A TREATISE OF GHOSTS

Being the Psichologie, or Treatise upon Apparitions and Spirits, of Disembodied Souls, Phantom Figures, Strange Prodigies, and of Other Miracles and Marvels, which often presage the Death of some Great Person, or signify some swift Change in Public Affairs

Written in French by the learned FATHER NOËL TAILLEPIED, of the Order of Capuchins, and now first translated into English, with an Introduction and Commentary by MONTAGUE SUMMERS

Try the spirits if they be of God
1 S. John, iv,1

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INTRODUCTION

THE family of which Noel Taillepied * was born at Pontoise in the year 1540, if hardly even to be classed with the petty nobility, was at any rate a well-respected and ancient house which now enjoyed great prosperity and had acquired very considerable property in the town. Noel Taillepied was baptized in the twelfth-century church of Saint Maclou, no doubt a very few days after his birth, for his mother was a woman of unfeigned and practical piety, that firm type which is so admirably exemplified in Madame Acarie (Blessed Marie de l'Incarnation) and the Visitandine, S. Jeanne de Chantal.

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From his earliest years Taillepied gave every sign of an exceptional bent not only to religion, but almost equally to study and to learning. His first education he received from the Franciscan Fathers of Pontoise, by whom he was regarded as something little less than a prodigy, so quick and so apt were his earliest years. Whilst he was yet a mere lad they brought him to the especial notice of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen, Georges d'Amboise de Bussy, their warm friend and constant protector. Cardinal de Bussy died on 17 Sep-

* The chief authorities for the life of Noel Taillepied are La Croix du Maine, II, 193; Du Verdier, XV, 147; Le Long, *Bibliothèque Historique de France*, folio, 1768, I, pp. 230–31, n. 3813; Chandon; Pasquier's article in his *Biographie Normande*; Edouard Frère, *Manuel du Bibliographe Normande*, Rouen, 1860, II, pp. 551–52. There is a very interesting and informative article upon Taillepied's *Recueil des Antiquitez . . . de Rouen* (8°, 1587) by Léon de Duranville in his *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Côte Sainte-Catherine*, Paris and Rouen, 1857, pp. 373–417. The notice of Taillepied given by Louis Moréri in his *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, folio, 1674 (I have used the edition, folio, 1759, Vol. X, p. 14) is extremely inaccurate. Taillepied is described as " ce moine," which he was not.

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tember, 1550, and almost with his last breath he desired that his heart might be buried in the Franciscan chapel at Pontoise.

Taillepied also attracted the favourable attention of Sebastien de l'Aubespine, who was later to become Bishop of Limousin; and of Gabriel le Veneur, Bishop of Evreux. By both prelates he was warmly encouraged in his studies, as also in his very evident vocation to the Seraphic Order. Spurred on by such approval he became a postulant at Pontoise as soon as his years would canonically permit, and in due course he was professed in that much loved house. During his novitiate his fervour and obedience to the rule were the edification of all; it was only feared that he might injure his health by too severe an application to study, and unhappily such indeed seems ultimately to have proved the case.

Shortly after his ordination to the priesthood, about 1565, by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen, Charles de Bourbon, Taillepied was sent by his superiors to Paris, where he proceeded in due course *summa cum laude* to the degree of Doctor of Theology, and whence for several years he professed this sacred science in various houses of his Order, at Pontoise, at Lyons, and at Rouen. However, another, and yet the same, horizon was to dawn.

On 6 May, 1574, Pope Gregory XIII published a brief formally authorizing certain newcomers, the Capuchins, to make settlements outside Italy, and in September of that year a small band of friars under the guardianship of Fra Pacifico da San Gervasio set out for Paris, where they had long been invited by Catherine de Medici. They rested awhile on their way at Lyons, the magistrates and leading citizens earnestly entreating them to return and found a house so soon as opportunity allowed, and at Orleans. Very shortly there were friaries at Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Meudon, Roanne, Caen, Avignon and Marseilles.

It may not be altogether impertinent here to say a few words concerning this Order to which Taillepied was so

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shortly to join himself.* The Capuchin Reform is due, under God, to Fra Matteo da Bascio of the Order of Franciscan Observants. This great Saint and great hero in January, 1525, humbly sought an audience of Pope Clement VII at Rome, in order that he might obtain leave to "observe the Rule of S. Francis to the letter," and live as the Saint of Assisi and his first followers lived. It may roughly be said that what Matteo da Bascio desired was a return to the primitive observance, the ideal of the "Spirituals" (as they were called) among the Franciscans, in whose family various mitigations and changes began very early to creep in, even during the lifetime of the Founder himself. It is no reflection upon the holiness and vigour of the Conventuals to say that some especially ardent souls yearned for an even narrower path of religion, and after considerable difficulties, although the Pope had given his sanction from the first, in July, 1538, the bull *Religionis Zelus* conferred a canonical status on the disciples of Fra Matteo, and erected the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin. The name Capuchin (*Cappucini*) is first used in a brief dated 12 January, 1535, for the original bull described this new congregation as Friars Minor of the eremitical life—*de vita eremetica;* but actually this might, and, indeed, did apply, to many small Franciscan communities who lived in remote anchorages. Now, when the bearded friars in their coarse habits of unusual shape were first seen in the streets of Camerino the children fondly greeted them as hermits: "Scapuccini! Scappucini!" was the cry, and the townsfolk began to refer to them as "Frati Scappucini." Ere long even the Roman writers adopted this appellation which they elegantly softened to Cappuccini.

The simplicity of the Capuchins was to be opposed to the grandeur of the Renaissance, and the Constitutions of Albacina are naked and rough as the wood of the Cross of Christ which

* For fuller details see *The Capuchins*, by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., 2 vols, London, 1928. There is an excellent reprint by Fr. Cuthbert of *A Capuchin Chronicle*, London, 1931.

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they so lovingly embraced. The houses were to be constructed of wattles and mud, stone only being allowed if absolutely essential; the dwellings were to be poor and mean; the churches were to be small, although decently furnished and clean. No vestments of jewelled brocades, of golden tissue, or even silk were tolerated there. Only two or three plain chasubles with albs unapparelled. Even the chalices were to be of pewter, not of silver and gold.

The friars rose at midnight for Matins which was chanted in a monotone. They lay on straw; silence was strictly observed; the food at best consisted of one dish, a mere pittance, a perpetual fast. For similar fervours and similar austerities one must fairly go back to the Fathers of the Egyptian desert.

In France, as we have seen, the Capuchins were warmly welcomed. Crowds thronged their new churches. "Two things especially attracted them. One was our simple yet solemn manner of chanting the office . . . the other the extreme neatness and simplicity of the chapel and altar, the latter being decorated with fragrant flowers, a custom hitherto unknown in this country." * A wave of enthusiasm swept the land, and recruits poured in from every province, well-nigh from every town. Among them were the noblest names in France. † The jewel of the Joyeuse family, Henri de Joyeuse, Comte de Bouchage, one of the comeliest, most gracious and attractive boys at the Court of Henri III, who dearly loved, nay almost idolized him, at the age of twenty-four, in September, 1587, joined the Capuchins, and the royal Valois almost fell swooning to the floor when he saw his Joyeuse, now Frère Ange, in the rough brown habit, with shaven head and bare feet. The English mystic, William Fitch, of Canfield in Essex, who found his spiritual home in

* P. Apollonaire de Valence, *Toulouse chrétienne, Histoire des Capuchins . . .*, Toulouse, 1897, I, 7.

† See further Bremond, *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Réligieux en France*, II (Paris, 1916), c. iii.

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the Paris of 1580, joined the Capuchins six years later. Whilst he was a novice his rapts and ecstasies alarmed the friars, until they realized it was the outpouring of grace which drowned and overwhelmed his soul. His *Règle de perfection* has served as a manual to generations of mystics. It is a glorious roll: Père Archange, Yves de Paris, Zacharie de Lisieux, Athanase Molé, Père Joseph, in the world François du Tremblay, Baron de Maffliers, known to all as the confidant and counseller of Richelieu, and many a score beside, men of indomitable strength of soul, of boundless trust in God, of supernatural, nay angelic, vision, that Capuchin chivalry.

Little wonder that the heart of Noel Taillepied burned within him when he saw and heard these things. In 1574, or very early in the next year, he was received by the Capuchins into their Order, since in virtue of an especial privilege they might even accept Observant Friars who came to them.*

Infinitely desiring a stricter walk with God, Taillepied was at once the boast and the admiration of his new brethren. Nor had the Cardinal de Bourbon been blind to his merits. This magnificent prelate showed him many favours, and but for his humility would have shown him more. One thing he would not be denied; Frère Noel must at all costs devote himself, so far as was compatible with his religious vows, to literature.

A profound theologian, an acute philosopher, a discerning and encyclopædic historian, a classical scholar of no ordinary ability, an archæologist of the very first rank, a writer of elegance and probity, an admirable orator, a poet of most pleasing fancy, above all a most exemplary religious, Noel Taillepied comes before us as a figure of extraordinary fascination and charm.

Jacques le Gros,† a poet of Rouen, saluted Taillepied in the following quatrain:

* Father Cuthbert, *The Capuchins*, Vol. I, p. 50.

† *c.* 1560–1600. Amongst other works he published a translation of Hesiod, *Les Besognes et les iours d'Hesiode Ascræan mis en françois*, Paris, 12°, 1586.

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Ce cordelier,* de Pontoise la fleur,
Extolle tant de Rouen la valeur
Qu'il vous prendra d'oresnavant envie,
Beaux Pontoisins, que Normands on vous die.

Other poems and sonnets acclaim him in the somewhat stilted and Euphuistic fashion of the day but with sufficient sincerity to show that his learning and his genius were acknowledged both in the world of letters and in the cloisters of religion.

Noel Taillepied died at Angers in 1589.

The following is a list of his works:

Commentarii in Threnos: Commentaires sur les lamentations de Jérémie prophète. 8°, 1582.

Eloge de Nicolas Denise, frère mineur. This is printed at the end of a tractate by Nicolas Denise the Franciscan, entitled *Resolutio theologorum, seu commentarium in quatuor libros sententiarum.*

Brief traité de déclaration de l'an jubilé et de l'efficace des pardons et indulgences donnés et octroyés par le pape aux fidèles. 12°, 1583.

L'Histoire des vies, mœurs, actes, doctrine et mort de Martin Luther, André Carlostad et Pierre Martyr. 8°, 1577.

From the Latin of Jerome Bolsec.

Histoire de la vie, mœurs, actes et doctrine de Théodore de Bèze. 8°, 1578. This was translated into Latin and published by Pantaleon Thévenin, a printer of Cologne.

La confession de foi, avec un épitre catholique aux chrétiens. Paris, 12°, 1582.

Les œuvres de la philosophie d'Aristote, sçavoir est la dialectique, physique et éthique. Paris, 8°, 1583.

Le Thrésor de l'église Catholique, contenant l'origine des institutions, statutz, ordonnances, cérémonies, et estatz d'icelle. Paris, 12°, 1586.

Recueil des antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Pontoise. Rouen, 8°, 1587.

* It will be noted that Taillepied is spoken of as an Observant.

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Psichologie ou traité de l'apparition des Esprits, Asçavoir, des âmes separées, fantosmes, prodiges et accidens merveilleux qui précédent quelquefois la mort des grands personnages ou signifient changemens de la chose publique. Paris, 8°, 1588; Rouen, 12°, 1600; Rouen, 12°, 1602; Bruxelles, 12°, 1609; Paris, 12°, 1616 (*Julliot*); Paris, 12°, 1616 (*Corrozet*); Paris, 12°, 1627; Paris, 12°, 1667.

Only the first edition, Paris, 1588, carries the title *Psichologie*. Subsequent editions have: *Traité de l'Apparition . . .*

Histoire de l'Eſtat et République des Druides, Eubages, Sarronides, Bardes, Vacies, anciens François, gouverneurs du pays des Gaules, depuis le deluge jusqu'à la venue de Jésus-Chriſt, avec leurs lois, police, ordinnances et coutumes. Paris, 8°, 1585.

A work of the last rarity, full of curious information concerning the mystic rites and sacrifices of the Druids. "Le plus étrange Livre que produisit cet étrange Frère Taillepied, dont tous les Ouvrages sont rares et très recherchés," Stanislas de Guaita.

Recueil des Antiquitez et Singularitez de la ville de Rouen. Rouen, Rich. Petit, 8°, 1587; Rouen, du Petit Val, 8°, 1587; Rouen, Le Mesgissier, 8°, 1587. (These are three separate issues.) Rouen, 12°, 1601; Rouen, 12°, 1610; Rouen, 12°, no date [1634]; Rouen, 12°, 1658.

This book is very highly regarded and is greatly esteemed by historians and antiquarians of Rouen.

It now only remains to speak a little more particularly of the *Psichologie* or *Traité de l'Apparition des Eſprits*, and this may, I think, be done in a few words. The fact is that Taillepied has stated his argument with such force and such clarity, his expositions are so clear, his logic so unflinching, his position so sane and eminently practical, that there is little, if anything, to add to his pages. It would, of course, have been easy enough to amplify his line of reasoning in several directions, to illustrate his points by further examples, and by further examples again, but this eventually must have swelled the Commentary with which I have glossed his work

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to an enormous length, and those who wish further to follow up his thought may be referred to such standard authorities as Dr. F. G. Lee's *The Other World; or Glimpses of the Supernatural*, 2 vols., 1875; *More Glimpses of the World Unseen* 1878; *Glimpses in the Twilight*, 1885; *Sights and Shadows*, 1894; to Dr. Neale's wholly admirable *The Unseen World*, 1847; to the older *An Universal History of Apparitions*, by Andrew Moreton, 3rd Edition, 1738; to *The Phantom World*, 2 vols., 1850, being a translation by the Rev. Henry Christmas of Dom Augustine Calmet's great work; to Charlton's *News from the Invisible World*, first published in 1835; to Mrs. Crowe's *The Night Side of Nature*, 1848; *cum multis aliis*. Of more recent works, and there are many of sterling value, I would respectfully commend to all readers *The Unseen World* by His Eminence Cardinal Lépicier, O.S.M.

There is, I think, only one detail in Taillepied's pages with regard to which I must venture to dissent from the good Father. It occurs in one of the earlier chapters, and although not unimportant in itself, it has no bearing upon his thesis and affects neither the irrefragable logic of his position nor the cogency of his exegesis.

In one sense the *Traité de l'Apparition des Esprits* is an answer—and how crushing and convincing an answer!—to the *De Spectris* of Ludwig Lavater, whom he strikes grovelling in the dust. This mischievous book, with its blank materialism, has been recently proclaimed as possessed of a Shakespearean interest, but this, to me at least, appears very artificial. The mind of Shakespeare when he wrote *Hamlet* was far more attuned to the doctrine of Noel Taillepied than to the arid and ambiguous fantasies of the Zurich pastor, whose English counterpart is Reginald Scot with the crass agnosticism of *The Discovery of Witchcraft*.

Inspired by the example of Taillepied, with whom he was personally acquainted, Pierre de Loyer, in a volume of immense learning, the *Discours et Histoire des Spectres*, Angers and Paris, 4°, 1586, vigorously set forth in amplest detail the

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arguments the Capuchin Father has presented. It is probable, almost certain, that Le Loyer had the help of Taillepied, and there was obviously room for both treatises, the more succinct but not less valuable tractate as well as the long-drawn and seemingly exhaustive investigation.

The inquiry is the same; and the conclusions are the same.

There can be no question that Taillepied's book is a work of the first importance. He sets out to answer those queries which are always surging in man's heart, that asking which often enough it is almost impossible to put into mere words, to furnish that knowledge which to-day is all too often sought in the séance-room and from the medium. I am convinced that the *Traité de l'Apparition des Esprits* is of incalculable value. We are solemnly charged by the Apostle: Try the spirits if they be of God. Noel Taillepied shows us how we may best obey that direction.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

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EPISTLE DEDICATORY

To MONSEIGNEUR, Monseigneur CLAUDE GROULART, Chevalier, Councillor of the King in His Majesty's Privy Chamber and High Courts of State, First President of the Worshipful Court of the Parliament of Rouen.

MONSEIGNEUR,

It is an old and most laudable Custom very generally observed by authors who send forth their works from the Press to the world that they should lay their Writings at the feet of some Great Person or Man of Quality, who may by his gracious acceptance of the same silence all Malice and Calumny under the Shield of his Patronage and good favour. This Custom, methinks, which may haply have arisen from the splendid offering of Aristobulus, who sent a Golden Vine as a present to Pompey the Great, has since then taken such a hold among us that not only did ethnic writers, such as were Julius Pollux, Vitruvius, Valerius Maximus, Diophanes, Valerius Flaccus, Oppian, Seneca, and very many more of the same kind, choose out the most Noble and Illustrious Names of their day to be the Patrons and Protectors of their works, but even Aristides, Quadratus, S. Justin Martyr, the Philosopher Athenagoras, S. Ambrose, S. Hilary of Poitiers, and many another Saint and holy Father of the Catholic Church, addressed their Treatises and Apologies to the Cæsars and other men of the highest rank and station in the Empire of Rome in order that these Noble Excellencies and Optimates might thus become the Protectors and Defenders of the Christian Religion against the assaults of our adversaries and foes.

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Following this ancient and approved Custom, then, My Lord, I have been overbold to inscribe Your Honoured Name before this little book of mine. It is but a slight thing, yet is it collected not only from my own experience but out of many well-reputed authors. I am fully aware that you, My Lord, who so deservedly grace the Eminent office of First President of our Worshipful Parliament of Rouen, are not to learn from me aught concerning those matters of which I treat herein. But seeing that you so masterly and with such a just decorum handle the Reins of Power, and inasmuch as you are so deeply read and versed in all Scholarship and Letters, I am persuaded that under the Ægis of your Name this Work must be recognized by all men as truly Orthodox, Christian and Catholic. I am emboldened also to think that you will graciously accept the fruit of my labours, of small moment and trifling though they be, as a witness and acknowledgement of the Infinite Respect with which I regard Your Lordship, and how highly I value that Friendship wherewith You have been pleased to honour me.

