

Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum

[The Scourge of the Bewitching Heretics]

(1458)

by Nicolas Jacquier, O.P. (d. 1472) — *Frater Nicolaus
Iaquerus, ordinis Praedicatorum, olim haereticae pravitatis
inquisitor*

Translation by Scott Weisman



ARS ASTRONOMICA

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Translator Version 2

Upright reason dictates that the recipients of the good, of whatever type and level of beneficence it may be, must show gratitude and blessing to the beneficent person in every way possible, commensurate with the value of the beneficence. And one who has benefited all the people of the world — for example, one who invented a new instrument for the good of the world, or a good book — it is fitting for every discerning person, out of the obligation of love of fellow beings, to at least purchase it, so that the man will profit and his heart will be encouraged thereby to invent yet more good instruments in the world. And similarly, all other wise-hearted people will likewise strive and exert themselves to invent good things and instruments needed for the repair of the world and its perfection.

And therefore, whoever says: "What do I need this new instrument for?" — he does not act well towards the world. For if not for the man who invented it, where would you be? And what would your city do? And more than this, if the man did not exert himself, what would the world do?

— R. Pinchas Eliyahu Hurwitz, *Sefer HaBris HaShalem* (1797)

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A NOTE ON THE WORK

The first sustained inquisitorial defence of the reality of the witches' sabbath. Written in 1458 by a Dominican inquisitor who had sat on the Arras *vauderie* trials, it argues — against the *Canon Episcopi*, which had for centuries held that women who believed they rode out at night with Diana were merely dreaming — that the gatherings of the *fascinarii* are bodily, real, and heretical, and therefore fall under the inquisitor's jurisdiction rather than the confessor's. Jacquier builds the case from scripture, the Fathers, scholastic demonology and canon law, and from depositions he had heard himself. First printed in 1581, it is one of the founding texts of the learned witch-hunt.

The source PDF is a folio subset of a composite volume (see **Source volume** above): the volume title page, then Jacquier's own preliminaries and treatise. Myntzenberg's dedicatory epistle to the whole compilation and the whole-volume index are deliberately excluded, as they belong to the 1581 collection rather than to Jacquier's text. Pagination in the translation follows the printed pp. 1–183.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION PROCESS

This translation was produced with the translation-pipeline. See the linked repository for details on the process.

A note on the references. A scriptural or bibliographic reference given in brackets or parentheses is, in most cases, an **editorial identification of an allusion rather than a citation printed in the source**. Books of this kind quote and weave scripture constantly without naming it, and the identification is supplied here as a convenience to the reader. Where the source does print a reference of its own, it is given as printed. **An identified allusion is not evidence that the author cited that passage** — look at the original before resting an argument on one.

This text is the product of a highly refined automated translation process. It has undergone only cursory human review and should not be treated as an authoritative or scholarly rendering. It is offered solely as a reference and reading aid — a way to make an otherwise inaccessible work approachable — and any passage of real consequence should be checked against the original source.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The source images are from the Bibliothèque nationale de France's Gallica digital library (shelfmark D-39257), made freely available for scholarly use. The contents and internal divisions of the 1581 volume were checked against a second digitized copy of the same edition held at the Internet Archive.

Translated with the assistance of Claude. The translator thanks the Anthropic team for making this work possible.

[Margin: a small glyph at the extreme left edge, level with "FLAGELLVM", resembling a "4" or a caret [?]. Not expanded; too little ink survives to identify it as a shelfmark or anything else.]

[Margin: manuscript ownership inscription across the head of the title page, in a 17th-century hand, using the -rum abbreviation: "Benedictino[rum] Anglo[rum] Parisijs 1620" — *Of the English Benedictines at Paris, 1620*. The date 1620 is written large, over the first printed line.]

[Margin: a name split to the left and right of the author statement, at "uitatis Inquisitore": "S[an]cti" ... "Edmundi" — i.e. *of St Edmund's*.]

[Margin: circular library stamp, lower right of the title page, overlapping the woodcut. Outer ring, legible around its whole circuit, read from the cross at the apex: "✠ · BIBL · BENED · ANGLOR · PARIS ·" — *Library of the English Benedictines, Paris*. Every sector carries ink and letters; the terminal R of ANGLOR is the weakest glyph on the ring, secure enough to exclude a bare ANGLO but not as crisp as the rest. Centre, in four lines: "S. EDMVN-DVS · R · & M ·" — *St Edmund, King and Martyr*.]

[Margin: a second circular stamp impression, struck across the display lines "HAERETICO-/RVM FASCINA-" at the head of the title page. Its ring is plain and no legend is legible; the interior carries unresolvable mottling over "ÆRE" and "FA", so it is inked rather than blank. It is smaller than the lower stamp's outer border and shows no legend, beading or centre fragment, so it cannot be identified as the same stamp [?].]

FLAGELLVM HÆRETICORVM FASCINARIORVM

THE SCOURGE OF THE BEWITCHING HERETICS — of the *fascinari*, the bewitchers — **BY E. NICOLAO IAQVERIO** [Nicolas Jacquier], **OF THE ORDER** of Friars Preachers, and formerly Inquisitor of heretical depravity [*haereticae pravitatis inquisitor*].

THERE HAVE LATELY BEEN ADDED TO IT:

Dialogues of D. Lamberti Danaei [Lambert Daneau], *On the venefici, whom people commonly call sortiarii*.

An *Epistle* of D. Ioachimi Camerarii [Joachim Camerarius] Pabebergensis [of Bamberg], *on Plutarch's "On the failure of the oracles."*

A *Treatise* of D. Martini de Arles [Martín de Arles], professor of sacred theology, canon, etc., *On superstitions*.

Three *Questions* of Ioannis Trithemii [Johannes Trithemius] *On the reprobate and the malefici*, addressed to Maximilian I, Emperor of the Romans.

Likewise

A *Book* of D. Thomae Erasti [Thomas Erastus] *On the striges*.

Published with the greatest care and industry by F. Ioan. Myntzenbergij [Johann Myntzenberg], *of the Carmelite order*.

A full INDEX will show what else this book contains.

[Privilege] With the Grace and Privilege of His Imperial Majesty, for ten years.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN [FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENVM],

M. D. LXXXI.

FLAGELLVM HÆRETICORVM FASCINARIORVM

THE SCOURGE OF THE BEWITCHING HERETICS, BY BROTHER Nicolao Iaquerio [Nicolas Jacquier], of the Order of Friars Preachers, and formerly Inquisitor of heretical depravity, etc.

Driven by the obstacles that arise again and again in the office of the Inquisition, I, brother Nicolaus Iaqueri, the least member of the Order of Friars Preachers, undertook to make — in a plain style, out of the divine scriptures and the teachings of the saints — a Scourge of the *fascinarii*, that is, of the heretics. My aim was that by this scourge certain perverse doctrines and stupid assertions might be driven out of the temple of God, which is the Church of the faithful. Badly propped up on those assertions, a great many people are found to extend disordered favour and specious defences to the bewitching heretics [*haeretici fascinarii*], to the grave loss of the Catholic faith and to the great injury and dangerous scandal of the little ones among the faithful. For the demons who founded this abominable sect subvert human beings and turn them over to that sect — the worst of all the other heresies — so that through them the demons may be worshipped.

Very many people, then, assert that the *fascinarii* just named are so far deceived in their sleep, by fantastic illusions worked through the operation of the Demon, that afterwards, once awake, they believe all of the following: that at night they came together in certain places, both with one another and with the Demons; that there, as though in a kind of synagogue of Demons, they adored them; that they worshipped the Demons themselves with offerings; that at the prompting of those same Demons they renounced GOD and the Catholic faith; that they rendered many further acts of homage to the Demons in that same place; and that they received from them the favours [*suffragia*] just mentioned. And yet — as these same assertors maintain — none of the foregoing befalls the *fascinarii* while they are awake, in the reality of the thing [*in rei veritate*], but only in the inward illusion [*illusio*] of people asleep.

To prop up this assertion of theirs, they cite as a parallel case the story of certain women who were long ago so deceived by the operation of the Demons that they believed they traversed vast stretches of the earth by night in the company of Diana and Herodias. It is recited in the book called the Book of Decrees [*Decretorum liber*], in a certain chapter which begins *Episcopi. 26. quæstione 5*. On that chapter the said assertors lean with great force, as on an infallible support.

They add, moreover, that it is not to be believed that the Demons possess — nor that so great a power was ever granted them — the power to perpetrate acts of *maleficium* [*maleficia*] as many and as great, at the invocation of their own devotees the *fascinarii*, as the *fascinarii* themselves confess are performed under the patronage of the very Demons they worship.

For it seems astonishing to very many — so they assert — and therefore utterly incredible to them, that the supremely good and omnipotent God should grant or permit to the Demons, the enemies of humankind and reprobated by God himself, so great a power over frail human beings that they may harass them with *maleficia* so numerous and so grievous: not only in their persons, by sending sicknesses, wasting illnesses, frenzies, deaths and almost countless torments, but also in the devastation of the external goods granted for human use.

Next, they suppose they have thundered out something impressive when they add this: if the Demons had so great a power over human beings and over their external goods, then, being the implacable enemies of humankind, they would swiftly wipe out every one of them and consume their goods. And because the Demons do not do so — while a perverse will is certainly not wanting to those same demons — our opponents strain to conclude that the power to do it is not in them.

They spin the tale further: suppose, they say, that the *fascinarii* did in this way meet with other

fascinarii, their accomplices, and with Demons appearing in their synagogues. Since the Demons are deceivers, the Demons themselves could produce false representations of certain of the faithful. The result would be that men who truly are *fascinarii*, but who have been deceived by false representations, would — once they were afterwards caught — affirm, or assert, that the people whose feigned and false representations they had seen had been their accomplices and associates in the crime of their heresy and sect. In this way, through men seduced by the Demons' deceit, innocent people are defamed and harassed.

They assert, therefore, that no reliance is to be placed on the testimony and assertion of the bewitching heretics [*haeretici fascinarij*] when they accuse or name any of their own accomplices in their heresy and sect — even though the canon law [*Ius canonicum*] lays down that the testimony of heretics is to be relied on in the naming or accusing of their accomplices or partners in the crime of heresy, and even though the Civil law states that a heretic accuses a heretic. They also strain to maintain that, in the dispatch and punishment [*in expeditione & punitione*] of *fascinarii* apprehended on a charge of heresy of this kind, no distinction ought to be drawn between other heretics — who are found to have deviated from the faith merely through some erroneous opinion or assertion — and the bewitching *fascinatorius* heretics, the worst of all here- -tics, who are at the same time idolaters and utterly base, treacherous worshippers of Demons. In venerating these Demons they expressly deny, with blasphemous words, the supreme and true GOD, and deny too the faith in him which they

had earlier received, by apostatizing from it. Besides this, they are shameless profaners and trampers of the holy Cross of our Lord JESUS Christ and of the other divine ministries; and cruel perpetrations of *maleficia* and scandalizations, and disturbers of the rest of the faithful.

Very many people put forward these and similar contrivances every day, to foster the heresy and sect of the *fascinari* and to obstruct its extirpation. Therefore, desiring to give what labour my small measure allows to the cause of the holy faith — a cause too much disturbed by this heresy and by this worst of sects — and trusting in the help of the Most High, I have undertaken this little work. I have taken care to divide it into certain small parts, as it were into certain Chapters, out of which, as out of so many cords, there may result, made and woven together,

the scourge of the *fascinari*.

Caput I. WHAT it is to delude [*illudere*], and in how many senses the term is taken.

II. On the false representations that the Demons sometimes procure for sleeping men, deluding them by interior phantasms.

III. On the apparitions by which the Demons sometimes show themselves present even to good men, according to the real experience of the exterior senses — namely sight, hearing, touch and the rest — treated through many examples.

IIII. That the Demons have deceived many people by appearing to them to their exterior senses.

V. On the three ways in which the Demons are accustomed to present themselves to the exterior senses of human beings.

VI. That bodies formed and assumed by the Demons are not alive, although they are perceptible to the exterior senses.

VII. On the difference between the sect and heresy of the modern *fascinari* and the illusion [*illusio*] of the women of whom the chapter *Episcopi* speaks.

VIII. That the Demons especially demand three kinds of offering from their worshippers, if they perceive that they can lead them to it.

IX. On the caution to be observed in considering that chapter *c. Ep̃i*. [*Episcopi*].

X. That the power of the Demons is great, although they are reprobated by God.

XI. On the exercise and effect of the Demons' power over human beings, in tempting them concerning sins.

XII. On the exercise and effect of the Demons' power in inflicting sicknesses, pains, wasting illnesses, vexations and impediments to the use of the limbs, and death — operating only from within.

XIII. On the exercise and effect of the Demons' power in inflicting sicknesses, pains, wasting illnesses and the other harms, and death, upon bodies from without.

XIIII. That human beings are in many ways preserved and protected by divine providence against the Demons.

XV. That the Demons and their worshippers the *malefici* mutually assist one another in the perpetration of *maleficia*.

XVI. That the Demons do not always need the service of their worshippers, or of those who invoke them, for the perpetration of *maleficia*.

XVII. On the exercise and effect of the Demons' power over the elements and the lower corporeal things.

XVIII. That God justly permits the *fascinarii* to be deceived and perverted by the malign spirits.

XIX. That it is not to be wondered at that God — supremely good and omnipotent though he is — permits grievous and numerous *maleficia* to be perpetrated among his people by the *malefici*, that is, by the *fascinarius* Heretics, through the operation and patronage of the Demons.

XX. That, by God's salutary permission, the Demons exercise their power over human beings for their salutary testing.

XXI. That God sometimes permits the Demons to exercise their power over sinful human beings, for their correction.

XXII. That God providently permits, at times, that human beings be scourged in their bodies or their temporal goods by the operation of the Demons, in order to preserve their souls from impending sins and from perdition.

XXIII. That God justly permits the Demons, at times, to exercise the effect of their power over impious human beings, in order to punish their sins.

XXIIII. That the divine wisdom permits the Demons, and their worshippers the *malefici fascinarii*, to perpetrate many *maleficia* upon human beings for the instruction of the faithful — although both the *malefici* and their *maleficia* are utterly displeasing to God.

XXV. That the Demons can exercise no operation upon human beings by their own natural power unless, for each particular operation, they have received a special permission from God — a permission which is itself sometimes called power.

XXVI. That a man accused by accomplices on a charge of the heresy and sect of the *fascinarii*, and pleading that a Demon produced a false representation of him, is not to be believed.

XXVII. That *fascinarius* Heretics judicially apprehended upon the crime of heresy and the practice of the *malefici* [*vsu maleficorum*] are not to be readmitted to the fellowship of the faithful in the way that other heretics are admitted once abjuration of heretical depravity has been made.

XXVIII. That even on the supposition that the *fascinarii* were deluded by the Demons in their sleep, like the women of whom c. *Episcopi* speaks, they are nevertheless in no way excused from heretical depravity.

What it is to delude [*illudere*], and in how many senses the term is taken.

CAP. PRIMVM.

Since we must speak of illusions [*illusiones*], we need first to see what an illusion is. Here, then, it must be considered that in the sacred scriptures *illusio* sometimes means derision — the sin by which one's neighbour is unjustly held in contempt. So Herod treated Christ, as is written in Luke, chapter 23, where it says: "But Herod with his army despised him and mocked him [*illusit*], and sent him back to Pilate clothed in a white robe."

In another sense, *illusio* is taken for a deliberate representation [*studiosa repraesentatio*] by which someone wants to veil and conceal his purpose. An illusion of this sort is sometimes made for a good end, and without harm to the person who is deluded. It was in this way that Michal, King Saul's daughter and David's wife, deluded her own father when he wanted to kill her husband David. For she let David down through a window of her house, and in the bed where David had been lying she arranged a statue, so that David might seem to be there. Saul, deluded and cheated of the evil desire of his will, therefore rebuked Michal, saying to her: "Why have you deluded me?" (*1. Regum*, chapter 19).

Sometimes, however, an illusion is made with a perverse intention — that is, when the one deluding intends, through false representations of things or of words, to bring about and procure harm for the person he is busy deluding. This is what the false prophets do, who deceive simple people under the veil of a feigned holiness or by an application of divine scripture. So Christ our Lord and loving provider says: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves" (*Matth. capit. 6.*). The blessed Apostle Peter too writes: "In the last days there will come deluders [*illusores*], in deception" (*2. Petr. capit. 3.*).

It is in this manner, then, that the Demons frequently delude human beings by false representations of things or of words, in order to deceive them. For so the Devil, through the serpent, deceived Eve with false words, saying: "You shall by no means die." And she at length declared that she had been deceived, saying: "The serpent deceived me, and I ate."

On the false representations which the Demons sometimes procure for sleeping people, deluding them by interior phantasms.

CAP. SECVNDVM.

It frequently happens to sleeping people that representations of certain things are formed within them, so that they then suppose they are doing things which in reality they are not doing, or possessing things they do not possess — they are merely dreaming this. Sacred scripture testifies to this as well, when it brings in the deception of dreamers to make a certain point, speaking through the

likeness of a dreamer: "As a hungry man dreams and eats, but when he has been awakened his soul is empty; and as a thirsty man dreams and drinks, and when he has been awakened he is weary and still thirsts, and his soul is empty — so shall be the multitude of all the nations that have fought against Mount Zion" (*Isaię cap. 29.*).

Apparitions of this kind occur in sleepers through the descent of abundant blood to the sensitive principle [*principium sensitivum*]; and together with that blood the vital spirits descend at the same time, and the likenesses of certain things, present...

received and stored up within while the person was awake. Then, once the exterior senses have been bound and lulled by sleep, the dreamer takes in the likenesses of things presented to him at that moment as though they were the things themselves, and he judges those things to be present; and in this way the sleeper is sometimes deceived while he sleeps.

It is in this way, too, that the Demons frequently delude sleeping people, by an interior operation, moving the blood and the spirit toward the sensitive principle, or sensitive power [*ad principium siue potentiam sensitivam*]. As a result of this operation it sometimes happens that representations of women are produced in sleeping men, and likewise that representations of men occur to women in their sleep, and that carnal impurities not infrequently follow, with these illusions as the intermediary. Against demonic illusions of this kind, therefore, devout and well-ordered persons are accustomed to fortify themselves beforehand with devout prayers, before getting into bed to sleep.

With this in view the blessed Gregory, in a certain hymn which he appointed to be said at Compline in the Canonical Office, composed a special prayer against nocturnal illusions of the Demons of this kind. For in that hymn, which begins *Te lucis ante terminum*, it is said in the second verse: "Let dreams and the phantasms of the night withdraw far off, and restrain our enemy, lest our bodies be defiled."

It is according to this manner, then, that c. *Episcopi* reports that certain wicked women, seduced by the illusions and phantasms of the Demons, believe that they ride upon certain beasts with Diana the goddess of the pagans, or with Herodias, and obey her as their mistress, and cross great stretches of the earth. As is recited in that same canon [*in eodem c.*], this does not happen to those wicked women in reality [*in rei veritate*], but only in an interior fantastic apparition, procured by the Demons' illusion upon those women while they sleep.

On the apparitions through which the Demons sometimes show themselves present to human beings — not only to the wicked but also to the good — according to the real experience of the exterior senses, namely: sight, hearing, touch; and very many examples of the rest.

CAP. TERTIVM.

The sacred history of the Evangelists relates that the Devil approached Christ in the desert to tempt him, and spoke to him in several ways, saying:

"If you are the Son of God, tell these stones to become loaves." And again: "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down; for it is written: He has given his angels charge concerning you, and they shall bear you up in their hands, lest perhaps you strike your foot against a stone." And again, after he had shown Christ all the kingdoms of the world and their glory, he said to him: "All these things I will give you, if you fall down and worship me" — as is found in *Matth. 4.* and *Luc. 4.*, where the Gloss says: "All these things were carried out upon the bodily senses."

The Devil, then, appeared to Christ perceptibly, not only according to the sense of sight but also to the sense of hearing, by speaking those words to him; and likewise to the sense of touch, since he took him up onto a very high mountain, showing him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory.

In this way too one very often reads that Demons appeared perceptibly to many saints according to the exterior senses, both in a human species or likeness [*in specie seu effigie humana*] and in that of various beasts. So it is read of the blessed Martin: the Devil appeared to him in human form and said, "Wherever you go, the Devil will oppose you." Martin answered: "The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man can do to me" — and the Devil vanished at once.

One reads likewise of the same blessed man, in book 18, chapter 18 of the *Speculum historiale* [*libro Speculi historialis 18. cap. 18.*], that one day the Devil...

wrapped about with a purple light, dressed in royal robes, crowned with a diadem of gems and gold, his shoes gilded with gold, his expression serene and his face cheerful, stood beside Martin as he was praying in his cell. Martin was at first stunned by the sight, and for a long time the two of them kept silence.

Then the Devil spoke first. "Acknowledge," he said, "Martin, the one you see. I am Christ; I am about to come down to the earth, and I wished to make myself known to you first." When Martin said nothing to this and offered no reply at all, the Devil dared to repeat his bold declaration: "Martin, why do you hesitate to believe, when you see? I am Christ." Then Martin — the Spirit revealing it to him, so that he understood that this was the Devil and not God — said: "The Lord Jesus did not foretell that he would come robed in purple and gleaming with a diadem. I will not believe that Christ has come unless I see him in the dress and form in which he suffered, bearing the marks of the cross." At these words the Devil vanished at once like smoke, and filled the

little cell with such a stench that he left unmistakable evidence that it had been the Devil.

In the same book, chapter 17 [*In eodem quoq; lib. ca.17.*], it is written thus: "The Devil, moreover, frequently thrust himself visibly upon Martin in various forms, with a thousand arts of doing harm; and against him Martin, always undaunted, protected himself with the sign of the cross and the help of prayer." Some also testified...

who had heard from the brothers that a Demon assailed Martin with insolent words, because Martin had received into the monastery, after their conversion, certain of the brothers who had lost the grace of baptism through various errors — the Demon setting out the crimes of each one — and that Martin answered the Devil's opposition steadfastly: that old offences are purged by the practice of a better life, and that by the mercy of God those who have ceased to sin are to be absolved from their sins. The Devil contradicted him: the criminous have no claim upon pardon, and no clemency is granted by the Lord to those who have once fallen. Then Martin repeatedly cried out in these words: "If you yourself, wretched creature, would give over hounding humankind, and would repent of your deeds — since the day of judgement is close at hand — I would truly promise you the mercy of Christ, trusting in the Lord."

Next, in the legend of the blessed virgin Margaret one reads as follows: "The ancient enemy attacked her in the species of a Dragon [*in specie Draconis*], as though to devour her, but when the sign of the cross was set against him he vanished. Then he entered the prison in the form of a man; but the virgin, discerning through the Spirit, seized the Demon and threw him to the ground, trampling his impious head under her holy foot. Then the Demon, howling, said: 'Margaret, let me withdraw; I will not approach...

you any further.' The virgin said: 'Confess first what you came for.' And he replied: 'I had come so that, as though taking thought for your safety, I might persuade you to obey the will of the Governor. Now at last order me to go, since you have made enough sport of me.' Then the virgin lifted her foot and said, 'Flee, wretch.' And he vanished like smoke."

Of the blessed Anthony, too, Vincentius [Vincent of Beauvais] reports in the *Speculum historiale*, book 12, chapter 86 [*in Speculo historiali libr. 12. cap. 86.*], that while Anthony was walking in the desert looking for the blessed Paul, the first hermit, the Devil appeared to him — first in the form of a Centaur, a man mixed with a horse. When the blessed Anthony addressed him steadfastly, the Centaur gnashed out some barbarous thing or other, breaking his words rather than speaking them, and vanished. Then he appeared in the form of a huge man whose forehead was furnished with horns and whose lower body ended in goat's feet; and with him too the blessed Anthony held a conversation.

Next, in book 24, chapter 12 [*libr. 24. capit. 12.*], it is said of that same blessed Anthony that the Devil appeared to him in the form of a black boy, who threw himself down before the blessed Anthony and confessed himself beaten, because Anthony had overcome the spirit of fornication by the power of faith and of

abstinence. Afterwards, when Anthony was lying hidden in a certain tomb, a multitude of Demons mangled him with such varied violence...

that his attendant, coming from the village, carried him off on his own shoulders, as good as dead, to a mean lodging. When this was heard the neighbours gathered; and when, after the funeral lament, they were already asleep at midnight, Anthony suddenly revived, called his attendant, and had himself carried back in silence to the tomb. There, laid low by the pain of his earlier wounds, he summoned the Demons to combat with courage of soul; and when they had at once changed into various shapes and had torn him with their teeth, horns and claws, suddenly a ray of light was present and put the darkness to flight. Healed on the instant, and understanding that Christ was present, he said: "Where were you, good Jesus? Why were you not here from the beginning, to heal my wounds?" And a voice came to him: "Anthony," it said, "I was here; but I was waiting to see your struggle. Now, however, because you have fought manfully, I will make your name known throughout the whole world."

In the deeds of Saint Anthidius the martyr as well, as Vincent of Beauvais reports in the *Speculum historiale*, book 20, chapter 3 [*in Speculo historiali libr. 20. cap. 3.*], one reads as follows. "Furthermore, Saint Anthidius underwent martyrdom in that same season. Once, on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday, as he was crossing the bridge of the Doubs [*pontem Dubij*], he saw a troop of Demons reporting their deeds to their prince, and among them an Ethiopian holding out in his hand a sandal for judgement, on the ground that the Roman Prelate...

whom he had assailed for seven years, had at last been dragged by him into a fall. Anthidius called the Ethiopian to him and commanded him, by the power of God and of the holy cross, to carry him to Rome under the Lord's hand, sound and unharmed, at the same speed with which he had come. And so, mounted upon the Demon and repeating over and over that versicle 'O God, come to my aid' [*Deus in adiutorium meum intēde*], and so on, he came to Rome, borne by the Demon, on the Thursday, at the hour for celebrating the office. While the Demon waited before the doors, Anthidius laid the matter before the Pope; and when the Pope denied it, he moved him to penitence by means of the sandal. Then, having celebrated Mass in the Pope's place, and having taken up a portion of the chrism he had himself consecrated, he returned — the Demon carrying him back — to his own church on Holy Saturday, at the hour for celebrating the office."

That the Demons deceive many people by appearing to them to the exterior senses.

