, then may the Father be said to be sent, because he himself is also revealed. I answer, that when the spirit is said to be sent, not only the revealing but the order also of his revealing is declared; because the will of the Father and of the Son, of whom he is sent, going before, not in time, but in order of persons, the spirit doth reveal himself, the Father, and also the Son. The Father revealeth himself by others, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so that his will goeth before. Therefore sending is the common work of all the three persons; howbeit, for order of doing, it is distinguished by diverse names. The Father will reveal himself unto men with the Son and the Spirit and be powerful in them, and therefore is said to send. The Son doth attend unto the will of the Father, and will that to be done by themelves, which God will to be done by them; these are said to be sent. And because the will of the Son doth go before the Spirit in order of persons, he is also said to send the Spirit.

Yet for all this they allege, that if the spirit had perfection, then would he speak of himself, and not stand in need always of another admonishment; but he speaketh not of himself, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expressly testifieth, John 16. Ergo he is unperfect, and whatsoever he hath it is by partaking, and consequently he is not God.

* Whereunto I answer that this argument is stale: for it was objected by heretiques long agoe against them that held the true opinion, as Cyrillic faith; who answereth that by the words of Christ is rather to be gathered, that the Son and the Spirit are of the same substance. For, the Spirit is named the minde of Christ; 1 Cor. 13, and therefore he speaketh not of his own proper will, or against his will in whom and from whom he is; but hath all his will and working naturally proceeding from the substance as it were of him.

Lastly they argue thus; Every thing is either unbegotten or unborn; or begotten and created; the spirit is not unbegotten, for then he were the father; and so there should be two without beginning; neither is he begotten, for then he is begotten of the father; and so there shall be two sons.
sons, both brothers; or he is begotten of the son, and then shall he be God's nephew, than the which what can be imagined more absurd? Ergo he is created.

*Wherefore I answer, that the division or distribution is unperfect; for that member is omitted which is noted of the very best divine that ever was, even Jesus Christ our Saviour; namely, to have proceeded, or proceeded. That same holy spirit (faith he) which proceedeth from the Father. Which place Nazianzen doth thus interpret. The spirit, because he proceedeth from thence, is not a creature; and because he is not begotten, he is not the son, but because he is the mean of begotten and unbegotten, he shall be God, &c.

And thus having avoided all these cavils of the *Pneumatomachi*, a sect of heretics too too injurious to the holy spirit, insomuch as they seek what they can, to rob and pull from him the right of his divinity; I will all christians to take heed of their pestilent opinions, the poison whereof, though to them that be reliev'd in the truth it can do little hurt, yet so much as stand upon a wavering point it can do no great good. Having thus far waded against them, and overthrown their opinions, I must needs exhort all to whom the reading hereof shall come, that first they consider with themselves what a reverend mystery all that hitherto hath been laid in this chapter concerneth; namely, the spirit of sanctification, and that they, so ponder places to and fro, as that they referre unto the holy spirit the glorious title of divinity, which by nature is to him appropriate; esteem of those Pneumatomachi or Thomistas, as of swine, delighting more in the durties draffe of their devices than in the fair fountain water of God's word, yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance than the old philosophers, who though they favoured little of heavenly theology, yet some illumination they had of the holy & divine Spirit; marry it was somewhat misty, dark lame, and limping; nevertheless, what it was, and how much or little, ever it was, they gave thereunto a due reverence, in that they acknowledged and intituled it Animam mundi, the soul of life of the world, and (as Nazianzen witnesseth) τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ Θεοῦ. The mind of the universal. The heathean, and the outward breath, or the breath that cometh from without. Pope Phrynie expounding the opinion of Plato, who was not utterly blind in this mystery, saith that the divine substance doth proceed and extend to the holy three sublimities and beings; and that God is chiefly and principally spirit. Good, next him the second creator, and the third to be the soule of the world; for he holdeth that the divinity doth extend even to this soul. As for Hermes Trismegistus, he saith that all things have need of this spirit; for according to the worthless he supporteth all, he quickeneth and susteinneth all, and he is derived from the holy fountain, giving breath and life unto all, and evermore remaineth continually, plentiful, and unemptied.