The subject of this Treatise is the Apparition of Ghosts and Disembodied Spirits, and my end has been to resolve the many questions which are daily debated not only among learned men and great Scholars, but also by rustic and simple Folk in the common walk of life, concerning Unembodied Souls, Demons, Lemuses, Fawns, Satyrs, Larvas, Penates, Nymphs, Sprites, Fairies, Goblins, and all sorts of Phantoms which not unseldom appear to men, by day as well as by night, on the high seas as well as on dry land, in the open country and in houses, making horrid cracks and a vast hurly-burly, often suddenly manifesting themselves in the shape of beasts or birds, and even maltreating and batooning those whom they encounter.

In my small Book I also treat of the extraordinary phenomena that so frequently presage and announce the death of Monarchs and great Men, as also foreshadow divers changes in the estate of Kingdoms and other affairs of grave conse-

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quence. It is believed that many, who have neither seen nor heard of—save slightingly—these marvellous Happenings, are much inclined to conceive that such histories must be fantastical, and it is sometimes supposed that the fearful and credulous, the guilty and stricken in conscience, or those who are womanly and weak, very easily imagine that they have seen some astonishing sight or heard some half-whispered words, whereas in reality it is nothing of the sort.

On the other hand there are others who immediately their ears catch the echo of some unaccustomed noise (particularly at night, when it is darkling and hard to see), at once jump to the conclusion that a ghost walks, wherefor they are unable to sleep through horror and amaze, and they grievously torment and distress themselves, panicky and sick at heart owing to their empty dread.

It is very necessary then that such folk should learn to distinguish calmly between natural happenings and ghosts.

Yet another kind, again—and of these many follow the new opinions—wickedly designing to escheat the Souls of the Faithful Departed of the Prayers of the Church, impudently proclaim that it is folly and ridiculous beyond words to believe that Spirits and the Souls of the Dead can appear to the living, the more especially if such Visitants ask to be helped and released from the sufferings of Purgatory. There are many, too, both lewd and learned, who cannot understand how or why ghosts should appear.

In our day not a few philomaths of profoundest erudition, the very Flower of Scholarship and Arbiters of literary elegance—with whom I would in no wise measure my weak powers—have written of this matter, to wit Apparitions and Spirits. Amongst others, and there are a score beside, I would name Gaspar Peucer, Weyer, Milichius, Rivius, Camerarius, Pierre Martyr, Lavater, Cardano, Bodin, Cornelius Agrippa, Michaelis, Melchior, Leonard Vair, whose writings I have diligently perused, often with profit enow, and sometimes to refute and correct. Yet very many of these

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Writers are concerned almoſt wholly with Witches, Charmers, Sorcerers, and dark Operations of Magic, only touching upon Apparitions and Spirits, as it were, by the way; whilſt others of the new opinion have mischievously thruſt forward their own ill-wrought and depraved imaginations.

Accordingly it seemed not merely convenient but necessary that the Truth of these matters should be candidly and clearly set forth without ambages or circumlocution.

It was my part, then, to draw up and compose this little Treatise, wherein I have set down nothing that is not confirmed and approved by solid witnesses, mainly by the Holy Scriptures, by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and at any rate by authors, both old and new, of credit and eſtimation who are heard with proper reverence and reſpect.

To crown my labours and to commend them to all honeſt and well-doing readers I hereby place them, My Lord, under Your Safeguard and Protection. May You be pleased, Monseigneur, to vouchsafe the acceptance of this small Gift from him who humbly kisses Your Hands, praying Almighty God that He will always have You in His care, and preserve You, as is the wish of all who know You, a moſt sacred charge in a long and happy life under His Fatherly keeping.

Such, my Lord, is the fervent humble prayer of

Your Most Humble, Most Obliged, and Most Obedient Servant,

FATHER NOEL TAILLEPIED.

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THE ARGUMENT

THERE are verily and indeed Spirits and Phantoms which sometimes appear to men, and not unseldom we are confronted with marvellous and most unexpected supernatural occurrences. The Spirits who appear are either Good Angels or bad, or the Souls of the Departed, who may give us timely warnings from God, by Whose Divine Permission only spirits are able to manifest themselves to us. Other portents and presages also may in God's mercy foretell some future event, so that we shall be the better prepared. It is good, therefore, to know how we must conduct ourselves upon these occasions, and what we may learn from them. All of which is debated and agreeably set forth in this Treatise.

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CHAPTER I

Of those who Doubt the Existence of Spirits

ACCORDING to the Holy Scriptures, as well as in the judgement of all writers of weight and authority who have treated these matters, those men who deny the Existence of Spirits and refuse to believe in Apparitions may conveniently be divided into four classes, namely Philosophers (or rather pseudo-philosophers); Sadducees; Atheists; and the Irreligious, among whom we too often find certain Men of Quality to whose guess the supernatural seems a very fable.

With regard to the first sort; Aristotle, Prince of Philosophers, does not deny the existence of Spirits, which he deduces from the fact that there is One Supreme Cause,[1] a bodiless, immaterial principle, and thereunto he joins eight or nine Spirits according to the number of Heavens they control. This Philosopher has erred exceedingly, since he will not have it that there are more than eight or nine Spirits; but Hermes Trismegistus[2] goes even more widely astray when he writes that there are no good Spirits save those who sustain the hinges of Heaven, the Arctic and Antarctic poles, although his opinion is more orthodox than that of Aristotle in one respect, since he allows that God made and created all Spirits,[3] and he does nor predicate that they are eternal, which Aristotle argued. It would appear that Trismegistus intended to add something to and complete Aristotle's theory of eight Spirits, as also did Avicenna[4] when he speaks of a catena or chain of pure intelligences, created one after another. The first intelligence, he holds, is uncreate, existing from all eternity, and this principle created a second, by which

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was made the third, and so on throughout. Aristotle is wrong too in another point when he denies that there are bad Spirits, congruent to the rash opinion of certain ancient physicians, who, as Psellus says, (*De Operatione Daemonum*, xiv,)[5] speaking of those who are not Christians, or who having abandoned the faith inevitably fall into no less than two grave errors, both denying the immortality of the soul (as is said in the Book of Wisdom, chapter ii),[6] pretend that it is but as the flame of a lamp, which once extinguished is forever gone, and also when they are shown the visible effects and operations of the devil in cases of possession they become more materialistic even than pagan Aristotle, alleging that these diabolic phenomena are due to sickness, lunacy and melancholic humours of the body. They deny the immortality of the Soul, and they declare that the spirit of man is but smoke and a vapour, a puff of wind. How admirably then does S. Augustine in his hundredth Epistle,[7] addressed to Evodius, Bishop of Uzalis,[8] relate what happened to Gennadius, a well-known and highly esteemed physician, who was also a friend of the Saint's. Gennadius, while he was a young student, was tormented with doubts and questioned whether there was indeed a life after death. One night whilst he slept there appeared to him a certain Youth, certes an Angel, who talked with him and took him to a place where he could hear sweet music and songs. The Youth asked him whether he was awake or asleep. Gennadius replied that he knew he was asleep, for his body with closed eyes and deaf ears lay on his bed in his chamber. "Then," said the Youth, "it is with the eyes of the Spirit that you see me, with Spirit you are conversing with me, and with the ears of the Spirit do you hearken to these heavenly canticles."

It is indeed an amazing thing that men, even if misled by some false philosophy, can deny the facts of demoniacal possession. The whole world knows what trouble a number of good priests were at and what pains they took to exorcize a woman dwelling in the town of Laon,[9] who was possessed

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by an evil spirit. Nevertheless, a writer named Bodin, in his book entitled *Demonomania*,[10] seems to try to obscure the facts of this famous case, and speaks of the harp of David [11] as though he would like to say that it only needed a noise of fiddlers to make this woman dance and jig, and effectively deliver her from the fiend who tormented her. And as though he were half-minded to deny the reality and activities of Spirits, he holds that they only return and act as did that spirit of which he tells a tale he confidently holds for true. This Spirit finely befooled and misled one of his friends, who lightly asked what was the best religion to belong to, the Catholic faith or the Protestant? In answer, the lying demon, for he could have been no other, lustily trolls me out one of Clement Marot's psalms.[12]

The Epicureans are philosophers of this school who scorn and contemn every proof of the existence of Spirits and every account of apparitions, mere bug tales (they say) to frighten fools and little children. Cassius, who was, as Plutarch [13] tells us, a confirmed member of this sect, learning that Brutus had seen a ghost, tried to persuade him that apparitions were clean contrary to natural law. "'In our sect, Brutus,' said he, 'we have an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele, or see, that which we suppose we doe both see and feele: but that our senses beeing credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their oune objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that, which in truth they doe not. For, our mind is quicke and cunning to worke (without eyther cause or matter) any thinge in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to claye, and the minde to the potter: who without any other cause than his fancie and pleasure, chaungeth it into what facion and forme he will. And this doth the diversitie of our dreames shewe unto us. For our imagination [14] doth uppon a small fancie growe from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and formes of thinges imagined. For the minde of man is ever occupied, and that

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continuall moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you, being by nature given to melancholick discoursing, and of late continually occupied: your willes and sences having bene overlabored, doe easilier yeelde to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angells,[15] and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces, or any power at all to come unto us: it is a mockerye. And for myne oune parte, I would there were suche, bicause that we shoulde not onely have souldiers, horses, and shippes, but also the ayde of the goddes, to guide and further our honeſt and honourable attempts.' With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus." Thus Plutarch.

The same author says that a Spirit visibly appeared both to Dion and to Brutus,[16] and he adds "albeit there be some that can not abide those opinions, and doe maintaine that these sights and evill spirits [17] doe never appeare to any man that has his right wits, but that they are fancies of little children, or old women, or of some men that their wits are weakened by sickenes, and so have a certain imagination of suche ſtraunge sightes, being of this superſtitious minde," yet "if Dion and Brutus, both of them grave and learned Philosophers, and verie conſtant men, not overcome by any sodaine passion or imagination of minde, have bene moved by such sights and spirits, and have also tolde it unto their frendes: I can not tell whether we shall be inforced, to graunt the moſt ſtrangeſt and oldeſt opinion of this, which sayth": that these be indeed spirits and angels who do truly appear to, and are seen by men, whereby the tenets of the Epicureans are utterly refuted and shown to be nugatory and in vain.

The holy Evangeliſt S. Luke, in the twenty-third chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, verse 8, writes: "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit," and their frivol and exceptious opinions are recorded by Josephus in his *Of the Antiquities of the Jewes*, Book XIII,

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c. 9, and Book XVIII, c. 2 ; [18] and in his *Of the Warres of the Jewes*, Book II, c. 7 ; [19] and these agnostics are again worsted and confuted by S. Epiphanius in his *Panarium*, the Refutation of Eighty Heresies, Book I, the first Jewish sect, XIV.[20]

In the third class of sceptics I put the atheists who believe neither in God nor devil, Heaven nor hell, who are sottish Epicureans in their lives, and very Machiavelists in their principles, disciples of Diagoras,[21] followers of impious Protagoras,[22] Cyreniacs,[23] pundits of the quip and quiz school of scoffing Lucian and bawdy Rabelais, high-flyers who deny the existence of God and the reality of Spirits, who question whether man hath an immortal soul, windy charlatans who vaunt any fantastical notion that comes into their empty heads.

When John Calvin took up his residence at Geneva [24] and was preparing to lay on the neck of that unhappy town the heavy yoke of his new evangel, before he publicly proclaimed his tenets, an assembly of the most considerable burgesses and stancht divines was convened in order to learn what kind of a doctrine this might prove, they were to be committed to and were all going to profess. One of the company, a topping Protestant minister named Guillaume Farel,[25] boldly advanced and maintained this wicked opinion, that it would be best to lay down that the soul was mortal, for by asserting this they could effectually silence those who held that Spirits have been seen by men and that it is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead.[26] From the discussion which followed on this occasion Calvin drafted the sixteenth chapter of the Second Book of his *Institution of Christian Religion*,[27] where he declares that all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church have taught concerning the *Limbus Patrum* [28] is just a grannam fable, a nursery tale for babes. All those writers who have drunk of the muddy and stinking waters of the Lake of Geneva incline absolutely to deny apparitions and ghosts, and this lie they have brewed out of their superstitious hatred of Prayers for the Dead. You will continually

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find it stated in the books of these heretics and ignorant ethnic bigots that the spirits of the dead cannot and do not appear.

There are also, as I have remarked, many Persons of Quality and of good estate who pretend to scout and fleer any relation concerning ghosts and apparitions. This is because they are throughout their lives steeped in materialism and devoted to the senses and the evidence of the senses alone, holding all else to be but the result of dreams, nightmares and fears of the dark.

As a sufficient and ample refutation of these so-called Philosophers and modern Pagans, who flourish abundantly in our midst to-day and also utterly to confute the Sadducees and other misbelievers who grew up as tares and cockle among the Jews of old, we have, says Tertullian in his *Liber de Praescriptionibus*, the Five Books of Moses.[29] As Catholics and Christians we have the New Testament as well as the Old Testament, that is to say the Bible; and we also have the Histories of the holy Fathers and their writings, whence it can be clearly demonstrated and proved that there are apparitions and ghosts, for in these authoritative pages are contained many accounts of extraordinary and supernatural happenings, visions, it may be of Almighty God Himself, or of Angels and Saints, or of men who are deceased, and it will be our business to expound in this treatise which and what Spirits may appear and have appeared to living men.

CHAPTER II

What Spirits Appear to Men

In the Bible are mentioned several kinds of Spirits. There is the Spirit of God Who moved over the waters at the Creation in order to give light to the world,[1] and Who hath also vouchsafed, with the Father, to bear witness to the

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Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ at His most Holy Baptism,[2] upon the Mount of Transfiguration,[3] and Who afterwards appeared under a visible form to the Apostles and other members of the early Church at Pentecost.[4] If we speak of the Soul or Spirit of Our Lord we know that He descended into hell and that after three days His Soul was joined again to His body, and that He appeared to His disciples in the upper chamber at Jerusalem, the doors being fast shut.[5] After His Ascension He appeared at noontide to S. Paul who was journeying and drew near to Damascus, unto whom He said: I am Jesus of Nazareth, Whom thou persecutest.[6] He appeared also in the night to S. Paul in the house of Titus Justus at Corinth.[7] Another time, when the Apostle was in prison, Our Lord stood by him in the night and said: Be constant, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.[8] Our Lord appeared to a certain disciple at Damascus named Ananias, as S. Luke tells us in the ninth chapter of the Acts. Egesippus in his book on *The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem*,[9] and S. Ambrose in his *Epistles*,[10] both tell of the apparition of Our Lord to S. Peter near Rome, and when S. Peter asked Him *Domine quo vadis*, Christ replied, *Vado Romam iterum crucifigi*.[11]

Many holy Fathers and Doctors, such as S. Anselm,[12] S. Ildefonsus,[13] S. Nicephorus, Calistus,[14] S. John Damascene,[15] Symeon Metaphrastes,[16] and others, who relate the passing and Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, following the account of S. Melito, Bishop of Sardis,[17] bear witness that Our Most Holy Redeemer Himself appeared to His Mother, revealing to her the day of Her passing and the glory with which it was His good will She should be crowned. Abdias of Babylon relates how a vision appeared to S. John the Evangelist.[18] Sigebert relates how our Lord appeared to S. Machutus, as also to several other blessed Martyrs.[19] Symeon Metaphrastes in his life of SS. Mercury, Theodore, Acyndinus, Menas, Hermogenes, Galactin, Epistemes, Eustra-

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tius, and many other Saints and Martyrs, men and women,[20] relates how our Lord appeared to them, consoling and strengthening them in their torments, delivering them from their temptations, revealing future events to them and encouraging them to persevere in His service, so that they stayed faithful, all of which has been narrated by not a few eminent and orthodox historians of the Christian Church. And if ALMIGHTY GOD did not vouchsafe Himself to appear to them in a visible and sensible form He has ministering Angels to do His will,[21] and as the Bible relates, the Angels appear to men in whatsoever shape God wills. He commanded Cherubim to guard Eden,[22] the paradise of pleasure. The law was given to Moses by the mediation of Angels.[23] He gives His Angels charge over us to keep us in all our ways [24] and protect us against the perils and dangers of this world, and against the ambush and snares of evil spirits, inasmuch as the Angels of God fight and do battle for us.[25] What legions upon legions of Angels there are we learn from the history of the prophet Eliseus at whose prayer the Lord opened the eyes of the young man his servant, and he saw and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots round about Eliseus, when the army of the Syrians sought to destroy him.[26] Jacob, when afraid of his brother Esau, was met by the Angels of God. And when he saw them, he said: These are the camps of God, and he called the name of that place Mahanaim, that is, Camps.[27] The work of the Angels is ever to praise God as Isaias and Ezekiel inform us, the one prophet speaking of the Seraphim [28] and the other prophet of the Cherubim.[29] In the seventh chapter and tenth verse of Daniel it is said: *Thousands of thousands ministered to Him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him.*[30] If indeed every man born into this world (even we may suppose Antichrist himself should he be mere man) has, or will have, a Guardian Angel, who is of the lowest order of the Celestial Hierarchy, and whose task and service it is to guard only one individual soul, what idea can our limited

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intellect form of the myriads of Angels of this lower order alone, especially when we think of the almost infinite number of souls who will (as we suppose) be born into this world? A mighty Archangel will sound the last trumpet to awake the dead,[31] whereupon the Angels will appear in hosts upon hosts to gather together the elect into one place from the four quarters of the earth.[32] In fine the everlasting ministry of Angels and their ceaseless care of men are surpassing mysteries, nor need we wonder how they strive to protect and watch over our souls and bodies. Agar, the Egyptian handmaid of Abraham, when cast out by Sara her mistress, and wandering in the wilderness of Bersabee, was comforted and relieved by an Angel who appeared to her.[33] S. Joseph, Spouse of our Immaculate Lady, being minded to put Her away privately, either because he was troubled at the mystery, or rather because in his deep humility he deemed himself utterly unworthy to dwell in the same house with the Mother of God, was visited in his sleep by the Angel of the Lord, who encouraged him, saying: *Fear not to take unto thee MARY thy wife.*[34] Angels have appeared so often and to so many holy men that it were blasphemy to deny the existence and mediation of Angels. Abraham was several times visited by Angels.[35] Lot was saved from Sodom by Angels.[36] An Angel forbade Abraham to sacrifice Isaac.[37] Angels directed Eliezer to Rebecca.[38] Angels appeared to Jacob, Balaam, Josue, Gedeon, Elias, Tobias, Habacuc, Eliseus, S. Zachary, to Our Blessed Lady, to Our Lord in the desert and in the Garden of Olives, to S. Peter in prison, to S. Philip the deacon, to the centurion Cornelius, to the Shepherds and the three Kings from the East, to the great multitude of sick who lay in the five porches of the pond called Probatica at Jerusalem, to the women who came to the Sepulchre, to the Apostles, and to very many more, as is related in both Testaments.[39]

With regard to evil spirits, we are told that a spirit went forth and was a lying spirit in the mouth of all Achab's

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prophets;[40] and Satan also tempted David through pride to number the people of Israel,[41] and it was by evil Angels also, who are the instruments of Divine vengeance, that God plagued Egypt, as is written in the seventy-seventh Psalm and the forty-ninth verse: He sent upon them the wrath of His indignation: indignation and wrath and trouble which He sent by evil Angels. God has again and again forbidden us to sacrifice to devils or to idols which are of devils. Now He would not have commanded this if there were no devils. A devil named Asmodeus killed seven husbands of Sara, who was married to young Tobias.[42] Saul was possessed of an evil spirit.[43] The patience of holy Job was proved by the attacks of Satan.[44] Our Lord was tempted in the desert by Satan who sought to be adored as God.[45] Devils were often expelled from the bodies of the possessed by Our Lord's command, as also by the Apostles.[46] The devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour.[47] Our wrestling, S. Paul warns us, is not against flesh and blood but against the spirits of wickedness in high places,[48] and we must watch with all instance well-armed lest the old serpent cause us to fall, as he seduced Adam our First Parent. In conclusion, for the apposite passages from the Scriptures are almost innumerable, Our Lord will say to those on His left hand: *Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels.*[49] Therefore it is certain that there are Spirits, both good and bad, who appear to men.