CAP. QVARTVM.

Just as some have been preserved by a divine gift from being deceived through the apparitions of the Demons, so others, by God's permission, have

been deceived. Sacred scripture, in the book of Kings, relates that Saul, King of Israel, on a certain day had recourse to a woman who was a Pythoness [*Pythonissa*], or...

or a *Malefica*; that at her invocation a Demon appeared in the form of the Prophet Samuel, and spoke to Saul himself in order to deceive him; and that on the following day the king killed himself in despair. This apparition is dealt with in the Decrees at 26. q., namely *Nec mirum*, and the passage is taken from the blessed Augustine's book *De civitate Dei*.

We also read of a certain man who was called Theophilus. For a long time he had been outstanding in character and in life, and out of humility he refused to accept the dignity of a bishopric to which he had been elected. His Metropolitan, seeing how excessively he persisted in his refusal, released him and promoted another man in his place to the office of the bishopric. Once this bishop had been ordained and had returned to his own city, certain members of the clergy urged him to remove Theophilus and appoint someone else as the church's *vicedominus*. When that was done, the cunning and envious enemy put into Theophilus a zeal for the office of *vicedominus* and a rivalrous ambition, and so far seduced him that he even sought the help of *malefici*.

And so he went to a certain Jewish *maleficus*, threw himself at his knees, and said: "I beg you, help me, for my bishop has brought me to disgrace." The man answered: "Come to me tomorrow night, and I will take you to my Patron, who will help you in whatever way you wish."

When this had been done he led him to the city's circus and said: "Whatever you see, and whatever sound you hear, do not be afraid; and on no account make the sign of the cross upon yourself." When Theophilus had given his promise, the Jew suddenly showed him men in white cloaks [*clamidarios*] with a multitude of candles, all shouting, and a prince sitting in their midst — for it was the Devil and his ministers. Taking Theophilus by the hand, the Jew led him up to that shameful assembly. And the Devil said to him: "Why have you brought this man to us?" He answered: "He has been prejudged by his bishop, and he asks your help." The Devil said to him: "What help shall I give to a man who serves his own [master] [*seruiéti de suo* [?]]? Still, if he wishes to be my servant, I will come to his aid, so that he may do more than he did before, and may give orders to everyone, even to the bishop." When Theophilus heard this he promised to do everything the Devil should tell him, and he began to kiss his feet and to entreat him. The Devil said to the Jew: "Let him deny the son of Mary, and Mary herself, for they are hateful to me. And let him confirm in writing that he renounces them in every respect, whatever the cost; after that he will obtain from me whatever he wishes." Then Theophilus answered: "I deny Christ and his mother"; and he drew up a bond [*chirographum*],

laid on the wax, and sealed it with his own ring; and they went away with excessive joy at his ruin.

The next day the bishop removed the *vicedominus* whom he had shamefully promoted, recalled Theophilus with every honour, and raised him up again

to twice the rank he had held before — so much so that he cried aloud that he had sinned in throwing out so suitable a man on the accusations [*delationib.*] of others and promoting that useless one. And so Theophilus, restored, was raised above them all, and all obeyed him with fear and trembling.

What has been said here Vincent of Beauvais reports at *libr.* 22. *cap.* 69., citing Sigibert the historiographer [Sigebert of Gembloux]. Next, at *cap.* 70. in the same place, it is recounted how Theophilus repented and devoutly called upon the blessed Virgin; and she, appearing to him, obtained pardon for him and gave back the bond he had made out to the Devil. All this Theophilus devoutly recited in public, to the praise of the blessed Virgin, during the solemnities of the Mass, before the bishop, the clergy and the people; and he displayed the bond and had it read out before them all.

The same Vincent, at *lib.* 18. *cap.* 6., recounts the deception of a certain presumptuous man, worked by a Demon, which is taken from the *Lives of the Fathers* [*de vitis patrum*] in this form. There was a certain monk in a cave, of the utmost abstinence, flourishing in every virtue of soul. Since he trusted in his own progress and ascribed it not wholly to God but to himself,

the tempter, observing this presumption, one evening took on the appearance [*species*] of a woman straying through the desert. Feigning exhaustion, as though worn out, at the mouth of the cave, she threw herself inside, clasped his knees, and begged him to take pity on her. "Night has overtaken me," she said; "let me rest in a corner of your cell, or I may become prey to the beasts." On the first pretext of pity he received her into the cave, and asked her the reason for her wandering through the desert. She invented a reason with care, and all the while wove the poisons of flattery into the fabric of her story, showing herself now as one to be pitied, now as one deserving protection; and by the elegance and sweetness of her speech she turned the man's feelings aside into enticing love. From there caressing talk, jokes and laughter were mixed in; and a forward hand reached out to his chin and his beard, as though putting on a show of reverence. Then indeed it stroked his neck more softly and smoothed his throat. Why say more? In the end she led the soldier of Christ away captive. For at once, seething with the waves of lust and forgetful of his past labours and of his profession, he was already making his obscene attempt at an embrace. But she, letting out a most hideous howl, slipped like a thin shadow through the hands that were embracing her, and with the foulest derision abandoned him there, clutching with the motions of his disgrace at empty air [*inanes aures* [?]]. Then a crowd of Demons, gathered in the air for this very spectacle, cried out with a huge shout: "You who used to exalt yourself all the way to heaven — how are you plunged into hell! Learn, then, that whoever exalts himself is brought low." Then the monk, driven as it were out of his mind and unable to bear the shame of his deception, was more grievously deceived by himself than he had been by the Demons. For when he ought to have pulled himself together and renewed the contest, he despaired instead and gave himself over to every kind of unchastity and impiety.

We also read, in the history of the feast of St Peter in Chains, that the Devil appeared to the Jews in the appearance [*species*] of Moses, and while he was promising to bring them dry-shod through the sea to the land of promise, he killed countless numbers of them.

Petrus, Abbot of Cluny [Peter the Venerable], the great historiographer, also reports in his *Book of Miracles* [*libro Miraculorum*], in the account of the Count of Mâcon — as Vincent of Beauvais likewise recounts at libr. 30. cap. 120. — that on a certain feast day the Count was sitting in his own palace at Mâcon, thronged about by many knights, when suddenly an unknown man on horseback rode in through the palace door. Before the eyes of them all, to their astonishment, he came right up to the Count and said that he wished to speak with him; and he ordered him to get up and follow. The Count had no power to resist that invisible force. He rose, and went as far as

the door of the house, where he found a horse standing ready, which at the man's command he mounted at once. The man who had come for him seized its reins, and before the eyes of them all began to carry him off through the air at the swiftest gallop. The Count, crying out pitifully — "Help, citizens! Help!" — threw the whole city into an uproar. Everyone watched him being carried through the air, for as long as the natural keenness of their eyes allowed. And so at last he was withdrawn from human sight, and became the everlasting companion of Demons.

In the legend of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, too, among the other miracles, it is related that beside a certain road there was a knight who held a castle, and who used to rob everyone passing by without any pity. Yet he greeted the Virgin, the Mother of God, every day, and he would not let any obstacle that arose make him leave off that salutation on a single day. Now it happened that a holy religious passed that way, and the knight at once ordered him to be robbed. The holy man asked the brigands to take him to their lord, because he had secrets to lay before him. So he was brought in, and he asked the knight to have his whole household and everyone in the castle assembled before him. They all came together — except one, who was the knight's chamberlain.

Then the holy man said that they were not all present, and one of them said that the chamberlain had not come. Someone was therefore sent for him at once, and he was brought into their midst. When he caught sight of the man of God he rolled his eyes horribly and tossed his head like a madman, and did not dare come any closer. The holy man said to him: "I adjure you by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: tell us who you are, and disclose openly what cause has brought you here." He answered: "Alas, under adjuration I am forced to give myself away against my will. For I am not a man but a Demon, who took on the form of a man, and I have stayed with this knight in this way for fourteen years. Our Prince sent me here to keep close watch for the day on which he should fail to say the salutation of his Mary, so that I might receive power over him, strangle him on the spot, and so make him ours, since he would end his

life in evil works. For on any day on which he did say that salutation, I could have no power over him. And see — from one day to the next I have watched as closely as I could, and he has not let a single day pass without saluting her.” When the knight heard this he was utterly appalled, threw himself at the feet of the man of God, and begged for pardon; and from then on he ended his life in a better way. Then the man of God said to the Demon: “I command you, Demon, in the name of JESUS CHRIST, to depart from here at once, and never to occupy such a place again as you have occupied up to now, and not to presume to harm those who call upon Mary, the Mother of God.” When he had given these commands, the Demon departed and vanished. This miracle is recounted in the book commonly called the *Golden Legend* [*Legenda aurea*].

In the same way we also read, in the life of the blessed Apostle Andrew, of a certain Demon who set out to deceive a bishop devoted to blessed Andrew. I have decided to insert that story here, because it contains a deception of diabolical fraud that is at once very great, very subtle, and almost imperceptible. There was a bishop leading a religious life who held blessed Andrew in veneration above the other saints, so much so that in all his works he always prefixed this heading: “To the honour of God and of St Andrew.” The ancient enemy, envying the holy man, brought all his cunning to bear on deceiving him, and transformed himself into the shape of a woman of the greatest beauty. He went to the bishop's palace, claiming that she wished to make her confession to him. The bishop instructed her to confess to his Penitentiary, on whom he had conferred the fullness of his authority. She sent back word that she would reveal the secrets of her conscience to no man

And so the bishop, won over, ordered that she be brought in. She said to him: “I beg you, my lord, have mercy on me. For I am set, as you can see, in my girlhood years; I was delicately brought up from childhood, and I am besides born of royal stock — and I have come here alone, in a pilgrim's dress [*in peregrino habitu*]. My father, a king and a powerful one at that, wanted to join me in marriage to a certain great prince. I answered him that I loathed the marriage bed altogether, because I had consecrated my virginity to Christ forever and so could never consent to carnal union. In the end I was so hemmed in that I had either to obey his will or else undergo one punishment after another; so I secretly took to flight, choosing exile rather than break faith with my Bridegroom. But when I heard the report of your holiness, I fled for refuge under the wings of your protection, hoping to find a place of quiet with you, where I might gather in the secret silences of contemplation and escape the shipwrecks of this present life and the disturbances of a world so full of din.”

The bishop marvelled at the nobility of her family, the beauty of her body, her immense fervour, and the charm of so great an eloquence, and answered in a calm and kindly voice: “Be at rest, daughter, do not be afraid. For he, for whose love you have manfully despised yourself, your own people

and your own goods, will for this reason grant you the summit of grace in the present and the fullness of glory in time to come. And I, his servant, offer

you myself and what is mine. Choose whatever lodging pleases you. But I want you to dine with me today."

She replied: "Father, please do not ask this of me; some evil suspicion might arise from it, and the brightness of our good name might suffer some blackening."

The bishop said to her: "There will be a number of us, not the two of us alone, so no scruple of evil suspicion can be bred in anyone."

They came to table, then, and the bishop and she sat facing one another, the rest seated on either side. The bishop kept looking at her intently: he did not stop gazing at her face and marvelling at her beauty, and as he fixed his eyes on her, his soul was wounded. While he went on gazing at her face without pause, the ancient enemy [*antiquus hostis*] pierced his heart with a heavy javelin. The Devil weighed all this, and began to increase his beauty more and more. By now the bishop was close to consenting — to making an attempt on her for an unlawful act, whenever the opportunity should offer itself. Then suddenly a pilgrim [*peregrinus*] came to the door, demanding with repeated knocks and loud shouts that it be opened to him. When they refused to open it, and he with his

shouts and blows had become altogether too insistent, the bishop asked the woman whether she would accept that pilgrim's coming in. She said to him: "Let some sufficiently hard question be put to him. If he knows how to unravel it, let him be admitted; but if he does not, let him be turned away as ignorant and unworthy of the bishop's presence." They all applauded her wisdom and her proposal, and asked who was competent to put the question. When no one competent could be found, the bishop said: "Which of us is as fit for this as you are, my lady? You go before the rest of us in eloquence, and you shine with wisdom more than all of us together. So put this question yourself."

Then she said to the pilgrim: "What is the greatest miracle God has ever worked in a small thing?" The pilgrim, questioned about this through the messenger, said: "The variety and excellence of human faces. For among all the people who have existed since the beginning of the world, and who are to exist until its end, no two could be found whose faces were alike in every respect. And in that same face, small as it is, God has placed all the senses of the body." All who heard his answer marvelled and said: "That is a true and excellent solution of the question." Then the woman said: "Let a second and weightier question be put to him, by which we can better test his wisdom. Let him be asked where earth is higher than every heaven." The pilgrim, closely questioned about this, answered: "In the empyrean heaven [*cælum Empireum*], where the body of Christ resides. For the body of Christ, which is higher than every heaven, was formed from our flesh; and our flesh is an earthy substance. Since, then, the body of Christ is above all the heavens and took its origin from our flesh, while our flesh was made from earth, it follows that where the body of Christ resides, there beyond doubt what is from earth remains higher than

heaven." The messenger reported what the pilgrim had answered, and at once they all approved the answer and praised his great wisdom.

Then she spoke again: "Let a third question be set for him, a very weighty and hidden one, difficult and obscure to solve, so that his wisdom may be proved a third time and he may be found worthy to be admitted to the bishop's table. Let him be asked, then, how great the distance is from earth up to heaven." Questioned about this, the pilgrim said to the messenger: "Go to the woman who sent you to me, and question her about this more closely. She knows it better, and so she can better answer you about it. For she measured that distance when she fell from heaven into the abyss. But I never fell from heaven, and so I have never measured that distance in that way. For this is no woman, but the Devil, who has put himself into the likeness of a woman."

Hearing this, the messenger was struck with terror, and he repeated in front of them all what he had heard. While they were all marvelling and stunned, the ancient enemy vanished from their midst. The bishop, coming back to himself, begged pardon with lamentation for the fault he had committed, and sent the messenger to bring the pilgrim in — but he was nowhere to be found. Then the bishop called the people together, set out plainly for them the whole order of what had happened, and directed them all to persevere in fasting and prayer, in case the Lord might deign to reveal to someone who that pilgrim had been who delivered him from so great a danger. That very night it was revealed that it had been the blessed Andrew, who had put himself in a pilgrim's dress for the bishop's deliverance. So the bishop began to grow in devotion to the blessed Andrew, and from then on to hold him in greater reverence.

The accounts given above, of the various apparitions produced by the Demons upon the exterior sense, to various human beings — to the just as much as to the perverse, and indeed to the Lord Jesus Christ himself — have been set out here at some length for this reason: that the matter may appear more evidently, and with it the manifest and dangerous error of those who attend too closely to what is said about the interior illusions of human beings in that chapter *Episcopi* cited above.

For they suppose — and wrongly assert — that the Demons do not appear to human beings upon the exterior senses; rather, they assert that everything the Demons do of this kind about human beings is illusory, like so many dreams. For just as those who take few things into consideration are easily deceived in their judgements, so these men — attending perhaps only to what is said in that same chapter *Episcopi*, and either not knowing or not weighing what is handed down more fully in the sacred scriptures and in the teaching of the saints concerning the works and the power of the Demons — are plainly deceived and slip into error. Take an example. If someone, reading that the Devil deceived Eve by means of the serpent, were to conclude from this that the Devil never tempts, or could never tempt and deceive anyone, except by means of a serpent, he would be very foolish indeed. In the same way, those

who fasten too narrowly [?] upon that same chapter *Episcopi* err easily and are shamefully deceived, believing that the Demons

cannot deceive human beings or appear to them in any other way than through the interior illusions and fantastic apparitions of which mention is made in that same chapter *Episcopi*.

For just as the malignant spirits, the enemies of human salvation and of the catholic faith, devise sects and heresies against the faith and the salvation of human beings, so they procure the means of preserving those heresies and sects, and cunningly stir up obstacles for those who try to root out sects and heresies of this kind. Hence it is believed, and not without reason, that the Demons who raised up this heresy and the abominable sect of the *fascinari* have led these same assertors into believing — and into obstinately maintaining — that the things done by the *malefici fascinari* in the worship of the Demons are nothing but the illusions of sleeping people.

This is clearer than daylight from the trial [*processus*] conducted against a certain Master in Theology who had been caught in a heresy and sect of this kind. He confessed of his own accord, and disclosed how he himself, together with many other accomplices, had really and repeatedly assembled in the worship of the Demon; how among them he saw and worshipped that Demon appearing, sometimes in the form of a man, sometimes in the form of a he-goat; and how there he denied God and the catholic faith, the blessed Virgin,

and the cross. This Master was called Master Guilhelmus Adelme [Guillaume Adeline]. In the year of the Lord M. CCCC. LIII., on the 12th day of the month of September, in the episcopal chapel at Évreux [*Capella Episcopali Ebroicensi*], judicially and before the judges of the faith, prostrate on the ground in tears, he produced a written schedule [*schedula*] containing the offences he had committed against the faith in the said heresy and sect, and offered his abjuration [*abiuratio*] to those judges. That schedule stated, among other things, that when he was first brought into the said sect, the Devil declared that Master Guilhelmus could well, if he chose, enlarge that same Demon's dominion — and the Devil directed Master Guilhelmus to preach that a sect of this kind was nothing but an illusion, and to preach this in order to content [?] [*ad contendandum*] the people of the region where Master Guilhelmus was then living. I who write this knew this Master Guilhelmus and saw him very often, before he came under suspicion of this crime.

On the three ways in which the Demons are accustomed to show themselves present to the exterior senses of human beings.

CAP. QVINTVM.

There are three ways in which the Demons are accustomed to make themselves present to the exterior senses of human beings. The first is by means of

some thing produced by God or by nature, which thing the Demons — God permitting — take to themselves [*assumunt*], so that through it they may do something, or speak, in relation to human beings. It was in this way that the Devil spoke to Eve through the serpent that God had produced, and deceived her, leading her into transgression of the divine command by the eating of the forbidden fruit. Gen. cap. 3. In this same way the Devil spoke to people by divination through a certain girl, who by this brought her masters great profit; through that girl the Devil himself praised Paul the Apostle, Sillam [*Silas*] and Luke in their very presence — and Paul cast that Devil out of the girl in the name of Christ, as is found in Actor. cap. 16., where it is said: *And it happened that, as we were going to prayer, a certain girl having a python spirit [spiritum pythonem] met us, who brought her masters great profit by divining. She, following after Paul and us, cried out, saying: These men are servants of the most high God, who announce to you the way of salvation.* In this way too the Demons frequently spoke

to Christ through demoniacs, as is clear from the run of the Gospels.

In the second way, the Demons sometimes make themselves present to the exterior senses of certain people by means of things made by human craft for the worship and invocation of those same Demons — as through idols fabricated for the service of the Demons. Demons sometimes dwell in these and give responses to their worshippers, as is clear in the legends of the saints Bartholomew, Simon and Jude, and of very many other saints. In this same way the practitioners of nigromancy [*Nigromantici*] and the devotees of the magical arts fabricate images and rings and other things of the kind, together with superstitious observances subtly devised by the Demons for the deception of human beings and for the worship of the Demons themselves — who pretend, by such objects, to be shut up in them, and who sometimes give responses to the devotees of the magical arts. All this a true Christian must abhor, since it is contrary to the sincerity of the catholic faith. In receiving that faith every baptized person renounces the Devil, and his works, and his pomps. And since, by the truth of the Gospel, no one can serve two masters, it is clear that a Christian who cultivates the magic art does not truly worship Christ,

nor is he a Catholic, whatever else he may do, or seem to do, about the worship and rite of the Christian religion.

In the third way, besides, the Demons make themselves present to the exterior senses of human beings by means of certain things made neither by nature nor by human craft, but by the Demons themselves. When God permits, they can easily form or make, by their own natural power, certain bodies out of elemental matter, subtly and easily, in various shapes — of human beings as much as of beasts or of other things — so that through these their presence may become known to human beings, or so that they may more suitably act or speak in relation to human beings, in order to tempt and deceive them. All this can appear plainly enough from the deeds and examples recounted at length above, and it will be treated further below at cap. 14.

That the bodies formed and assumed by the Demons are not alive, although they are perceptible to the exterior senses.

CAP. SEXTVM.

It must be considered, however, that although the bodies formed and assumed by the Demons are perceptible to the exterior senses of human beings, they are nevertheless not living bodies. The soul, after all, does two things in the body that is its own. First, it gives that body life, and for this reason the soul is called the form of the body, because it gives the body life. Second, the soul moves the body and its members. It is not so with the soul in relation to the garment in which the body is clothed: although the soul moves the garment, it does not give life to the clothing, but only moves it — just as a sailor moves a ship, and yet does not give it life. And so the Demons use the bodies formed by them: they move those bodies, and through them they act in relation to human beings; in them they form voices and intelligible words, and by means of them they perform operations resembling the works of life, even though bodies of this kind are not alive. Hence, as soon as the Demons release them, they dissolve and vanish back into their original matter, out of which they were made. Nor is it surprising to say that bodies formed and assumed by the Demons are not living, and that the Demons do not perform the works of life through them, but that these are merely works that only appear similar to the works of life. For the bodies assumed and formed by the holy Angels are likewise not alive when they appear to human beings for their edification, nor do the holy Angels perform the works of life through them. This is plain in the case of the holy Angel Raphael, who was for some time with the younger Tobias in human form, who conducted him along a long road, and who stayed with him continuously through many days. At last he disclosed that he was an Angel, and among other things spoke these words to Tobias himself and to the others of his household: *For indeed, when I was with you, by the will of God I did seem to eat and drink with you; but I use an invisible food and a drink that cannot be seen by human beings.* Thob. 12. From these words it is drawn that although the holy Raphael seemed to eat and drink in the body he had assumed, he was not really eating and drinking. Even so there was no falsehood or deception in this, because he was doing it for the edification and instruction of Tobias, showing that, so long as we are in this mortal life, as travellers, we ought to use the things given us by God with due restraint, for the relief of nature, with thanksgiving and with God's blessing — just as Raphael was showing

Tobias by his own example, when he seemed to eat and drink.

In their apparitions through assumed bodies, however, the Demons always intend to deceive, to lead the human beings to whom they appear into evil, and to lead them into final perdition. And although, as has been said, bodies of this kind are not really alive, they are nevertheless perceptible to sense, visible and palpable, by those to whom the Demons show themselves present through those very bodies. For this reason the deeds of the Demons are always feigned

and deceitful. In these apparitions of the Demons to the exterior senses of human beings, then, something is illusory [*illudorium*] and something is real. It is illusory in that bodies of this kind seem, to those to whom they appear, to be alive, and yet they do not live. There is also an illusion [*illusio*] in this with respect to the end the Demon intends, since his perverse intention is to delude [*illudere*] — that is, to deceive the human beings to whom the Demons appear — so that they may sin, offend God, and at last be damned. To this end the Demon, in appearing, sometimes promises temporal goods, in order to take away spiritual ones and to obstruct heavenly ones. So he promised to give Christ all the kingdoms of the world and their glory, if Christ would adore him, as is written at Matth. 4. capit. Sometimes, too, the Demon confers certain things on those to whom he appears, or does something for

them that pleases them — vengeance on their enemies, for instance, as the Law said: *Lex. Multi. capit. de Math. & ma.* It was in this way that Theophilus was restored, as was recounted above. What is real in apparitions of this kind is that they do not come about through dreams, but through a real apparition to the exterior senses; and that in apparitions of this kind the Demons really are in assumed bodies, since they both speak and act in relation to the human beings to whom they appear.

Hence the blessed Augustine, at lib. 15. cap. 21. *de ciuit. Dei*, reports that certain Demons are shameless toward women in venereal acts, saying this: *It is a very widespread report, and many confirm that they have experienced it themselves, or have heard it from those who had experienced it and whose good faith was not to be doubted, that the Silvani and Phanni — whom common speech calls Incubi — have often been shameless toward women and have sought intercourse with them; and that certain Demons, whom the Gauls call Drusii, assiduously attempt and accomplish this uncleanness. So many and such persons assert this that to deny it would seem the part of an impudent man.* A number of Doctors, moreover, and the Glosses, in treating the matter of the generation of the Giants, of which sacred scripture speaks at Genesis cap. 6., are of the opinion that the Giants were generated by the work of the Demons. On this the blessed Thomas, in

the first part, *quæst. art. 3.*, speaks as follows: *If some are at times born from intercourse with Demons, this does not come about through seed emitted by the Demons, or from the bodies they have assumed, but through the seed of some human being taken for this purpose — namely, in that the same Demon who is a Succubus to a man becomes an Incubus to a woman, just as they also take the seeds of other things for the generation of certain things, as Augustin. 3. lib. de ciuitat. Dei says. And so the one who is born is not the son of a Demon, but of that man whose seed was taken.*

From all this, then, it is clear that the Demons sometimes form and take to themselves true bodies; these bodies, however, are neither alive nor human, but only similar to human bodies, or else similar to the bodies of beasts. A Demon can therefore put himself, in the form of a female body, beneath a lecherous man who believes it truly to be a woman; and the Demon can then keep the seed he has received from that man in its full vigour for some time. After this

the Demon himself can form and assume a body in the shape of a male body, and so put beneath himself some lecherous woman fit for conception, who supposes him really to be a man and allows herself to be put beneath him; and then the Demon pours the seed received and preserved from the man into the body of the woman so placed beneath him, and so conception and the generation of a human being takes place. The child so generated, however, is not the son of the Devil, who was the intermediary of that generation, but of the man from whom the seed was taken, as St. Thom. says. For many devotees of the sect and heresy — *fascinari* of both sexes — confess of their own accord that in their assembly, which they call the Synagogue or the council, in the presence and apparition of the Demons, they take carnal pleasure not only with one another but even with the Demons; and so violently that some of them assert that afterwards, for one or two days, they are physically worn out and exhausted by the sheer excess of that pleasure.

On the difference between the sect and heresy of the modern *fascinari*, and the illusion of the women of whom c. Episcopi. speaks.

CAP. SEPTIMVM.

From what has been said, and from what is about to be said at once, it will be easy to grasp how great the difference is between two things: the sect and heresy of the *malefici fascinari*, in which Demons who appear perceptibly to the exterior sense are worshipped by the *fascinari*; and that other matter recounted in capit. Episcopi., namely that certain women, deluded while asleep, supposed that they were being carried off in attendance on Diana or Herodias.