And here by the way I give you a note worth reading and considering: namely, how all nations in a manner, by a kind of heavenly influence, agree in writing and speaking the name of God with no more than four letters. As for example, the Egyptians do call him Θεος, the Persians the in arg., in call him Σως, the Jews express his unspeakable as well as they can by ""
the word Adonai consisting of four vowels; the Arabsians call him Alla, the Mahometists call him Abdi, the Greeks call him Theos, the Latines call him Deus, &c. This although it be not so proper to our present purpose, (yet because we are in hand with the holy spirits deity) is not altogether impertinent. But why God would have his name as it were universally bounded within the number of four letters? I cannot give sundry reasons, which requires too long a discourse of words by digression; and therefore I will conceal them for this time. These opinions of philosophers I have willingly remember'd, that it might appear, that the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit is very ancient; which they have taken either out of Moses writings, or out of the works of the old fathers, published and set forth in books, though not wholly, fully, and perfectly understood and known, and also that our Pneumatomachi may see themselves to be more doltish in divine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essential and working power of the divinity whereby all things are quickened: which the heathen did after a sort see; after a sort (I say) because they separated the soul of the world (which they also call the begotten mind) from the most sovereign and unbegotten God, and imagined certain differences of degrees, and (as Cyril faith) did Arrianize in the Trinity.

So then I conclude against these Pneumatomachi, that in so much as they Ovid. lib. metamorph. fab. 5, upon Olympus, attempted by scaling the heavens to pull Jupiter out of his throne of estate, and to spoil him of his principality, and were notwithstanding their strength, whereby they were able to carry huge hills on their shoulders, overwhelmed with those mountains and squeezed under the weight of them even to the death; so these Pneumatomachi, being enemies both to the holy Spirit, and no friends to the holy church (for then would they confesse the Trinity in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity) and consequently also the deity of the holy Spirit) deserve to be consumed with the fire of his mouth, the heat whereof by no means can be quenched, quenched, or avoided. For there is nothing more unnatural, nothing more monstrous, than against the person of the deity (I mean the spirit of sanctification) to oppose mans power, mans wit, mans policy, &c. which was well signified by that poetical fiction of the giants, who were termed Anguispedes, Snakefooted; which as Ioachinus Cameravius expoundeth of wicked counsellours, to whose filthy persuasions tyrants doe trust as unto their seers; and Jammer Sadolet interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting over much unto their own wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisdom, that in fine all turneth to folly and confusion; so I expound of heretics and schismataries, who either by corrupt doctrine, or by maintaining imprecise opinions, or by open violence, &c. lay to overthrow the true religion, to break the unity of the church, to deny Caesar his homage, and God his duty, &c. and therefore let Jesus subserve, wherewith they were flain, assure these that there is Divina ultio due to all such as dare in the thickleness of their fancies arrear themselves against the holy Spirit; of whom sith they are ashamed hereupon earth (other wise they would confestly & boldly confess him both with
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(With mouth and pen) he will be ashamed of them in heaven, where they are like to be so farre from having any society with the saints, that their portion shall be even in full and shaken measure with miscreants and infidels. And therefore let us, if we will discern and try the spirits whether they be of God or no, seek for the illumination of this enlightening spirit, which as it bringeth light with it to discover all spirits, so it giveth such a fiery heat, as that no false spirit can abide by it for fear of burning. Howbeit the holy spirit must be in us; otherwise this prerogative of trying spirits will not fall to our lot.

But here some will peradventure move a demand, and do aske how the Peter Mart. in holy spirit is in us, considering that Infiniti ad infinitum nulla est proport. loc. com. part. 2. et, neque loci angustia quod immensum est post circumscire: of that which cap. 18. sect. 33. is infinite, to that which is finite there is no proportion; neither can that pag. 628. which is unmeasurable be limited or bounded within any precinct of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent father for Christ's sake sendeth him unto us, according as Christ promised us in the person of his apostles; the comforter (faith he) which is the holy spirit, whom my father will send in my name. And as for proportion of that which is infinite to that which is finite, &c. I will in no case have it thought that the holy spirit is in us, as a body placed in a place terminably; but to attribute thereunto, as duly belongeth to the deity, an ubiquity, or universal presence; not corporally and palpably; but effectually, mightily, mystically, divinely, &c. Yea, and this I may boldly add, that Christ Jesus sendeth him unto us from the father: neither is he given us for any other end, but to enrich us abundantly with all good gifts and excellent graces; and (among the rest) with the discerning of spirits aright, that we be not deceived. And here an end.

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