There is also a third kind of Spirits, which we call Ghosts, that is to say, after the soul is separated from the body, and we will later inquire and resolve the question that is sometimes asked, namely, whether Ghosts can and do appear to the living. It will suffice to say here that there is nothing at all contrary to the nature of the soul, nothing at all depreciatory or dishonouring to the power of Almighty God, in the fact that Spirits do return and manifest themselves. Indeed, the Bible tells us that the Prophet Samuel[50]; Jeremias, who was

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seen with the High-priest Onias ; [51] Moses, Elias,[52] and others have thus appeared.

With regard to a fourth kind of Spirits, I am of opinion that it is an error to believe they are immortal. I speak of the spirits of animals, for these, I take it, expire and are no more when the body of the animal dies. Which is, I am very well aware, contrary to the opinions both of the famous Philosopher Pythagoras and of Julian the Apostate,[53] who held that the spirits of animals are immortal, and that they pass from the old body into a new body, according to the merit or worth of the actions which they have performed in the former life. This opinion seems to me to be from the faith and common sense, for the fable of a Paradise of animals is an empty figment without rhyme or reason. Everlasting happiness is only promised to intellectual beings. Even the Epicureans hold this, and Aristotle teaches as much in the sixth chapter of his *De Mundo*,[54] as also in the First Book of the Ethics.[55] For he concludes that the only way to achieve the Sovran Good and Supreme Happiness, the Summum Bonum, is by the rational exercise of true religion (a striving after perfection) which animals cannot profess.

In our discussion therefore of Spirits let it be understood that we are not considering the spirits of animals, but only the apparitions of intellectual beings, that is to say the appearances of Angels ; and Ghosts, the dead who have departed this life.

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CHAPTER III

Melancholicks and those suffering from the Hyp can imagine all sorts of Visions which are often mere Fancy and Unreal

PLUTARCH,[1] whom we have quoted in our first chapter, relates that Cassius in philosophical discourse with Brutus reminded him that our senses are credulous and therefore easily abused and often wrought to imagine they see and conjecture that which in truth they do not. Especially is this the case with melancholick men or those who are sick or hypochondriacal, whose senses being overlaboured the more easily yield to such imaginations, and who thus often suppose that some natural (it may be unexpected) sight is a vision or an apparition. That there is some quota of truth in the arguments advanced by Cassius several examples tend to prove. Certainly persons who are of an atrabilious humour, or sad and troubled with the spleen, or sorry and grieved at some mischance or loss, may very easily imagine that extraordinary and dreadful things have happened to them. They sometimes assert and verily believe that they have seen such a one or heard such a thing, when they have neither seen nor heard anything at all. This is frequently the case with men who are suffering from a bad headache, the megrims, or some other illness which allows them no sleep at nights, or who it may be, are damped by some exceeding great sorrow or fevered with passion,[2] who are morbidly anxious and unquiet, and, as it were, beside themselves. Those who have had to do with such unfortunate and exalted visionaries are very often hard put to it not to deride and bluntly contradict their neurotic delusions, although indeed we may rather pity men

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who seriously relate as personal experiences such fantastic stories and marvels beyond the moon.

Aristotle in his treatise *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*,[3] tells how a young man of the Isle of Abydos in Asia Minor, who was disordered in his wits, used to go day after day to the public theatre where plays were wont to be represented, and although the actors were not giving any performance and the whole auditorium was empty save for himself alone, he loved to sit there and from time to time he would laugh and applaud, clapping his hands, as though he were actually watching some first-rate comedy. Moreover when he had recovered his right mind he not unfrequently averred that he had never enjoyed anything so thoroughly as this hallucination whilst he was so shatterpated; as the old proverb has it: *That suit is best which best fits me.*[4]

Horace, also,[5] speaks of a Man of Quality living at Argos, who used to go to the playhouse, when no piece was being acted, and conduct himself in just the same way as the youth of Abydos. At last this monomaniac was persuaded by his family to visit a doctor and be cured of his delusions. He gave his friends no thanks, however; in fact he blamed them severely since they had by curing him deprived him of enjoyment which cost nothing at all.

Athenæus in the twelfth book of his *Deipnosophists or, the Banquet of the Learned*, writes of a certain Thrasylaus, and this is what he says: "Thrasylaus the Æxonensian, son of Pythodorus, was once afflicted with such violent madness that he thought that all the vessels which entered the Piræus belonged to him. And he wrote them up in his books as such; and sent them away and regulated their affairs in his mind, and when they returned to port he welcomed them back with great joy, as a man might be expected to do who was master of so much wealth. And when any were lost he never inquired about them, but he was excessively glad to receive all that arrived safely from any voyage. And so he lived very happily and was extraordinarily pleased and content.

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But when his brother Crito returned from Sicily he took charge of him and put him in the hands of a skilful physician, and Thrasylaus was cured of his madness. However in later years he himself used to tell the tale of his delusion, and he always declared that he had never been happier in his life, for he never felt any worry or was troubled, whilst the pleasure he experienced and enjoyed was beyond all words." [6]

Ludwig Lavater,[7] a heretical predicant of Zurich, in his *Of Ghosties and Spirites Walking by Night*, relates that he personally knew a certain fanatic of his own following, Ioannes Leonard Sertorius by name, who was so besotted with his impious and obstinate folly that he sought to prove by a miracle from heaven in imitation of the prophet Elias that the sect of Calvinists was the true religion. He even not unseldom importuned and urged the magistrates to assemble all the Papists (the name he gave in contumely to the members of the Holy Roman Church) and all the Evangelicals (whom we call Lutherans or Martinists[8]) together into one spot, and professed that before the face of the whole world he would then renew the stupendous miracle of Mount Carmel, protesting if he were not true to his word they could do with him what they would. The magistrates, naturally enough, refused to agree to anything of the kind, fearing an open scandal such as that which happened at Geneva when Jack Calvin pretended he would restore to life and raise from the dead a sick man who was then alive but whom God (he said) would suffer to die in order that he might prove that his teaching was true.[9] Calvin afterwards found it convenient to bruit abroad that the wife of the deceased was crazy in her intellects to attribute any such power to him, but it is very well known that this fine fellow was so consumed with mad pride and so intolerably puffed up with vanity that he verily believed he was inspired, nay energized, with the spirit of S. Paul the Apostle. It can never be forgotten how at Geneva he compelled a prominent citizen named Pierre Ameaux to perform a public penance and ask pardon dressed only in his shirt, bare-headed and holding

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a lighted candle in his hand, only because (as he affirmed) Ameaux had spoken disparagingly of him. Whereas Ameaux had merely observed one night, when certain of his acquaintance were supping with him in his own house and during the meal the doctrine of Calvin was being extravagantly praised and belauded, that Calvin must not be rated as equal to S. Paul and the Apostles, nor yet was he the peer of the Prophets and Doctors of old, because he sometimes taught very trifling quiddities and thereon raised frivolous questions. On one occasion indeed, when a certain fanatic boasted at Thenon, whilst he was in company with some good Catholics, that Calvin was a very S. Paul reincarnate, this fellow gave such scandal that he was obliged to make an *amende honorable* for his fault.

Not many years ago there was a citizen of Pontoise who suffered from such delusions that he imagined he was King of France, and with sovran authority appointed Officers of the Guard of his household and in imagination bestowed estates and wealthy gifts upon all kinds of people. M. Denis Peronnet in his *Homilies*,[10] mentions, too, the case of a burgher of Auxerre, who believed he was Bishop of Auxerre, and accordingly he betook himself to the Bishop's Palace where he bade His Lordship account to him for the diocesan revenues. Master Guillaume Postel, whose wits sometimes certainly went woolgathering, claimed that he was Elias Pandocheos, the kindly Father and helper of all, sent into the world by God and holy Mother Jeanne, as he has written at length in his *Tres-Merveilleuses Victoires des Femmes au Noveau Monde*.[11] When Monsieur,[12] the brother of the King (whom may God assoil)[13] was in Flanders, Master Postel happened to be sojourning in the same district, and his head, wise as it was, having been turned by brooding over the troubles that beset the kingdom, he must needs address himself to Master Berson, a doctor of divinity of Paris and Preacher in Ordinary to His Highness, the King's brother, and this good priest he told how he had received a particular revelation from God to the

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effect that he was himself the prophet Elias and that Master Berson was Enoch, and that they must go together to the Ottomans to preach the Gospel. I should hardly have credited this had I not myself heard him most obstinately maintain it one day when Master Berson had delivered a sermon before Monsieur at the Château de Château-Thierry,[14] when I was preaching an Advent course and had recently dealt with the Second Coming of Our Lord in one of the churches of Château-Thierry.

It is absolutely certain then that Melancholick Humour can cause most vivid delusions so that things appear absolutely real, which in fact have neither being, appearance nor existence and under the influence of this black humour those who are distraught and disordered in their wits persuade themselves that the falsest fantasies are true. For they are deprived of their right reason. Sometimes that happens to them as the result of continual molesting nightmares, the Incubus, fearful and troublesome dreams.[15]

There are also recorded instances of cunning artists who through over-concentration upon their works have fallen ill, and even doted madly upon their handicraft and upon what they themselves have made. The most fantastical and even terrible ideas fill their heads. Aelian in his *Variae Historiae* (or *Divers Histories*) tells how a young Athenian, Pygmalion by name, fell madly in love with a Statue of fair Ivory.[16] A certain young man, says he, the son of a noble and wealthy house became dotingly enamoured of the Statue of Good Fortune, and oftimes would he throw himself as it were into her embrace, caressing her and kissing her most fondly, until at length his frenzy reached such a height that he must needs copulate with the Statue, for he was all a-fire and tingling with lust. Unable to restrain his morbid eroticism he went to the Senate on a day of solemn assembly and entreated the Fathers that he might be allowed to purchase the Statue. But seeing that he could by no persuasion obtain his request, he began to crown the Statue with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers

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and rosy chaplets, and he poured delicious perfumes over her and he even dressed her in a most beautiful robe, gemmed and exquisitely broidered. Then he burst into floods of bitter tears, and wholly besotted with his melancholy and his excitation, since he could not enjoy her, he slew himself at the feet of his love.[17] For this black humour is so powerful that it engenders certain fumes and vapours which, mounting to the brain, disorder the imagination, whence it comes that the understanding is perverted and corrupt. So the Melancholicks, or as they are commonly called, Saturnians,[18] whether they be awake or sleeping, keep thinking over, tossing and turning in their minds horrid chimeras and other scareful visions of hobgoblin awe, whereby they so alarm and dash their spirits that they are for ever in a panic and mortally apprehensive of some dreadful calamity which they are very certain is threatening them or which has indeed already befallen and crushed them. Moreover, those who are of a dry and arid temperament, such as old men[19] and sick folk, whose blood is thin and sour in their veins, are very subject to this kind of dismal heaviness and dark imagination's brood of torturing fears.

Leonard Vair, himself a Spaniard, in the First Book of his *De Fascino*,[20] relates that when he was at Rome he saw and knew a certain Spanish hidalgo, who for some fault had so chidden and threatened his servant, fixing the varlet with a furious and angry look, that the man, terrified at his master's wrathful and blazing eyes, well nigh lost his senses, soon after which the black humour swiftly coursing throughout his whole body he ran stark lunatic and presently hanged himself in one of the rooms of his master's house. The hidalgo lived in the Piazza Navona, near the Church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli.

I myself have been acquainted with several persons so possessed with this strain of black melancholy that they morbidly deem themselves the most abandoned and vilest sinners in the whole world. There are others, we read in

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good authors, who believe they have horns like oxen; and others, again, are convinced they are earthen pots, and so keep themselves at a distance and avoid contact with their fellows lest they be broken.[21] Galen in the Third Book and tenth chapter of his *De locis affectis* (or *Diagnostica*),[22] mentions the case of a man who suffered from this distressing delusion. Some even have imagined that they were dead; others are persuaded they are emperors or monarchs or patricians or of highest authority; others that they are most learned doctors and as wise and inspired as the Holy Apostles and Prophets themselves, for they do not hesitate to foretell future events and to interpret according to their own idle whim and silly caprice the works of Almighty God, of which insane presumption we have a contemporary example in Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay, that foolhardy admirer and disciple of Postel and Ramus. This brawling boutefeu has asserted and obstinately contends in spite of all reason that the fiery Comet which shot forth through the heavens during these last few years is a sure sign and token that Calvinism will be preached and prevail throughout the world. If anyone can bring himself to read the ninny ruffian's *Traité de l'Église*,[23] a chip from Luther's block, he will see what I say is the case.

Leonard Vair, in the Second Book of his *De Fascino*,[24] explains why it is that some men have an overweening confidence in themselves and in their own abilities, and will not be guided or persuaded in the least, but are positively assured and determined that all they lay down and maintain must infallibly be true. He says that the spirit of man, whilst it is imprisoned and confined in the body can only apprehend what is presented to it by the corporeal senses, and it only perceives by the mediation and means of the sensible faculties, the apprehensive faculty, outward of the five senses; and inward, Common sense, Phantasy, Memory. Ideas are conveyed to the intelligence by the imagination, which collects together the forms of material things, notions and ideas. Now the imagination conceives and comprehends

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two kinds of things, the one kind proper to itself and present, the other kind common and not always present. But when the apprehensive faculty contemplates and regards this second common kind, it may very often be deceived: for the imagination having already formed some conception of these things, when they are actually presented to it apprehends them according to its preconception of their nature; as for example, persons travelling in a boat might sometimes think that the vessel does not budge but that the banks of the river are moving; thus the apprehensive faculty is liable to mistakes and may suppose black objects to be white, and what is false to be true. And if a man is misled by continually forming erroneous and mistaken concepts of things his apprehensive faculty becomes so weakened and warped that he is in the end brought to absolute madness and clean loses his wits, his entire faculty of right judgement; although very often this does not occur with regard to everything, but only to some one particular thing or aspect, and he does not wholly lose his wits, his brain is merely clouded, undiscerning and hebete in one direction. Hence it comes that a man is often over-confident in error. Sick persons, too, are frequently thus deceived, for they envisage and excogitate the most hideous and horrible figments and fancies, inasmuch in their weakness they obtain an imperfect and distorted mental conception of all kinds of quite common objects which are in the bed-chamber, and they imagine that their bed is surrounded by wolves or lions or packs of fierce dogs, and they do not cease to clamour and call for help until someone comes and dissipates these hallucinations by feigning to chase them away and drive them. And it is certainly the case that those whose mental equilibrium is weakened and bewildered always imagine some absurdity and chimera since their apprehensive faculty is deranged and impaired. When, therefore, the body is ailing and the imagination disordered, a number of fantastic and illusory objects may present themselves, and although all this is utterly unreal yet those who are suffering are persuaded

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they can see, hear, nay even that they say and do all kinds of things, whereas actually nothing of the sort has happened or transpires.

Galen, in his treatise *De Symptomatum Differentiis*,[25] chapter iii, mentions a physician named Theophilus, who when he was sick, although he was by no means delirious, for he knew and conversed perfectly sensibly with his attendants, giving them directions and the rest, yet he was perfectly convinced that a noise of musicians had forced their way into his bedchamber and that they kept sounding their instruments, which music allowed him no peace and quiet day nor night. He continually bade his servants incontinently to turn the minstrels out of the house. When he was convalescent he remembered quite clearly everything that had been said and done during his illness, and he also remembered and spoke of the musicians who (as he thought) had invaded his chamber.

The celebrated medical writer Paulus Ægineta, in the sixteenth chapter and Third Book of his *Works*,[26] relates that those who are afflicted with that horrid madness called Lycanthropy rush out from their houses at night howling hideously like wolves, and all through the dark hours until daybreak wander in and out and roam among the tombs in old remote graveyards. The devil also very frequently causes men to believe themselves to be transformed into wild beasts, as S. Augustine writes in his Treatise *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Liber VII, c. x.[27]

Men who have been bitten by a mad dog fear water, as Ægineta, whom we have just quoted above, describes in the third chapter and Fifth Book of the same work.[28] Some bark like dogs, others growl and fly at people, trying to bite them. Rufus,[29] gives as the reason why hydrophobes fear the water, the fact that they always see reflected in the lymph the exact image of the dog who bit them.