In the first place, experience plainly teaches that the works of Venus and the passions of carnal pleasure cannot be carried through or consummated by people who are asleep, even if they are begun in sleep through illusions or filthy fantasies. And so, since nearly all the devotees of the heresies and sects of the *malefici* or *fascinari* — many of them, of both sexes, admitting this freely and with signs of shame — assert that in the assembly they hold for the worship of the Demons they take carnal pleasure, in a disordered way, with the Demons who appear there and sometimes with one another, and so violently, as has already been touched on, that many of them are afterwards left afflicted and weakened for several days: it is clear that apparitions of this kind take place really, and not for people who are asleep but for people who are awake.

This has also been established at times from the members of their own households, who — after the trials and confessions had brought the facts to light — reported that the *fascinari* of their household used to stay in bed afflicted on certain Fridays [*certis diebus veneris*]. At first they did not know the cause; but afterwards, once the confession of the *fascinari* had been made and heard — men who on Thursday nights [*diebus Iouis nocte*] frequent that assembly, the Diabolical Synagogue —

they recognized that on their return these men remained troubled and afflicted for one or for several days, even though the afflicted themselves would give no reasonable cause for their affliction, which always came upon them at the same time.

The gathering of these perverse *fascinarii*, therefore, is not a fantastical illusion but a real and bodily — that is, personal — activity, carried on in the worship and presence of the Demons. Moreover, the same point is clear from this: that very many of the *fascinarii* themselves work with the utmost zeal to draw into that Diabolical sect the persons whom they perceive, by certain indications, to be susceptible to it and in some way disposed toward it — because, for instance, they are loose in their morals, or inquisitive and eager to see new and unusual things, or because they are in distress, or because they have some disordered passions, whether toward pleasures or toward acts of revenge or the like. For then those seducing *fascinarii* cunningly open up and offer such persons a way to fulfil their desires and to satisfy their passions through the agency and the worship of that heresy and sect. And when these people consent, they lead them to the place

of the *fascinarii*'s meeting at a fixed and appointed time, and present them there to the Demons, instructing them on no account to make the sign of the cross in that assembly, or to speak of God except in abuse — namely, by denying him. And after they have there bound those persons to the Demon, they lead them back again and keep them company, both on the way there and on the way back.

It has also been found that seducers of this kind have spent many days, with importunate pressing, working to lead certain persons to the said sect and Diabolical Synagogue. And it has sometimes happened that people who had been brought to the place of the Diabolical Synagogue, into the presence of the Demons, warily made the sign of the cross out of their former habit; at which the Demons withdrew and vanished away, the Synagogue was broken up, and the newcomers were then severely rebuked by those who had seduced them for having made the sign of the cross and so obstructed the completion of the worship, or the celebration of the Diabolical Synagogue. From this it is plainly clear that these things take place bodily, and while the people concerned are awake. And so this sect differs from the one mentioned in the chapter *Episcopi*, cited above, where nothing of the kind happened.

This very year, that is, M. C C C C. LVIII. [1458], a certain man freely confessed before the court that, when he was still young — five or six years old, that is — his mother took him, together with a little brother of his whom she was carrying in her arms and with a sister of his, and led them to a Synagogue of the *fascinarii*. There she offered the three children to a Demon who appeared in the form of a he-goat, instructing them that he was their lord and master and would do them much good. The mother then made the said children touch the said Demon with the hand, on the head of that figure; and the Demon himself, whom they called Tonyon, touched all three of them with his forefoot

on their hips and impressed an indelible mark on them. The man who was confessing this still bore that mark, which showed to the size of a single bean. For many years after that introduction he persevered in the said worship of the sect, along with the brother and sister named above; and he was about sixty years old when he confessed the above of his own accord, as has been said.

The deeds, then, and the gatherings of this heresy and sect of the *fascinari* are not fantastical illusions. They are the perverse and treacherous, real and bodily actions of people who are awake — damnable operations of persons who will them and consent to them, performed in homage to the malignant spirits.

Secondly, the same point is clear on the side of the Demons of this sect, from their acts and from the operations that proceed from them. In that fantastical apparition, or illusory assembly, of which mention is made in the often-cited *cap.Episcopi*, there is nothing at all except that certain deluded women supposed that they were going in attendance on Diana or Herodias — who are fabulous and poetic fictions. But in this sect or Synagogue of the *fascinari*, not only women assemble but men as well, and, what is worse, even churchmen and religious. These stand and speak with the Demons perceptibly, while the Demons appear among them in various forms; and the Demons have themselves called by their own proper names by these people, whom the *fascinari* themselves adore on bended knee and with kisses given, and whom they worship, receiving them as lords and masters, and denying God and the Catholic faith and the mysteries of the faith. To them the Demons promise patronage and help whenever they are invoked by them; and afterwards, once invoked, these same Demons appear to them sometimes by day and in other places, sometimes in the Synagogue, and frequently assist them at a nod. The Demons also give them *veneficia* [poison-craft] and the materials for perpetrating *maleficia*. These

venefic materials [*materia veneficæ*] have frequently been found and seen by other people. But none of this occurred in that fantastical assembly and illusory company of Diana, of which mention is made in *capit.Episcopi*.

It is clear, therefore, that there is a wide difference between this sect of the *fascinari*, together with their real communication with the Demons, and that fantastical illusion of sleeping women. For since, as our Lord and Saviour says, the tree is known from its fruit, because a bad tree makes bad fruits (*Mat. ca. 7.*), it is manifest — from the perpetration of the innumerable *maleficia* which the *fascinari* perpetrate under the patronage of the Demons — that they have a real communication, pact and confederation with the Demons.

For these *malefici fascinari*, knowing and in some manner certain of the patronage the Demons have promised, frequently utter threats against those with whom they are angry, threats of harms to be inflicted; sometimes they fix in advance a term for the harms to come, and sometimes they specify the nature of the harms, within the term so fixed. Sometimes, on the other hand, these same *malefici fascinari* free those who are suffering harms from the harms that

arise from themselves — induced to it by entreaties, or compelled by terrors, and sometimes by beatings. And no natural or artificial means appears of inflicting or of removing these *maleficia* or harms.

The threats that go before, and the harms that follow, and sometimes the releases from them [*deliberationibus* — printed as one word; the sense requires *de liberationibus*, matching *liberationes eorum* below [?]], are established by the trials [*processus*] conducted against the *malefici*. Many of these, on being convicted, sometimes confess without violence [*sine violentia*] both to the *maleficia* or harms inflicted by them and to their releases of them. A number of others too, who were not convicted, confess at the very first interrogation that they perpetrated these things by the agency and patronage of the Demons, whom they worship in that same sect and heresy.

From these trials, and from the confessions and the deeds of these same *fascinari*, it is evident that they inflict or procure infirmities, wasting sicknesses, frenzies, impediments affecting marriages, the deaths of human beings as much as of livestock, miscarriages [*aborfus conceptiuam* — so printed; the second word does not construe with the first [?]], impediments to conception, and the devastation of the crops and of many other temporal goods.

Since, therefore, these *maleficia*, which occur through the invocation and the patronage of the Demons, are real, and are the bad fruits of the *malefici fascinari*, the devotees of that sect and heresy, it is clear that these heretic *fascinari* are confederated with the Demons really and not fantastically; that they worship them and obey them; and that they frequent their Synagogues, in which the Demons perceptibly attend upon them.

For although the other sects and heresies were devised at the prompting of the Demons, they were nevertheless devised through the agency of certain men corrupted in the faith, by whose perverse doctrine they were handed down and preached [*prædicare* so printed; the concord wants *prædicatæ*, matching *traditæ* [?]] to those who followed these same men as heresiarchs and were seduced by them — as is clear in the case of Manichæus, Arrius [Arius], and Pelagius, and of the rest, whose followers and disciples were called Manichæans, Arians [Arriani], Pelagians and the like. But this sect, the worst of sects and the most abominable of heresies, is handed down by the Demons themselves, on account of the excessive superabundance of the sins of Christians, with the Lord God — provoked and held in contempt — justly permitting it.

For according to the infallible truth foretold by the Saviour, as the world draws near its consummation iniquity will abound and charity will grow cold. And according to the prophecy of the blessed John the Evangelist, Satan will be loosed, who had been bound by Christ: *Apoc. cap. 20*. He is loosed when he is permitted to prevail over human beings more than is usual, to deceive them and to scourge them. For Satan had been cast out by Christ from the principdom he had usurped in the world, as Christ says: *Now shall the prince of this world be cast out. Ioh. capit. 12*.

But when he has been loosed, then he will usurp all over again the principedom that was taken from him, and a wider one — over those who are willing to be made subject to him, for the sake of their own perverse wishes, which he is to fulfil for them. And then he will not seduce by means of heresiarchs, but by means of himself, as prince, and by means of his own subject and fellow-apostate perverse Angels. He will seduce human beings, and will make them apostatize from the true God and from faith in him, and — the principedom now usurped once more — will have himself worshipped and adored.

The Apostle Paul foretold this truth prophetically, relying on divine revelation: *The Spirit* (he says) *has expressly said that in the last times certain persons will depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error and to doctrines of Demons.* 1.Timo.cap.4. In very many passages of his teaching the same Apostle states that heresies and seductions away from the faith were devised and handed down by pseudo-apostles and treacherous men, seducers of the faithful; and the faithful, giving heed to their words as though they were the words of Apostles, were seduced away from the true faith. Here, however, he states that in the last days men will depart from the faith and give heed — not indeed to doctrines of men, but to doctrines of Demons and to spirits of error.

Now the holy Doctors, the expositors of the sacred prophecies, hand down that the deeds which occur at the appointed times

sometimes serve to make the prophecies plain and to make plain their fulfilment, as was evident in the deeds and events surrounding Christ's coming and in the spread and progress of the Church and of the faith. In the same way, then, from a consideration of the doings and the detestable deeds of this horrible sect and heresy of the *fascinari* — in which its devotees give heed and obey the doctrines of Demons and the spirits of error, who appear to them perceptibly while they are awake and consenting — it is clear that the prophecy of the blessed Paul recalled above is fulfilled in them.

But just as, while Christ was preaching and performing great and wonderful works, many were blinded and were not worthy to believe, so now there are many who, although they perceive the manifest *maleficia* of the *malefici fascinari* and even their spontaneous confessions, not only refuse to take cognizance of this pestilential sect, but even disturb and obstruct those who are striving to bring help and to make provision. And this happens at the Devil's prompting, so as to hinder the extirpation, or at least the repression, of his treachery — the treachery by which they [plural in the print, without an expressed subject; the antecedent in the sentence is *Diabolo*, singular [?]] strive to damn their own devotees, estranged from the Catholic faith, and, when invoked by those devotees, to trouble the faithful with countless *maleficia* and harassments.

Those women, however — deluded, as has often been said — of whom mention is made in that same cap.Episcopi., perpetrated no *maleficia* as a result of it, nor did they take up or bring back any means for perpetrating such things.

Thirdly, a difference is apparent between that fantastical illusion of the women, of which the often-cited *cap. Episcopi*. speaks [*de quo loquitur* so printed, for *de qua*, referring to *illusionem* [?]], and this sect and heresy of the *malefici* or *fascinari*, in which these heretics come together really and bodily, with the Demons visibly appearing and speaking.

For persons worthy of credence, examined under oath [*cum iuramento examinatae*], reported that, while walking by night on their own business and cautiously along certain roads, they had seen and perceived — God so willing — the assembly or Synagogue of these *fascinari*, since some light appeared among them by which they could be sufficiently made out; and that they had recognized certain persons there. Afterwards, in the presence of those persons, and with me who write this present and receiving the oath, those same persons worthy of credence judicially affirmed [*iudicialiter asseuerauerunt*] that they had seen the said *fascinaria* persons [*dictas personas fascinarias*] in the said Synagogue, setting out in detail the circumstances of the things they were doing there.

And so those same persons worthy of credence had been utterly terrified from the hour at which they saw this Synagogue, and for some time afterwards, bodily weighed down [*corporaliter grauatae*].

Some women too, from among persons of this kind — *fascinariae* apprehended for that very heresy — affirmed of their own accord [*spontè asseuerunt*] that, while they were in their own Synagogue, they had seen and recognized those same persons worthy of credence passing by chance near the place of their Synagogue, and that for this reason those persons had been afflicted by the operation of the Demons who were present.

Nor is it to be wondered at if those same persons worthy of credence did not see the Demons who were there together with the *fascinari*; for a Demon in an assumed body [*in corpore assumpto*] can appear to one person in such a way that he does not appear to another person who is also present. So we read that the Pythonic woman [*mulier Pythonica*] saw the Devil in the appearance of Samuel [*in specie Samuelis*], whom King Saul, though present, did not see but only heard, as is written in 1. Regum, cap. 28.

It is easy, moreover, for the Devil to create light by night for the purpose of deception. For, as the blessed Augustine relates in 22. lib. de ciuit. Dei., speaking of a certain inextinguishable lamp that stood in a certain shrine or temple of idols [*Phano seu templo Idolorum*], he says that a Demon was able by his own power to make a lamp of that kind, which was put out neither by wind nor by rain. Much more, then, can the Demons create in their own Synagogues, and in those of their *fascinari*, some light by which they may see one another. The deeds of this abominable sect, therefore, are not the illusions of people asleep

but really the bodily actions of people awake.

Fourthly [Quartò], this is also clear from a consideration of the things which the *fascinari* prepare and carry to the Diabolical Synagogues. For the Demons

— so as to advance offence and injury against the divine majesty, so as to ensnare human beings in graver sins, and so as to satisfy their own pride — induce the human beings whom they secure as devotees [*cultores*] to make offerings to them. These offerings are attestations [*protestationes*] of subjection, that is, of the obedience and fidelity promised and rendered to the Demons by their devotees — just as the sacrifices made to God and the offerings presented to him are attestations of true faith, of those who serve devoutly, and of the obedience of those who worship him sincerely. So it is found in Deuteron. cap. 26., where Moses said to the people of God:

When you enter the land which the Lord your God is to give you to possess, and have taken it and dwelt in it, you shall take the first fruits of all your fruits and put them in a basket [Cartallo], and you shall go to the place which the Lord God shall choose, so that his name may be invoked there. And you shall approach the priest who shall be in those days, and shall say to him: I declare today, before the Lord your God, that I have entered the land for which he swore to our fathers that he would give it to us, and so on.

And below: *You have chosen the Lord today, that he may be your God, and that you may walk in his ways, and keep his ceremonies, and obey his command.*

In the same way the perverse Demons also, in the cult of the heresy and sect of the *fascinari*, want offerings to be made to them by their own devotees as an attestation of the treachery and unbelief which those devotees perform and profess in submission to the Demons. For all the *fascinari* make to the Demons a profession entirely contrary to the profession they had made to God on entering the Christian religion, when they received Baptism, which is the entrance and the gate of the Christian religion. For the teaching and the universal rite of the Catholic Church observes everywhere that those who come to baptism renounce the Devil and his works and his pomps, and then offer themselves and declare that they believe in God. This is the profession of the Christian religion and of the Catholic faith.

But all who enter the sect and heresy of the *fascinari* — at the prompting of the Devil, who appears to them visibly — renounce God and his worship, and the veneration of the sacred ministrations of the Church, such as the cross, holy water and the rest of that kind, with blasphemous words and sometimes with insulting profanations of sacred things; and then they offer and profess to the Devil a treacherous fidelity

and adoration and worship, by bending the knee and giving foul kisses. And as an attestation of apostatic treachery of this kind they themselves prepare offerings, which they carry with them to the place of the Diabolical Synagogue and offer to their Demons and leave there — for instance from domestic fowl, livestock, grain, or other things which the *fascinari* have in their own keeping, according to their means. But the women deluded in dreams, of whom c. Episcopi. speaks, made no preparations of offerings of this kind at all.

That the Demons specially require three kinds of offering from their devotees, if they perceive that they can induce them to it.

CAP. OCTAVVM.

Since mention has been made of the sacrifices and offerings of the Demons, we must consider that, according to Holy Scripture, the Demons induce their devotees to perpetrate three more detestable things in worship of themselves. The first is the profanation of sacred things, as we read was done in the profanation, or contamination, of the temple of God built by Solomon, which — at the Devil's instigation — the worshippers of idols in Jerusalem contaminated through idolatry, setting up and worshipping idols within it, in service of the Demons, in the time of the prophet Ezekiel. The Lord, exceedingly offended at this, showed Ezekiel their cult of idolatry inside that same temple, and foretold on this account an implacable divine vengeance upon them, saying to Ezekiel himself, after that offence:

Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they should commit these abominations which they have committed here? For, filling the earth with iniquity, they have turned to provoke me. Therefore I too will act in fury. My eye shall not spare, nor will I have mercy; and they have cried out in my ears with a loud voice, and I will not hear them. Ezech. capit. 8.

For it was not enough for those idolaters to commit the iniquities of their idolatry in other places: rather, so as to please their Demons the more, they performed the cult of the idols in the temple of God, than which nothing was holier under the old law.

The second thing, on which the Demons press their devotees [*cultores*] most insistently, is the cruel oppression of the innocent in service of those same Demons. Holy Scripture recounts that the sons of Israel did this, and it names the punishment added by God, saying:

They immolated their sons and their daughters to devils, and they poured out innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed to the graven images of Canaan

of Canaan. And the land was slain [interfecta] in bloodshed, and was contaminated by their works; and the Lord was angry in fury against his people, and abhorred his own inheritance, and delivered them into the hand of the nations; and those who hated them had dominion over them. Pſal. 105.

The third thing to which the Demons induce their devotees is the offering of human seed or of blood. [The line reads *Tertium non ad ☿ Dæmones inducunt suos cultores*; the *non* does not construe with what follows [?].]

Concerning the offering of human seed in service of the Demon, the Lord made a prohibition to his people through Moses, saying:

If anyone gives of his seed to the idol Moloch, let him die the death, and the people of the land shall stone him. And I will set my face against him, and will cut him off [fuccindamque] from the midst of his people, because he has given of his seed to

Moloch and has contaminated my sanctuary and defiled my holy name. But if the people of the land are negligent, and — as though making little of my command — let the man go who has given of his seed to Moloch, and refuse to kill him, I will set my face upon that man and upon his kindred, and I will cut off from the midst of their people both him and all who have consented with him to fornicate with the idol Moloch. Leu. cap. 20.

The Lord would not have made this prohibition to the people unless an offering of seed of this kind were already being made by certain idolaters.

This, moreover, is understood both of the immolation of sons and of the emission of human seed. For we also read that certain idolaters set up a voluptuous observance of a certain kind, which they called the rites of Priapus. 3. Reg. 15.

As for the offering of human blood in service of the Demon, Holy Scripture relates that on a certain day on Mount Carmel, in the presence of King Ahab and of Elijah, the true prophet of God, and before all the people, four hundred prophets of Baal and four hundred and fifty worshippers of the idols of the groves poured their own blood from their bodies in service of the Demon whom they worshipped, so as to provoke that Demon to perform a marvellous sign before the people. But Elijah's prayer and the power of God stood in the way, and the Demon could do nothing at the invocation of those false prophets. Elijah, by contrast, obtained from the Lord that a great miracle be done there — namely that fire be kindled by divine power to set the sacrifice alight, which had been drenched with much water. Scripture therefore says this of those same false prophets and worshippers of Demons: *They cried out with a loud voice, and cut themselves after their own rite with knives and lancets, until they were drenched with blood.* 4. Reg. 18.

Concerning these men, moreover, as is added in the same place, he commanded the people, saying: *Seize the prophets of Baal, and let not even one of them escape.* And when they had seized them, Elijah led them to the torrent Kishon [*Cifon*] and killed them there.

Then, the justice owed upon those idolaters having thus been carried out, God gave rain in abundance that same day; for it had not rained for three years and six months, that is, right up to that same day, on account of the sin of idolatry. Once justice had been done upon that sin, God was appeased, bestowed rain abundantly, and the affliction of drought ceased.

If, then, according to the infallible truth of the divine Scriptures — in which it is impossible for falsehood to be contained — the Demons were inducing those by whom they were worshipped in idols to practise in their cult the three crimes described above, what wonder is it if these same Demons demand that the same things be done for them by these *fascinarii*, who worship those very Demons: Demons who do not dwell invisibly in manufactured idols, but appear perceptibly in forms or effigies shaped by the Demons themselves?

Now as for the profanation of sacred things [*sacrarum prophanatio*] — who would be equal to recounting the outrages which the utterly treacherous *fascinari*, in their veneration of the Demons, commit against the saving sign of the cross, by spitting and by trampling it underfoot? And — a thing horrible to hear — the most sacred Sacrament of the body of our Lord and Saviour, when they are able to steal it, or to keep back what has been administered to them, they trample underfoot with sacrilegious foot and with treacherous words. For sometimes, under diligent inquisition, they have been convicted of having drawn back out of their mouth with their own hand what had been received and administered to them at Easter. And afterwards they confessed that they had done this at the Demon's command, and had at last trampled it underfoot, in veneration of him and in service to him.

This very year, namely 1458, a certain woman of this sect confessed — of her own accord and judicially, and afterwards in a public sermon — that on several Easter days she had secretly drawn back with her hand, out of her mouth, the sacred host administered to her by the priest, and had then kept it until the following Thursday; and that on that day she carried the host itself to the Synagogue of the *fascinari* and, in the sight of the Demon her Master, trampled it with sacrilegious foot.

In the year before, namely 1457, another woman, apprehended for this heresy, confessed — of her own accord and with groaning, judicially, and then before a great crowd of people at a public preaching — that she had likewise, for thirty years, kept back the sacred host received on each Easter day, and having secretly drawn it back out of her mouth, had trampled that same host underfoot.

About twenty years have now passed since a certain priest in the city of Nevers [*ciuitate Niuernensi*], apprehended for this heresy and sect and degraded from his orders, was being led to the place of execution, the present lord Count of Nevers standing by. As he was making his way past a certain place, or boundary, he asked to be halted there a while, and on bended knees he begged that same Count that, out of reverence for God, he would have a cross set up on that very spot. He assigned the reason for his petition: namely that on one occasion, in that very place, in the sight of the Demon whom he himself had worshipped and in veneration of him, he had trampled underfoot a host consecrated by himself and carried there.

As for the death of innocent infants, perpetrated by the *fascinari* in service of the Demon — as much without baptism as after baptism — there is more need of lamentation than of narration. For certain women of that same sect steadfastly affirmed, publicly and with groaning, right up to their death, that while they were midwives they had cut the throats of many infants, without baptism, at the Demon's inducement and in obedience to him; and one of them, handed over to the secular arm [*brachium seculare*], affirmed that she had destroyed 23 infants in various places without baptism.

But about the offering of human seed there is no need to declare anything further, since all the devotees [*cultores*] of this sect, when they gather with one another in their Diabolical Synagogues,

take their pleasure with the Demons brutishly, disorderedly, foully and most shamelessly, within the cult of the Demons, as has been sufficiently said above. And — a thing horrible to hear — within the last few years a certain priest and a woman lay together carnally in secret inside a church, so that their seed might be mingled with the sacrament of Chrism. This was reported by an Inquisitor who is now Master General of the Order of Preachers and is called Magister Martialis Auribelli de Auinione [Martial Auribelli of Avignon]; he related it to me, the writer of these things, and affirmed it to be true.

These, indeed, are the pursuits of idolaters and of those who worship Demons, and the works which, from the beginning of idolatry, the Demons taught their own idolaters and devotees, from the time when they were worshipped in idols — as sacred scripture records more plainly, saying:

Either sacrificing their own sons, or performing hidden sacrifices, or keeping vigils full of madness, they now preserve neither life nor marriage. And one man kills another out of envy, or grieves him by adultery; and all things are mingled together — blood, murder, theft and dissembling, corruption, faithlessness, disturbance and perjury, tumult, forgetfulness of the good things of God, defilement of souls, alteration of birth, inconstancy of marriage, the disorder of adultery and of shamelessness [impudētiē].

For the worship of unspeakable idols is the cause of every evil, and its beginning and its end. Sap. ca. 14.

It is therefore no wonder — seeing that from ancient times the Demons procured that so many and such great crimes be committed by their devotees within the cult of idols, in which idols the Demons themselves dwelt — if in modern times they procure that the same things, or worse ones, be committed by these *fascinarii*, who worship those Demons as they appear visibly, and who converse with them familiarly.

Now the modern idolaters, the *fascinarii*, are worse and more detestable than those idolaters mentioned in the scripture cited above, for three reasons. The first, indeed, is the dignity of human nature, which through the incarnation of the Son of God has been united to the divinity in the unity of a divine person. From this the whole of human nature received no small dignity and exaltation, was freed from diabolical servitude, and was established in liberty — as the Apostle writes, saying of Christ and of the faithful:

The children, he says, shared in flesh and blood, and he likewise partook of the same, so that through death he might destroy him who held the dominion of death — that is, the Devil — and might set free those who through fear of death were subject to servitude their whole life long. For nowhere does he take hold of the Angels, but the seed of Abraham he takes hold of. Hebr. cap. 2.

The more worthy, therefore, human nature has been made by the benefit of the incarnation, the greater is the injury done to God, and the greater the ingratitude of those who subject that same nature once again to the vilest and

unclean spirits, and reduce it to a most vile servitude under them. The second reason or cause is the faith undertaken by Christians and their acknowledgement of God — men who of their own accord deny him, deny the faith and deny God, so that they may worship the Devil. For the more excellent the benefits are that come from God, and the fuller the knowledge granted concerning him, the greater is the ingratitude and the heavier the fault if his majesty is offended afterwards. This is why the blessed Peter writes, saying:

For if, having fled the defilements of the world in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled in these and overcome, their later state has become worse for them than the earlier. For it was better for them not to have known the way of justice than, after that knowledge, to turn back from the holy commandment which was delivered to them. 2.Pet.ca.2.

The Saviour himself said the same thing about this, in these words:

He who knew his lord's will and did not prepare himself, and did not act according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. Lucæ cap. 12.

But it is not found that those of whom it is said

in the scripture cited above, that they committed such great outrages in the cult of idols, had so great a knowledge of God, or faith; nor that they expressly denied God or the faith in him, as Christians do when they are made heretic *fascinarij* [*hæretici fascinarij*]. From this it is clear that they are worse and more detestable than all other idolaters and unbelievers.