The Ephialtes or incubus is a disorder which is commonly called the bitch-daughter or nightmare,[30] and those who are labouring under this experience have a feeling of suffocation

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so they can hardly breathe, and at the same time they are conscious of a great weight pressing on their bodies, so they are unable either to move hand or foot or cry out, and not unseldom it seems to them as if some person or presence suddenly slipped down off their bed and vanished away.

Those who are out of their wits, or who with God's permission, are possessed by the devil, often make the most astounding disclosures and describe strange visions together with other curious accidents, which happen to them. They suffer, too, from frantic hallucinations, as has been often recorded by physicians and others in charge of these poor afflicted folk in the hospitals and Bethlehems where such patients are looked after and watched.

Approved authors [31] tell us that the Greek hero Ajax was so enraged when the armour of Achilles was adjudged to Ulysses that in consequence he went stark mad and having encountered a flock of sheep in his calenture he drew his sword and attacked them, hewing them down right and left, with the idea that he was doing battle against the Greek army. He then took two huge rams and having hung up their dead carcasses he scourged them, loading them with abuse, for he deemed that one was Agamemnon who acted as the arbiter deciding against him, and the other Ulysses, to whom the armour had been awarded, and with whom he was at deadly enmity. When he recovered his senses, Ajax was so overcome with shame at his lunatic and outrageous behaviour that he slew himself.

In war, also, soldiers are sometimes so drunk with blood and carnage that it is necessary to wrench their weapons from their grip, for they are known to attack their friends as if they were fighting the foe. Those who are beside themselves and transported with rage suppose some persons to be quite other individuals, as Tertullian [32] says, for Orestes took his sister for his mother; Ajax thought that a sheep was Ulysses; Athamas and Agave imagined their children were wild beasts and so slew their own sons.

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CHAPTER IV

Timorous and fearful Men may easily persuade themselves and imagine they can See and Hear most alarming Things, whereas in fact there is Nothing at all to Fear

PLATO says in the *Laws* [1] that Nature has given man passions and feelings, which must be managed and drawn taut or let slack just as if they were cordage or yards, and, moreover, that these passions and feelings are contrary in themselves and so drag us in different directions and to opposite actions. Seneca, speaking of those affections which disturb and disorder the soul, says that we more often believe ourselves to be suffering and ill at ease than is actually the case, and that we dread and are tormented by many more things than ever happens to us.[2] This is precisely what the famous Stoic Philosopher Epictetus [3] conveyed to his disciples when he taught that mental emotions and perturbations even assail the spirit of the wise man who is far removed from and above any affects and passions. S. Augustine, too, in the fourth chapter of the Ninth Book of *The City of God*,[4] discusses the opinion of the Peripatetics and Stoics concerning mental emotions, since the former say that even the wise man is subject to these perturbations, which, however, he moderates and controls by reason, but the Stoics are of opinion that the wise man is not subject to mental emotions of this sort. The Saint says that there are certain impressions made on the soul by external objects which Stoic philosophers call *Fantasies*, and in his opinion when these impressions are made by alarming and formidable objects it must needs be that they move the soul even of the wise man, so that for a little while he trembles with fear or is depressed by sadness, these impres-

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sions anticipating and preventing the work of reason and self-control; but this does not imply that the mind accepts these evil impressions, or approves of or consents to them. The wisdom which characterizes the wise man is clouded by no error and sullied by no taint, but, with this reservation that his wisdom remains undisturbed, he is exposed to the impressions which the goods and ills of this life (or, as the Stoics prefer to call them, the advantages and disadvantages) make upon the mind and human reason.

Since then perturbations and fantasies assail the spirits of even those who are wise and sagacious, and since even philosophers are exposed to the impressions of fear and sadness, what we have already said with reference to melancholicks and the hypochondriacal will certainly be true of those who are naturally timorous and fearful. For if a man is by nature pusillanimous, or even if he has to face some great danger which is certain but vague and unknown, he will imagine and conjure up many perils that are altogether factitious. Women especially, being much softer and more fearful than men—(wherefore S. Peter, in his First Epistle, iii, 7, speaking of the mutual duties of husbands and wives, tells us that the female is the weaker vessel)—are easily enough persuaded that they see and hear things which are purely imaginary. Such is likewise the case with small children, who are timid and apprehensive. If anyone relates a ghost-story before them or if the general talk turns on phantoms and apparitions very often women and children are afraid to leave the room lest they should encounter some spectre in the passage, and if they hear a sudden noise they are sure that a bogie is after them. All this is simple imagination and excitability.

If a cowardly and poltroon soldier were to be told that the enemy had mustered in much fuller force than his own side and were much stronger, the rustling of a leaf would put him to flight, even as God threatened should happen to His people Israel if they put not their trust in Him.[5] If our runaway

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soldier were to hear a woodpecker tapping sharply with its beak at some tree [6] he would be certain the foe were at his heels. Some men are utterly dismayed if they hear a mouse scratching in the walls of a house. On the other hand all this cannot strike fear into a brave and valiant man. Nevertheless it does sometimes happen that the boldest and stoutest soldiers turn their backs to the enemy and are dispersed and scattered, being thrown into such a panic that they cannot distinguish friend from foe in the rout. This is caused by sheer fright.

The famous Plutarch in his treatise *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*,[7] has a remarkable instance concerning a man named Bersus, who had a long time before murdered his father without the deed ever being discovered, One day when he was supping with a friend of his he suddenly seized a lance and pulling down a nest of swallows killed all the fledglings.[8] When the other guests remonstrated and blamed him for his cruelty in destroying the poor birds, for good men hate to see animals and birds ill-treated and hurt, he replied, *Why, couldn't you hear how they were upbraiding me for having slain my father?* The company were astonied at his words and silence fell upon the table. Some, moreover, reported what had happened to the King of that country, and he at once ordered that Bersus should be arrested and inquiries set on foot. When this was done and Bersus had been straitly questioned his guilt soon came to light and the parricide was sentenced to death. Hence we see the effects of guilt and fear. The swallows assuredly could not speak, and yet the murderer, struck in conscience, fully believed that they were accusing him of his bloody deed.

Thus many overcome by fear are persuaded that they both see and hear things which are wholly imaginary. Procopius at the beginning of his *The History of the Warres of the Emperour Justinian*,[9] writes that Theodoric, King of the Goths, after having put to death Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus, two eminent and noble men, came to a banquet at which was

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served before him the head of some rare and delicate fish. No sooner had he set eyes upon it than he cried out it was the head of Symmachus "lately murdered, and with the teeth sticking out, and fierce glaring eyes to threaten him." The King was so sore amazed and frighted at it that he became chill, and presently went to bed sick, from which disorder he never recovered, but soon after died.

When a man is overcome with fear he sometimes trembles and shudders at a circumstance which ought to fill him with joy. We have an example of this in the disciples of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, being in their boat in the midst of the Sea of Galilee, and tossed with the waves, for the wind was contrary, about the fourth watch of the night saw Our Lord, Who came to them walking upon the sea. And they were troubled, saying: It is an apparition. And they cried out in fear. And immediately Jesus spoke to them, saying: *Be of good heart: it is I, fear ye not.*[10] And as S. Luke in his twenty-fourth chapter, verses 36–44, after the Resurrection when the eleven were gathered together and Jesus stood in the midst of them, they being troubled and frighted, supposed that they saw a spirit. And He said unto them: Why are you troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? See My hands and feet, that it is I Myself; handle, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see Me to have. But while they yet believed not, and wondered for joy, He said: Have you here anything to eat? And He ate a piece of broiled fish and a honeycomb. Thus we learn that fear made the very disciples believe that they saw a ghost when it was their Master.

Hence we need not be at all ashamed if at any time fear makes us take one thing for another, and if we imagine we may have seen a spirit when actually such was not the case. It is true that those who are naturally brave and confident are not so easily frightened by ghosts as are nervous and fearful folk. We read, for example, that the savage Scythians, a gross and materially-minded folk, who dwelt in the mountains

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and were a hardy warlike race and from whom the Turks are descended, very seldom saw supernatural visitants or received divine messages. Good authors also tell us that lions are so bold and so fierce that they fear nothing, not even when men don hideous masks to hunt them and kill them in the chase.

CHAPTER V

That those whose Sight is Defective or Hearing Dull can Imagine or Suppose Things which in fact have no Existence

It is very true, moreover, that the devil is able in several cunning ways to cheat man's sight and to cast a glamour, causing him to mistake the appearance of one object for another, and in the same fashion Satan can imitate the human voice and make other deceptive sounds. None the less, nobody seeks to deny that those whose sight is bad may constantly delude themselves, and take one thing for another. For it frequently happens that those who are short-sighted, which is not unseldom the case with learned men and hard students who are engrossed in their books day and night, mistake an object for something quite different, and many would feel quite ashamed to confess that they habitually blunder thus. A wooden stick, too, for example, in the water by a natural phenomenon will appear broken, although it is whole and intact; or, again, at a distance from a certain angle one may take a square tower to be round. When a man has drunk to excess and his eyes begin to shed copious tears or else appear about to start out of his head like a trembling hare who hath been scared and frighted from her form, all that he sees before him differs from what it really is: Thus if there be but one candle upon the table he supposes

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there are two, and if he goes to lift a glass or a goblet he will awkwardly put his hand in the wrong spot to grasp it, floundering askew. In the *Bacchae* of Euripides Pantheus declares he beholds two suns in the heaven and also two cities of Thebes, for he is distraught and amazed.[1] Not rarely, too, when a man is overtaken in his cups it seems to him as if everything were turning round, as if the very hills were moving, the trees were dancing, and the rivers running all contrariwise. The Wise Man in the Book of Proverbs,[2] exhorts us to beware of the wine of drunkenness, and warns us of the misery and poverty that arise from intemperance. He says of wine: It goeth in pleasantly, But in the end it will bite like a snake, and will spread abroad poison like a basilisk. Thy eyes shall behold strange [things], and thy heart shall utter perverse things. Certes, just as those who are fearful and excessively timid by nature are prone to imagine all sorts of calamities, so do drunkards ruin their sight by their potations. God, moreover, in His mercy and patience never wearies of calling men to repentance by the signs and wonders He works amongst them, but how different are the chimeras and fantasies which revellers and winebibbers assert they see and which actually have no existence at all. For if these deboshes were only to shun hard topees and even to withdraw decently and early from convivial company without lingering and drinking to excess their eyes would not be dimmed and deceived, nor their understanding warped and troubled. It is a matter of common knowledge that drunkards foxed by their potations deeming one thing is another and one word is another often take pepper in the nose at something they suppose to have been said; swords are drawn, blood flows, lives are lost.

The words of Solomon I have just rehearsed may be understood in another sense: Thine eyes shall behold strange women, that is to say, thou shalt seek out whores to revel with thee. And it not unseldom happens that a drunken fellow will molest and attempt to ravish honest women and

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innocent maids, a violence which would not have so much as entered his mind were he sober. If just Lot had not been drunk with wine he would not have committed incest with his two daughters.[3]

In short, excessive and immoderate temulency is the hot fire which enflames and excites to riot and notorious lewdness. Aristotle describes how it sometimes happens to persons whose sight is feeble and weak that they see themselves as if reflected in a mirror, either miraged in the air or in a sort of opaque mist before their eyes, and they imagine that they have seen their Ghosts or their own souls, and a man becomes afraid of his very shadow. In the dusk, too, one can persuade oneself that one sees all kinds of curious shapes. What fantastic forms and even brilliant colours display themselves when the eyes are dazzled and blink! And if such a one be weak and of a lively imagination these optical illusions may seem real enough to his mind.

Moreover, it is very well known that the eyes can have a mist and evil glamour cast over them, being ensorcelled by the sleight of Satan, so that a man may suppose that such a one is brandishing a great sword; that another is actually eating and crunching red hot coals and other dangerous matters with his teeth; whilst a third, who is devouring bread, puffs out the flour in a white dust; and that yet another who is gulping down deep draughts of wine has his face turned back to front; whilst another companion again cuts off his fellow's head and replaces it as before; and a fowl is blithely drawing along the great wooden shaft of a cider-press.

Nay more, even by natural legerdemain and jugglers' japes, as also by burning odorous substances in a chamber or giving a man to smell at some strong heady perfume, such a one can be persuaded that even those who sit at table with him are all deprived of their heads, or that some guest has swollen out to an immense size, and it is all nothing but a trick and illusion. There are indeed printed books full of directions how to essay such hiccius doccius conjuring.[4]

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As the sight may quite easily be deceived so may the hearing and the other senses. If anyone's ears are affected he often imagines that he hears a noise like the whistling of the wind or crackling of a fire or the rushing of water, or even sometimes that he hears music and the echo of a sweet song or the tinkle of a bell, and all this is due to his impaired hearing. Those who are in the room with such a one and sitting, it may be, at his very side, hear none of these sounds. On the other hand, occasionally one hears unusual natural sounds, such as when the wainscot suddenly and sharply cracks or creaks, which signifies a change in the weather. There are also dilapidated walls or roofs through which the wind gently breathes with such a soft soothing sound that one might fancy a voice was singing lullaby and men have been known to stand amazed and entranced at the melody. Very often too, with the banks of rivers or upon the seashore where there are rocks, the same thing happens, a circumstance which has been fully investigated by writers on natural science. The hearing is in truth very easily deceived, for we often take the rumbling of a carriage to be a clap of thunder.

Again, we are sometimes mistaken when we imagine we have even touched or stumbled against some object when there is nothing near us. Those who are in a high fever if they are given a good sound wine to drink often find the draught as bitter as gall, and if they be bidden taste some wholesome broth they declare it is insipid and lacks salt. The fault does not lie in the bottle of wine which is from a fine cellar, nor has the cook failed, but the sick man's palate is disordered and sour.

Thus when someone declares that he has seen, heard and even touched, or even been touched by some ghost, it is possible that nothing of the kind happened, but you cannot get the idea out of his head. When fear, weak sight, and man's senses all combine to deceive him he may encounter any apparition, however strange. Hence originate all sorts of fantastic ideas which are without rhyme or reason, as the

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saying goes. For it is exceedingly difficult to persuade these fantastic dreamers that what they suppose they have seen or heard is merely the effects of imagination, and generally they are obstinate at maintaining the objective reality of their experiences.

History affords many instances of not merely individuals but whole armies who have been deceived and mistaken, imagining that their enemies were upon them, and taking to flight although there was nobody in the world near, a panic which has often resulted in a disastrous rout. Philippe de Comines, the famous historian, in the eleventh chapter of the First Book of his *Memoirs of the Reign of King Louis XI*,[5] relates how, in the year 1465, Messire Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and other great Princes being encamped near Paris were warned that the King had resolved to issue forth and attack them in full force on the following day. On the morrow therefore when the Burgundian scouts approached near Paris they saw (as they thought) a number of lances held upright which they judged to be the King's whole force "and all the people of Paris issued foorth of the toune in order of battell; which imagination the darknes of the heauens put into their head." A little later, after they had delivered their report, the scouts seeing the enemy did not move again cautiously advanced, and "entred into a new cogitation what they might be, but when they approched neere to them (the day being broken vp and cleere) they perceived them to be high thistles."

When a traveller is making his way through some remote country district entirely unknown to him and evening falls whilst he is yet on his weary path, far from human habitation, it may well be that in the darkness and shadows he will take rocks and crags, trees and large stones, to be phantoms of the night.

We read in the Fourth Book of Kings [6] that "Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Achab" against whose son King Joram they mustered their forces, so that he

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sent to Josaphat, King of Juda, and the allied Kings took the field against the Moabites to subdue them. Now the Moabites assembled all those capable of bearing arms to fight against the Kings who had come up to give them battle. At the command of God the channel of the torrent was, by the men of Israel, made full of ditches, which without wind or rain, were filled with water, so that the Moabites arising early in the morning and seeing the sun shining upon the waters, saw the waters over against them red, like blood. They said: It is the blood of the sword; the kings have fought among themselves, and they have killed one another. Mad with triumph, in all the disorder and excitement of plunder and rieving, they rushed wildly upon the spoils, and Israel, rising up, defeated Moab, who fled before them. In this case the waters appeared like blood to a whole army of soldiers.

CHAPTER VI

How Men have been known to Mask and Disguise themselves in order to Impose on others, who Seeing and being Addressed of Them think they have seen and Spoken with Spirits

Over and above the various circumstances and examples we have considered it must not be forgotten that there are those—not merely pleasant fellows and practical jokers in a brisk vein of mummery, but also evil and designing ruffians—who will vizor and mask themselves in order to scare and frighten folk.

This is a traditional practice, too, in order to make children obedient, respectful and diligent at their lesson, and at certain periods of the year it has been the custom for their monitors

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and maſters to appear suddenly in masquerade and threaten idle youngſters, saying that Shuck or Black Shag is after them, or the bogey-man, or the phantom Monk of Paris with the big bushy beard, or the Boggart Beaſt of the Bailly of Pontoise,[1] or some horrid bugaboo, whatever it may be, so that they really believe that what they are told is true, and they are filled with salutary apprehensions. Yet it is not always advisable to frighten children with these ſtories of Raw-head and Bloody Bones, for sometimes sheer terror makes them ill, and they scream out loud during the night, even whilſt they are asleep. The Wise Man in the Book of Proverbs, chapter xxiii, 13–14, counsels: Withhold not correction from a child: for if thou ſtrike him with the rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and deliver his soul from hell. He does not ſuggeſt that anyone should put on a hideous mask and say to a child: Blunderbore or the ogre will eat you all up, or put you in his big sack.

Practical jokers have been known to dress up with horns like devils or else to swathe themselves in shrouds and white sheets to frighten simple folk, and thus many a poor person imagines that some demon or ghoſt has appeared. Moreover it is more than dangerous and exceedingly wicked to try this sort of japery, for very often such pranks have had a tragic ending, as is indeed no uncommon experience at all.