The third cause is that the other, earlier idolaters did not have conferred upon them so many and such great divine mysteries. And the sacred things which Christians have were granted to them from God. And so the earlier idolaters did not profane holy things, since they did not have them — things which these impious *fascinarij*, whenever the opportunity offers, are eager to profane and pollute in service of the Demons whom they worship, as has been said above. The heretic *fascinarij*, therefore, are worse and more execrable than all unbelieving idolaters and heretics.

On the careful consideration to be given to that c. **Episcopi**.

CAP. NONVM.

Since frequent mention has been made above of the chapter that begins *Episcopi* — the one Gratianus [Gratian] inserted among the rest in his book at 26. q. 5. — to which

chapter *Episcopi* certain men attend incautiously and dangerously, and so put no small obstacle in the way of rooting out the sect and heresy of the *fascinarij*, which from this receives favour and increase: for that reason something must be said, both about the authority of that same chapter *Episcopi* and about its tenor.

As to its authority, the first question that arises is by whom the chapter *Episcopi* had been made. For Gratian asserts that it was taken from the *concilium Acquirensē*. But that *concilium Acquirensē* was not one of the general or universal councils. It was a particular council of certain churchmen, and for that reason

it does not carry the authority that general or universal councils carry, nor the authority of the statutes or teachings of the supreme Pontiffs or of the holy Doctors.

Accordingly, Gratian took care to set at the head of each chapter of his book — the book called *of the Decreta* [*qui dicitur Decretorum*] — the authors of those chapters, so that the prudent reader might know how to distinguish and judge, or rather weigh, the authority of the individual chapters; for not all the sayings, or the chapters contained in that same book, are of equal weight or authority. This is because a chapter draws some weight of authority from its own authors, cited by Gratian himself at the beginning of each chapter. And this is also why certain chapters contained in that same book are called *palex*, because they are not propped up by the weight of sufficient authority.

That chapter *Episcopi*, then, is not of such repute as most of the other chapters of that same book, since from its very tenor it is plain that it was made in a rather disordered and slight way, and crudely — as the following makes clear. For in proving that the representation [*repræsentatio*] made to certain women, of whom that chapter speaks, was made only in their spirit — that is, in the interior *fantasia* [*interior fantasia*] alone, and not by the bodily experience of the exterior senses — it brings in two examples from sacred scripture, namely of the Prophet Ezekiel and of the Apostle Paul, saying:

But who would be so foolish and dull as to judge that all these things, which happen in the spirit alone, occur in the body as well — seeing that the Prophet Ezekiel saw and heard the visions which are the Lord's in the spirit, not in the body, as he himself says: Straightway, he says, I was in the spirit. And the Apostle Paul does not dare to say of himself that he was in the body, but says: Whether in the spirit, or outside the body, I do not know; God knows.

But whatever may be the case concerning the illusion worked on the women in the spirit alone, of which that same chapter *Episcopi* speaks, this is nevertheless not effectively proved from the example brought in from Ezekiel, who says that he was in Jerusalem in spirit, in visions. For if Ezekiel was in Jerusalem in spirit only, in visions, in such a way that he could not be there in body, and that his body could not be bodily transferred from Chaldea, where it then bodily was, then the proof would be a true one which that chapter *Episcopi* intends to make — namely, that those women were in spirit only and not in body in their visions, and that they were deluded in dreams.

But that proof is ineffective. For although Ezekiel was in body in Chaldea when he was in spirit in Jerusalem, in the visions of God, it could also quite easily have come about bodily [*incorporaliter* as printed; the sense requires *corporaliter*] that he was not only in Jerusalem in spirit, but was also carried and transported there, present in body — as we read of the prophet Habakkuk [*Abacuc*], who by angelic power was transported in body out of Judea into Chaldea, to Daniel in the lions' pit, and again restored from there into Judea, Daniel. capit. 14., where it is said thus:

Now Habakkuk the prophet was in Judea, and he had cooked a stew, and had broken bread into a bowl, and was going into the field to carry it to the reapers. And the Angel said to Habakkuk: Carry the meal which you have in Babylon to Daniel, who is in the lions' pit. And Habakkuk said: Lord, I have not seen Babylon, and I do not know the pit.

And the Angel of the Lord took hold of him by the crown of his head, and carried him by the hair of his head, and set him in Babylon above the pit in the rush of his spirit. And a little further on it goes on: Moreover the Angel of the Lord restored Habakkuk at once to his own place.

We likewise read of the blessed Philip that, after he had baptized on a certain road a man who was a eunuch of Queen Candace, he was personally snatched away by the spirit of the Lord from the place where he had baptized him, and set down in the city of Azotus. Of this the scripture speaks thus: *And when they had come up out of the water, the spirit of the Lord carried Philip off, and the eunuch saw him no more. For he went on his way rejoicing. But Philip was found at Azotus.* Act. cap. 8.

Visions and apparitions [*apparitiones*] of things, therefore, can come about both by the spirit alone and also with the body of the one seeing really transported to the presence of the things. From this it is clear that the example of Ezekiel's vision in the spirit is ineffective for the purpose of that same chapter *Episcopi*. The citation brought in about Paul's rapture [*raptus*], recited above, serves this purpose even less. For the blessed Paul was not unaware that he had not been bodily caught up into heaven, since throughout the three days for which his rapture lasted he himself was in the body, perceptibly, at Damascus, in the street called

Straight, in the house of Judas, where for those three days he remained in the body, neither eating nor drinking, nor even seeing. And this was a matter of public knowledge to that Judas and to his household, and to Ananias, who had been sent there by the Lord and who after those three days baptized Paul in that same place, as is written Act. c. 9. Nor was Paul unaware of this.

But at the time when he recounted that rapture and heavenly vision of his — that is, fourteen years having elapsed from the time of the rapture of his vision itself — he himself did not know whether, in that rapture or vision in Christ, his soul had been drawn out of the body and led to the heavens, or whether, the soul remaining, that vision which is called a rapture had then been made to him while he was in the body. In that rapture or vision, as the holy Doctors commonly assert, blessed Paul saw the blessed Trinity face to face. For he clearly saw the divine essence which the saints see in heaven, and this vision Paul himself calls his rapture up to the third heaven. Now this vision could have come about in either way — that is, with the soul really transported to heaven, where the souls of the blessed are. It could also have come about with his soul remaining with the body. And so Paul, in narrating his rapture or vision, did not know whether the soul had been transported to heaven or

whether it had remained in the body; but he is not unaware that he was not transported in

body into heaven. From this it can easily be gathered how ineffectively and how irrelevantly this recital of Paul's was inserted into that chapter *ca. Epi.* to prove that the women of whom mention is made in that chapter had not been bodily with Diana. For even if this were so, the citation of the rapture of blessed Paul, which was not bodily, does nothing to prove it.

Next, in the same chapter *c. Epi.*, once those two examples of Ezekiel and Paul have been set down to prove that the women mentioned in that chapter were deluded in the spirit alone, there is added immediately within it: *to whom it is to be publicly announced thus, that whoever believes such things and things like them loses.* For these words are set down quite ambiguously and confusedly. Anyone who believes that Diana is some real thing, in which divine power resides, or something on account of which divine worship or reverence or homage is owed to her — as those women believed — that man does lose the faith. But anyone who believes that Demons can appear outwardly to the bodily senses in order to tempt, or who believes that Demons can bodily carry certain men, or women, from one place to another from time to time — that man does not lose the faith on that account; rather, in this he holds the right and catholic faith. For the Devil appeared perceptibly to Christ, whom he set upon the pinnacle of the temple, and again on a very high mountain, as the holy

Gospel.

Next, near the end of that same *c. Episcopi.*, it is said: *Whoever therefore believes that any creature can be made, or changed for better or for worse, or transformed into some other appearance [speciem], by anyone but the Creator himself and our Lord Jesus Christ, who made all things and through whom all things were made, is beyond doubt an unbeliever, and worse than a pagan.*

These words are piled up dangerously enough and too generally, and there is real need to sort them out carefully and to resolve them more clearly. Granted, then — as it is written in *Ecclef. cap. 1.* — that there is one almighty Creator, who established each thing in its own nature, who implanted in individual things their own powers, and gave [those powers] to the things he founded, and established all things in mode, form and order [*in modo, specie & ordine*], as Augustine says in *lib. de natu. bon. [De natura boni]*; and granted that he alone can, according to his own good pleasure, do whatever he wills outside the order he has established in his creatures — as to raise the dead, to give light to the blind, and to heal infirmities in an instant. Nevertheless, many of the things he founded can also be changed through the actions and powers that God himself has granted to other things. For God himself has placed in his own things, according to the disposing [*disponentem*] of his incomprehensible wisdom, active and passive powers of various kinds, which blessed Augustine calls the seeds of things,

or the seminal reasons [*feminales rationes*]. From their power, and from their application to one another in due order — whether by what is inborn [*per natiuam*] or by art — there follows the change of things and a new generation.

It was in just this way that, when Moses at God's command had cast his rod upon the ground in Pharaoh's sight and it had been miraculously turned into a serpent, the Egyptian *malefici*, summoned by Pharaoh himself, each cast their rods upon the ground before Moses, and these were likewise turned into serpents — not, however, by divine power working miraculously, as it had worked in the turning of Moses' rods, but with a Demon cooperating, subtly and imperceptibly applying to the rods certain things by whose power he knew that serpents could naturally be generated out of rods. For worms too are sometimes generated naturally out of certain woods, and within those woods themselves; and in certain rotted woods a serpent is sometimes found in the place of the pith.

Demons, in fact, know the natures of things and their active and passive powers and qualities better than all the philosophers do. They know where those things are and where they reside, for by nature they are exceedingly quick [*agillimi*]. They are also powerful beyond all corporeal things, and for that reason they can easily do many wonders really, by the application already described — wonders which, to those ignorant

of the causes of the things done, are thought to be miracles, or perhaps phantasms [*fantasmata*].

For this reason the blessed Augustine, treating the matter of the turning of rods into serpents by the Magi — as it stands in the gloss on Exod. ca. 7. [gloff. super Exod. ca. 7.] — says: *For there are present in all corporeal things, throughout all the elements of the world, certain hidden reasons; and when the opportunity of time has been given them, they break forth into the appearances [species] owed to their own modes and ends.* In the same place another gloss of the same author says: *Demons, evil though they are, have not lost their own nature; and therefore, while by their incantation the malefici are trying to accomplish something, they run about through the world and suddenly fetch the seeds of those things which are at issue, in such a way that out of them, God permitting, they produce new appearances of things.*

So it is clear that the rods were made serpents by the ministry of Demons, and that in the same way they made blood and frogs out of water. The *malefici* are said to have done such things because they secretly invoked the Demons, whom they worshipped, to do this; but it was the Demons who did these things in the way just touched on. Of this it is written in Exod. cap. 7.: *And Pharaoh called the wise men and the malefici, and they too did the like by Egyptian incantations and by certain secret arts; and each of them cast down their rods, which were turned into dragons.* Likewise in

the same chapter, after the waters had been turned into blood at the touching of the water by Moses' rod, it says: *And the malefici of the Egyptians did likewise with their incantations.* Again in the following chapter, after the turning of

the water into frogs by God's power, it says: *And the malefici did likewise by their incantations, and brought frogs up over the land of Egypt.* And although the conversions worked at Moses' word were miraculous, those worked by the ministry of Demons were not, as is clear from what has been said above.

Moreover, according to the teaching of blessed Augustine and of the other holy Doctors [sanctorū DD.], Demons by their own natural power, in the manner set out above, can form out of air and elemental matter certain bodies in which they appear to men in various forms. And granted that bodies of this kind are true bodies, perceptible to sense — that is, visible, palpable and able to be smelled, as the Demon made a visible body when he appeared to Christ to tempt him, as is said in Matth. cap. 4. — bodies of this kind are nevertheless not living, as was said above. On this the blessed Augustine himself, in 3. lib. de Trinitatē capit. 11., says: *For it is easy for the most wicked spirits to make many bodies through the air, at which souls weighed down by earthly bodies marvel.*

Whoever, then, believes that in the manner already described, by the ministry of Demons, some things can be changed afresh, or that new bodies can even be formed afresh — such a man does not lose the faith. On the contrary, he holds the right and Catholic faith, whatever may be said in the often-mentioned and cited c. Episcopii.

In accordance, then, with that same operation of the Demons set out above, bodies are formed by them in various ways; and in these bodies they appear to the heretic *fascinari* and hold communication with them in their conventicles and execrable Synagogues, as will be shown below in cap. 14.

That the power of the Demons is great, although they are reprobated by God

CAP. DECIMVM.

According to the doctrine of the blessed Dionysius: although the will of the Demons — that is, of the malign spirits — is depraved, and is turned away from God and perverted through their own iniquities, nevertheless the Angelic nature in which they were created by God, and their natural power, have remained wholly intact in them. And so, just as the Devil surpasses all bodily creatures in perfection of nature, so too he exceeds them in vigour of power. That is why

sacred scripture says of him: *There is no power upon earth, it says, that could be compared with him, who was made to fear no one. He beholds every high thing; he is king over all the children of pride.* Iob. cap. 41.

The Lord Jesus Christ, too, compares himself to the Devil as the stronger man to the strong one. For when Christ had cast a certain Demon out of a dumb man, and so the crowds, perceiving the dumb man speak, were marvelling at Christ's power, the perverse and envious Pharisees said that Christ cast out demons by Beelzebub, prince of the demons [*in Beelzebub principi Dæmoniorum*] — as if to say that he was casting out the lesser and subject demons not by his

own power, but through the invocation of Beelzebub, the great prince of the demons. Christ, wishing to assert that he was casting out the demons by his own power — which is assuredly stronger for expelling demons than their power is for invading and besieging or possessing men — said, speaking of himself in relation to the Demon:

When a strong man armed guards his courtyard, all that he possesses is in peace; but if a stronger man comes upon him and overcomes him, he carries off all his weapons, in which he had put his trust. Luc. ca. 11.

In this passage Christ understands by the courtyard the man possessed by the Demon through the violence of the Demon's strength; but Christ, being the stronger, conquered and overcame the Demon by casting him out of the possessed man.

The blessed Paul the Apostle too, considering the great power of the Demons, our adversaries, and setting it out for our health in view of our frailty and human weakness, says:

Our wrestling, he says, is not against flesh and blood, but against the Principalities and Powers, against the rulers of this world of darkness, against the spiritual weapons of wickedness in the heavenly places. Ephes. capit. 6.

It is indeed because of this great power of the Devil that sacred scripture compares him to terrifying things. Christ compared him to lightning, saying: *I was watching Satan fall from heaven like lightning.* Luc. cap. 10. The Apostle Peter, for his part, compares him to a lion, saying: *Be watchful, because your adversary the Devil goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; resist him, strong in faith.* 1. Petri cap. 5. But the blessed John compares him to a dragon, saying of Christ under the name of an Angel:

He laid hold of the Dragon, the ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him, &c. Apoc. 20.

On the exercise of the Demons' power in regard to men, by tempting them to sins

CAP. XI.

The word of the blessed Apostle Peter written a little earlier is certainly worthy of constant and necessary meditation by all who pass their lives in the perilous pilgrimage of this world — the word in which it is said: *Be sober, &c.* For as many as the Devil, by tempting, leads into consent to mortal sin, so many does he devour and incorporate into himself, making them members of the body of iniquity, whose head he himself is. For if he did not, together with his perverse will, have the power to tempt, the blessed Peter would have said to no purpose that he must be resisted in strength of faith.

And because the condition of human nature is frail and weak, therefore among the necessary petitions to be offered to God it is said in the Lord's Prayer: *And lead us not* — that is, do not permit us to be led — *into temptation:* that is, into consent to the temptation that presses upon us. For the Demons

are adversaries most cunning and most strong, as is clear from what the Apostle said, as was touched on above: *Our wrestling is not*, &c.

To see, then, at least in a cursory way, how the Devil is able to tempt human beings, we must, it seems, consider the following. Although the human soul is indivisible in its essence and substance, it is nevertheless distinguished, in respect of its power and its operation, into a higher and a lower part.

The higher part contains intellectual cognition, which is sometimes called reason, and it also comprises the free will, which is sometimes called the intellectual appetite [*appetitus intellectiuus*]. This higher part of the human soul is called by an ancient word *animus*, as when it says: *We do not believe that the Demons enter substantially into the animi by their operation* [*illabi animis*] — in the book *On Ecclesiastical Dogmas* [*de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*], cap. 51. Sometimes the same source calls it the human mind, over which God alone has immediate power, as Augustine himself says in the same book: namely, that God alone enters into human minds. And so it is said at Prouerb. 21.: *The heart of a man is in the hand of God; he will turn it to whatever he wills*. Over this part of the human soul, therefore, neither the Devil nor anyone else has power directly, nor can it be compelled to consent to anything except by God alone, since it is purely free. And for this reason every sin — that is, the evil or disordered consent of the will — is voluntary. Hence the blessed Augustine,

in the book *On Free Choice of the Will* [*de libero arbitrio*]: *By nothing else*, he says, *is the mind of a man made a slave to lust than by its own will*. There he gives the name *libido* to every iniquity, because iniquity is committed at the will's own pleasure [*pro voluntatis libito*].

In respect of this higher part of the soul, then, the Devil cannot tempt human beings directly, since he can neither alter nor compel human wills by operating on them directly, or by applying his power to the wills themselves.

The other part of the soul, the one that is lower, is called the sensitive part, or *sensualitas*, and in it human beings have something in common with beasts, that is, with the brutes. For the souls of brutes, because of their imperfection, are wholly immersed in their own bodies, that is, in corporeal matter, and therefore have no operation except with the body. Human souls, by contrast, because of their perfection, are not wholly immersed in matter, that is, in their own bodies; and for that reason they possess the higher, intellective part already spoken of, all of whose operations are carried out without any bodily organ or instrument — whereas the sensitive part of the soul, just like that of the other animals, has its actions and passions only through the body and with the body, as has been said. This lower part contains the *fantasia* [the imaginative faculty] and the sensitive

appetite.

Every operation of tempting, then, which the Demon performs inwardly upon human beings appears to be carried out either by working upon the *fantasia*, procuring things there or setting certain representations before it; or else by working upon the sensitive appetite, inciting and moving it toward

something, so that the will is inclined to evil and to a disordered consent. And so the Demon cannot lead human beings from within into the sin that is committed by the will, except by way of inclination and persuasion.

Now according to the doctrine of the saints, the Devil operates upon these lower things by local motion. Hence the blessed Thomas says that the Devil can create all those things which can arise from the local motion of lower bodies, unless he is restrained by the power of God — *prima fecundæ* q. 80. articulo 2. And since representations sometimes arise in the *fantasia* naturally, as the Philosopher says in the book *On Sleep and Waking* [*de somno & vigilia*], and as was said above, the Devil can therefore, by stirring up the humours and the spirits, cause many representations in the *fantasia* of human beings, whether they are asleep or awake. The sensitive appetite too is naturally roused to certain passions in accordance with some determinate motion of the heart and of the spirits — and that

motion the Devil can cause. So it comes about that the Devil at one and the same time both procures representations of certain things in the *fantasia* and rouses the sensitive appetite strongly and vehemently toward them, toward what is represented in the *fantasia*. From this it frequently happens that a man, spurred on by a vehement passion, judges that the thing is to be pursued and equally consents to pursuing it; and so consent comes about under the operation and temptation of the Devil, whether in the presence of the object — as when he sees some delightful thing — or even in its absence.

In this way the Devil tempted David to pride, when he made him number the people of his kingdom out of empty glory, so that it might appear that he could muster men fit for arms and for war if he wished. For David had earlier been in great tribulations and dangers, and at one point was all but cast out of his kingdom, and he had many wars; yet he was delivered by divine help, and at last GOD gave him peace on every side, enlarged his kingdom, and subjected his enemies to him. The Devil, wishing to throw both David himself and his kingdom — that is, the kingdom of Israel — into disorder, tempted him to pride and empty glory, which God would not long tolerate without punishment. And of this temptation scripture says: *There rose up moreover, Satan against Israel, and he stirred up David to number Israel.* 1. Paralip. cap. 21.

For the Devil brought back to David's own memory and *fantasia* the victories he had won — even though at one time he had had many enemies, whereas now he held the whole kingdom in subjection. From this David began to think how great a force of strong men he could muster, now that his kingdom was at peace and enlarged; and the Devil urged him vehemently to learn the number of his own men, which he made out [*extenuabat*] to be very great.

For although there were twelve tribes in the kingdom of Israel, in one tribe alone — that is, the tribe of Judah — three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men were found, and in seven other tribes a thousand thousand and a hundred thousand. Two tribes were not numbered, because the man appointed to number them — that is, Joab — did this unwillingly, knowing that God

was offended by this empty glory and would not let it pass without grave punishment, as indeed he did not. For a most grave punishment followed, as is recounted in the same place, since God was deeply offended by such a sin of pride and empty glory.

In this way the Demon tempted Theophilus, of whom we spoke above: through resentment at his own deposition, and through elation and ambition for the dignity he had lost — for which reason Theophilus had recourse to the Devil's help; and that Devil stirred up the Bishop and inclined him to a favourable disposition toward Theophilus.

In the same way the Devil tempted Judas with avarice, frequently bringing back into his *fantasia* the representation of the money he carried, out of what was given to Christ. The Devil drew his affection and his appetite toward the love of money, and so he kept it gladly and parted with it unwillingly; and because from time to time he had to distribute something out of it at Christ's command, he therefore stole part of it to satisfy his own appetite, which took its delight in money. Then the Devil brought back to his *fantasia* the memory of the Jews' hatred against Jesus, and of their settled will to seize him if they could find a suitable way.

From this Judas, corrupted by avarice and prompted by the Devil, imagined that the Jews would gladly give money to the man who would conveniently hand Jesus over to them. He consented to the suggestion, went to the Jews, and sold Christ for a price, driven on by the Devil — *Lucæ* cap. 22. For the text says: *Now Satan entered into Judas, who was surnamed Scharioth, one of the twelve; and he went off and spoke with the chief priests, etc.* And at *Matthæi* 26. it is said that he himself said to them: *What are you willing to give me, and I will hand him over to you?* Now this

entry, which Luke reports, is that operation which the Devil then worked within him, by subtly moving his *fantasia* and his sensitive appetite.

This is also how we are to understand what Augustine says in the book *On the Divination of Demons* [*de diuinatione Dæmonum*], speaking of the demons: *They persuade (he says) in wondrous and unspeakable ways, penetrating by that subtlety the bodies of men who do not perceive it, and mingling themselves with their thoughts by means of certain imaginary sights, whether of those asleep or of those awake.* He says "imaginary sights" pointedly, because the demons have no power over the human will, which belongs to the higher part of the soul, but only over the lower part, to which the imaginative faculty and the *fantasia* belong, as has been said.

In this same way Satan also tempted Ananias and Sapphira [*Zaphiram*] his wife, when they wished to commit a fraud before the Apostles over the price of a certain field that had been sold, and to lie about it out of avarice. So the Apostle Peter said to Ananias: *Ananias, why has Satan tempted your heart, that you should lie to the Holy Spirit and defraud concerning the price of the field?* — *Acto.* cap. 5.

In the same way he has tempted some to anger, by bringing back to their *fantasia* the representation of those they are indignant with; then, by stirring the bile and also the blood about the heart, he incites them to revenge. This is why the Psalmist says: *Be angry and do not sin; let not the sun set upon your anger; do not give place to the Devil.* Ephe. ca. 4.

By this same means he tempts to other vices, the more dangerously the more imperceptibly — because invisibly and imperceptibly, as was said above from the blessed Augustine, he penetrates the bodies of men who do not perceive it. Most men do not notice the Devil's presence, and he does not act except where he is himself present.

Now the Demon's efficacy [*efficatio*] is an operation for arousing or stirring up the humours and the spirits toward the passions or affections of sins, greater [?] in the presence of external objects than in their absence — as a man is in the presence of a woman, and the other way round. And so many prudently fled the company of the world and settled in deserts and in places remote from people; and to this day a great many enter religious orders of solitude and cloisters, where the regular life is observed, because, as is written at 1. Iohã. 5., *the whole world is set in wickedness*. This is on account of the presence and frequent encounter of objects that draw people toward sins, and it is through these that the Devil tempts more violently and more often.

So Augustine says at li. 83. quæst. 12.: *Act, he says, O wretched mortals, act, lest ever the malign spirits pollute this dwelling — lest it defile by way of the senses, that is, violate the holiness of the soul and becloud the light of the mind. This evil creeps in through every avenue of the senses: it gives itself to shapes, adapts itself to colours, clings to dreams [somnia], lurks in anger and in the deceitfulness of speech; it puts itself beneath smells, pours itself into tastes, and with the flood of turbid motion darkens all with shadowy affections; it fills the senses with a kind of mist, and all the channels of the understanding, through which the ray of the mind is accustomed to spread abroad the light of reason, &c.*

The manner, then, in which the Demon tempts men inwardly is through a disturbance of the humours and the spirits — either to produce representations in the *fantasia*, or by stirring up the sensitive appetite toward certain passions, by which a man's will is inclined and enticed to pursue the passion and to give its consent to that pursuit.

On the exercise of the Demons' power in inflicting on men sicknesses, pains, wasting illnesses, vexations and impediments to the use of the limbs, operating only from within

CAP. XII.

Given the manner of diabolical operation already described, by which the Devil, penetrating men's bodies subtly and imperceptibly, moves what is lower in a man, it can readily be grasped how he can — if God permits it — cause by his power [*suam potestatem*, so printed] [?] sicknesses, pains, wasting illnesses,

and even frenzied passions and derangements of the senses, through an interior disturbance, and this even without the placing or application of any external thing, but by an interior operation alone: by penetrating the body and stirring up disturbances within. God nevertheless permits this according to the order of his incomprehensible providence, by judgements most just, though to us incomprehensible and unknown, except in so far as he has deigned to reveal them to us.