A piece of tomfoolery, too, which commends itself mightily to some wags who are on a journey, and arriving at some inn itch to play sad zany tricks on the other gueſts, is that one shall neatly tie a ſtring to the sheets and coverture of a bed whilſt the other has already hidden himself underneath it, and then in the night away fly the quilt and blankets and all until you would think a poltergeiſt was in the room. Moreover, it is very well known that idle rakeshames and their naughty wenches have often carried on their ballum-rancum under pretence of a house being haunted, for if the servants hear noises at night and ſteps echo in the corridor they are afraid ever to peep out of their rooms, and so Jack and

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Gillian come and go as they list about their bawdry, and they are well-nigh secure against being nabbed. Some fleshly Spirits of this kind with two mortal feet have become over-confident in the past and have been finely caught, when an unsympathetic magistrate, determined to exorcize the ghosts, ordered them a public whipping for their dirty pranks.

Sometimes, too, thieves and burglars adopt these methods to come and go unmolested during the dark hours, and thus they have been able to rob warm men living in old rambling mansions. For when footsteps were heard during the night it was believed the house was haunted, and nobody dared to encounter the restless spirits.

Others again have counterfeited and pretended to be Spirits, creating extraordinary illusions in order to attain their ends and indulge their lusts. Josephus, in the third chapter and Eighteenth Book of his *Antiquities*,[2] mentions a very scandalous trick of this kind which was played at Rome in the days of Tiberius upon a lady who was exceedingly devout to the goddess Isis. A young debauch of Quality fell in love with a virtuous woman Paulina, and not being able to win her by large promises of money he lavishly bribed a bawd very expert in these lewd businesses. This jade hies her to the priests of the Egyptian goddess and is so liberal with her fees that the Memphian band soon whisper to the lady Paulina how the god Anubis, being enamoured of her charms, desired to enjoy her upon the following night. In the place of Anubis our young debauch in the dark gets into bed with Paulina, who is persuaded that she is being possessed by the god. The confederacy carried it off, but when the cozenage indiscreetly became known, all concerned were severely punished by the Emperor.

Rufinus in the twenty-fifth chapter and Second Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*,[3] relates a story which in its details is very like that of Josephus. A priest of Saturn feigned himself to be the god in order that he might enjoy the fairest of the

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worshippers at the temple. The account of the priests of Bel which is told in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Daniel is not dissimilar. The Roman annals tell how Numa Pompilius gave out that he was wont to meet a nymph named Egeria in a retired grotto and that he enjoyed her favours. By this means he lent his laws—for she was his instructress—additional authority.[4] Plutarch in his *Notable Sayings of the Lacedemonians*,[5] has a brief anecdote of a man who when passing near a cemetery at night was surprised by a phantom which he pierced with his javelin. No doubt this was some rascal acting the ghost.

In good sooth then we must not too easily believe all that we see at night in the dark, nor take every apparition to be a spirit or a soul from purgatory.

It were not impertinent to add a few words concerning those who are somnambulists. There are men who suffer from this disorder so that in their sleep they walk abroad at night, as is related of the philosopher Theron,[6] and of that servant of Pericles, who although fast asleep, climbed right up to the roof-tree of the house.[7] It is common knowledge that sleep-walkers are able to achieve the most extraordinary feats, such as in their waking hours they would never dare to essay. John Trithemius, the famous Benedictine, Abbot of Würzburg, in his *A Happy Solution of Eight Riddling Questions*,[8] has treated of this at some length. The cause of such mental commotion arises from concepts and imagination, which impress upon the will and on the senses all sorts of fantasies made up from what we have actually done throughout the day. And thus when we give our whole attention to and concentrate all our thoughts upon some business or some circumstance during our waking hours our mental effort and direction is impressed upon our subconsciousness and wakes as it were whilst our senses sleep. So that we may re-enact scenes of the previous day, and men often talk and utter appropriate words. The poet Lucretius has admirably written :[9]

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But more, what *Studies please*, what most *delight*,
And fill mens thoughts, they dream them o're at night;
The *Lawyers* plead, make *Laws*, the *Souldiers* fight;
The *Merchants* dream of *Storms*, they hear them roar,
And often *shipwracke* leap, or swim to Shore:
I think of *Nature's powers*, my *Mind* pursues
Her works, and e'en in Sleep invokes a *Muse*:
And other *Studies* too, which entertain
Mens *waking* thoughts, they dream them o're again.

For those matters which held us and occupied our attention during the livelong day, at night obsess our brains and keep us busy all through our sleeping hours, so that a man cannot enjoy sweet and healthful repose if he is perturbed by these airy phantoms and imaginings.

With regard to those somnambulists who walk abroad and climb to the roofs of houses during the night,[10] if anyone were to recognize a man at this unusual time in some extraordinary position, and afterwards heard the same man tell a friend that he had enjoyed a good night's rest and never stirred from his bed, such a one might easily think that he had seen or heard the sleeper's ghost or spirit.

CHAPTER VII

How Natural Things may sometimes be mistaken for Spirits

THERE are, moreover, natural happenings and circumstances which in certain conditions the timid, aye, and the bold too, may imagine to be supernatural. Some folk, when they hear the curious noises made by a rat, a cat, or a weasel, a foumart or a marten, and some other small animals,[1] or if at night a horse in the stable stamps and paws heavily with his feet,[2] are all of a tremble believing it some Spirit or ghost

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forbid. Not infrequently, too, herons and buzzards and other rare birds—the whip-poor-will and the jar—give an unaccustomed cry which frightens timid hearts exceedingly. In the old wainscots made of wood one can sometimes hear the mice squeaking or that beetle called the death-watch, and men turn cold with dread.[3] This noise often enough resembles a tapping, as if someone were knocking with a tiny hammer on a tiny anvil, and rustics call this the elf-mill or blacksmith-ghost.[4]

In the country old people believe that there are pixies,[5] and they have all sorts of strange stories about these elves, which they have heard from their grannams or at their mothers' knees. They say that the pixies appear to people living in the house and work for them, rocking the babies in their cradles, and that these little men bring good luck to any house when they arrive and where they will stay. If, indeed, such figures have been seen, as may well be the case, in my opinion they are demons, for solid historians tell us that the Pagans had their Lares, Penates, and inferior household deities,[6] whom they honoured as the protectors of the family and the home, and who were none other than familiar spirits who manifested themselves and made it their business to interfere in mortal affairs in order that they might induce and entice men to worship them. Thus the account given by Froissart of the demon Othon is deservedly famous.[7]

Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, relates in his *History of the Northern Peoples*, that there are even now in those countries spirits who appear in human form and are employed in domestic service tending horses and leading cattle out to graze.[8] Socrates, the famous Philosopher, as Lactantius [9] amongst other authors has reported, was always attended by a demon or familiar who advised and conversed with him. Apuleius has even written a treatise *On the God of Socrates*.[10] The same circumstance is related by Xenophon in his book *The Apology of Socrates*. After the sage has been condemned to death by the Athenians this author makes him speak thus:

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Nay, solemnly I tell you twice already I have essayed to consider my defence, and twice the divinity [*or demon* τὸ δαιμόνιον] *hinders me.*[11]

One of the most solemn oaths amongst the ancients was for a man to swear by his Genius, and we read that the Emperor Caligula punished with the utmost severity certain men who had sworn falsely by the Genius of Cæsar, and perjured themselves.[12]

To return, then, to our first point, very often if one hears unusual and unaccountable sounds at night one is ready to believe it must be some good or evil spirit or a ghost. The wind, too, may chance to throw down something in a room and will close or blow open a window suddenly, and so startling is this that there are those who readily believe it is a spirit. Moreover if one speaks loudly or utters a cry in some forests, valleys, or near a river bank or on the shore, it will happen that the human voice re-echoes and repeats the last words so distinctly and with such peculiar emphasis that it would take little to suppose somebody was answering. At times, and especially in the dark, such echoes are truly alarming even when one knows it is but a natural sound. Girolamo Cardano in his *De Subtilitate*,[13] xviii, relates an extraordinary tale of an Italian dwelling at Como, who whilst on a journey at night and not knowing how to find the ford of a stream as he wandered up and down began to talk to himself, whereupon an Echo replied in such lively fashion that deeming it was a passer-by he asked him in Italian, *Should I cross here?* The Echo returned, *Cross here.*[14] Now at this particular spot the current of water was swift and deep so that three or four times he asked if he could cross the torrent safely, and the Echo seemed to encourage him. When he had not without considerable difficulty got to the other bank in after-days he used to tell his friends how an evil spirit had deluded him, leading him into danger, and well nigh drowning him. The same author, Cardano, says that the Cathedral of Pavia[15] has an extraordinary echo, and that the

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sounds of this echo sometimes mingle in such strange fashion one might verily think one was listening to the sighs and groans of a dying man. It is, he says, almost impossible to believe that it is a mere echo.

In the dark, too, there are substances and objects which gleam and shine, as, for example, precious stones not a few, the eyes of certain animals, glow-worms, dead or worm-eaten wood becomes phosphorescent, with which naughty boys often frighten their comrades, who think they have seen a ghost or a man all made of fire. Hector Bœce [16] tells of a King of Scotland who on the eve of a battle against the Picts appointed some of his attendants and dressed them up in shapes sewn with fishes' scales. They also carried wands or staves of phosphorescent wood. These, at his command suddenly showed themselves at the dead of night to his nobles and captains, exhorting them to fight bravely against the foe and promising victory. The King's followers, deeming that they had seen a vision of Angels or good spirits, were so emboldened and encouraged that they fought with heroic valour and triumphed.

At night, too, one often can see little flames which flit swiftly to and fro, Jack o' Lanterns running one after another, then separating and avoiding one another just as children do when they carry candles and tapers on the First Sunday in Lent, which is also known as Torchlight Sunday.[17] Sometimes these will-o'-the wisps appear quite alone and perform the most erratic antics until a traveller through the country at night might well be scared and fancy he saw a spirit all of fire dancing and capering madly.

These phenomena and many more are generally natural, but we must not forget that in God's providence and with His permission spirits may, and often do, appear in very similar fashion. Physicians and scientific men, that is to say those who study Nature, have explained how the vapours and exhalations from the earth often catch fire. When the wind blows it drives these flames into the secret veins of the earth

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and the sulphur therein is ignited. Sometimes flames as tall as a lance will rush out of the ground, and as suddenly die away, which may well proceed from some inflammable matter finding vent. How famous, for example, is Mount Etna, in Sicily, which used to spout flames day and night and belch forth fire, great stones, lava and cinders. Equally famous and equally terrible is Mount Vesuvius in Campania about a league from Naples, which, as Cassius Dio and other authors write,[18] in the days of the Emperor Titus erupted so violently that neighbouring towns and villages, men and cattle, and all were buried in lava and the whole countryside was burned and laid waste. These two mountains have done much damage even in this century. We read, too, of other volcanoes which ceaselessly pour forth smoke and flames. In Iceland, as Olaus Magnus tells,[19] geysers of flame spout from the ground. Now if such vast and high mountains are igneous and burn, the subterranean fires may very well force other outlets here and there. Travellers in seeing these phenomena and being ignorant they are naturally caused, are overcome with fear, and imagine they see men all a-flame leaping about, or any other fantasy fright impresses on their minds, and sometimes they are so terrified that they fall sick.

There are also extraordinary optical delusions such as artificial mirrors so cunningly contrived that several reflections appear on the surface, sometimes even on looking into them we may imagine we see friends of ours, or else it may be total strangers, just ready to step out of the glass. All this is mere illusion, when the mind is wrought up to expect somebody or something, and this is reflected from the mind into the mirror. Particularly may this happen at night, and perhaps Pythagoras was mindful of this when in his *Symbola* [20] he forbids his disciples to gaze steadfastly into mirrors at night lest haply they may see a vision of some evil spirit which will trouble and perturb their senses.

In all these circumstances which have been discussed and debated some apparitions and appearances are natural, and

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some are supernatural. It is necessary always to keep an open mind and to inquire carefully into any account to see whether the phenomenon may not have a perfectly natural if unusual cause. Man's senses are fallible, and he may firmly believe what is all illusion, whilst on the other hand he is often prone to reject what is indubitably true.

CHAPTER VIII

It is Proven by the Holy Scriptures that Spirits do Appear

ALTHOUGH, as has been set forth in some detail and confirmed by not a few examples and instances, melancholy, madness, or ill-health even often cause men to imagine all sorts of purely fanciful things, and men (as well as animals, too) often deceive themselves, inasmuch as good folk often take quite natural appearances and phenomena to be ghosts or spirits, none the less it must not be supposed that all supernatural relations are untrue, or that ghosts do not appear to living men, or that many extraordinary things do not happen which are quite beyond any material reasoning to explain. History relates many such events and very many persons whose word can absolutely be relied upon affirm and have avouched that apparitions have been seen by them by day as well as in the night.

In order to attest the truth of this, which is undeniable, I will bring the whole matter to the Touchstone of all Truth, the Holy Scriptures, where we have an infallible rule and irrefragable witness to the Truth. The Bible plainly teaches us that Spirits may and do appear. In the Second Chapter of this treatise we divided Spirits into four kinds, and it was demonstrated that it was quite in accordance with their nature as well as agreeable to the Divine Power of God that Spirits

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should appear to men, it may be good or bad Angels, it may be the Spirits of the dead. The only question that arises concerns these latter Spirits, which we must conclude to be souls separated from their bodies. In proof whereof, namely, that the souls return, let us remember what is written in the Holy Gospel according to S. Matthew, chapter xiv, where it is said that the disciples of Our Lord Jesus Christ, being in great peril upon the Sea of Galilee, on account of the wind which was contrary to them, Our Lord came to them about the fourth watch, walking upon the water. The disciples when they saw Him were greatly afraid, and cried out, thinking they had seen a Spirit. Hence we learn that they knew something at any rate concerning the nature of spirits and ghosts which may appear to men at sea as well on the land. Likewise when Our Divine Lord appeared to the disciples to prove to them His bodily Resurrection, they supposed they had seen a Spirit.[1] Jesus Christ did not then either deny or disprove the existence of spirits who appear to men, but He vouched this to be true when He explained to the eleven and the rest the difference between His Risen Body and a Spirit.

There is another very important and pertinent passage in the First Book of Kings, chapter xxviii, where we are told how Saul, being sore troubled on account of the Philistines, who had gathered together against him in Gelbo, sought to a witch and prayed her to bring up Samuel, in order that he might inquire of the Prophet concerning the issue of the morrow's battle. And this the witch did, for Saul spoke to Samuel who pronounced the doom of the King and of his sons the royal princes. A little later in this treatise the point will be discussed whether it was actually Samuel himself who appeared or no.

The Bible records many other supernatural events, as in the Second Book of Kings, chapter v, and the First Book of Paralipomenon, chapter xiv, where it is written that when David was attacked a second time by the Philistines God bade

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him turn away from them and not to go out to battle until he heard a sound of one going in the tops of the pear trees.[2] In the Fourth Book of Kings, chapter vii, it is related that when Benadad was besieging Samaria and the city was reduced to the utmost extremity of famine God, in order to deliver the city, made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots and a noise of horses, even the noise of a very great army, and they said one to another, Behold the King of Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hethites and the Kings of the Egyptians and they are come upon us. Wherefore they arose, and fled in the dark, and left their tents and their horses and their asses in the camp, well stocked with provisions and goodly wines, and fled for their life.

We read in the Book of Daniel [3] that Baltasar being seated at a great feast with his princes, his wives, and his concubines, in his pride commanded the golden vessels of the temple of Jerusalem to be fetched and the company drank from the sacred chalices. In the same hour there appeared fingers as it were of the hand of a man writing upon the surface of the wall the fate of the King and his company.

It is written in the Second Book of Machabees [4] that Heliodorus, the chancellor of Seleucus, King of Asia, being sent to rob the treasury of the temple of Jerusalem saw a horse with a terrible rider rushing fiercely upon him, and also two young men notable in their strength and beautiful in their glory, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him unceasingly with sore stripes.

It is said in the same book and the tenth chapter [5] that when Judas Machabeus was about to join battle with Timotheus there appeared out of heaven five men on horses, comely with golden bridles in splendid array, who led on the army of Machabeus, taking him in their midst and shielding him. Moreover, when he and his followers were nigh to Jerusalem there appeared at their head a horseman going before them in white clothing, with golden armour, shaking a spear of gold in token and assurance of a great victory.[6] Again in

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the fifteenth chapter it is related how there appeared to Judas Machabeus the high priest Onias, and a man of venerable age and exceeding glory, who was the prophet Jeremias.

Moses had passed from this world long centuries before he appeared with Elias on Mount Tabor talking with Our Transfigured Saviour of the Divine Passion and Crucifixion on Calvary, as was witnessed by S. Peter, S. James and S. John.

There are, indeed, many other instances of apparitions in the Holy Scriptures, and to these we shall have occasion to refer in more detail later during the course of this work.

CHAPTER IX

It is Proven by Authentic and Authoritative Histories that Spirits do Appear

When the subject of the appearance of Spirits and ghosts is being discussed in the company of agnostics and unbelievers it is sometimes well to adduce certain examples from profane writers as well as from Holy Writ, for to such a height of impudence are we arrived that men who question the Word of God actually dare to say, *Ah, yes, if that is in Plutarch, I will believe it;* or, *If Cicero says so, such is assuredly the case.* It would verily seem as if we were only to accept the statements of the Bible in so far as they coincide with the premotions of these fellows, and I take leave to doubt whether many such have any faith in apparitions. But in order to satisfy and abash their sleeveless effrontery I will now adduce some instances from profane historians.

Suetonius in his *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*,[1] relates how Julius Cæsar, crossing from Gaul to Italy, halted with his troops hesitating on the banks of the Rubicon,[2] which was the boundary of his province. As he was debating the next

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move they discerned on a sudden, close at hand the figure of a youth most comely to behold and graceful in every gesture. The stranger was seated, and playing upon a pipe. When, not only the shepherds, but a number of soldiers also flocked around to listen to these sweet strains, and it happened there were some trumpeters among them, the stranger, snatching a trumpet from the man nearest him, ran swiftly to the river with it. Then he sounded the advance in a piercing blast whose notes thrilled all hearts, and then himself crossed to the other side. Cæsar exclaimed: *Let us go forward to meet our enemies as the omens of the Gods encourage us. The die is cast.*

Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus* [3] relates how many combatants at Marathon, fighting against the Medes, saw the Spirit of Theseus, who had died many a long year before, in arms rushing on in front of them against the Barbarians. Wherefore the Athenians were moved to honour him as a demi-god. Pausanias in his *Attica* [4] also writes of Marathon that even four hundred years after the battle: "At this spot every night you may hear horses neighing and men fighting. To go on purpose to see the sight never brought good to any man; but with him who chances to light on it unwittingly and by accident the spirits are not angry."

Plutarch again tells us in his *Life of Cimon*,[5] that a beautiful lad named Damon who lived at Chaeroneia was solicited by the Roman commander of a cohort in winter quarters there. The youth, who could not be won by gifts, fearing lest he should be violated by force, plotted with certain of his companions and assassinated the commander. The magistrates of Chaeroneia condemned the murderers, whereupon Damon and his band broke into the town-hall and slew the council. Later, after he had openly become a brigand, he was induced by embassies and promises to return, and indeed, given an official position. None the less as he was anointing himself in the vapour-bath, stark naked as he was they slew him there. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place and there were heard groan-

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ings and sighings, as our fathers have told us, the door of the vapour-bath was walled up, yet for all that there are visions seen and terrible voices and cries heard in the place, as the neighbours dwelling hard by testify and are very well assured.

Plutarch also writes how a great and monstrous ghost appeared to Dion,[6] who was one of the boldest and bravest of men. Whilst he was sitting pensive and alone in a gallery of his house he suddenly heard a great noise, and looking in that direction he saw (for it was not yet dark) a huge woman of lowering countenance dressed exactly like a tragic Fury as one might see on the stage, who was sweeping the house lustily with an immense besom. In spite of all his courage he was so amazed and affrighted at this apparition that summoning his friends he told them what he had seen and begged them to spend the night there with him, so apprehensive was he that this spirit or ghost might return if he were left alone. The figure was not, however, seen again; but a few days later his son, a grown lad, in a fit of childish pique flung himself headlong from the roof of the house and was killed.

In his *Life of Brutus*,[7] Plutarch tells that when Brutus was about to take his army across from Asia to Europe he sate one midnight in his tent which was dimly lighted and all the camp was wrapped in silence. Whilst he was deeply meditating and reflecting he thought he heard someone coming into his tent, and casting his eye to the door, he beheld a strange and dreadful apparition, a monstrous and fearful shape, standing silently by his side. He boldly inquired of the figure who he was and why he came. The phantom answered: *I am thy evil genius. Thou shalt see me at Philippi.* Brutus, undismayed, replied: *Well, then, I shall see thee.* When the spirit had vanished he called his sentinels and guard, asking if they had seen or heard aught. They assured him no. Brutus watched the night out, sleepless, and when morning broke he sought out Cassius, who was of the school of Epicurus, and believed nothing of these things. To him

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he related what had happened. Cassius however tried to persuade his friend that it must be some natural event. A very few days later Brutus lost the battle of Philippi, where he encountered the Emperor Augustus and Mark Antony, and rather than fall into their hands he caused Strato his friend to slay him.

In another work, the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*,[8] Plutarch tells how Pausanias, being at Byzantium, sent to fetch by force a maiden named Cleonice, of an honourable house and rare beauty, in order that he might enjoy her. But night having fallen when she was brought to him, he awoke suddenly—for he had been toasting her in full cups of wine—and half-dazed with sleep and the fumes of wine he imagined that some assassin had entered his bedchamber to slay him, and so great was his alarm that in the confusion he ran her through with his sword. From that self-same hour he was haunted by her ghost, a pale bleeding figure which crooned softly so he only might hear:

Keepe thou thy selfe upright, and justice see thou feare,
For woe and shame be unto him, that justice donne doth beare.

And since this phantom appeared to him every night he was at last obliged to go to the temple of Heracleia, where they evoke the souls of the dead,[9] and here, after the customary sacrifices of propitiation and the funeral libations, he caused the spirit of Cleonice to be summoned. When she appeared she said that very soon after his return to Sparta he would be freed from his troubles, and indeed no sooner had he reached his country than he died.

Plutarch, again, in his *Amatoriæ Narrationes*,[10] says that whilst Pelopidas, a Theban, captain of the sacred band, was sleeping shortly before the battle of Leuctra there appeared to him the unfortunate Scedasus, a poor man who had been murdered long ago, and bade him be of good cheer since (the phantom said) the Lacedæmonians were now to pay the penalty for having foully slain him of yore and his two fair

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daughters. The vision bade the Theban warrior sacrifice on the eve of the battle a filly which he would find near the place where the damsels had been buried. Pelopidas made inquiries at Leuctra concerning this tomb, which was forthwith pointed out to him by the peasants living hard by, and incontinently he did as the spirit had commanded. As is well known, at Leuctra the Thebans gained an overwhelming victory over the Lacedæmonian armies.

Valerius Maximus in the seventh chapter of the First Book of his *Memorabilia*,[11] says that Cassius of Parma, who had espoused the cause of Mark Antony, after Actium fled to Athens. Here at dead of night, whilst overcome with care and fear he was tossing sleepless on his couch, there appeared to him the giant figure of a man, black as ebony, with dishevelled hair and unkempt beard. When Cassius asked who he was, the phantom replied: *I am thy evil genius.* Terrified at the monstrous apparition and the fateful words of this demon, Cassius called his servants, but the spectre was vanished, and none had been seen either to enter or leave the chamber. Amazed and trembling, he forthwith ordered lights to be brought, and bade his attendants watch with him till dawn. Not long after that night of horror Augustus Cæsar commanded that he should be deprived of his head.

The same historian[12] relates that during the battle of Philippi, when Caius Cassius was fighting with frenzied rage Julius Cæsar appeared to his murderer, who saw the dead hero as it seemed of more than human form, clothed in a cloak of Tyrian purple, and mounted upon a mighty steed. Cæsar, with a threatening gesture and frowning grimly, rode down Cassius, who, panic-struck, turned to flee, crying aloud: *What more can I do since it has availed nothing to slay thee!* Cassius not very many minutes later slew himself upon the field.

Justin tells in the Forty-third Book of his *History*,[13] how when Catamarandus was besieging Marseilles, whilst he was sleeping in his tent one night before the walls, there appeared

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to him a vision or phantom of a Titan woman who regarded him with such fierce and menacing looks as struck fear to his heart, and incontinently of his own free will he made peace with the citizens of Marseilles and raised the blockade. Thereupon Catamarandus was honourably received by the councillors, and when during his progress through the city he came to the temple of Minerva and caught sight of the statue of that goddess in the vestibule, he exclaimed aloud that here was the very likeness of the phantom which had appeared to him in the night-time and bade him relinquish his attempt to take the town.

Saxo Grammaticus chronicles in the Fourth Book of his *Danish History*,[14] that when Amleth was on the eve of battle with the King of Britain he set the dead bodies of certain of his warriors who had been slain on horseback like living men, and mustered corpses to fight. And as the sunbeams struck the great mass of dead and senseless shapes it seemed a mighty active host so that the Britons, terrified at the spectacle, fled conquered by the dead. Amleth and his forces fought for their part like mad savages and butchered without quarter or mercy shown. It would appear that the Spirits of these corpses returned to them for a while at least; a dark and mysterious tale.

Angelo Poliziano in his *Miscellanea*, chapter lviii,[15] writes how on a time when the Romans and Albans were at war and the two armies had been drawn up in line of battle there suddenly appeared a figure of more than mortal size, curiously garbed in a black hide, who shouted louder than the clarion's blare that meet sacrifice must be done to Father Dis and to Queen Proserpine ere a blow was struck. The Romans, daunted and amazed, forthwith built an underground altar, the which they surrounded with a wall twenty feet high in order that the mystic place of sacrifice and oblation to the dark powers might be known to none save to their own people.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus, who was proconsul in Africa and

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governor successively of Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia, both imperial provinces, and who composed a *Roman History* in eighty books, at the commencement of his Fifty-fifth Book,[16] tells that in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, Drusus, who was invading the country of the Chatti and Suevi, had advanced as far as the river Albis (the Elbe), which he in vain endeavoured to cross, so mighty does it flow. Wherefore he set up trophies, and withdrew. For there met him a woman of superhuman size and extraordinary majesty, who said: *Drusus, whither art thou hastening? Hast thou not conquered enough? It is not fated that thou shalt so much as look upon all these lands beyond. Get thee gone, therefore, for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life draws nigh.* Drusus incontinently departed, but as he was retreating he died, ere he had come to the Rhine. Other prodigies accompanied and presaged his end, for two unknown youths were seen riding swiftly to and fro in the midst of the camp, and a sound as of women keening a corpse was heard in the air; nor were these the only warnings.

Cassius Dio also tells how when the Emperor Trajan was at Antioch a terrible earthquake laid the whole town in ruins with great loss of life. A figure, far greater than any mortal led the Emperor from his room to a place of safety through the chaos of the wreck.[17]

The same circumstance is related of the Poet and Philosopher Simonides, who as Valerius Maximus[18] and other writers relate, was warned by a spirit and conducted from a house, which immediately after fell in ruin.

Julius Capitolinus in his life of Pertinax[19] says that three days before this Emperor was assassinated, on looking into a pool he saw a warrior attacking him with a sword, and at this omen he was greatly perturbed.

The learned Flavius Vopiscus, again, who wrote the lives of several Emperors[20] in the same collection, says that before the death of Tacitus the doors of his father's monument flew open of themselves, and the spirit of his mother, just as she

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had been in life, appeared both to Tacitus and to his brother Flavian.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the Twenty-first Book of his *History*,[21] records the warnings and apparitions which preceded the death of Constantine, and so fearfully alarmed that Emperor, especially during the night season. The same author in his Twenty-fifth Book tells how the Emperor Julian whilst writing in his tent late and alone shortly before his death, saw his genius departing from him with a sad and melancholy countenance. When he was hailed Cæsar the same spirit had appeared to him in a merry and cheerful guise.[22]

The poet Lucan in the First Book of his *Pharsalia* [23] speaks of many prodigies which terrified the nation at the outbreak of the Civil War twixt Cæsar and Pompey :

> Trumpets were heard to sound ; and with what noise
> An armed battaile ioines, such and more strange
> Blacke night brought forth in secret : *Sylla's* ghost
> Was seene to walke, singing sad Oracles,
> And *Marius* head above cold *Tau'ron* peering
> (His graue broke open) did affright the Boores.

CHAPTER X

Further Proofs from other Eminent Writers, Ancient and Modern, that there are Spirits who do Appear

Pliny the younger, proconsul of Bithynia, in the Seventh Book of his *Epistles* [1] writes a letter to Licinius Sura whose sentiments concerning spectres he expresses himself as extremely anxious to ascertain. He asks : Do you believe ghosts actually exist and have their own proper shapes and are indeed supernatural, or are they the false impressions of a timid and fretful imagination ?

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He then relates a story he heard of Curtius Rufus,[2] and this narrative much inclines him (he avows) to credit the existence of ghosts. Curtius, when he was poor and quite unknown, attended the newly-made governor of Africa to that province. Late one afternoon whilst he was walking in the public portico there met him the figure of a woman of great beauty and of more than mortal size. He was exceedingly moved and trembled, but she encouraged and encheered him, saying that she wished to reveal his future: that he should go back to Rome, where he would attain great honours, that he should be created proconsul of Africa, and returning to this province he should presently die. Every circumstance of the prophecy was exactly fulfilled. Moreover, in after years upon his arrival at Carthage, just as he was disembarking, the same figure accosted him on the shore. It is certain that he was seized with a sudden illness and fearing the presage of the future from the antepast he incontinently abandoned hope, although the doctors could discover no symptoms excluding a good recovery.

Gianbattista Fregoso, in the First Book of his *Exempla*,[3] cites this history with approval as undeniably true.

Pliny, in the same letter,[4] addressing Licinius Sura, relates an even more striking and detailed story. He writes: "There was formerly at Athens a large and handsome house, which none the less had acquired the reputation of being badly haunted. Folk told how at the dead of night horrid noises were heard, the clanking of chains which grew louder and louder until there suddenly appeared the hideous phantom of an old man, who seemed the very picture of abject filth and misery. His beard was long and matted, his white hairs dishevelled and unkempt. His thin legs were loaded with a weight of galling fetters, that he dragged wearily along with a painful moaning; his wrists were shackled by long cruel links, whilst ever and anon he raised his arms and shook his gyves amain in a kind of impotent fury. Some few mocking sceptics who once were bold enough to watch all night in the

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house had been well-nigh scared from their senses at a sight of the apparition; and, what was worse, disease and even death itself proved the fate of those who after dusk had ventured within those accursed walls. The place was shunned. A placard 'To Let' was posted, but year succeeded year and the house fell almost to ruin and decay. It so happened that the philosopher Athenodorus,[5] whilst on a visit to Athens, passed by the deserted overgrown garden, and seeing the bill, inquired the rent of the house, which was just such as he was seeking. Being not a little surprised at the low figure asked he put more questions, and then there came out the whole story. None the less he signed the lease, and ordered that one room should be furnished for him with a bed, chairs and a table. At night he took his writing tablet, style, books and a good lamp, and set himself as his wont, to study in the quiet house. He had determined to concentrate upon some difficult problems, lest if he sat idle and expectant his imagination should play tricks, and he might see what was in reality not there. He was soon absorbed in philosophical calculations, but presently the noise of a rattling chain, at first distant and then growing nearer, broke on his ear. However, Athenodorus being particularly occupied with his notes, was too intent to interrupt his writing, until as the clanking became more and more continuous he looked up, and there before him stood the phantom exactly as had been described. The ghastly figure seemed to beckon with its finger, but the philosopher signed with his hand that he was busy, and again bent to his writing. The chains were shaken angrily and with persistence, upon which Athenodorus quietly arose from his seat, and taking the lamp, motioned the spectre to lead before. With low groans the figure passed heavily through the spacious corridors and empty rooms until they came out into the garden, when it led the philosopher to a distant shrubbery, and with a deep sigh mingled with the night. Athenodorus, having marked the spot with stones and a broken bough, returned to the house where he slept soundly

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until morning. He then repaired to the nearest magistrates, related what he had seen, and advised that the spot where the ghost disappeared should be investigated. This was done and in digging they found, a few feet below the surface, a human skeleton, carious, enchained and fettered in gyves of a pattern many centuries old, now rusty and eroded, so that they fell asunder in flakes of desquamating verdigris. The mouldering bones were collected with reverent care and given a decent and seemly burial. The house was purged and cleansed with ritual lustrations, and never afterwards was it troubled by spectres or ill-luck."

Pliny insists that he believes this story on the best authority, and he then proceeds to relate what has come under his own observation. "I have," he writes, "a freed-man named Marcus, and one night his brother, who was sleeping in the same bed, saw, as he thought, somebody sitting on the couch who was shaving the hair from the very top of his head. In the morning the lad's crown was found to be actually shorn, and hair was scattered about the floor. A little while after a slave-boy of my house, whilst sleeping with several others in their own quarters, was similarly shaved on his head by two persons clad in white who mysteriously entered and withdrew by the window of the chamber. Daylight revealed that this boy, too, had been shorn, and his hairs were likewise spread about the place." Pliny adds that nothing remarkable followed. This incident took place in the reign of the Emperor Domitian.[6]

In concluding his letter the writer asks Sura to give these questions his prolonged and profound consideration, and then venture upon a definite opinion, not leaving him in doubt and uncertainty.

Alessandro Alessandri, the famous Neapolitan jurist, in the ninth chapter and Second Book of his *Geniales Dies*,[7] relates the following history which was told him by an intimate, a Man of Quality of the strictest veracity. The narrator said that a friend of his having died at a considerable distance from

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Rome, he undertook to see that the last rites were decently performed, and when the funeral was over, not without some tears, began his journey back to the city. At night he lodged in a wayside hostelry, and being weary and sad, he soon retired to rest. As he lay in bed inviting slumber in vain he suddenly saw the form of his friend, all pale and ghastly, just as he had been borne out on his bier. In much alarm he asked what he would have. The dead man uttered no word, but undressed himself and got into the bed by the side of his friend, turning to clasp him in a firm embrace. The other, blanched with fear, drew back to the very edge of the bed, and as the dead man moved towards him, with a convulsive kick he pushed the corpse away, but the body was rigid and colder than ice. At this his dead friend frowned upon him with stark staring eyes that glared horribly, and then, arising from the bed, he donned his clothes and passed out of the room. The poor man was so terrified that he fell ill, and it was thought he could not survive. However, when describing this horrible night in after years he used to say that the most fearful circumstance was that when the dead lay by his side and he touched him with his naked foot, the limbs were stiff and clayey cold.

Alessandro Alessandri records another supernatural adventure told him by an intimate friend named Gordian,[8] a man (he assures us) incapable of exaggeration or a lie. This Gordian was on a journey with a very dear comrade in his company, and since they had to make their way through a remote and trackless waste of country which they had never crossed before they were hardly surprised to find that they had wandered from the road, especially since for a long while they had caught sight of no sign of human habitation, no villages, nor even a distant hamlet or a hut, but only a forlorn landscape with dark forests that clothed the lower slopes of inaccessible mountains. As the sun was red in the west to setting, there seemed to be nothing for it but to pass the night—dumpish and travel-worn as they were—in the most

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safe spot they might find under the shelter of the trees. Suddenly there struck on their ears the voice of a man, at some distance indeed, but the very sound lent cheer. Almost immediately after there appeared on the crest of a neighbouring hill three men, of more than mortal size and hideous to look upon, who were garbed in uncouth black tunics which seemed like mourning cloaks or rusty coffin-palls; their beards and hair were matted and unkempt; the complexion and fashion of their faces hollow and livid. This phantom leash made eager signs to the travellers to approach, beckoning and hailing them lustily, when suddenly there seemed to leap forth yet another figure, almost exactly like the three, but stark naked, who danced to and fro as it were an impish galliard, with strange bounds and caricoles and other dissolute motions, at the same time grinning and making a thousand lewd and priapising gestures. Appalled at such a foul sight our travellers turned and fled, at length striking into a narrow and dangerous defile, which brought them to a peasant's lonely hovel where they at least obtained a truss of straw and a roof's shelter for the night.