For since health consists in an equal adjustment [*adæquatio*] or proportion and fitting disposition of the humours, and in the sound condition of the limbs, the Devil — if it is permitted him by God — can by his own power penetrate the body and move the humours and the spirits, as has been said. And that he can also reach the inner organs appears plainly, since he himself can produce in the body disordered disturbances, from which there immediately follows an indisposition and disturbance of the health and tranquillity of the inner organs. From this there sometimes follows pain and wasting, or sickness, or a most grave bodily vexation. There is a clear example of this in scripture concerning King Saul, driven and vexed by the Devil, as it is said at 1. Reg. 16. that an evil spirit drove him. Now a driving [*exagitatio*] is a kind of violent or vehement disturbance. He was not, however, driven continuously, but from time to time.

The blessed Paul too said of himself: *Lest the greatness of the revelations, he says, exalt me, there was given me a sting of my flesh, an Angel of Satan, to buffet me* [*colaphifet*]. 2. Corinth. 12. On this text, says the gloss which is taken from the blessed Augustine, where he says: *That he may buffet me — by inflicting tribulations and pains*. For Paul is reported to have been violently driven by a certain pain of the head. Pains of the body are for the most part sent by the Angels of Satan, but they cannot do this unless permitted.

Before this gloss another gloss is set, taken from the book *Against Faustus* [*contra Faustum*], by the same Augustine, in which it is said: *So far was the just man handed over to be buffeted by the Angels of Satan, which through him the unjust were handed over to Satan himself* [?].

To the confirming of this same point the Gospel history serves which St Luke recounts at cap. decimo tertio. For the understanding of it

it is necessary first to set down that the malign spirit sometimes takes its name from its effect, so that it is sometimes called a dumb spirit, or even a deaf one — namely when it makes some person whom it possesses dumb or deaf. This is plain at Marci capit. 9., where Christ, casting a certain malign spirit out of a certain possessed man, said: *Deaf and dumb spirit, I command you, go out of him*. In the same way too the Devil is a spirit of infirmity when he causes an infirmity.

This being presupposed, the Gospel history mentioned above is to be recounted. For it reports that in a certain synagogue, where Jesus was teaching on the Sabbath. There was in that same place a woman who had a spirit of infirmity for eighteen years; she was bent over and could not look upward at

all, and Jesus, by laying on his hands, healed her perfectly. At this the ruler of the synagogue [*Archifŷnagogus*] was indignant, because he had healed her on the Sabbath day, on which it was not lawful to work. Christ answered him: *Hypocrite, does not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the manger and lead it to water? But this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound — behold, for eighteen years — ought she not to be loosed from the bond on the Sabbath day?* From Christ's words it is clear that the infirmity and the bending, or bodily curvature, of this woman were caused by the power of the Demon, who had bound her with the bonds of infirmity and of a violent bending down. The Evangelist himself likewise states that she had a spirit of infirmity. Those, then, who maintain that Demons cannot cause bodily infirmities plainly depart from the truth of the Gospel and from the doctrine of Christ.

Nor are infirmities alone caused by the Demons [*causantur Dæmones*, so printed]: alienations of the senses and fits of madness are caused as well — a thing perfectly well known to any person of understanding who regularly attends the hearing of Masses, from the reading out of a great many Gospels. There is therefore no need to dwell any longer on the demonstration of this point. By the same reasoning the Demons can also, from within, hasten on infirmities in bodies in which some disposition toward them is already present.

As for the impediment to the use of the limbs, it was said a little earlier that the Demon whom Christ cast out of a certain possessed man made him dumb and deaf, because it impeded the tongue and speech, and the ears from hearing. In the same way it can act upon the sight of the eyes and upon the use of the other limbs, as is found in the legend of Saint James the Apostle, where the Demons immobilized Philetus and impeded the use of his legs and feet, so that he could in no way walk; and the blessed James freed him from that impediment.

The laws concerning the frigid and the bewitched [*Iura de frigidis & maleficiatis*] were not laid down in vain. Those are called *maleficiati* who, by a maleficent diabolical operation, are impeded from carnal union, although by nature they are fit for it. It has been established that this impediment of *maleficium* comes about in two ways. In one way, by the withdrawal [?] [*substructionem*] or excessive weakening of the power of performing the carnal act, while the affection of the impeded party toward the other spouse nevertheless remains. From this it frequently happens that, though the love of the two parties for one another remains, bodily union between them still cannot take place. For just as the Demon can by a disturbance arouse the appetite, and the members, to the venereal act, so too it can draw back or hold back the spirits and the other things belonging to the carnal act, so that they do not reach or flow to the service of that passion.

In the other and graver way the *maleficium* takes effect — as I, who write this, have frequently seen — namely, that the *maleficata* person cannot bear the presence or the company of the other party; for as often as the other party comes near the *male-*

ficata person, even though the sufferer does not see the approach, she is nevertheless at once tormented [the page prints *maleficium* as the subject of *torquetur*] and vexed inwardly throughout the whole body, and is driven by the violence of the vexation to flee, sometimes with loud cries. A vexation of this kind is produced by the operation and disturbance of the Demon already spoken of many times. Since, however, infirmities, pains and wasting illnesses, and the other vexations of the passions, are so many roads and dispositions toward death. The death of human beings frequently follows from these oppositions [*oppositionibus*] of the Demons already described. There is no doubt that the Demons can exercise the operation already described upon cattle and brute beasts in this same manner, inflicting infirmities, wasting illnesses, pains and death, just as upon human persons.

On the exercise and effect of the power of the Demons in inflicting infirmities, wasting illnesses, pains and the other harms on men from without

CAP. XIII.

In two ways the Demons can afflict men from without. In one way, by manifest violence, as is read in the passion of Saints Cosmas and Damian: Lysias the Prefect called them *malefici*, and at once there follows: *And when this had been said, immediately two Demons were present and struck him most grievously in the face.*

In the legend of the blessed Agnes too it is said that, when the Prefect's son tried to fall upon her, before he touched her with his hand he fell on his face and, choked by the Devil, died.

Holy scripture likewise reports of Sara, a devout virgin: *that she had been given to seven husbands, and a Demon by the name of Asmodeus had killed them when they had gone in to her.* Thob. fecundo capit. The Angel Raphael assigned as the cause of this their corrupt and lustful intention, as is said there at capit. duodecimo.

The Devil is read to have exercised his power from without not only upon sinful men but also upon the just — God nevertheless permitting it not without cause — as was recounted above concerning the scourging of the blessed Anthony, carried out by Demons perceptibly. Of the just man Job too it is written: *And so Satan went out from the Lord, and struck Job with a most grievous ulcer from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head; and he scraped the discharge with a potsherd, sitting on a dunghill.* Iob. 2. c.

In the other way the Devil [exercises] his own [?] from without upon men, by afflicting them he exercises his power — not openly, to be sure, but secretly and imperceptibly: by applying poisoned things to them, for instance, in the way that human poisoners [*homines venefici*] subtly poison people without food or drink [*sine cibis vel potibus*], or else by poisoning things that people touch, such as garments or seats. So it is related by some that Averroes poisoned

Avicenna by placing poison on the leaves of a book which Avicenna was accustomed to handle.

Moreover, the Devil can easily infect the air surrounding people, in various ways and toward various and perverse effects — of infirmities, or of wasting illnesses, or of pains, or of vexations, or even of death. Once the air has been infected in this way, people who breathe it can very easily be corrupted, or made ill, or afflicted, or even die. Hence the blessed Augustine, in the book *On the Divination of Demons*, chapter 6 [in lib. de diuinatione Dæmonum, capit. 6.], says: *They commonly receive the power to send diseases, and by vitiating the air itself to render it disease-bearing.* When, therefore, a Demon is permitted by divine judgment to work *maleficium* upon some person and to use its own power, it can infect and corrupt the air surrounding such a person, by day or by night, as has been said; and once that air has been infected, such a person must necessarily draw it inward in breathing, and so contracts infirmity, or some other injury to the body. For it is naturally established that certain infirmities are contagious. And so the air surrounding persons who are suffering from infirmities of this kind is corrupted by their breathing, and once it has been infected other persons who are present are infected in turn — as is plain in the case of leprosy and of the plague, which is commonly called *Epidimia*, or Pestilence. And so, in the way already described, the Demons can cause many infirmities and sometimes death, the Lord God justly permitting it.

Certain ignorant men therefore boast very foolishly when they assert that they do not fear the Demons or the *malefici*, nor their *maleficia*, unless the *malefici* themselves come near in person to those who boast in this way and administer to them, in drink or in food, some poisoned thing by which they could be harmed. For the Demons can do this invisibly, by themselves.

That men are in manifold ways preserved and protected against the Demons by divine providence

CAP. XIII.

By the disposing of divine providence, which knows human frailty and weakness and the malice of the Demons, it comes about that, although the power of the Demons is great, they still cannot do as many and as great evils as they will and desire. For their power is delegated to them through divine providence, and it is by that same divine providence that they are sometimes permitted to use it. And although that providence could coerce and repress the Demons by a mere nod, it has nevertheless, according to the order of its incomprehensible wisdom, appointed that the Demons — those cruel adversaries of men — be impeded both by the ministry of the Angels and by the exercise of men in spiritual things and the divine mysteries, and that men be fortified against them and resist them, as being clothed in the spiritual arms granted by God to human frailty. Hence the blessed Paul, warning the faithful about the eagerness of the Demons to do harm, says: *Put on the armour of God, that you*

may be able to resist the snares of the Devil; for our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of these darkneses, against the spiritual darts of wickedness in the heavenly places [the leaf prints *contra spiritualia nequitiae tela in cœlestibus*, with *tela*]; *therefore*

take up the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day. Ephesians chapter 6 [Ephē. cap. 6.].

But besides the armours of the various spiritual virtues, which the Apostle appends in the same place, there are other armours as well, given to the faithful by divine gift against the wickedness of the Devil. One of them is devout recourse to divine help, and that recourse is made through prayer of various kinds, whether vocal or mental. For many, as David says, are the mercies toward all who call upon God — Psalm eighty [Psalm. octuagesimo.]. For this reason it is said in the Lord's Prayer, *deliver us from evil*, which is not undeservedly understood of the malice of the Devil as well.

It is needful not only that the faithful pray to GOD, but also that they ask that the prayers of the saints be offered before GOD — and especially those of the most blessed Virgin Mary, whose power and patronage avail effectively and singularly for crushing the strength of the enemy. And so it is said in her Hymn: *Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, protect us from the enemy.* Likewise it is frequently said in her office: *Grant that I may praise you, sacred Virgin; give me strength against your enemies.* For the Demons are the enemies of the Mother of God, through whom the human race was set free from their servitude — the race that through Eve had been made subject to their servitude.

The second armour against the assaults of the Demons is to fortify oneself beforehand, devoutly and frequently — that is, to sign oneself — with the sign of the holy cross, by which Christ conquers the Demons by warring them down, as the Apostle says, Ephesians chapter 2 [Ephēf. ca. 2.]. For that reason the Devil greatly fears the sign of the holy cross when it is devoutly taken up, because Christ, fastened upon it, granted it power against the Demons by a just judgment, since it was they who procured that he be fastened upon it. And so it is said in the cross's praises: *Behold the cross of the Lord; flee, opposing ranks.* Hence it is that the *fascinarii*, when they are brought into the sect and the Synagogue, are forbidden to make the sign of the cross.

Very many of them have also confessed of their own accord that, when they first went into the Synagogue, on seeing the unaccustomed thing they signed themselves — suddenly and without forethought, out of their former habit of signing themselves — and that when this was done the Demons at once vanished and their Synagogue was broken up. This tells strongly toward the firmness of the catholic faith and toward the commending of its power and dignity; toward the honour of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he consummated upon the cross; and toward stirring up the glory of the holy cross, and veneration and devotion toward it, and the confidence of the catholic faithful. For if, in the case of those who have been perverted from the faith — perverted, that is, in heart and by consent, and by going to the place where they

busy themselves to accomplish their treachery with the Demons in deed and in word — a sign of the cross made by chance has such great efficacy against the Demons, how great must

the power of that same cross be believed to be, and its defence, in those and for those who make it upon themselves devoutly and faithfully?

For this reason I have thought it right to insert here, out of many, the few examples that follow, taken from ecclesiastical and catholic books.

The blessed Gregory, in the book of the *Dialogues* [in lib. Dialogorū], relates a certain history in this manner: *It comes to mind what the divine mercy did for Andrew, bishop of the city of Fundi. For this man, though he led a life full of many virtues and kept himself in the citadel of continence, was unwilling to put away from the charge of his episcopal house [Episcopij fui cura] a certain nun [fancimonialis] whom he had earlier kept with him; but being sure of his own continence and of hers, he allowed her to go on living with him. The result was that the ancient enemy sought out an entry for temptation in his mind. For he began to impress her appearance [speciem] upon the eyes of that man's mind, so that, being enticed, he might think unspeakable things. Now on a certain day a Jew, coming to Rome from the parts of Campania, was taking the road of Capua [Capuæ iter carpebat]. Reaching the slope of Fundi, and looking about as the day was already drawing on toward evening without at all finding anywhere he could turn aside, he was beside the temple of Apollo, and there he betook himself to stay.*

Dreading the impious sacrilege of that place — although he had no faith at all — he nevertheless took care to fortify himself with the sign of the cross. But in the middle of the night, troubled by the dread of his anxiety, he lay wide awake. Then, looking up suddenly, he saw a crowd of malign spirits going on before, as if in service of some power [in obsequium cuiusdam potestatis]; and the one who presided over the rest had seated himself in the bosom of that place. This one began to examine the cause and the acts of each of the spirits attending upon him, so that every one of them should reckon up how much wickedness he had done. And while the several spirits were setting out, at his inquisition [ad inquisitionem eius], what they had done or had been at work at against the good, one of them leapt out into the midst and disclosed how great a temptation of the flesh he had stirred up in the mind of Bishop Andrew, by the appearance [speciem] of the nun who lived in his episcopal house [in Episcopio eius]. And while the malign spirit who presided listened greedily — reckoning the gain made for himself to be as great as the holiness of the man whose mind he was bending toward the fall of perdition — that spirit who was confessing these same things added that on the day just past, at the evening hour, he had drawn the bishop's mind to this also:

that he should give that same nun a caressing slap on the back. Then the malign spirit, the ancient enemy of the human race, coaxingly urged him on to complete what he had begun, so that he might hold, among all the rest, the singular palm for that man's ruin. And when the Jew who was present saw these things, being awake, and was throbbing with the anxiety of a great fear, some were sent by that same spirit who presided over all those attendants to ask who that man might be who had presumed to

lie down in that same temple. Those malign spirits went and looked more closely, and saw him signed with the mystery of the cross, and said in amazement: Woe, woe — an empty vessel, but a signed one. When they reported this back, the whole crowd of those malign spirits disappeared. But the Jew, who had heard these things, got up at once and came in haste to that same bishop. Finding him in his church, he took him aside and asked what temptation was pressing upon him. The bishop, out of shame, refused to confess his temptation to him.

But when the man said that on such and such a day he had cast the eyes of a depraved love upon the handmaid [printed famula, with no preposition], and the bishop still went on denying it, he added, saying: Why do you deny what you are being asked about, you who this evening past — yesterday's [printed hoc vespere hesterno] — were brought to the point of striking her from behind?

Seeing himself caught out by these very words, the bishop humbly confessed what he had before stubbornly denied. The same Jew, taking thought for the bishop's ruin and for his shame, disclosed how he had come to know this — that is, what he had heard about him in the assembly of the malign spirits. On learning it, the bishop threw himself to the ground in prayer at once, and straightaway drove out of his dwelling not only that same handmaid of God, but every other woman as well who was living there in her service. In the temple of Apollo he promptly made an oratory of the blessed Apostle Andrew, and he was free of all that temptation of the flesh. And the Jew, by whose vision and rebuke he had been saved, he drew to eternal salvation.

One reads the same in the conversion of St Cyprian the martyr, who from boyhood had been trained and practised in the magic art and in the cult of the Demons, and of whom an account is given in the *Speculum historiale* [in *Speculo hifto. libr. 13. cap. 122.*]. This Cyprian [printed Hi, at the end of the line] — in whom the mercy of God shines out so clearly that, although he was the filthiest and most abominable of sinners, such as none is ever read to have been, he was at last so converted that he even endured martyrdom for Christ. For when he was seven years old he was consecrated to the Devil by his parents, and in every way

served the Devil; and keeping in his books of magic the painted images of three hundred and sixty-five Demons together with their offices, he sacrificed many boys, virgins, matrons and strangers to the Demons. A robber among robbers, he plundered men's treasures; and wallowing in every mire of lust, he harassed all Christians with insults, with detractions and with injuries of every kind. Finally, since he did everything to please the Devil and even to outdo the Demons themselves in impieties, he assailed the virgin Justina with entreaties and promises for 80 days.

Of the killing too, and of the manner of the temptation, an account is given in the same book, chapter 19 [in *eodem lib. ca. 19.*]: that a certain man named Acladius desired to have that same Justina as his wife, but she, who had determined to remain a virgin for the sake of God, refused the marriage. He then went to Cyprian the *maleficus*, to have him bend her by the magic art, promising two talents of gold and of silver. For this Cyprian, on several

occasions, called up various Demons and sent them to her. But the blessed Justina, faithfully setting the sign of the holy cross against them, put all the Demons of the temptation to flight. At last Cyprian called up the chief Demon that was his own familiar and sent him; and he, coming to Justina in the appearance [*species*] of a girl and sitting on her bed, said: *Today I have been sent by Christ to you, to live in chastity; but I see you sorely worn by abstinence.* The holy virgin said: *The reward, however, is great, and the labour slight.* The Devil said: *God in Paradise blessed Adam and Eve, saying: Increase and multiply. I think, therefore, that if we remain in virginity we fall into judgment, because we despise the word of God.* Then the virgin was troubled, and perceived in spirit who it was that was speaking to her; and signing herself with the sign of the cross she blew the Devil away.

One reads of her also in the *Golden Legend* [*in aurea legenda*] that this same Demon, in the appearance of a young man, came in to Justina herself upon her bed, busying himself to kiss her and to bend her to consent to lust; but when she set the sign of the cross against him, he vanished. At last Cyprian asked the Demon the cause of so great a repulse and hindrance to him. He answered that it was because of the sign of the cross, which is the sign of Christians, with which Justina fortified herself. With all his power he could not prevail against her. And so Cyprian, converted and baptized by the merit and the instruction of the blessed Justina, and afterwards made a bishop, earned the crown of martyrdom for confessing the faith of Christ.

It is not to be wondered at that the Demons sometimes speak the truth about divine mysteries, since by the order of divine providence they are sometimes compelled to this by the good Angels — for the honour of the faith they hate, and to their own confusion, divine justice duly pressing them to it in this.

The blessed Gregory relates besides, in the book of the *Dialogues* [*in Dialogorum libr.*], that a certain nun [*sanctimonialis*] went into a garden, saw a lettuce, and tasted it; and that she was at once seized by the Devil and grievously tormented, and was set free by St Aequicius [*Equitius*]. This invasion the blessed Gregory ascribes to this: that the nun had forgotten to make the sign of the cross. It is therefore not without reason that a praiseworthy — indeed a salutary — custom has grown up among Christians, that nothing is tasted unless a blessing has first been said over it, with the consignation by the sign of the holy cross [*cum consignatione signo sanctæ crucis*]. Yet among ordinary people this custom is now all but buried in oblivion.

Thirdly, moreover, the sprinkling of holy water, with the invocation of the divine name, greatly hinders the malice and the power of the Demons; for the blessing of water was, among other things, instituted especially against the Demons and against all their malign operations, as is clear from the tenor of the form of its blessing. For in the exorcism of the salt that is mixed with the water it runs like this: *Let there depart from that place where you have been sprinkled, every fantasy and wickedness of Diabolical fraud, and every unclean spirit, adjured.* Likewise, in the blessing of that same salt it runs like this: *Whatever shall have*

been touched or sprinkled with it, let it be free of all uncleanness, let it be delivered from harm and from every assault of spiritual wickedness. Likewise, in the exorcism of the water it runs like this: May you become exorcised water, to put to flight every power of the enemy; and may you avail to root out [printed eradiare] and to uproot the enemy himself, together with his apostate Angels. Likewise, in the same place: For casting out Demons and driving away diseases, let it take on the effect of divine grace. And below: Whatever in the houses or in the places of the faithful this water shall have sprinkled, let it be free of all uncleanness, let it be delivered from harm; let no pestilent spirit settle there, no corrupting air; let all the snares of the hidden enemy depart. Likewise, at the end of the blessing of the water it runs like this: imploring the divine clemency, that wherever it has been sprinkled, through the invocation of your holy name every infestation of the unclean spirit may be cast out, and the terror of the venomous serpent driven far off.

As for what is said in one place of the blessing — *and diseases to be driven away* — this is to be understood chiefly of the diseases that can come about by *maleficium*, through the operation of the Demon. And since the mysteries of the Church

were introduced by the Holy Spirit, it is clear that holy water has great power against the malignity of the Demons, and is a great protection for the faithful.

The power of this consecrated water is clear from the story told in the *Speculum* [in Spec. libr. 18. cap. 56.], where it is said that the holy Marcellus undertook the destruction of a great temple of Jupiter, in which there were enormous columns, of a height equal to the temple. The circumference of each of the columns was sixteen cubits. Moreover the nature of the stone was extremely strong, so that it would not easily be broken by any kind of iron tool. So he dug beneath them all around, set strong timbers under their bases, and put fire to them; but once this was done, the fire could not kindle the timbers in the natural way. For a certain most dreadful Demon appeared, who kept the flame from exerting its powers. And since he did this again and again, so that Marcellus could not carry his undertaking through, they reported it to the Bishop [*Pontifici*] as he slept at midday. But he at once hurried to the church and ordered water to be carried in a small vessel; he bade a deacon of his take the water, and himself began to run swiftly, sprinkling confidently and setting the fire beneath. When this had been done the Demon fled, not bearing the power of that water. And for this

reason it has been salutarily established, and is put into practice, in most places where the faithful live, that in each house they keep holy water continually in clean vessels, which they bring from the church every Sunday; and when they go to bed they sprinkle the bed itself, and nearly every part of the rooms in which they rest, and themselves as well, and the cradles where infants are laid.

Fourthly, frequenting holy places and the divine ministries while they are being celebrated — as is the hearing of Mass, and of the rest of that kind — helps very greatly against the assaults and the power of the Demons. This too

is clear from an example that happened in the time of the blessed Macharius [Macarius], as it is related in the *Speculum historiale* [18. li. c. 70. *historialis Speculi*]. A certain Egyptian man burned violently with love for another man's wife, and could not attain the fulfilment of his lust, because she loved too well the husband of her virginity. That Egyptian went to a certain *maleficus*, with money, asking him to bend her to love him, or at least to make her be repudiated by her husband. And so the *maleficus*, by his art and by invocation, made her appear to the eyes of her husband and of his neighbours as a beast of burden, or rather a mare. The husband was greatly distressed, because his wife gave no answer,

and because she seemed to be a beast of burden; so he tied her up as a beast is tied and brought her to the holy Macarius, who was living in the desert. The holy Macarius, enlightened about this by divine revelation, poured holy water over her and by prayer destroyed the fiction and the diabolical operation that had been worked about that woman; and she appeared as she truly was, a woman — though she had eaten nothing for three days. So he ordered her to be given food, and made her return with her husband, saying these words: *Let her never withdraw from the communion of the holy mysteries, nor from the prayer of the Church. For she suffered all this because for five weeks she had not approached the divine mysteries.*

Therefore the devout and constant frequenting of the church — which is a holy place, the dwelling of God and of the holy Angels, the sanctuary of the holy mysteries, the storehouse of the saving suffrages — both resists the Demons and profits the faithful not a little against the Demons.

Now the Demon was easily able, by his own power, though with God permitting it, to make the form or effigy of a beast of burden about that same woman, over whom he had power because of her lack of spiritual armour [*spiritualis armatura*]. For the blessed Thomas says, in the first part, q. 114, c. 4 [prima parte. q. 114. c. 4.], speaking of the seduction by which the Demon sometimes seduces men by means of marvels. For since the Demon can himself form a body out of air, of whatever shape and figure he pleases, so that by assuming it he appears visibly in it, he can by the same reasoning set around any bodily thing whatever any bodily figure whatever, so that the thing is seen under that figure's appearance [*species*]. It was on this consideration, then, that the Demon formed and set around the body of that same woman the form and figure of a beast of burden, so that the woman seemed to have been made a beast of burden.

Fifthly, the operations of the Demons upon men are hindered by the ministry and the guardianship of the good Angels. For the holy Angels are sent by God to men not only to minister to them the things that belong to their salvation, but also for their guardianship, against the malignity of the Demons. Of their ministry the Apostle says: *Are they not all* — he says — *ministering spirits, sent for ministry for the sake of those who receive the inheritance of salvation?* Heb. cap. 1. And so the blessed Augustine, speaking to God: *The Angels love their fellow*

citizens — he says — through whom they look for the breaches of their own ruin to be repaired. And therefore with great care and watchful zeal they are present to us, coming to our aid at every hour and in every place, providing for our necessities, and running anxiously to and fro among

us, and carrying back our groans and sighs to you, O Lord, to you, so that they may obtain for us the ready propitiation of your kindness, and may bring back to us the longed-for blessing of your grace. They walk with us on all our ways; they go in and come out with us, considering attentively how devoutly, how honourably we conduct ourselves in the midst of a depraved nation, and with how great a longing we seek your kingdom and its justice, and with how great trembling and fear we serve you and rejoice in gladness of heart. They help those who labour, they protect those who sleep and rest, they urge on those who fight, they crown those who conquer; they rejoice together with us when we rejoice, they suffer together with us when we suffer — when we suffer for you, I say. For great is their care for us and the hand of their love toward us, and all of this for the honour of your inestimable charity, with which you have loved us. They love those whom you love, they guard those whom you guard, they hate those whom you hate. This is said in lib. Soliloquiorum, cap. 29.

On the guardianship of the Angels, divine scripture says to the people of God: *He has given his Angels charge concerning you, to keep you in all your ways.* Pf. 70. For in this mortal life, and on a perilous road, and where the malignant spirits, the enemies of men, are past counting and stronger than

men, divine providence assigns to individual men, as they enter this world, individual Angels for their guardianship. So on that word of the Gospel — *Their Angels always see the face of my Father, who is in heaven,* Matth. cap. 18. — the blessed Jerome says: *Great — he says — is the dignity of souls, that every one of them has, from the moment of its birth, an Angel assigned to it by God for its guardianship.*

The holy Angels, then, the guardians of men, do not permit the Demons to harm them as much as they wish, nor to trouble them in any way whatever, except so far and at such times as the Angels themselves — God revealing it to them familiarly — know that God himself wills to permit it; only then and only so far do they permit it. It was in this way that Balaam was hindered by the Angel of the Lord, so that he should not harm the sons of Israel by the invocation of Demons, as is written in Numer. cap. 22.

That the Demons and their devotees the *malefici* help one another in the perpetration of *maleficia*

CAP. XV.

For a twofold reason the Demons use the ministry of their devotees in their operations upon men. The first is that, as is clear from what has gone before, the Demons are impeded in many ways and frequently in the exercise of their power, and are prohibited or kept off from men either by the ministry of the Angels or by the other divine armour set out above; and sometimes what they

cannot do by themselves, they do through the ministry of their devotees the *malefici*, who can come close to men without difficulty and reach them more easily. To these *malefici* the Demons sometimes hand over poisoned things, to be secretly given to the men who are to be subjected to *maleficium*.

For all *malefici* alike, and above all the heretical *fascinarii*, are betrayers and are practised in feigning when they perpetrate their *maleficia*, so as not to be impeded and not to be caught; and along with this they are, in words as much as in deeds, for the most part the greatest of hypocrites.

The second reason for which the Demons use the ministry of the *malefici* [the page prints *ministerium & maleficorum* (?)] is this: that by it they may draw men to their own worship and keep them in it — the very men they use in this way — and so, by withdrawing the worship that is owed, may make it be applied to their own pride, to the offence of God, and may make those who obey them sin more gravely and be more gravely damned. It is for this same reason, too, that the Demons promise many things — both to give and to do — in favour of those very men, so that by this they may entice them to their own worship. This is clear in the temptation of Christ, to whom the Devil promised to give all the kingdoms of the world and their glory, if he would fall down and adore him, as Matthew and Luke report, cap. 4. For this is the Demons' chief intention: to turn men away from the worship of God, and to have divine worship applied to themselves, to the ruin of souls.

And so they frequently do many things that please men, whether according to the flesh, or in the matter of temporal advantages, or for the fulfilment of their depraved desires — all in order to injure and destroy souls. For sometimes they incline the minds of certain women toward the pleasure and the lust of the *malefici*, or of the men who resort to the *malefici*; and sometimes the minds of men toward *maleficae* women [*maleficas mulieres*], or even toward other women who resort to those men. So the Civil Law says: *The knowledge of those men is to be punished — it says — and avenged by the severest laws, who, known by their magical arts, contrive against the health of men, or are caught to have turned chaste minds to lust.* C. de math. & Manich. l. eorum. Sometimes, too, they promise — and carry out — vengeance upon enemies, in their persons or in their goods.

And so another law says that many who have used magical arts dare to stir them abroad, and that each may destroy his own enemies by evil arts. C. eod. tit. l. Multi. Sometimes, too, the Demons reveal certain secrets to their devotees, as though by divining. So the blessed Augustine says that the Demons for the most part reveal the things they themselves are about to do to those men of whose character they are certain — certain, that is, that those men will consent to them when they urge them. Some of the Demons, however, foretell in advance not the things they do, but the future things they know beforehand from natural signs — signs that cannot come within the senses of men. lib. de diuinatione Dæmonū, cap. 6.

It is written in Actor. cap. 16. that a certain girl at Philippi had a Pythonic spirit [*spiritum Pythonicum*], and by divining brought her masters great gain; from her Paul cast out the malignant spirit, and their hope and their gain perished. It is because of this curiosity too — the curiosity of knowing hidden and secret things, or even future ones — that many are drawn to learn the magical arts, which are nothing else but a certain subtle worship of the Demons and the ruin of souls. For as the blessed Augustine says in lib. 3. de Trinitate, cap. 7., it is through the Demons that the magical arts can do whatever they can do. And therefore they are deservedly reprov'd and condemned by the divine

and civil laws, together with those who practise them and those who follow them, as being opposed to God and to the orthodox faith. So Augustine, in the book *On the City of God: This vanity of the Magical arts, from the tradition of the evil Angels, has prevailed over the whole globe of the earth for very many ages, through a certain knowledge*, etc.

Therefore, in order that the devotees of the Demons may obtain — under the Demons' patronage — the helps already mentioned, or some of them, or others like them, the Demons themselves lead these devotees on to frequent invocation; and they will it and bring it about that these invokers should be, in a certain way, co-workers of the *maleficia*, in various manners: either by offering the Demons sacrifices or prayers, or by receiving from them poisoned things, or certain things suited to the Demons' co-operation. And in the application or the use of these things and of the poisons, the *malefici*, that is, the devotees of the Demons, are in a certain way the ministers of the *maleficia* and the helpers of the Demons. And by means of these the Demons maintain them and make them firm in their perfidy, and they sin more often and are damned more gravely.

For just as the ministers of divine things and catholic men, from the frequency of their prayers before God, and of their offerings, and of their reception of the divine ministries and of holy works, are made more devoted to God and firmer in his faith, and obtain more merits and a more abundant glory,

so, from the continued resort to the protections of the Demons — whether by invocation, or by offering, or by co-operation in service of the Demons — the devotees of the Demons are made more obstinate in their perfidy, and commit graver and more numerous crimes, and acquire a fuller damnation.

But this must be very carefully considered: that the Demons, as Augustine says, are deceitful, and deceive with the intention of deceiving. And so they sometimes pretend that they can be enclosed in certain objects — in rings, say, or in images or in little vessels — artfully, with certain ceremonies and depraved observances devised by the devotees of the magic art, so as to comply with those devotees by giving responses and curious instructions; and this in order that by those very observances and ceremonies the Demons may subtly draw the devotees on, and keep them busy about the worship of arts of this kind. No Christian whatever can do such a thing without treachery against the divine majesty and the loss of the catholic faith, since in receiving the faith Christians

renounce Satan and all his works and pomps. And in order to deceive more warily and more subtly, the Demons say that they are benign spirits, when beyond doubt they are malignant spirits. For since, according to the truth of the catholic faith, there are no spirits except good spirits or malignant spirits. The good are called holy Angels, while the malignant spirits are called Demons. But since it is established that the holy Angels of God are not enclosed by perverse men of this kind, it is established that if any spirits appear to be enclosed in the way already mentioned, they are malignant Demons, deceitful seducers, damned, and enemies of human salvation.

Besides this, the Demons themselves sometimes pretend that certain *maleficia* cannot be brought about except with the help of certain objects, or without the perpetration of certain works that are evil — and this in order that by it they may lead their devotees on to the perpetration of evil works of this kind, so that by the means of such an evil perpetration the devotees may come to the *maleficia* they wish for and have asked for. And in order that by a perpetration of this kind they may please their Demons the more, and make the Demons more propitious and more favourable to them.

So it frequently happens that the worse among their devotees sometimes steal the Sacrament of the Eucharist and other holy and divine mysteries, and set about profaning and reviling these same things, and sometimes about the death of innocent people and of infants. So it was discovered within the last twenty years that a certain magician baron in the Gauls [*in Gallijs*] secretly cut the throats of about twenty boys, so that out of their blood he might write a certain book in service of the Demons. He,

caught in this matter, was publicly punished. That the Demons demand cruelties and profanations and revilings of this kind from their devotees is sufficiently established, not only by experience, but also by the authority of sacred scripture cited above in cap. 7. of this work, which authority begins thus: *Or sacrificing their sons*, etc. — a passage taken from lib. Sapient. ca. 14. And it is certain that the *malefici* can work no *maleficia* without the patronage of the Demons. Otherwise their works would not be *maleficia*.

How the Demons do not always need the ministry of their devotees, or of those who invoke them, for the perpetration of *maleficia*

CAP. XVI.

And although the Demons sometimes use the help or the ministry of their devotees for perpetrating *maleficia*, or for carrying out certain operations of their own, this is nevertheless not on account of any defect in their power, since without the help of their devotees they would be able to do these things, were they not hindered from above by divine providence. For by the ways stated above in cap. 13. they are sometimes kept off from invading and

molesting men. For the Demons can, by their natural power and also by themselves, work many things upon men from within. So various afflictions follow in the men themselves, as is clear in many ways from what has been said above — unless the Demons have been hindered from above.

This can be drawn from sacred scripture, which treats of the operation of a certain very great *maleficus*, who was called Balaam. And Balaam was called a soothsayer [*ariolus*], because the *arioli* are the worst among the *malefici*. For they build *arae* to the Demons — that is, altars — and sacrifice to the Demons upon them. Of this, then, scripture reports: *Balaac therefore sent messengers to Balaam son of Beor, a soothsayer, who dwelt over the land of the sons of Amon, to call him and to say: Behold, a people has gone out from Egypt, which has covered the face of the earth, sitting over against me. Come therefore and curse this people, which is stronger than I, if by any means I may be able to strike it and cast it out of my land. For I know that he is blessed whom you shall have blessed, and cursed the one against whom you shall have heaped curses.* Num. capit. 22.

It is certain, moreover, that the curse from Balaam did not have its efficacy for doing harm from Balaam's natural power, but from that invocation of his which they made by way of a curse. The Demons whom he worshipped, and to whom he sacrificed,

worked the *maleficia*, which came about after the curse had been heaped up or uttered, and the invocation made with the fitting sacrifices.

On the use and effect of the Demons with respect to the Elements and the lower corporeal things

CAP. XVII.

Not only upon men, however, but also upon the Elements and the other lower corporeal things, can the Demons exercise their natural power, when God has permitted it. For the Civil Law spoke to this very providently and very wholesomely, laying down the due penalty against the devotees of the Demons, who by their invocations and evil arts rouse the Demons to it. And since the tenor of that law is very salutary, I have thought it right to insert it here: *Many — it says — who have used magic arts are not doubted to disturb the Elements and to shatter the lives of the innocent; and, with the shades summoned [manibus accitis], they dare to stir them abroad, so that each may make away with his own enemies by evil arts. Let a deadly pestilence consume these men, since they are strangers to nature.* C. de Manich. & mat. l. multi. In this law, besides the penalty of death which it lays down at the end, many things worth noting it contains. For it says that the magic arts are evil, when it says *by evil arts*. Next it notes that those arts are practised by the invocation and the patronage of the Demons, when it says *with the shades summoned [manibus accerfitis]* — that is, with the infernal gods invoked, as the gloss says. And the infernal gods are Demons.

It then sets out the *maleficia* which, through *maleficium* of this kind and through the invocation of the Demons, are brought about against two classes of men. First against the guiltless [*infantes*] — that is, the innocent — whose life they shatter; and human life is shattered either through sickness or through death. And this statement of the law agrees perfectly with the word of sacred scripture cited above, concerning the sacrifice which idolaters sometimes make to the Demons out of infants. Second against the men with whom the *malefici* are angry, when it says *that by evil arts he may make away with* — that is, may infect — *his enemies*.

Further, this same law contains the power of the Demons over the Elements, when it says *to disturb the Elements*, and again *they dare to stir them abroad* — that is, to set them in motion. Sacred scripture contains and hands down these effects of the Demons' power in many ways. For upon fire Satan exercised his power in the scourging of Job. So it is written: *Fire came down from heaven, and consumed all the sheep and the servants*. *Iob.* 1.

cap. And in the same way, by the operation of Diabolical power, the possessions of the Egyptians were handed over to fire, as is written in *Pfalm.* 77.: *He handed over their possession to fire* — and further down it follows, *by evil Angels*.

Upon the air, however, Satan exercised his power in the persecution of Job: while Job's sons and daughters were eating and drinking wine in the house of their firstborn brother, a violent wind suddenly rushed in from the region of the desert and shook the four corners of the house, which collapsed and crushed the children, and they died. *Iob.* 1.

The Demons too, as has been shown above, can easily [make] out of air bodies of whatever form and figure they please, and appear in them, and out of that same air form intelligible voices — as the Devil did when, appearing visibly to Christ, he spoke to him, as the holy Evangelists Matthew and Luke report, as has often been said.

Upon water the Demons exercised this power when, in the sight of Moses and Pharaoh, they turned the water into blood before Pharaoh. For sacred scripture says: *And the malefici of the Egyptians did in like manner with their enchantments*. *Exod.* cap. 7. And the *malefici* are said to have done it because, at their invocation, the Demons whom they worshipped did it. The blessed Augustine

too, in *libro* 18. cap. 18. *de ciuit. Dei.*, reports a certain history of the city of Athens, where it is said that the Athenians, after deliberation had been held, chose Minerva for themselves as their goddess, Neptune being abandoned. Then Neptune, angered, laid waste the lands of the Athenians with the surging waves of the sea. And Augustine added these words: *because*, he says, *it is not difficult for the Demons to scatter any waters whatever more widely*. That devastation, then, of the Athenians' lands and of their goods, the Demon Neptune brought about by the motion of the waves of the sea, which he scattered abundantly

over the lands of the Athenians — because this is not difficult for a Demon, for Neptune, with other Demons perhaps helping him.

It is also read in the life of Saint Germanus that, while he was crossing by sea from France into England against the Pelagian heretics, malignant spirits stirred up a violent storm and turmoil on the sea, so that the ship was almost sunk. Then the blessed Germanus, recognizing that this storm at sea was being brought about by Demons, adjured them and compelled them to confess the truth of it: namely, that they were striving by the commotion of the storm to sink him, so that he should not destroy the heresy which they had raised up.

For the generation of a storm — that is, of hail and of lightning — the four Elements

come together at once. For lightning is generated from the dry exhalation of the earth, and is set alight, or kindled. Hail, however, is generated from watery matter, and is frozen in air that is extremely cold.

The Demons, then, are read to have made both the fire and the hail in the land of Egypt in the manner already described, with the Lord justly permitting it, on account of the crimes of the Egyptians, as divine scripture recounts: *He handed over, it says, their beasts to the hail, and their possession to fire. He sent upon them the wrath of his indignation: indignation and wrath and tribulation, sendings-in by evil Angels.* Pf. 77.

Besides this, the Demons exercised their power marvellously before Moses and Pharaoh, when the rod of Moses, thrown by him upon the ground, was turned into a Dragon. Then the magicians [*magi*], or *malefici*, did the like. So it is written: *And Pharaoh called the wise men and the malefici, and they too did the like by Egyptian enchantments and by certain secret arts. And each of them threw down his rod, and they were turned into Dragons.* Exod. cap. 7.

Nor were these works of the Demons just described fantastical, as the blessed Thomas says in par. 9. capit. 14. artic. 4., citing the blessed Augustine on certain works of the Demons which are sometimes fantastical and sometimes not. *There are*, he says, nevertheless sometimes true things — just as the magicians [*magi*] of Pharaoh, by the power of the Demons, made true serpents and frogs; and when fire came down from heaven and consumed Job's household together with the flocks of livestock in a single onslaught; and when a whirlwind, overturning the house, killed his sons. These works of Satan were not fantastical, as Augustine says in lib. 20. de ciuitat. Dei.

Nor was it an illusory thing when the demons, cast out of a certain demoniac [*Dæmoniacus*] by the command of Christ, entered into two thousand swine, by the permission of Christ himself. The swine went off with a great rush and, hurled headlong, were drowned in the sea, as is written in Matth. cap. 5. and Luc. cap. 8.

How God justly permits the *fascinarii* to be deceived and perverted by malignant spirits

CAP. XVIII.

By the right dictate of divine Justice it commonly happens that some sin later committed by a man is in a certain way the penalty, or a part of the punishment, of a sin committed earlier by that same sinner. For the sinner justly, by his consent to sin, despises God — to whom sin is displeasing — and so is deprived and left destitute of

God's help, and is made weaker for resisting the assaults of temptation as they come upon him, and more prone to the fall and ruin of the sins that threaten, by the weight of the sin that went before. *A sin*, says the blessed Gregory, *which is not washed away by penitence, is soon drawn by its own weight to another.*

The Prophet too, speaking of iniquities in the person of the sinner: *For*, he says, *my iniquities have gone over my head, and like a heavy burden they have weighed heavy upon me.* And a little further on it follows: *I am made wretched, and bowed down*, etc. And again it follows: *My strength has forsaken me, and the light of my eyes, and that itself is not with me.* Psal. 37.

In these words, indeed, *head* signifies the free will of the man who, by an iniquitous consent to sin, submits himself to iniquity — and iniquity is signified in sacred scripture under the name of *weight*, both because it inclines him to another iniquity and because it presses him down and hurls him headlong as far as hell. So Isaiah, speaking of the sinful soul, says: *Its own iniquity shall weigh it down, and it shall fall.* Isa. cap. 14. For the sinful soul, justly abandoned by the power of divine help, falls easily at the impulse of temptation — out of sin into sin, and out of sins at last into hell. And in this way the later sin becomes,

according to divine justice, the penalty of the preceding sin, the help of divine grace having been justly withdrawn. That withdrawal is done justly, because the sinner, a despiser of God, has deserved it.

It is as with a man by night: walking with a light along an unknown and twisting road, filled with obstacles or stumbling-blocks, he trips and falls easily if his light is put out. So too a man making his way along the road — the pilgrimage — of this world, daily toward the terminus of death, if the light of divine grace is withdrawn from him, his own fault requiring it, trips the more easily into sin at the obstacle of whatever temptation meets him.

Moreover, since the remission of sins is called absolution, it follows that sin is a kind of bond or tie, by which the sinner is bound in sinning. So it is written: *His own iniquities catch the wicked man, and he is bound fast with the ropes of his own sins.* Prou. 5. And by the just judgment of God it comes about that the man who, having spurned God, obeys the Devil as he suggests sin, becomes the Devil's slave and captive, caught by his own iniquity and bound — according to what the blessed Peter writes: *For by whatever a man is overcome, of that he is also the slave.* 2. Petr. 2. cap. So it sometimes happens that certain sinners,

sinning out of Diabolical malice, are held by the Devil, chained and bound with the bond of their own

iniquity; and he easily drags them, as he pleases, on to worse sins.

It is with this consideration in view that the Apostle speaks of certain men, saying: *those who*, he says, *resist the truth, in case God should at some time give them penitence to acknowledge the truth, and they should come to their senses out of the snares of the Devil, by whom they are held captive at his will.* 2. Tim. cap. 2.

In this way, then, Christians who are too much given over to various sins — and by that made captive and bound by the Devil, to whose suggestion they consented in sinning — are, by the just permitting judgment of God, left destitute of the help of his grace, and are easily dragged and led on to the open and express worship and adoration of the Devil, and to the abnegation of God and of the faith they have received; and from there to the perpetration of the gravest, and sometimes the cruellest, *maleficia*.

For in this way the Apostle gave the reason why the Romans of old were subjected to the basest Idolatry, and consequently to almost innumerable crimes and detestable outrages. *Because*, he says, *when they had known God, they did not glorify him as God, or give thanks*, etc. And further down: *Therefore God handed them over to a reprobate sense, so that they do the things that are not fitting, filled with all iniquity.*

Now in the words just quoted it is said that GOD handed the Romans over into a reprobate sense [*in reprobum sensum*], on account of the just withdrawal of his grace and help, as a penalty for the sin they had committed. And so it was by the Devil that they were sent into a reprobate sense — that is, into a perverse consent, contrary even to reason, and reaching as far as sin against nature.

For this same reason the same Apostle asserts that certain men will believe the errors of Antichrist in his time: *Because*, he says, *they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved, therefore God will send them the working of error, that they may believe a lie, that all may be judged who have not believed the truth but have consented to iniquity.* 2. Theffal. cap. 2.

Consider the great benefits granted by God to the Christian people: the incarnation, the visitation and the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; those benefits which he confers in his Church upon that same people, in the unremitting dispensation of the sacraments of grace and of salvation; and the calling of that same people to the knowledge of the faith and of God, and to heavenly beatitude. Given all this, the sins of Christians are graver, they offend the divine majesty more, and they make Christians more ungrateful in their sinning, than the sins of any other nations whatever; and they deserve a heavier punishment both in the age to come and in this present one, as the Saviour himself said: *That man*, he says, **who knew*

*the will of his lord, and did not prepare himself, and did not act according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.** Luc. 12. And the blessed Peter: *It was better*, he says, *not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after knowing*

it, to turn back from that holy commandment which was delivered to them. 2. Petr. 2.

It is no wonder, then, if the just Lord GOD permits certain Christians — men who provoke him by their sins and are ungrateful for his benefits — to be plunged, at the Devil's suggestion, into the depth of sins; and this so that those who have sinned more wickedly may not only be punished more sharply in the age to come, but may also bear in this present age some due penalty of their crimes, since, as has been said, they are both made subject to the Devil and have their earlier sins punished by their later ones — both together.

In what manner a subsequent sin is the penalty of a prior one can be considered from the history of Theophilus recounted above. Although he had been a man of outstanding virtue for many years, he could not bear the persecution brought upon him in the removal of his benefice and his dignity and in his own deposition, and at the Devil's instigation he fell into the vice of grievous impatience. He was excessively indignant in his own thinking that the honour he used to enjoy had been taken from him, and because he judged that others reckoned him a man put to shame, while he himself thought his former

merits worthy of honour. Therefore, driven on by the malign spirit of pride, he conceived a longing to be exalted again and to recover his former honours. And so, too deeply affected, since no way prepared by human understanding lay open to him — the Devil, who held him captive in the bonds of impatience and of pride, drawing him on subtly and imperceptibly — he took refuge in that same Devil's open and manifest help; and he worshipped him and denied God, so that he might obtain the support he desired.

For God withdrew from Theophilus himself the help of his just grace, on account of the proud ambition by which, ungrateful for the benefits already given, he gravely offended God himself; and from that he fell into graver crimes, as a penalty for his earlier offence.

In this manner too the Apostle says that the covetous fall into temptation and into the snare of the Devil. 1. Tim. cap. vlt. To satisfy their covetousness they worship the Devil; and so likewise do the wrathful, to obtain vengeance; and the lecherous [*lubrici*], for the sake of their own will; while some others do so out of pride.

And so the blessed Augustine too, as it stands in the chapter *Nec mirum*. 26. q. 5.: *By these portents, then, through the deceit of the Demons, human curiosity* [the sentence stands without a main verb as printed] — *when men shamelessly desire to know what it belongs to them by no reasoning to investigate.* Likewise in the same place: *With the greatest vice of curiosity driving him on, he says, etc.*

How it is not to be wondered at that God, although supremely good and omnipotent, permits grave and many *maleficia* to be perpetrated among his own people by *malefici* and *fascinari* Heretics, through the operation and patronage of the Demons

CAP. XIX.

It seems strange to most people, and therefore incredible, that a supremely good and omnipotent God should permit so many and such great *maleficia* to be perpetrated by *malefici fascinari* — as many and as great as are asserted to be perpetrated by them.

Now wonder arises, according to the Philosopher [Aristotle] in the first book of the *Metaphysics* [primo lib. Methaphif.], from the consideration of some effect that presents itself whose cause is unknown, and in which effect something appears that seems as though it ought to be otherwise. And in these lower things, and in what concerns men under the governance of divine providence, many things do happen whose causes are not grasped by the natural knowledge of men; and from that there arises matter for wonder. For according to the Apostle, Rom. cap. 11.: *Incomprehensible are his judgements, and unsearchable his ways*. And in the 35th Psalm it is said: *The judgements of God are a great deep*. Exceedingly dangerous it is to inquire in a disordered and indiscriminate way into the causes of the divine judgements, which are a great deep. Just as there is danger of drowning for a man who walks incautiously into deep water, so many people, busying themselves with the divine judgements indiscriminately and stupidly, and pressed down by the weight of their own presumption, sometimes sink themselves into the depth of an evil wavering [*mala haesitatio*], or of unbelief, or of error.

For there are some who presume so far upon their own judgement or their own learning that they firmly hold every matter to be exactly as they themselves perceive it, as though nothing could lie hidden from their knowledge. Whatever they do not grasp with their own understanding, they judge either not to exist or to be impossible.

It is in this way that the Jews, blind unbelievers, assert that the host consecrated by a catholic priest is nothing but bread, just as it was before the consecration — because their understanding does not grasp how Christ, God and man, dwelling in heaven, can be really and wholly present in that consecrated host. And they assert the same about the mysteries of the blessed incarnation and about the faith of the blessed Trinity. That is why they wonder that we Christians believe these things, and so venerate and adore them.

And so Christ, wishing to preserve Nicodemus from this evil and dangerous wonder [*admiratio*],

said to him: *Do not wonder, because I said to you: you must be born again*. Ioh. 4. For Christ was speaking of the necessity of baptism, through which men who are to be saved must be spiritually reborn and regenerated. Nicodemus did not take this in, and, treating it as though it were impossible, he answered

by objecting: *How*, he says, *can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born again?* Then Christ spoke to him the words already quoted, that is: *Do not wonder*, and so on.

Exactly so it happens now to a great many people in their consideration of the heresy and sect of the *fascinarii* and of the countless *malefici* — which things are perpetrated through them day by day, under the patronage of the Demons, with divine providence reasonably permitting it [as printed, the relative *quae* has no expressed antecedent]. For they do not know the sacred scriptures, in which a great many things concerning the power of the Demons and concerning divine providence — things divinely revealed — are treated to good effect. For that reason they believe and assert either that the deeds and *maleficia* which they say are done by the *fascinarii* are impossible, or else they believe that God ought not to permit these things to be done; and they wrongly wonder at the rest of us for believing and asserting it.

Their own wonder is what ought rather to be wondered at, since they themselves are not seen to wonder at certain operations of the Demons that are well known to them —

operations far graver than those which the Demons themselves are said to perform at the invocation of the *fascinarii*.

Of these graver operations I have decided to touch on two for the present.

The first operation is the one the Devil performed upon Eve: speaking to her through an assumed serpent [*per assumptum serpentem*], and craftily enticing her to pride and to the transgression of the divine commandment. From that followed the death not only of Eve herself and of Adam her husband, but of all men whatsoever — those who have been in this world, those who are in it now, and those who are to be until the end of the world; nor will even those very people escape it who wrongly wonder at the operation of the Demons in *maleficia*.

That death came about by the operation of the Devil, holy scripture expressly testifies, saying: *God created man incorruptible [inexterminabilis], and made him to the image of his own likeness. But by the envy of the Devil death entered into the world.* Sap. c. 2.