In his Fourth Book and the nineteenth chapter Alessandri tells us that a cousin-german, upon whose word implicit reliance could be placed, related the following as having happened to himself. The narrator said that whilst he was staying at Naples with a near relative he heard during the night a voice of someone in the street who was calling out for help in piteous accents. He sprang from his bed, lighted a lamp, and seizing his sword, rushed out of doors to the rescue. Then a terrible sight met his eyes. A huge, swarthy cacodemon had attacked and was trying to carry off by main force a youth, who defended himself as best he could, since his aggressor had caught him by the wrist and was tightly grasping his doublet. The youth in his struggles cried upon the Holy Name of God, when the demon, letting out a hideous yell, disappeared with lightning speed. The narrator assisted into the house the fainting youth who was

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unable to speak, and swooned with horror and affright at the mere thought of the hellish goblin. At length, when he was a little recovered, he explained what had happened. For he confessed with tears that he had until now led a most wicked and dissolute life, that he had blasphemed God and cursed his parents and given himself over to every lust and infamy. That this relation is true in every particular cannot be questioned.

Dom Thomas,[9] a Benedictine monk of no small reputation and honour, related to Alessandri an incident which had befallen him in his youth. It appears that whilst younger his temper was ungovernable, and when an inmate of the Benedictine house at Lucca, it so happened that being crossed by another monk, high words arose which led to a most unseemly dispute. Dom Thomas was vexed and perturbed thereby to such a degree that he thought it best to withdraw, and he resolved to take a long country walk to quell and calm his wrath. Accordingly he went out and soon found himself in the woods beyond the town. There suddenly met him in a lonely spot a tall man with a hideous face furrowed with cruelty and vice, a bushy black beard and piercing eyes, who was dressed in an ample robe of curious ethnic fashion. The stranger asked why he was wandering all by himself in this out-of-the-way spot. The monk's reply was to pose a similar question, whereupon the other answered that he had lost his horse, and since he thought it had strayed into a neighbouring meadow he suggested they should look for it together. He pressed the monk of his charity to help him in the search. In a few moments they came to a river, swiftly running and swollen by rains, which it was necessary to ford. The monk had taken off his shoes to wade, when the stranger bade him mount on his back, "for," said he, "I am strong enough to carry you." In a moment he had hoisted Dom Thomas, who began to feel considerable alarm. Casting his eyes on the stranger's feet he saw they were twisted and horribly deformed, whereat he called out upon

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the Name of God. In an instant the demon with a yell of rage cast the monk heavily to the ground and vanished with a great gust of wind that broke off two or three branches of an old oak growing there, leaving the monk half-dead with terror and amaze. Had he suffered the demon to bear him into the water there can be no doubt that he would have been drowned in mid-stream.

Alessandri then relates a circumstance which had happened only a few months before he penned it down, and which was very well known and much talked of in Rome. A young man, who was indeed most comely and fair, but who was the son of indigent parents, well-nigh beggars, dwelling in a tumble-down cottage at Castiglione, being bitterly mortified at the daily drudgery which hardly brought a crust of bread to the poor home, fell into evil ways and at last after many dissolute courses he left his father and mother, whom he loaded with wild curses, vowing himself body and soul to the devil with a terrific imprecation. He resolved to try his fortune at Rome, and whilst he was on his way thither he overtook, going in the same direction, a traveller with a proud dark face, dressed in some outlandish habit, and his hair and beard curiously combed and plaited. The stranger, hailing the youth, asked why he looked so grum. The lad replied that he had quarrelled with his father whom he was determined to pay by some sorry trick. Soon out came the whole story. The new companion replied that he, too, had once had a very similar experience, he sympathized with the boy and hinted at putting him in the way of something good. So they jogged on together, talking of the injuries they had suffered and how every man's hand was against them. Towards evening they came to a small inn, and here they shared the same chamber.

The youth, footsore and ill at ease, had hardly fallen into his first sleep, when his companion, who lay at his side, seized him by the throat in a fearful gripe and had well nigh throttled him had he not in the last extremity of terror called upon God

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and Our Lady, at whose Blessed Names the fiend, for it was no other, released his victim and with hideous howls vanished away, yet in his flight he filled the whole room with such smoke and noise that the very roof, rafters, tiles and all, was blown to jommetry. The poor lad lay, half-dead, amid the débris, and in heart-felt sorrow for his former guilt and shame, under the conduct of good and holy men he forsook those evil paths, and was indeed, when Alessandri wrote, leading a life of great piety and much edification to all.

Alessandri has narrated these and other examples in detail, incidents which came under his own notice or were attested by first-hand witnesses, to prove beyond any cavil that there are Spirits of various kinds who can and do appear to men under different forms, and who do concern themselves with the affairs of man.

Possidonius, the Stoic philosopher,[10] relates that two friends who lived in Arcadia, which is a province of Achaia in Greece, whilst travelling came to the city of Megara near Athens, where one of them lodged in a fair hostelry, and the other, either because there was no room for him there or else to save expense, took up his quarters in a humble inn. The traveller who was sleeping at the hostelry dreamed that during the night there stood by the bedside his friend begging him to hasten and help him, for the innkeeper, a foul assassinate, was planning to cut his throat. The sleeper awoke with a start from so ominous a dream, but in a moment was satisfied that 'twas but a dream, and so soon turned over again. He had not closed his eyes in slumber for more than half an hour when his friend appeared as before, but now sad and pale, entreating him at least to avenge his death inasmuch as he would not succour him whilst he was yet alive. "The host," he said, "has slain me most villainously and you will discover my body in a cartload of dung which right early in the morning he will dispatch by a certain street through the town-gates to the place where it is customary to empty the common midden and jakes of the town." At dawn our

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traveller all unhappy and apprehensive, arose and made his way to the town-gates, where presently along came the jolting dung-cart as he had been told. The watch, who were already summoned and preadvised, stopped the wain; the bleeding corpse was found exactly as the vision had foretold; in the confusion the carter contrived to escape, but the inn-keeper was laid by the heels and before many hours he paid the just penalty for this and doubtless many another midnight murder at the hands of the public executioner.

Valerius Maximus, in the seventh chapter (*On Dreams*) of his First Book mentions Tiberius Gracchus, a notorious demagogue and sometime Tribune of the People, whose anarchical schemes brought about his dispatch. After his death, the historian says, he appeared in a vision at night to his brother Cauis Gracchus, a boutefeu of the same ilk, who was aspiring to this tribuneship. The phantom revealed how he would certainly attain this office, but that his boiling ambition would also bring him to an untimely end. All this exactly happened. Sallust in his *Jugurtha*,[11] speaks of the Gracchi. Orosius also, in his *Historia aduersum Paganos*,[12] makes mention of these brothers; as does S. Augustine in *The City of God*, the Second Book and the twenty-first chapter; and again in the Third Book and the twenty-fourth chapter, when the holy doctor writes *Of the civil discord aroused by the sedition and subversive agitation of the Gracchi.*

Abou-Merouan Abdel-Melek,[13] the famous Arab physician, a Mussulman, relates how that when he was much distressed owing to ophthalmia, an old physician, once his intimate friend, but who had been dead for some years, appeared to him in a dream at night and instructed him how to confect a salve which speedily healed his eyes.

In the treatise named *Locorum Communium Collectanea*,[14] by Ioannes Manlius, much of the material for which he derived from Philip Melanchthon his preceptor, there is given a relation which he had heard from the very lips of this dominie. Theodore of Gaza, the famous humanist, had a property in

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Campania that had been bestowed on him as a bounty by Pope Nicolas V. His overseer, whilst digging in these vineyards, found a small chest or urn containing bones, whereupon there appeared a spectre, who commanded him to bury them at once, or else his son would speedily meet a violent death. The overseer disdained to trouble himself, since he thought it all mere delusion, and he let the bones lie. However, in a few days, three or four, his son was accidentally killed. A very little after the spirit again visited the father and threatened to slay his other child if the bones were not at once decently interred. In fact the boy fell ill, and having learned his lesson from an experience only too dearly bought, the overseer at once informed his master of what had happened. Theodore of Gaza forthwith hastened to his vineyard, and bade them dig a deep grave in the spot where the urn had first been found. There he replaced it and caused it to be carefully covered with deep earth. The son of the overseer almost immediately regained his health.

Gianbattista Fregoso, sometime Doge of Genoa, whence he was banished, writes in the fourth chapter and First Book of his *Most Memorable Deeds and Dictes*,[15] that at the court of Matteo Visconti il Grande, Viscount of Milan—the Visconti, a noble and famous Milanese family, were afterwards created Dukes—there was seen one evening just after sunset the gigantic figure of a man armed cap-à-pie, a gentle damoiseau of excessive comeliness, whom many watched in wonder for the space of an hour about, until he vanished from their sight. Three days after, at nightfall, in the same place were seen two knights who jousted, but they also soon disappeared. A little later, on 14 August, 1313, the Emperor Henry VII, who greatly favoured the Visconti, died at Siena.

The same author then continues to tell another adventure, which is even more strange and admirable. Lippo Alivosi, the new Lord of Imola, sent his secretary, or else it was the official whom he most trusted, to Ferrara to settle some important business on his behalf. Now as this secretary was

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on the way, the father of Lippo Alivosi, the late Lord who had been dead some weeks, met him in the road. He was riding his favourite horse, and just as in life was carrying a belled gerfalcon on his wrist. The secretary faltered and trembled in sore affright, until the phantom, speaking fair but urgently, bade him return and tell his master to come to this very place on the following day. "For," said he, "I have much counsel to give him, much to tell which it behoves him to know." When Lord Lippo heard this from his secretary, he was inclined to doubt and rather suspecting an ambush of some foe, or fearing he might be laughed at and fleered for his credulity, he sent one of his men in his stead. The phantom duly appeared at the appointed time on the given spot, and sharply upbraided his son, who had not himself come to learn what his message was. "Now," quoth he in wrath, "I will only reveal one thing, to wit that when two and twenty years are flown, upon such and such a day, my son shall lose the town whereof he is Lord." The spectre exactly named the day and hour. After two and twenty years had gone, upon that very night, the army of Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan, with whom Lord Lippo had no sort of quarrel, nay rather of whom he was an ally, most treacherously invested Imola in the darkness, and crossing the moat over the ice, it being dead of winter and the water frozen hard, they silently set up their ladders, scaled the walls, made themselves masters of the town, and took Lord Lippo prisoner.[16]

Philip Melanchthon[17] (whom some rank heretics in their folly and mad presumption would, methinks, sooner believe than the holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church themselves), in his book, *De anima*,[18] writes that he has with his own eyes seen ghosts and apparitions, and that he knew intimately many learned and eminent men of proved probity and credence who have assured him most solemnly that not only had they seen Spirits of the departed, but have conversed at length with them.

Again, in his work *An Examen of those who are to be appointed*

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to the Ministry of the Gospel,[19] he relates the following: His aunt, the sister of his father, at the time of her husband's death was in the family way. One evening as she sat by her fireside she saw two men enter the room; the first exactly resembled her late husband and indeed he greeted her as spouse; the other, who was extremely gaunt and tall, appeared to be a Franciscan friar. He who seemed to be her husband, approached the hearth as if he were quite at home, begged her not to frighten herself or be perturbed, saying quietly that he only came to ask her something and make a request of her. He then begged the religious to withdraw a little. Next he directed his wife on the morrow to seek out certain priests desiring them to say various masses according to his private intention. Then, bidding her farewell, he added, "Now clasp me by the hand." She was still very astonished, however, and trembled not a little. "No harm shall come to you," he promised. Thereupon she grasped his hand, but at the touch her own hand seemed as though she had thrust it into a blazing fire, it was scorched and pained her for long enough. In a twink he summoned the Franciscan and both vanished from her sight.

Lodovico Vives, in the First Book of his treatise *On the Truth of the Christian Religion*,[20] writes that in newly discovered lands it is extremely common to find Spirits who appear, especially at noonday,[21] both in the fields and country places and in towns. These demons or spectres accost men, converse with them, bidding them do this or enjoining upon them to refrain from that; they persecute and torment all kinds of poor folk, often scaring them horribly, and even saluting them with cuffs and blows. Those who have written of voyages to distant parts of the world give précis of similar histories of these devils' pranks.

Girolamo Cardano, the famous Milanese philosopher and physician, in his books on *The Subtilty and Diversity of Natural Things*,[22] mentions apparitions of the same kind. His account may be conveniently read in amplest detail.

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Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, in the third chapter of his Second Book [23] informs us that in Iceland the ghosts of those who have been drowned or have come to a violent end appear to living persons whom they greet warmly, offering to clasp them by the hand. Nor is it possible for a man to tell that they are phantoms until they suddenly vanish away out of sight. Some think that these are not the souls of the departed but rather the demons or familiars whom the ancients knew as Lemures, Incubi and Boggarts to wit, Fauns, Satyrs, Larvae (or Guisers), Manes, Penates, or tutelary and domestic divinities, Hobgoblins, Clurichaunes, Foliots, Fairies, the Good People, and a vast number of other names. It must remain then an open question [24] whether these apparitions are demons or sprites who present themselves to living men under a human form; or whether, as is indeed far more probable, they are not actually ghosts suffered to appear by the permission of Almighty God in the counsels of His own Divine Providence.

CHAPTER XI

It is Proven by the Authority of the Ecclesiastical Historians, as also by other Eminent Writers of Antiquity, that Spirits do Appear

THE following words of King David in the seventy-seventh Psalm have been quoted to show that the Spirits of the dead do not return: *And He remembered that they were flesh: a wind that goeth and returneth not.*[1] This is about as appropriate and has as much bearing on the question, as if we were to sing the Magnificat some fine day at Matins. Nothing could be more impertinent; nothing more out of place. The phrase must be referred to its context.

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Upon reading through this Psalm, *Attendite popule meus*, we find that David hymns God's great benefits to the people of Israel, notwithstanding their ingratitude meriting their destruction. The Divine Mercy deals with Israel not as they richly deserve, but endureth in compassion and long-suffering for their weakness; inasmuch as man is but flesh, a wind that goeth to and fro, provoking the most high God, and yet again repenting of the evil he has done in the sight of Heaven. For men are not Angels, but very frail, perverse and prone to fall because of original sin, and owing to that concupiscence which remains after original sin has been washed away in Holy Baptism.

Now since the Scriptures tell us that Spirits return, as did the Spirit of Samuel, I Kings xxviii; the Spirit of Moses, S. Matthew xvii; the Spirits of Onias and Jeremy the prophet, II Machabees xv; and inasmuch as the Word of God can never contradict itself, plainly it follows then that this Psalm could not deny that Spirits actually appear. Truly Almighty God has expressly prohibited us from seeking communication with the dead,[2] and forbids us to evoke the departed, asking them questions and receiving answers, which is necromancy; for this arises from the curiosity of men who trust those gone before rather than the revelation of God, as indeed the friends of Dives would have done. But it skills not. For this reason Abraham said: They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.[3]

Our mortal enemy, the Prince of Darkness, Satan, knows how to transform himself into an Angel of Light to deceive us,[4] and so he will designedly appear under a certain form saying he is the soul of such a one or of such another, which is false all, for souls have their proper bodies. And even if it were possible that they should appear in a body other than their own, this would not in the slightest degree affect the argument, since it can be demonstrated from the Bible, as we have shown, that souls do return, and we will proceed to adduce further instances from the Church historians.

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It is true that if such Spirits urge or encourage us to do or hold something not in conformity with the teaching of the Church or the Word of God we must reject their counsel and pay no heed to such seducing Spirits.[5] Moses and Elias on the Mount of Transfiguration talked with Our Lord concerning His love for sinners, His Sacred Death and Passion, which is indeed our boast and our glory that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, dying on the Cross for our sins.[6] He Himself after His Glorious Resurrection, beginning at Moses and all the prophets, expounded to His disciples in all the Scriptures, the things that were concerning Him.[7]

Even if an Angel from Heaven were to announce to us anything contrary to the teaching of the Church and Holy Scripture we must neither listen to nor believe him.[8]

Sozomen in the twenty-eighth chapter and Sixth Book of his *Ecclesiastical History* [9] mentions a holy man named Apelles, who lived in an Egyptian monastery near the city of Acoris.[10] He worked as a smith at the forge, and one night when he was engaged at this employment, an evil Spirit, in the form of a beautiful harlot, bravely dressed, with mincing gait and lewd gestures, tempted him to fornication. Apelles, however, took a red-hot iron from the furnace and threw it in the face of the demon, who shrieked wildly and fled away with howls of rage.

The same historian in the twenty-third chapter of his Seventh Book relates that there broke out at Antioch a revolt against the Emperor Theodosius,[11] who had imposed fresh taxes during the time of war. The statues of the Emperor and Empress were thrown down and dragged by ropes through the muddy streets, the mobile loading them with foul epithets and scurrie villain words. On the night before the sedition occurred a spectre was seen in the guise of a woman of prodigious height and most terrific looks, who paced grimly through the city with great giant strides, lashing here and there a mighty whip that cracked like thunder, and was similar to the knouts and thongs used to goad on the wild

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beasts in the arena. From this it seems amply clear that an evil Spirit had stirred up the sedition.

Theodorus Anagnostes in the First Book of his *Ecclesiastical History* [12] tells how a fearful demon appeared to S. Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who rebuked the evil one, whereupon a hollow voice cried in hellish accents: *Whilst thou art alive I may say nothing, but after thy death I will plague and raven the Church amain.* S. Gennadius on hearing this, prayed God very earnestly and long for the good estate of the Church. But not long after he passed to his reward.[13]

Now, although evil Spirits may present themselves to living men feigning to be the souls of the departed and assuming appropriate shapes, whereas they are devils, we must not on that account deny that the Spirits of the departed may and do verily return. For if they did not come back, then evil Spirits would not adopt this ruse, since it would be idle and vain. Almighty God has manifested Himself to His servants under various forms in His Own Providence to reveal heavenly secrets to them; and Satan has also thus appeared, striving to do the like, and mocking us. The devil presents himself, indeed, pretending to be a ghost, because he knows that ghosts actually appear to men.