And what is graver still: not only did the first parents die in soul at the Devil's tempting, by consenting to a deadly sin; their whole offspring, born after them, liable to sin and stained with it, is also made unworthy of heavenly beatitude, shut out from the pleasantness of the earthly Paradise, and driven of necessity to the misery of hell. *All* (says the Apostle) *have sinned in Adam, and*

need the glory of God. Rom̃. 4. And again: *We were all by nature children of wrath.* Eph̃. 2. By 'wrath' he here means the justice of God, on account of the universal [no noun is printed for the two accusatives *praedictam* ... *universalem* to modify; nothing is supplied here] of the first parents already mentioned.

Finally, from this contagious fault of the first parents their whole offspring, following after them, not only contracted the original defect [*originale vitium*], but — the rein of the disordered human tinder [*fomes*] being as it were slackened

— was so violently inclined to the fall into all the other sins, and so pressed down as by a kind of weight, that, according to the true assertion of the blessed Augustine in the book *On Nature and Grace* [in lib. de nat. & gratia] [the *ut*-clause is printed without a finite verb of its own; a full stop follows *gratia*, and the Augustine passage stands next]:

The Virgin Mary excepted. If all the holy men and holy women, while they were living here, had been asked whether they were without sin, all would have cried out with one voice: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" — excepting, I say, this holy virgin, about whom, for the honour of the Lord, I wish to have no question whatever raised when sin is under discussion.

Who does not know that never has so great an evil befallen the whole human race from any *malefici* or *fascinari* whatsoever?

The second and graver operation which the Demons carry on, unceasingly and everywhere, upon all men, is their operation in tempting them concerning sins: enticing every kind of human being most subtly, most craftily and most insistently to countless sins, by which sins souls are frequently consenting, and so incur a death far more perilous than the death of the body, and an interminable perdition, and the unbearable judgment of everlasting torments.

For as the Prophet of God says: *The soul that has sinned, that same soul shall die.* Ezech. cap. 18. And the blessed James, ca. 1.: *Sin*, he says, *when it has been brought to completion, gives birth to death.*

For bodily or temporal evils and harms are reckoned as nothing — indeed, not even bodily destruction, whether such things come from nature or from *maleficium* — in respect of one single mortal sin. So the Savior: *What does it profit a man*, he says, *if he gains the whole world but suffers the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange will a man give for his soul?* Matth. cap. 16.

Christ had foretold to the Apostle Peter: *Simon*, he says, *behold, Satan has demanded to have you, to sift like wheat* [no object *vos* is printed after *cribraret*]. And likewise: *Before the cock crows, you will deny me three times.* Luc. ca. 22. Satan tempted Peter; he denied Christ and sinned. The angel of Satan buffeted Paul by inflicting bodily pain, and Paul himself profited by it. *When I am the weaker*, he says, *then I am the stronger and powerful, for strength is made perfect in weakness.* 2. Cor. 12.

And so the temptation of Satan sent upon Peter was worse and more dangerous than the buffeting procured for Paul by the angel of Satan.

Some, however, moderate their reflection on the divine judgements more cautiously. Faced with the various events that come up, whose causes they do not grasp, they wonder in such a way that they nonetheless firmly believe that nothing occurs in the world which escapes the most perfectly ordered plan of divine providence — in keeping with what holy scripture says: *Nothing*, it says, *comes to be on earth without a cause.* Iob. cap. 5.

So much, then, is to be deferred to divine providence that all things are believed to be arranged by it in the best and most reasonable way, even if the reason for that reasonable arrangement is not known to others.

Nor is it blameworthy in those who do not know, at first sight, the reasons of divine providence, or the causes, for the events that come up, if — their faith remaining sincere — they humbly and devoutly strive to inquire only so far as God has deigned to reveal for the consolation of his faithful, in the holy scriptures granted to us by him.

In this way David spoke to God: *Wonderful, he says, are your testimonies; therefore my soul has searched them out. The declaration of your words gives light, and gives understanding to little ones.* Pf.118. In this passage, indeed, he calls the humble "little ones" — those free from all presumption and from faithless hesitation.

Therefore, in keeping with the

rule and measure already mentioned — the rule and measure of the divine scriptures handed down to us — and with the teaching of the saints, I have thought fit to insert and set out certain causes, by which it may be plain that it is not incongruous but rather reasonable that divine providence permits the Demons to exercise their operations upon human beings: not only upon the evil or the reprobate, but also upon the good and the elect, whether for temptations or for scourges in the body or in external goods.

The blessed Augustine assigns four causes of this kind in the book *De natura boni*, saying: *Through the power given to the Devil, he says, Job too was tested, so that he might appear just; and Peter was tempted, so that he might not presume upon himself; and Paul was buffeted, so that he might not exalt himself; and Judas was damned, so that he should hang* [the reflexive *se* is not printed with *suspenderet*].

That, with God salutarily permitting it, the Demons at times exercise their power over human beings, even good ones, for their salutary testing

C A P. X X.

By a provident dispensation God at times permits the Demons to exercise their power and operation upon elect human beings in this world, for their useful testing, by which God tests them.

But God does not test anyone by seeking proof or the truth of some hidden or uncertain matter, as Isaac did. Blind, Isaac heard his son Jacob saying that he was Esau, Isaac's own firstborn son; and, catching Jacob's voice, he doubted Jacob's words when Jacob said that he was Esau. So Isaac added: *Come here, he says, that I may touch you, my son, and test whether you are my son Esau or not.* Gen. 28. For all things are naked and open to the eyes of God, as is written in Heb. 4.

But God does test the saints — by perfecting them, by increasing them through persecution, and by making it manifest to the rest.

The saints are perfected in this world by acquiring great merits for themselves, to which a great glory in heaven is to correspond, as the Apostle says: *Each one will receive his own reward according to his own labour.* 1. Cor. 3. And the greatest and most perfect merits are those of the endurance of great tribulations; among these tribulations, the bodily ones are greater than the losses of temporal goods.

Therefore, to those for whom God has prepared a greater glory he now permits greater tribulations to befall, as he did for the blessed martyrs, of whom it is written: *These are they who came out of great tribulation* — that is, out of bodily suffering. Apoc. cap. 7.

And so the elect are brought to perfection through patience, in great tribulations, in keeping with the teaching of the blessed James: *Count it all joy*, he says, *my brothers, when you fall into various temptations, knowing that the testing of our faith produces patience. And patience has a perfect work, so that you may be perfect and entire, lacking in nothing.* Iacob. primo.

In this way, then, the blessed Augustine says that Job was tested through the power given to the Devil. Job's perfection of patience shines out, known to all, and offers a salutary example.

The Demon's operation was therefore of great use to Job himself — the operation by which the Demon scourged him so grievously, not only in his goods and his sons, but in his own body. This benefit, however, did not come to Job from the intention of the Devil who scourged him: the Devil's aim was rather to lead Job into the fault of impatience. It came instead from the arrangement of divine providence, which knows how to draw good things out of evil ones.

But suppose someone wishes to object that God could have permitted that persecution to Job from some source other than the operation of the Demon. The answer is this. Job had no human enemy who would set himself against him so far as to be willing to inflict such cruel torments upon him; and God is not a stirrer-up of hatreds

or of envies. Therefore, so that Job should not lack merits and glory so great, God most fruitfully permitted him to be scourged most grievously by Satan. Job's patience, once tested, was pleasing to God — although the malice of the Devil, or Satan, in his scourging is not pleasing to God.

In the same way the buffeting by Satan benefited the blessed Paul. He asked the Lord three times that Satan's buffeting might depart from him, and he heard the reply: *My grace is sufficient for you, for strength is made perfect in weakness.* 2. Cor. 12. For as was said above, Paul was suffering a bodily weakness sent upon him by an angel of Satan.

Likewise — again, as was recounted above — God permitted the blessed Anthony to be scourged bodily by a multitude of Demons, and from this he was found worthy to hear from the Lord Jesus Christ: *Because you fought bravely*, he says, *I will make you named throughout the whole world.* This fighting was the display of Anthony's patience against the scourges of the Demons, and it was accepted by God.

Besides this, the just sometimes make progress through the operations that the Demons exercise upon them — not by violence, as in the cases of Job, Paul and Anthony just mentioned, but by enticing them to sins through subtle temptations. For by resisting, and by shutting the door on consent, they heap up merits for themselves, and for these a more abundant heavenly glory will be given them in reward.

That God sometimes permits the Demons to exercise their power over sinful men for their correction

C A P. X X I.

God salutarily permits, from time to time, that sinful men be scourged in body, or in their exterior goods, by the operation of the Demons, so that their soul may be freed from sins. For the devout and merciful Lord most rightly lays it down that the body, or exterior goods of this kind, is not to be spared for the sake of the salvation of a perishing soul.

Well schooled by this consideration, Saint Paul handed over to Satan, to be tormented bodily, a certain man who was a scandalous fornicator, incestuous and obstinate — so that, once he had abandoned his sin, he might also live chastely, and might serve as an example and an edification to the others whom he had scandalized. This corrective discipline, carried out by Satan's ministry, was indeed the more effective, both for that same fornicating man and for the rest, because human frailty dreads and shrinks more from falling into the hands and the power of Satan.

For concerning that same fornicating man the same Apostle writes: *I have judged, he says, to hand over such a man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that the spirit may be saved.* 1. ad Cor. 5. On these words the Gloss says: *the destruction, it says, of the flesh* — that is, that he be tormented bodily.

The same Apostle does the same with two other seducers, preachers and blasphemers, namely Alexander and Hymenaeus: *Whom, he says, I have handed over to Satan, so that they may learn not to blaspheme.* prima Timoth. cap. 1. Here the Gloss says: "Because the Apostolic power itself was using him — Satan, that is — for the correction of men." And further down: "The Apostle did the same not so that they should perish, but so that, corrected in this way, they might learn not to blaspheme, and might understand that they are bound to punishments because they blasphemed."

In the same way God permitted a certain nun to be tormented bodily by a Demon, because on entering the garden she ate a lettuce, having forgotten to make the sign of the cross. She was impetuously bent on satisfying her disordered and gluttonous appetite — which does not befit the life and abstinence of persons in religion. The blessed Gregory reports this nun's case in the *Dialogue*, as was recounted above.

And so one frequently reads in the Chronicles that this was done to a number of persons, who for various sins were afflicted by the Devil and so received

correction — not, indeed, through the Demon's perverse intention, but because divine providence disposed it well. And it is credible that this still happens now in a great many of those who are scourged by the operation of the Demons, whether in their body or in their goods, or even in persons joined to them or related to them by blood. God permits such operations of the Demons for the correction of the others, those to whose notice a scourging of this kind comes.

Besides this, God permits, to the same effect of correction, that men who presume upon themselves be tempted to sins by the operation of the Demons — not by violence, but by persuasion — so that after the sin they may be humbled. Not that the sin pleases God, the sin into which a man presuming upon himself falls through the temptation; no more does the tempter's perverse will please him. What pleases him is the humbling and the fear of the penitent who rises again from sin by God's grace.

This is how the saying of the blessed Augustine already cited is to be understood, that Peter was tempted through the power given to the Devil, so that he should not presume upon himself. For Christ too had foretold this to him, saying to him:

Simon, behold, Satan has demanded to have you, that he might sift you like wheat.

Luc. cap. 22.

That God providently permits at times the operation of the Demons — that men be scourged in their bodies or in their temporal goods — in order to preserve their souls from imminent sins and from perdition

C A P. X X I I.

Providently, too, God the ruler of men permits from time to time that certain of his beloved be scourged by the operation of the Demons, either in the body or in their external goods, so that the souls he especially loves may be preserved from imminent sins, and thereby from the damnation owed for those sins. God himself sees what stands about souls and what threatens them — things the souls themselves do not see, or do not take into account. In his mercy he takes away the occasions of sinning, and, as his own Scripture says, he sets, indeed sets in the way, his own stumbling-blocks and obstacles for his elect, so that they may not go forward along the road that leads to sins.

For bodily health, or prosperity in external things, generally supplies the fuel and the occasions for wickedness. A man in a fever, whose appetite for wine has failed, does not get drunk; and in that, according to the Apostle, Eph. c. 5., there is wantonness [*luxuria*]. And so a fever of the flesh preserves the spirit from infirmity. A leper does not grow proud over the agility or the beauty of his body. Lazarus the beggar, God's elect, full of sores and starving from want, did not boast, as the rich man did who was clothed in purple and fine linen. He did not feast splendidly every day, as the glutton and the rich man did. The rich

man died, as Christ the Lord says, and was buried in hell. Lazarus the beggar died too, and was carried by the Angels into Abraham's bosom. Luc. cap. 16. Poverty and infirmity preserved Lazarus.

It is no less a good thing to preserve someone from a threatening evil than to relieve him from an evil already pressing upon him. It was a grace no smaller in Paul that God preserved him from the exaltation of pride than that he healed and preserved and raised up Peter from presumption, because Peter had a misplaced confidence in himself. For Paul said of himself:

Lest the greatness of the revelations should exalt me, there was given me a sting of my flesh, an angel of Satan, to buffet me.

2. Corinth. cap. 12.

That buffeting sent upon Paul by an angel of Satan was excellent, since through it his humility was kept unharmed — and without humility he could not be saved. And so Bede says: the Apostle had received this temptation, by which he was afflicted by the angel of Satan,

for the safeguarding of humility, because if he had lacked it he could not have been saved.

So too now a great many people of both sexes — scourged with various infirmities, pains and protracted sicknesses by the operation of the Demons and by the ministry of the *fascinarii* — are preserved from countless sins and crimes, the divine wisdom disposing it well. Even so, the *fascinarii* must not on this account be tolerated or fostered, or allowed to pass unpunished. In procuring their *maleficia* they worship the Demons and call upon them; ungrateful for his benefits and unworthy of them, they provoke God, who is their own maker and the maker of all things; by blaspheming they deny and detest him; and they take a perverse delight in their neighbours' affliction. *You shall not suffer malefici to live*, says the Lord to Moses.

The Saviour's preserving, then, by which those who have been bewitched [*maleficiati*] are preserved from many sins, does not proceed from the perverse will of the *malefici*, nor from an intention that conforms to the will and the perversity of the Demons whom they worship. It proceeds instead from the divine goodness and wisdom,

which reaches from end to end mightily, and orders all things sweetly.

Sap. cap. 7.

THAT GOD JUSTLY PERMITS THE DEMONS AT TIMES TO EXERCISE THE EFFECT OF THEIR POWER UPON IMPIOUS MEN, FOR THE PUNISHING OF THEIR SINS CAP. XXIII.

The Lord is just in all his ways, and holy in all his works. Since he is holy, he wills those to be holy whom he founded after his own image and likeness and called to eternal holiness. But since he is also just, he justly wills that the despisers

of holiness — or its violators — and the devotees [*cultores*] of the iniquities that are opposed to holiness should be punished; and that they should be scourged by the very people whom they had as instigators to iniquity, and to whom they consented in iniquity, having spurned God, the lover and bestower of holiness. For it has been decreed most justly by the divine and eternal law that a man be tormented by the same things through which he sins. Sap. cap. 11.

The first parents of the human race transgressed the law of the divine and holy commandment at the Devil's persuasion, and offended God unjustly. But justly — the offended God permitting it — the Devil himself usurped a harsh and iniquitous rule over them and over their whole stock, until the Son of God became man and, as is said in the collect or prayer, underwent the gibbet of the cross for us, so as to drive the enemy's power away from us; and so that, according to the Apostle's teaching, he might by death take away the empire of death — that is, the Devil — and set free those who through fear of death were subject to bondage their whole life long. Hebr. cap. 2[?].

On this the gloss says: "We had fallen into the hands of the prince of this world, who through Eve and Adam both made [man] a slave and began to possess us as slaves born in his house; but the Redeemer came, and the seducer was conquered."

Now since the effect of the Saviour's passion and death does not avail except for those who have faith in him — and the reception of that faith takes place in baptism — the empire of the Devil therefore still stands over all who are not baptized, even over the unbaptized infants of Christians. For that reason, in the administration of baptism, the priest, with the adjuration and exorcism duly appointed, drives the Devil out of the one being baptized, saying: "I adjure you, Satan, or unclean spirit: go out from him, and give place to the Holy Spirit who is coming."

Far graver is the operation of the power of the Demons [*operatio potestatis Dæmonum*], by the just judgement of God, over all the damned — not only over those who did not receive baptism, but over all Christians who in sin have died and will die, when once they are dead. Those whom he who created and redeemed them, and had made sharers of his own faith and of his holy Sacraments, the just Judge will hand over to the Demons as torturers, to be tormented the more severely for eternity, so that they may have as the torturers of their punishments the very ones whom they followed as inciters and persuaders to iniquities.

And so, on that word of the Gospel — "The Lord, being angry, handed him over to the torturers," Matth. capit. decimooctauo. — Remigius, the great Doctor, says: "By torturers he means the Demons, who are always ready for this: to take up lost souls and to torment them for the punishment of eternal damnation."

Yet all of them — both the damned men and the Demons who are their torturers — are always in the hand and in the sight of the supremely good, most gracious, almighty God, from whom they have never obtained the mercy of

deliverance, although he could easily, by a mere nod, snatch them from the hand of the power of the cruel princes of darkness.

At the suggestion of the Demons, Pharaoh king of Egypt, together with the Egyptians subject to him, scourged the people of God — not only with the affliction of their bodies and the want of goods, but also with the cruel destruction of their little ones. And so God, judging justly, by the power and operation of those very Demons permitted — and by an abundance of hail and a fiery storm of lightning — that the draft-animals and cattle no less than the possessions [of the Egyptians] should be consumed and laid waste; and that in all the houses of the Egyptians throughout the whole kingdom of Egypt every firstborn, of men as well as of beasts, should be killed in a single night.

And so of a just permission of GOD of this kind it is written: "He gave up their beasts to the hail, and their possession to the fire. He sent upon them the wrath of his indignation: indignation and wrath, tribulation, and a sending-in by evil angels. He made a way for his path, and spared not their souls from death, and shut up their beasts in death. And he struck every firstborn in the land of Egypt, the firstfruits of all their labours." Pfalm. *septuagesimo septimo*.

Where the Gloss says: "We can, without any doubt, attribute to the evil angels the deaths of the cattle, the deaths of the Egyptians, and the hardening of the Egyptians."

But the just cause for permitting this killing of the firstborn and this hardening of the Egyptians by evil angels was the unjust slaughter of the boys of the people of GOD, carried out by those Egyptians at the Devil's persuasion. Of that killing of the firstborn it is written: "Now it happened that in the middle of the night God struck every firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh, who sat upon his throne, to the firstborn of the captive woman who was in the prison, and every firstborn of the beasts of burden. And Pharaoh rose in the night, and all his servants, and all Egypt; and a great cry arose in Egypt, for there was no house in which one did not lie dead." Exod. ca. 12.

Now when it is said in these words that the Lord struck, the meaning is that God justly permitted the striking to be done through evil Angels, just as the passage of the Psalm cited earlier says. The same thing is also clear from the words spoken about that very persecution of the Egyptians, and about the preservation of the people of God from the striker's power — namely: "The Lord will not suffer the striker to enter your houses and do harm." From this it is drawn out that the striker would gladly have entered the houses of the people of God, the people God himself loved and visited and set free. The striker, therefore, was no good Angel.

The just God also justly permitted Pharaoh and the Egyptians — who at the Devil's prompting had cruelly persecuted the people of God — to be blinded and hardened by the Devil to such a degree that they presumed to pursue that people, and to march into the sea, miraculously divided, where they all perished, drowned along with their armies, the Lord judging justly. And so the Gloss, on the words of the Psalm already cited, Pfalm. 77., says: "By the judgement of

God, then, these things were done upon them through evil Angels; and they are done upon evil men in this evil world."

God justly permitted King Saul to be seized and driven wild by a malignant spirit, because he had not carried out the Lord's command against the king and people of the Amalekites; and so it is written: "The spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord drove him wild." 1.Reg.ca.16.

God justly permitted Ahab, king of Israel, to be deceived by a lying spirit, so that, led astray by his own idolatrous devotee [*cultorem Idolatram*] — treated as though he were a Prophet, since Ahab wanted him to be believed — he might confidently enter the war that was upon him, having spurned the oracle of the true Prophet, who had foretold to him his own destruction. For he had made a habit of gladly listening to the divinations of idolaters, since he was an idolater himself, while he both hated and despised the true Prophets of God. And so the holy Prophet said to him: "Behold, the Lord has given a lying spirit into the mouth of all your Prophets." It is set down beforehand that in the prophetic spirit the Prophet had seen and heard a certain malignant spirit saying in the Lord's presence: "I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all Ahab's Prophets." 2.Paralip.cap.18. On this the Gloss says: "Ahab deserved to be condemned by such a deception, so that he who had willingly fallen into the fault should, since he was unwilling, be taken for the punishment." License was justly given to malignant spirits, so that those whom they draw willing into the snares of sin they may drag even unwilling into the punishment of sin. And Ahab himself was struck in that very battle by an arrow loosed into his chin [*in mentum*], and died of it, as is written in the same chapter.

God justly permitted seven men to be killed by the Demon who is called Asmodeus, because they were contracting marriage with the virgin Sarah while driven chiefly by carnal concupiscence. She had indeed been handed over to seven husbands, and the Demon named Asmodeus had killed them when they had gone in to her. Thob.1. Of this same deed the Angel Raphael also says: "Those who take marriage upon themselves in such a way," he says, "as to shut God out from themselves and from their own mind, and to give themselves over to their lust like the horse and the mule, which have no understanding — over such the Demon has power." Ibidem cap.6.

Justly, too, in the case of the Jews who called themselves exorcists in the time of the Apostles' preaching, and who fraudulently attempted to expel a Demon from a certain demoniac by invoking the name of Christ, God permitted that same Demon to attack those same Jewish exorcists and to scourge them for their fraud — as is written in the Acts of the Apostles, where it says: "Now certain of the Jewish exorcists who went round about [*circumueniētibus*] attempted to invoke the name of our Lord Jesus Christ over those who had evil spirits, saying: I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preaches. And there were seven sons of a certain Sceva [*ſcene*], a Jew and a chief of the priests, who were doing this. But the evil spirit answered and said to them: Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you? And the man in whom the worst Demon was leapt out upon

them, and, having mastered them both, prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded." Act. 19. For two of those seven sons were at that moment attempting to expel that Demon in the manner just described.

God justly permitted many Tyrants to be openly seized and harried by the Devil even to death, since at the Devil's own prompting they had scourged many saints with various torments and put them to death. So, for instance, one reads in the Passion of the blessed Bartholomew — whom King Astrages had put to death at the instigation of the high priests of the Idols — that Astrages and those same priests, seized by the Demon, came to the Apostle's tomb and, confessing his apostleship, died in that condition. Likewise too, in the passion of Saint

Urban the Pope one reads that Carpasius, who had had him beheaded, was seized by a Demon, and, blaspheming the gods and proclaiming the Christians unconquered, was choked to death shortly afterwards. The same is written in the passion of Saint Felix and his companions. Lucretius, who had had them killed and had taken possession of their goods, was insulting those same martyrs at a great banquet of his own, when a certain suckling infant, from his mother's lap, cried out in the hearing of them all and said: "Hear, Lucretius: you have killed and you have seized. See — you are given into the hands of Satan." And at once Lucretius was snatched up by the Devil, tormented for three hours, and expired in the middle of that very banquet.

The like is read of the Emperor Decius and Valerianus his Prefect, after they had ordered the blessed Lawrence and Hypolitus [Hippolytus] to be put to death. Decius, seized by a Demon, cried out: "O Hypolitus, you are leading me bound with harsh chains." And Valerius cried out: "O Lawrence, you are dragging me with chains of fire." And at once he expired, in Decius's presence; while Decius himself, tormented for three days, died. Many things of this kind, then, are read in the deeds of the holy Martyrs — judgements of divine justice carried out through the Demons.

THAT THE DIVINE WISDOM PERMITS THE DEMONS AND THEIR DEVOTEES, THE *MALEFICI FASCINARII*, TO PERPETRATE MANY *MALEFICIA* UPON MEN, FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE FAITHFUL — ALTHOUGH BOTH THE *MALEFICI* AND THEIR *MALEFICIA* ARE DISPLEASING TO GOD

CAP. XXIII.

From the operations and the *maleficia* of the Demons and of the *fascinarii* there arises instruction on three heads among those to whom operations and *maleficia* of this kind become known. The first instruction concerns the unremitting

malice and the dangerous perversity of the Demons, who are the enemies of human salvation.

Consider a man who knows that he has mortal enemies. He turns them over in his mind more often, and provides for his own safety against them more carefully, when he repeatedly notices some of their designs, or their works or contrivances, or attacks attempted against him by them, than he does if for a long while he notices nothing of the kind. So it is when men notice, from the perpetration of *maleficia* — which happen frequently through the Demons and through their devotees the *fascinari* — the unremitting malice and the perverse designs of the Demons: from that they are then instructed in a special way, and they remember more tenaciously the state and the disposition of the Demons toward men — men upon whom the Demons, as adversaries, gladly and unceasingly inflict evils and injuries whenever they can. The malice of the Demons is fed, in a manner of speaking, on human ills, and on the ruin and the deception of those whom they draw into their own cult so that they may be damned. And they do supply their devotees with certain temporal favours, or with bodily assistance, precisely so that those devotees may lose the spiritual and eternal goods.

Men are instructed, therefore, once *maleficia* of this kind have been considered, in how great a torment the Demons inflict in hell upon the men whom they know to have been handed over to them at their beck and without remedy — since already in this world, where no full power over men has been granted to the Demons, they are nonetheless perceived to work such cruel *maleficia* upon them. From this the prudent receive a salutary instruction, and they strive more vigilantly to guard themselves against the temptations and the malignity of the Demons. So the Apostle Peter says: "Be sober and watch, because your adversary the Devil goes about seeking whom he may devour; resist him, strong in faith." 1.Petr.cap. 5. Prudent men, recognizing their own frailty and their peril against the Demons' cunning and ambushes, seek to be protected by devout prayers. So the Church cries out in the Hymn of the blessed Virgin Mary: "Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, protect us from the enemy and receive us at the hour of death."

Secondly, the faithful are instructed by the *maleficia* and the works of the *fascinari* and of the Demons concerning the excellence of the catholic faith. For the Demons are adversaries of human salvation, which comes from the worship of the true catholic faith — since it is written: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved." Matth.cap.vltimo. That is why the Demons strive above all else to lead their Christian devotees to the denial of the catholic faith, and to the detestation and profanation of the sacred mysteries of the faith: of the holy cross, for instance, which they trample and spit upon, and sometimes of the most holy sacrament of the body of Christ; and they forbid them to venerate the remaining mysteries of the catholic faith, and these as well. In this the faithful are plainly instructed that the faith itself and its mysteries are to be venerated and are salutary — the very things the Demons hate so much,

they who persecute every good that is pleasing to God and useful to men. For although Jews and pagans are found who are *malefici* and devotees of the Demons, the Demons nevertheless never lead them to the denial of their own law or sect, which they hold and worship; they demand this only of Christians, as plainly appears from what happened in the case of Theophilus the Christian, who was mentioned earlier. For when a certain Jewish *maleficus* wanted to lead him to a certain place so that they might find the Devil, in order to obtain from him the help he wanted, the Jew says to Theophilus: "By no means put the sign of the cross upon yourself." And when they were in the Demon's presence, and the Jew had presented Theophilus to him, the Demon said to that same Jew: "Let him deny the son of Mary, and her too, for they are hateful to me."

Since, then, all the *fascinari* — whether they have been apprehended or come of their own accord to ecclesiastical discipline — confess that the Demons induce all their Christian devotees, in the manner already described, to deny the faith and to detest its holy mysteries: from this the dignity and the power of the saving catholic faith and of its mysteries plainly appear, as has been said; and this tends to the instruction of truly catholic believers and to the increase of their devotion.

Thirdly, a most useful instruction arises from the operations and the deeds of the *fascinari*, which are done under the patronage of the Demons. It is the instruction the Apostle speaks of: "There must be heresies" — that is, it is useful that there be heresies. For when heresies rise up, then those who are scourged by the Heretics are trained toward the merit of patience, and the rest are spurred toward wisdom, so that a man, taking up a devoted zeal, may answer the errors of the Heretics and of their own followers — errors so great — and their false and specious defences and their cunning excuses, by the rules of catholic truth and by the divine scriptures. Others, again, are counted worthy to offer themselves or their goods in various ways, in service of the faith and of its defence; and than that service nothing is more precious or more acceptable to God.

For many are fervent in the faith in the secret recess of their conscience, and they become manifest just when heresies rise up, because then they rise up fervently and manfully, each according to his own measure, for the defence of the faith, doing everything they can. Others, by contrast, are thought to be of great faith, and yet at the time when the faith is persecuted they dissemble; and — what is worse — they favour the Heretics, and at times put obstacles in the way of the extirpation of the heresies. And often those who seemed learned in the sacred scriptures turn out to be unlearned.

So it happened recently, in the case of a certain man who maintained, in the matter of the heresy of the *fascinari*, that a Demon is never to be believed when, having been adjured, he accuses someone of being a *fascinarius* — alleging that word of Christ about the Devil, and saying: "He is a liar, and the father of it." Ioh. c. 8.

But Christ joined to those words these words as well, namely: "When he speaks a lie, he speaks from what is his own." For when the Devil speaks out of his own contrivance and malice, then he speaks a lie from what is his own; and if he does sometimes speak the truth, he does it cunningly, so as in the end to deceive and mislead by a lie. Nor is it always certain when he is speaking the truth, or whether he is mixing truth with falsehood. That is why the Devil, when he speaks from what is his own, is not to be believed — because he is a liar and a deceiver.

But when he does not speak from what is his own, and is then compelled by divine power to speak the truth in some particular case, sometimes against his own will, through the ministry of the servants of God — to whom, according to the Gospel teaching, he gave power over the Demons — then the Devil is not speaking from what is his own. For God, wisely and powerfully, sometimes makes use of perverse and reprobate men and of malignant spirits to proclaim saving truth: for his own glory, for the exaltation of his faith, for the edification of the faithful, and for the confounding of the Devil himself. That truth is to be given credence, not on account of the condition of the men or of the Demons who utter it, but on account of the divine authority. For then the Demons are not speaking from what is their own, but as though compelled by what is another's — that is, by the power of God, and through the ministry of men who are God's servants, to whom, as has been said, Christ God granted power over the Demons: in his name not only to cast them out, but even to tread them underfoot, as is written in Luc. ca. 10. And he is properly said to be trodden underfoot who, being trampled, is compelled to say or do something against his own will, coerced by the power of the one treading upon him.

So the blessed Bartholomew, in the presence of the king and the people of the Indians, who were pagans, compelled a certain Devil residing in an idol to confess the pure and undoubted catholic faith, and his own fraud. And so the king himself, with all his people, was converted to the faith; yet that Demon Bartholomew drove out of the idol, and other demons out of possessed bodies as well.

That power over the Demons has been granted to the ministers of the Church is plain not only in very many places, where Demons under adjuration are frequently cast out of possessed bodies, but also in the daily mystery, in the matter of baptism: there the priest, intending to baptize the one presented to him, expels the Demon that has already assailed the unbaptized person, and the priest commands him in the name of the Lord to withdraw from the one about to be baptized. No true catholic believes that this was instituted and ordained by the Church in vain and to no effect, in a Sacrament so great and so necessary. But what wonder is it that the priest should of himself exercise power over the Demons? For it is he who, by his priestly ministry, blesses water with salt, saying among other things these words: "Let there depart from that place, in which you shall have been sprinkled, every *fantasia*, or the craft and wickedness of diabolical fraud, and every unclean spirit, adjured." Again, in the exorcism

of the blessing of the water it is said thus: "That you may become exorcised water, to put to flight every power of the enemy, and that you may avail to root out and uproot the enemy himself, together with his apostate Angels."

By that water the rest of the believers, who are not priests, can effectively fortify themselves against the Demons, and are able in many ways to overcome and restrain them. For the manifold effect of blessed water is not expressed to no purpose in the form of its blessing, against the power and the wickedness of the Demons.

Great indeed, and sublime, is the dignity of orthodox Priests, and wonderful their power — not only over men, but even over the evil Angels. For the Apostle too, in 1. Cor. 5., rebuking certain Corinthians because they were summoning their faithful creditors before unbelieving judges, says: "Do you not know that we shall judge Angels?" And the Gloss of Augustine, in the same place, says: "We shall judge the apostate Angels."

When, therefore, a Demon in the body of some demoniac is commanded — some case having arisen, with the invocation of the name of Christ, through the ministers of the Church, and the due circumstances observed — to confess the truth about those things which in that very case concern the honour of God, the edification of the faithful, and the uncovering of the Demon's own perverse contrivance: then what he confesses on those points is to be believed. Not because the Demon said it out of himself, but because, compelled by the power of God, he was at that moment unable to conceal the truth or to tell a lie. For in that case he is an instrument of the Spirit of truth, who sometimes makes use of malignant spirits, just as of perverse men, toward a saving end.

For this compelling of the Demon does not come about without a divine miracle, since by natural power men cannot subject any spirits whatever to themselves — however much the spirits pretend to be shut in by the *necromantici* [Necromāticos], to those men's deception and damnation. Therefore this compulsion of the Demon to speak the truth is always by a miracle; and so credence is deservedly to be given to a truth of this kind, as to one confirmed by a divine miracle. Otherwise much would be taken away from the dignity of the Christian religion, and from the honour and the power of the catholic faith — indeed, from the promise of Christ, who to his own ministers, faithful men, and to his bride the Church, having been made man, subjected the Demons. So the twelve Apostles, when they had effectively perceived the use of the power over the Demons handed over to them by Christ, said that they had put it into practice, saying to Christ himself: "Lord, even the Demons are subject to us in your name." Luc. 10. And so by a just judgment God made man subjected to faithful men, his ministers, the Devil, who by his crafty fraud had usurped the empire of death over men — from whose harshest servitude Christ freed men by his own death, a death procured by the Devil's malice.

Of these things, indeed — of the most sacred mystery of human salvation — the Apostle writes, speaking of the sharing between the Son of God and the men who believe in him: "They shared," he says, "in flesh and blood, and he

likewise partook of the same, so that through death he might destroy him who had the empire of death, that is, the Devil, and might free those who through fear of death were all their life long liable to servitude. For nowhere does he take hold of the Angels, but he takes hold of the seed of Abraham." Heb. 2.

It was fitting, indeed, and worthy of the human nature assumed by the Son of God, that he should both snatch all the men who believe in him out of the servitude of the Devil, the cruellest adversary of human nature, and also subject the Demons to certain men, just as

Christ's disciples rejoicing confessed had been done for them — as I have written more fully in the little book which I wrote *On the Treading Underfoot of Malignant Spirits* [*De calcatione malignorum spirituum*], which begins thus: "Duo mala, &c."

THAT THE DEMONS CAN EXERCISE NO OPERATION UPON MEN BY THEIR OWN NATURAL POWER, UNLESS FOR EACH PARTICULAR OPERATION THEY HAVE SPECIALLY RECEIVED PERMISSION FROM GOD — WHICH PERMISSION IS ALSO SOMETIMES CALLED POWER

CAP. XXV.

Although the natural power of the Demons is great — the power which from the beginning of their production they received along with their nature, and which, like the angelic nature itself, persists in them, as is written in Job. cap. 40.: "There is no power upon earth," he says, "that may be compared to it" — yet this natural power of theirs is bound by the divine power, so that they cannot do anything of what they wish concerning the men to whom they are hostile, unless they have specially received permission from God. And that permission is sometimes called "power" by the saints. Hence the blessed Augustine, on Psalm. 25., says: that the Devil, who seems to have the greatest power, can do nothing unless he has received received power. And as the same Augustine says on Psal. 63.: "The Devil is bound, so that he does not do as much as he can, nor as much as he wills."

From what has been set out it is clear that in every operation of a Demon upon men two powers act together. The first is the Demon's natural power, which is indeed great, but is bound by God, who disposes it mercifully for the sake of men — men to whom the Demons, being naturally the more powerful, are hostile. The other power is the divine permission, without which the Demon's natural power cannot be exercised upon men in this world. For a Demon cannot exercise any operation whatever upon men by his natural power except as often and as far as God permits, whose judgments, though they are incomprehensible, are nevertheless beyond reproach.

We read, indeed, that when Satan wished to tempt Job, God gave him power — yet not over Job's person. For it is written that the Lord said to Satan himself: "All that he has is in your hand; only do not stretch out your hand against him." Having received power of this kind by permission, Satan therefore consumed all Job's outward goods; but upon his person he did nothing, because the power of permission granted to him did not extend to the person of Job.

Job. Then on a later occasion Satan received from the Lord another power of permission, this time over the person of Job himself, though short of inflicting death. For with this power once received Satan was able to scourge Job, or to afflict him in his body, as in fact he did; but he could not kill him. In laying down this permission the Lord said to Satan: "Behold, he is in your hand; but yet preserve his life." Tob. 2. And having on this second occasion once more received the permission of power, Satan went out and struck Job with a most grievous ulcer, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, as is written there in what follows.

For any operation whatever of a Demon upon men, then, what is required, along with the Demon's natural power, is the power of divine promise [printed *promissionis*; recte: *permiffionis*, "permission"]. So the blessed Augustine says, in book 3 *On the Divination of Demons* [lib. 3. de diuinatione Dæmonum], that Demons often receive the power to send diseases, and by corrupting the air to render it disease-bearing. And this is reported by Gratian, 26. q. ca. sciendum.

This way of speaking, by which the permitted use of some power is called or styled a "power", rests on the authority of sacred scripture. Of Tobias, who was taken captive along with the other sons of Israel by King Shalmaneser [*Salmanazar*], it is written: "God gave him favour in the sight of King Shalmaneser, and gave him power to go wherever he wished." Thob. cap. 1. Now the king did not give Tobias the strength, that is, the natural power, to walk; he granted only the use of that power which was Tobias's own — and it is this that sacred scripture calls a "power".

Once these points have been attended to, the satisfaction, or reply, is clear to a certain assertion recited at the beginning of this little work, by which some try to argue as follows. If the Demons had as much power for perpetrating *maleficia* as the *fascinari* confess them to have — and as those who prosecute their heresy and sect also assert — then the Demons themselves would swiftly destroy all men and all their goods. Since the Demons nevertheless do not do this, though they are men's implacable enemies, it seems to follow, on the view of such assertors, that although the Demons do not lack a perverse will, they do lack the capacity, that is, the power.

For Demons never lack their natural power, bound though it is; what they always lack is the power of divine permission, except when and so far as God's providence has once again granted or permitted them the use of their natural power — which, without the power of permission, can do nothing at all, as is plainly clear from what has been said.

THAT WHERE A MAN HAS BEEN ACCUSED BY ACCOMPLICES concerning the heresy and sect of the *fascinari*, and they allege that a Demon made a false representation of him, this is not to be believed.

CAP. XXVI.

But since the permission by which Demons often receive the power, that is, the faculty, of exercising their natural power upon men comes about in God's hidden judgment and secret counsel, a concession or permission of this kind cannot be known to men except in one of two ways: either by a certain revelation, or by some effect of such a power — an effect that the Demons produce once the power has been received, and of which it is established that it proceeds from the power of the Demons.

As to revelation: it is plain, since divine scripture asserts that a Demon operated upon Job, upon Saul, and upon very many others, as has often been said above. As to an effect: so it was reported of the blessed Martin — that when the Devil had appeared to him in human form, and Martin himself had made the sign of the cross, the devil vanished; from which it appeared plainly that it had been the devil's work, and that God had at that time permitted or granted to the Devil the power of permission, for the doing of for the making of that same apparition. Now although human knowledge is sufficiently assured about the concession of the natural power — the concession God made to the Demons once only, at their creation — the concession of that second power, or permission, which is made to the Demons day by day, is wholly unknown to us, since we are not present at God's counsel.

For that reason it is presumptuous and dangerous to believe or to assert that particular permissions of this kind have been given, except so far as it is sufficiently established either by revelation or from the evidence of some fact — a fact, that is, which is evidently the effect of a power conferred upon a Demon by God's hidden judgment.

If, therefore, a man accused by accomplices of having been seen in the gathering, that is, the Synagogue, pleads in his own defence that a Demon made a false representation of him, the accused, he is not to be admitted on this point unless he sufficiently shows that a Demon did make this representation — which the Demon would not make unless the divine permission for it had first been received, a permission that is always given in secret, as has been said.

For if this defence of the *fascinari* were admitted, then the way to rooting out this most wicked sect of the *fascinari* would thereby be very largely taken away and blocked off; and there would be given an intolerable boldness, and no small incitement to the enlarging and multiplying of this sect, if the testimony of accomplices and participants were not to be relied on, according to the ordinance made on this matter, as is contained in the chapter *In fidei fauorem de hæret. lib. 6.*

If, then, a man accused by accomplices says that a Demon made a representation of him, the answer is that a Demon could not have made it unless permission for it had been received from God. If he goes on to say that God did permit it, the answer is that the man who alleges this must prove it sufficiently and duly inform the Judge of it; and if he fails to do so, he is not to be believed, since he was not present at God's counsel.

For just as the procurator of the faith [*procurator fidei*] must prove the *maleficia* which he charges the defendant with having committed under the patronage of the Demon, so too the proof of whatever he brings forward for his own defence rests upon the defendant. It is as when a man is accused by thieves of having been with them at the theft at a stated place and on a stated day, and he alleges that on that day and at that place he was elsewhere, so that he could not then have been with the thieves: unless he proves this sufficiently, a plea or defence of that kind neither avails nor profits him. So too with the man who says or alleges that a false representation of him was made by a Demon: unless he makes the point established, he is not to be believed, but is to be judged a feigner and a fabricator.

It is nevertheless very necessary, in admitting witnesses of this kind, to keep strictly to the tenor of that same chapter in *fauorem*. In it, besides the common manner of admitting witnesses in judicial proceedings, a special manner is added for admitting the accomplice witnesses of Heretics in favour of the faith. For just as it would tend [?] to the great prejudice of the faith if accomplice witnesses were in no way admitted, so too injury and disturbance could be done to innocent people — and most of all in an inquisition against this heretical sect — if accomplice witnesses were admitted lightly. For it has sometimes been discovered that witnesses of this kind have accused certain people through prompting, or through seduction, or through some promise of release, or even by force or the fear of torture.

A prudent and God-fearing judge must therefore, according to the tenor of that chapter in *fauorem fidei*, consider whether the number of accomplice witnesses is sufficient, their agreement with one another and their qualities, and their persistence in the accusation; and likewise the qualities of the accused, and the circumstances of what was done — so that from all this he may discern and draw out the truth and the credibility of the testimonies.

THAT HERETIC *FASCINARII* judicially apprehended upon the crime of heresy and the practice of *maleficia* are not to be admitted to the fellowship of the faithful in the way the other Heretics are admitted once abjuration of heretical pravity has been made.

CAP. XXVII.

Given the gravity of this unspeakable sect of the *fascinarii*, it does not seem consonant with reason that *fascinarii* judicially apprehended upon the crime of this heresy, and upon the practice of the grave *maleficia* [printed *granium*; recte: *grauium*] that are perpetrated by means of this heresy, ought — as the other Heretics are — to be released once a penance has been imposed, and received into the fellowship of the rest of the faithful. And this expressly for five reasons.

The first is the gravity of the crime of the heresy itself, and of the other crimes bound up with it — detestable homicides, for instance, carnal indulgences, apostasy and Idolatry — each one of which crimes by itself calls for its own great punishment. For to the other Heretics, those, that is, who depart from the faith by asserting some error, mercy is shown when they are apprehended for the first time, so that they are not handed over to the secular arm [*brachium saeculare*]. For they are frequently found to have been led astray by some plausible argument which they do not know how to unravel, or else by some passage of Scripture badly understood. Provision can be made for them in this matter through sound teaching, by which they can be enlightened out of the darkness of ignorance and can then come to know the truth of which they were previously ignorant; and once that has been done, if they accept the teaching, pardon is granted them.

The heretic *fascinarii*, by contrast, do not go astray as men led astray through ignorance, since they themselves renounce God and the Catholic faith — the faith most thoroughly known and embraced, in the common way, by all Christians from infancy, and which is seen to flourish among Christians not only by hearing but by manifest and unremitting signs scattered everywhere: not only in the churches, in the crosses set up on every side, but in the crosses erected along the public roads, and in countless other ways and in the common turns of speech, so that they can excuse themselves by no evasion. They deny that very faith at the prompting and in the presence of Demons appearing to them, whom they know [printed *ſciuit*; recte: *ſciunt*] to be manifest enemies of the faith, damned and reprobated by God.

And the same judgement appears to hold of the other crimes joined to it, as is clear in the case of apostasy, by which some go over to the Jews, because they think that the law given by God to the Jews is still good, since it was given by God. Likewise those who go over to the law of Muhammad [*legem Machometi*] think that law more reasonable than the law of the Christians, because it seems in many respects freer, and consequently better suited to human nature, which

by reason of its excellence ought to be free. But these Apostates apostatize from the true faith by a perverse will alone, without any colouring of reason; and therefore they do wrong knowingly and not in ignorance, and there is no hope of their conversion through the teaching of the Church, which enlightens the blindness of those who err — for once they have been enlightened, the Church has compassion on them.

The same appears to hold of Idolatry: some worship the Sun, or some other creature, in which some beauty or some useful effect of goodness shines out. But these Heretics adore a Demon visibly appearing, whom they know to be damned; and he does not speak to them, nor does he demand anything of them except what is manifestly perverse. This, therefore, is the worst of all heresies, differing in kind and in perversity from all other heresies, because they play the heretic precisely in order to worship the Devil — whom they know to be the Devil — and to please him.

For just as, in the virtues, some men are called heroic because they exceed the common measure of other virtuous men — as the blessed Virgin in chastity, who says: *I do not know a man*, and Job in patience, who says of God, and so on: *even if he should slay me, I will hope in him* — so too in the vices some are found to exceed the rest: in carnal pleasure, for instance, some are called bestial, and in anger, cruel. In the same way the heretics of this sect exceed the rest, because whatever they do, they do against the holy faith, and they profess that they do it for the honour and the avowal of the damned Demon; they are turned away from every good, and obstinate and depraved in every evil. The devotees of this heresy are therefore men sunk in the depths of heretical pravity [*haeretica pravitas*].

The second cause is taken from the side of the *fascinarii*. For, as has been said, the Church by its teaching enlightens those who err in ignorance, and so removes from them the fuel of error [*fomentum erroris*]; but these heretics do not err through ignorance, but on account of their passions — of vengeance, say, of avarice, and the like — and the Church cannot take those passions away from them as it takes away ignorance by teaching. Hence it has frequently been discovered that, after some heretics of this kind have been released, they have, under the patronage of their own heresy [*patrocinio suae haeresis*], had put to death the witnesses admitted [*testes recepti*] against them in their trial [*processus*].

The third cause is taken from the side of the rest of the faithful. For provision must be made not only for the heretics themselves, but also for the rest of the faithful, so that they are not corrupted or harassed by the heretics. Now provision is easily made for the faithful against those apprehended in other heresies, partly because such people are pointed out before the congregation in sermons, so that they may be avoided and so that no one may give them credence, and partly because their errors are refuted by preaching. But against the heretics of this sect no provision can be made for the people, because by their *maleficia* they afflict the rest even when those others are unwilling and

have no forewarning; for all heretics of this kind are betrayers and dissemblers, and the rest of the faithful cannot guard against them so as not to be thrown into disorder by them.

The fourth cause is the wickedness of the greatest offences, which ought in no way to go unpunished in the Christian religion and polity. For if these heretics, apprehended not only for heresy but also for the gravest Idolatry, for deliberate homicide, for sodomy, for the profanation of holy things [*profanatio sanctorum*], and for other great *maleficia* — or for some of these — were punished only as the other heretics are, by some penance once the abjuration [*abiuratio*] has been made, then those same sins would plainly remain wholly unpunished, although by all laws, divine and human, they deserve the gravest punishments; and these crimes are in fact committed more gravely through the medium of this heresy than in any other way. For the crime of Idolatry demands the gravest penalty. According to divine scripture, not only are Idolaters to be struck with the gravest penalty, but so too their cities must be destroyed by fire and made uninhabitable because of the offence given to God. The Canon laws enjoin more strictly that this is to be observed not only before the coming of Christ but after it as well, as appears in cap. *fi audieris*. 23.q.5. There, once the punishment of Idolaters appointed in the scriptures of the Old Testament has been recited, it is added: If these precepts concerning the worship of God and the spurning of Idols were kept before the coming of Christ, how much more are they to be kept after the coming of him who admonishes us not by words only but by deeds as well.

Of homicide committed by design and by treachery it is written likewise at Exod. 21. that he must be torn away from the altar so that he may be punished. Now the homicides procured through the *fascinarii* are always brought about by treachery. And the crime of Sodomy is punished with fire and brimstone, as appears at Gen. 19.

If, therefore, heretic *fascinarii* were to go free after abjuration [*abiuratio*] like the other Heretics — who err only through some erroneous assertion — those most unspeakable crimes would remain wholly unpunished, and would in some fashion be sheltered under heretical pravity [*haeretica pravitas*]. That is thoroughly unreasonable: namely, that because they were perpetrated through the medium of heresy and with heretical pravity they go unpunished, whereas if they were done without heretical pravity they would be punished gravely.

The fifth cause is the incitement [*incentivum*] to a heresy of this kind, the heresy of the *fascinarii*. For since perverse and passion-driven men frequently refrain from committing crimes out of dread of the grave penalties which they reckon they will suffer for the perpetration of those crimes, if they themselves were to reckon that the crimes either pass with impunity or at least are punished less, they would be incited by that to the perpetration of evils. And so, if men who are perverse and are inclined and driven by passion toward evils — homicides, say, and acts of revenge — come to perceive that crimes committed through the medium of heretical pravity, and of the sect of the *fascinarii*, are

not punished as much, or are punished less, than if they were done without the crime of heresy, they would readily be incited to enter upon and take up this most wicked sect; and all the more so, since through the medium of this perverse heresy and sect they can carry out their perverse wishes more easily and more secretly.

It seems, therefore, unreasonable and dangerous to open up this way of proceeding with regard to this now-multiplied sect, and to maintain it, since it is nowhere found that the Church has ordained that these crimes should remain without their deserved punishment on the ground that they were perpetrated with heretical pravity, and through its medium and under the Demon's patronage [*patrocinium Daemonis*] — when in fact they demand a greater punishment for that very reason, because they were perpetrated through so perverse a medium as heretical pravity.

THAT, SUPPOSING THAT the *fascinari* were deluded while asleep by the Demons, just as the women of whom the *cap. Episcopi*. speaks were, they are nevertheless in no way excused from heretical pravity.

CAP. XXVIII.

But suppose that this heretical sect of the *fascinari* had its origin in a fantastical illusion [*fantastica illusio*] — the Demons working inwardly, [presenting] to the *fascinari* imaginary representations of Demons, as the *c. Episcopi*. reports of the women deluded by Demons: even so they are in no way excused from heretical pravity. For afterwards, awake and recalling their denial of the catholic faith, and the perverse adoration belonging to their own Idolatry, and the worship rendered to the Demons, they venerate and pursue all these things, and they carefully observe the ordinances laid upon them by the Demons, abstaining from the veneration of the Divine mysteries and from sacramental confession concerning these things. They also hold the will and the settled purpose of frequenting these fellowships of the Demons, and — out of the confidence they have through this confederation with the Demons — of perpetrating *maleficia*: that is, of carrying out acts of revenge and of satisfying their passions. For it makes no difference to the cult of heretical pravity where it took its origin, provided it has been accepted with consent and by free will. Just so, indeed: if some Christian, while asleep, dreamt that he heard someone teaching or preaching that it is not possible or true that the consecrated host really contains the true body of Christ, and then, awake, gave his consent to that heresy and no longer believed the body of Christ to be in the consecrated host, he would not be excused from heretical pravity, but would be reckoned a true one and would be a Heretic. So indeed let it stand, that the *fascinari*, while asleep, supposed themselves to have denied the faith they had received and to have worshipped the Demons. Nevertheless, if afterwards, when they are awake,

these things please them, and they accept them and pursue them, they are not excused from heretical pravity — just as the c. *Episcopi*. does not excuse those deluded women either.

FINIS.