We have, moreover, the witness and authority of the Fathers to certify us that ghosts appear, and this testimony is more than sufficient for any Christian. S. Ambrose, that eminent Doctor of the Church, in his famous Epistle,[14] speaking of the holy maiden, S. Agnes, who suffered martyrdom for Jesus Christ, relates how when her father and mother and other kin were watching near her tomb about midnight, they saw a most noble company of virgins all aureoled by a dazzling radiance and clad in robes of golden sheen, and among that sweet society was the dear lady S. Agnes, who gently praying her sisters to tarry a little, thus spoke to her parents: *Weep not for me as if I were dead, but rather rejoice with me and be exceeding glad, for God hath vouchsafed that I dwell in realms of everlasting day with these fair maidens, and I am joined in*

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sweet bonds to my spouse Jesus Christ Whom whilst I yet sojourned on earth I loved with my whole heart. Not long after S. Agnes appeared to the daughter of Constantine, the Princess Constantia, who was sick well nigh to death, and who had prayed fervently to the Saint. As she lay upon her bed of little ease the martyred maid S. Agnes stood by her and said: *Be thou constant, Constantia, and believe upon Jesus Christ thy Saviour, the Son of God, Who hath granted thy prayer and Who heals thee of the grievous sores which afflict thy body in every part.* At the sound of the heavenly voice Constantia arose, being immediately cured and made whole. In thanksgiving to God and S. Agnes the Princess built the basilica of the Saint, enriching her shrine most sumptuously.[15]

S. Ambrose also tells how in the seventh year of the Emperor Honorius,[16] S. Gamaliel appeared to Lucian, a venerable priest of Jerusalem, and bade him take up the bodies of S. Stephen, S. Nicodemus, and S. Abibo, which were buried in a little field under the ruins of an old tomb in a place called Caphargamala, some twenty miles from Jerusalem.[17]

In like fashion when that noble maid and glorious martyr Lucy of Syracusa was praying at the shrine of S. Agatha in Catania for the cure of her mother who lay sick, troubled with an issue of blood, the Saint appeared and said in gentlest accents: *Lucy, my sister dear, why dost thou ask of me a boon which thy own chaste prayers have obtained? Lo now thy mother is healed.* The Saint further foretold how S. Lucy herself would suffer for the sake of Jesus Christ.[18]

All these things and many others did S. Ambrose, that great doctor, write twelve centuries ago.

The same doctor also tells how there thrice appeared to him S. Paul, S. Gervase and S. Protase, and the third time he saw them—so that the vision should be manifest and true—S. Paul revealed to him the whole life of these two Milanese Saints, the brothers Gervase and Protase, and described their bitter martyrdom, bidding him exhume their bodies from the

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place where they had been laid and bury them in a goodly shrine with all honour. Now what time the bodies of these two Saints were translated many miracles took place, and when those who were possessed by evil spirits drew nigh the Holy Relics and near to these two blessed bodies, they howled aloud and yelled hideously, the demons crying out that they were tormented by the Saints, and presently they were constrained to go forth, and the possessed were healed.[19]

Next let us turn to S. Augustine, who has in several places written of apparitions and of other Spirits, so that no doubt at all can be entertained that the dead return. In the eleventh chapter of his *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*,[20] S. Augustine relates what came under his own notice whilst he sojourned at Milan. In this city a certain young man was proceeded against at law by a creditor claiming a sum of money alleged to be due from the youth's father, recently deceased. Actually although the son could not prove it, the debt had been discharged. The young man, greatly perturbed in mind and sore distressed, searched among all the papers left behind for a quittance or receipt, but in vain. However, one night his father very clearly appeared to him in a dream and told him the exact spot where the receipt would be found, carefully set on one side. The very paper was produced in court, and the unjust creditor covered with reproach and dishonour.

In the fifteenth chapter of the same treatise the Saint explains how the departed know what is happening on earth, and how those who are gone may as easily return to this world as those who are here may depart from it; and he gives pertinent examples, how S. Paul was rapt up to heaven (II Corinthians xii, 2), and how the prophet Samuel appeared to King Saul (I Kings xxviii, 7–19).[21]

In the following chapter of the same treatise S. Augustine tells us how after the fierce Barbarian hordes had taken and sacked Nola, the patron of the town, S. Felix, appeared to his fellow-citizens and encouraged them in their distress with comfortable words.[22]

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S. Augustine again, in his Epistle (cv) [28] addressed to S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, relates how at the very hour that S. Jerome, who lay sick in the little city of Bethlehem, breathed forth his soul into the hands of God, he was himself at Hippo (of which city he was Bishop) and meditating deeply upon the blessedness of those who are in Paradise inasmuch as S. Severus, the disciple of S. Martin, had instantly besought him to treat of these matters. Taking pen and paper holy Augustine set himself to indite an epistle to S. Jerome in order to inquire of him concerning these high and mysterious things of God, well knowing that there was no living man who could better discourse of them than the learned doctor of Bethlehem. For, indeed, what S. Jerome did not know, there was no mortal man who knew. S. Augustine had already commenced his letter with the customary salutation when his room was filled with the most heavenly fragrance and all was aureoled in dazzling light. (Now it was about the hour of Compline). The sweet odour and the exceeding glory so ravished the senses of S. Augustine that he fell into an ecstasy. Then from the very heart of this unearthly radiance there came a voice which said: *Augustine, what seekest thou to know? Canst thou pour the ocean into a little vessel? Or canst thou grasp the wide world in one hand? Canst thou stay the spheres in their celestial race? Can thine eyes see what never mortal eye hath seen, and thine ear hear what ear of man hath never heard? Canst thou understand what the mind of mortal man may not know? What end hath the infinite? How shall a man measure that which hath neither bound nor bourn? It is easier far to pour the ocean into a little vessel, to grasp the orb of the world in one hand, to stay the spheres in their course, than it is for a man to skill even dimly and afar the glory of those souls who are in Paradise with God unless thou hast tasted of that glory and hast been made a partaker in it, even as I am tasting and am made a partaker.* The words died away, and S. Augustine asked: *Who art thou, radiant with light, who speakest thus with me?* The voice replied: *I am Jerome, unto whom thou writest.*

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Among the works of S. Augustine is generally included also an Epistle from S. Cyril of Jerusalem addressed to the holy Bishop of Hippo, wherein the writer says that when a certain heresy and doubt arose concerning the resurrection of the body and the glory of the Saints in Paradise, S. Jerome appeared all radiant with light, to his well-beloved disciple Eusebuis, to whom he said: *Lo yet twenty days and thou shalt be with me in Paradise in the full fruition of God.*[24]

Palladius and other writers who have related the life of S. John Chrysostom recount how S. Basilicus, Bishop of Comana in Pontus, who suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Maximinian, with Lucian, a priest of Antioch, appeared to S. John Chrysostom, who was then in exile, with these words: *Brother John, be of good cheer for to-morrow thou shalt be with us.* S. Basilicus also appeared in vision to a priest serving his church, and said to him: *Prepare quickly a place for our brother John, for lo! he cometh to us.*[25]

Nicephorus Callistus, in the thirty-third chapter of the Seventh Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*,[26] relates how the blessed Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul appeared to the Emperor Constantine the Great, bidding him be baptized by Pope S. Silvester I, and so he should be healed of a sore disease. This he did, and he was cleansed both of the leprosy of his soul and the leprosy of his body.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus and suffragan of Hierapolis, in the twenty-fourth chapter of his Fifth Book,[27] sets forth how the Emperor Theodosius was much encouraged and encheered by a vision of S. John the Evangelist and the Apostle S. Philip, when upon the eve of a battle with the tyrant Eugenius, for he feared whether with so small a force he might encounter the opposing hosts. During the night before the fray he saw the two Holy Apostles exhorting him to be of a stout heart and promising him a complete and triumphant victory.

S. Gregory, in the fifty-fifth chapter and Fourth Book of his *Dialogues*,[28] tells of a certain proprietor of baths at Civita

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Vecchia who long after his death was continually seen on these premises. The ghost eventually begged a good priest, the vicar of the Church of San Giovanni, who came there, to offer the Holy Sacrifice on his behalf and obtain his release from Purgatory. This the good priest did and said eight or nine masses, after which the Spirit never appeared again.

CHAPTER XII

It is Proven by the Authority of more recent Authors, especially French Historians and Chroniclers, that Spirits do Appear

VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS in his *Speculum Historiale*,[1] the author of the *Rudimentum Nouitiorum*,[2] and Polydore Vergil,[3] write that about the year 1080 or a little before, a celebrated Doctor of Paris,[4] who was highly revered as well on account of his upright life—for so men reputed—as on account of his learning, having died, was brought to the Cathedral of Notre Dame to be buried. All the University assisted in full academic state to do honour to the deceased. Whilst Matins were solemnly sung for the repose of his soul, when the lector began the fourth lesson of the Second Noctum *Responde mihi* (Do thou answer me . . .)[5] the dead man lifted his head and cried in a fearful hollow voice: *I am accused by the just judgement of God!* And then his head fell back as before. Those who were present determined to defer the requiem until the morrow. The next morning a vast number of people collected in the church, and when the lector again came to the same place in the Office *Responde mihi*, again the corpse raised his head, crying: *Alas! I am judged by the just judgement of God!* The funeral was put off until the third day, and almost at dawn the church was thronged. The third time when the

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lector began *Responde mihi*, the dead cried in a lamentable tone, *Alas! Alas! I am condemned by the just judgement of God!* Great fear and trembling fell upon all present that one who had seemingly led so religious and austere a life, one who was respected and esteemed in no small measure by all, should be condemned at the tribunal of God. Amongst others present was S. Bruno, born at Cologne, a doctor of the University of Paris, and a Canon of Rheims.[6] Thenceforth abandoning the world he withdrew to the desert with six companions. *Woe the day*, quoth he. *If a man we all counted a saint is condemned by God, who shall be saved? Let us bury ourselves in the wilderness if haply we may preserve our souls alive.* Accordingly they repaired to the remoter districts of the south, to the Alps of Dauphiné, where they established themselves in a solitude named Chartreuse in the diocese of Grenoble and about four leagues from that town, and there they built the first house for their monks, so this Order, taking its name from the place, is called the Carthusian Order. Now it is quite certain that the Carthusian Order was founded owing to this terrible circumstance, namely, that the spirit of Canon Raymond of Paris returned in God's dispensation to his dead body to announce that he was condemned by the Eternal Judge.

Melchior de Flavin, a Franciscan father, in his *De l'etat des âmes après le trépas, comment elles vivent étant séparées du Corps*,[7] records that Pope Innocent IV,[8] during his residence in France founded the nuns' Charterhouse of Villeneuve,[9] which is near that famous city of the Pontiffs, owing to a vision seen by a holy Anchoret to whom there appeared a number of the departed, and whilst some souls were received into Heaven and others into Purgatory, it seemed as if some were lost in endless bale. Since this circumstance is very well known I will not enlarge upon it but rather here relate another incident, which happened in France in the year 1238. At that time the Bishop of Paris was that holy and reverend prelate, William of Auvergne, whose writings are so generally

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esteemed and admired.[10] There was held at the Dominican convent in the Rue St. Jacques a solemn conclave at which was present, amongst other learned doctors, Cardinal Hugues St. Cher.[11] The point under discussion was pluralism, and the members of the conclave were altogether of opinion that no priest could with a clear conscience hold more than one benefice, if any second living was worth a sum exceeding fifteen livres parisis.[12] The only dissentient from this was Maître Philippe, Chancellor of the University. A little after Maître Philippe fell ill, and being on his death-bed the good Bishop visited him, endeavouring to persuade him to relinquish the benefices he held. This, however, the sick man refused to do, for he presumptuously maintained to the last that he could assuredly be saved even if he were a pluralist. After his decease the Bishop was praying one night in the Cathedral of Notre Dame and the sound of Matins sweetly chanted in the choir still echoed in his ears when he beheld a dark shadowy figure, scarcely to be discerned in the dim flicker of the candles burning before distant shrines. The good prelate crossed himself and adjured this spectre in the name of God, if he were of God, to speak. *Alas*, moaned the shade most piteously, *I am not of God, for I am eternally separated from the God Who was my Maker. Who art thou then?* asked the Bishop. *I am that unhappy wretch, Philippe, sometime Chancellor of this University, and I am lost chiefly on account of three things. The first, because I was a pluralist. The second because I gave no penny of the rich incomes from my livings in charity to the poor as was my bounden duty, but I hoarded the gold. The third, because I led a wanton and evil life.* From this sad history it is evident that even lost souls can appear to men to warn them of their piteous estate, in order that the living may haply flee the wrath to come.

Father Melchior also tells of another apparition, a ghost who appeared some forty years ago in circumstances that came under his personal knowledge. In the town of Saint-Pons near Narbonne,[13] there died suddenly a scholar, who

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was, alas! unshriven and in a state of sin. This youth appeared on the morrow of his funeral to a close friend of his, a scholar likewise, whom he begged to go on his behalf to Rodez and crave absolution from the holy Bishop. His friend at once set out, and as he made his way through the mountain passes, dangerous to tread and slippery with snow, his dead friend went with him, guiding his steps and conversing with him, although he saw no man. The ghost, indeed, led him safely over the snow and ice, and when he was come to Rodez he obtained a full absolution from the Bishop, the Blessed François. On his return the ghost again companioned with and conducted him with careful steps. As is the Catholic custom in such a case absolution was given to the dead body, and the Spirit then took leave of his friend with many tender expressions of gratitude, promising to pray for and assist him.

Not so very many years ago a similar circumstance happened at Lyons, where a nun appeared after her death and sought for absolution. A book has been written concerning this occurrence by those who were intimately connected with it, and who vouch for the whole truth of the narrative, concerning which accordingly I need say no more.[14]

In the Book of the Gestes of Charlemagne[15] it is related that a great captain begged a comrade that if he were slain in battle his favourite horse, the pride of his race, should be sold and the money bestowed in alms to a charity for Requiem Masses. The captain was indeed slain on the field, but his comrade, coveting the horse, took it for his own, without giving the money in alms, and even without asking for prayers or Masses to be said. A fortnight later the dead man appeared to his treacherous friend, whom he sternly rebuked, lamenting sore that the alms had not been bestowed as promised, on which account he had suffered all these days in the flames of purgatory. *Certes*, said he, *thou shalt not go unpunished, for in a little while thou shalt also suffer this fire*. The soldier, who had impropriated the horse, fell ill and in a brief space died also.

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Since the history of the vision of S. James beheld by Charlemagne and by Louis Debonnaire may be read in any History of France I will not recite it here.[16]

Dom Matthias Lambert, a Cluniac monk and Prior of the Abbey of Saint Denis at Nogent au Perche [17] in his *Homily upon Easter Tuesday* discusses apparitions at some length. He says: It may not be impertinent to add here some facts which we have been told by persons of dignity, incapable of reporting what was not true. A young maiden was sorely tormented for a long while, day and night, by apparitions, and not knowing how she might free herself from these hauntings, she made a good confession and then devoutly received Holy Communion, in the hope that when she was thus sained from sin and nourished with the Body of the Lord this apparition would not molest her nor haunt her, and indeed if it did manifest itself she would be armed to address and speak to it. At midnight a shadowy figure stood by the side of her bed, whereupon with very little fear she inquired *Who art thou, and what dost thou seek?* The ghost replied that he was the Spirit of her own brother, who was then absent from home on a voyage, that he had died suddenly without being able to make restitution to certain persons whom he named, a service he begged her to do him with monies of his which she would find in such-and-such a place. He then vanished from her sight and was never seen again, inasmuch as on the morrow the sister came to church to hear the earliest Mass, and told Dom Matthias all that had transpired. The Holy Sacrifice at her desire was offered for her intention in thanksgiving for her courage in speaking to the ghost, as also for the repose of her brother's soul. Other Masses were said as she requested, and she did not delay to carry out the behest that had been laid on her.

About the year 1559 the Seigneur de Flines, Lord of the Manor of a village near Meulan-sur-Seine,[18] in his will directed that he should be buried in the ancestral vault at Paris. When he died his son and heir, little troubling to

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carry out his his father's wish, buried him under the flags of the choir of the village church. The son was then dwelling at Paris. But at midnight the father entered his son's chamber with so threatening a countenance and with such terrific noise, approaching to the very bedside with angry gestures, that the son was obliged with very great trouble and at vast expense to obtain permission both from the ecclesiastical and civil authorities for certain accredited sextons and mortuary-men to disinter his father's corpse and inhume it in the appointed sepulture at Paris. Dom Matthias writes: "The following morning, which happened to be a Sunday, I was preaching in this church, and the stench of corruption and odour of death was so overpowering that we all feared some putrid fever might result. I was thereupon informed of the preceding facts."

In the year 1534 the wife of the Provost of the city of Orleans, a woman who had long been a hot fautress of the Lutherans, lay sick unto death, and she entreated her husband to bury her as quietly as might be, without any decent ceremonies such as the passing-bell and the knell, without dishaloof, or reverend following or waking the corpse, nay even without nocturnals, dirge and requiem.

The husband out of his too fond affection for his wife gave the required promise, and she was interred as he directed in the Franciscan church, hard by the graves of his father and his grandparents. But on the following night whilst Matins was being sung in choir, the Spirit of the dead woman appeared hovering upon the Rood-beam and high in the vaulting of the Church, making most lamentable moan and outcry. The religious of the house, shrewdly suspecting that this haunting and disturbance came from the dead woman who had been buried with mangled rites and mutilated observance, advised the Provost and his friends of the matter. It was resolved that the ghost must be exorcized, for which ceremony there gathered no small crowd of folk. When the Spirit was adjured to speak the dead woman

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confeſſed that she was a loſt soul inasmuch as she had secretly joined the Lutheran heresy. She implored that her body should be taken up and caſt forth out of the church in some unconsecrated ground. Whilſt the friars were consulting how this might be done without scandal or undue offense certain violent and evilly-disposed men raised a riot againſt the good fathers and attacked them, using them despitefully, even as the Arian heretics persecuted S. Athanasius of old. John Sleidan has related this circumſtance in the Ninth Book of his *General Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church*,[19] but with sinuous cunning he has perverted the facts and presents them as he learned them from one of his own seſt. So he has written a bouncing lie.

Yet even if it all happened juſt as he pretends—which was not the case—his narrative is wholly impertinent, for by the laws of Holy Church and by the decrees of the Parliament it is not permitted to give a Lutheran Catholic burial. Those who are manifeſt and notorious heretics muſt not be interred with the faithful. So enjoins Pope Innocent III in an Epiſtle [20] addressed to the Monks of Faenza in 1206, and the Pontiff spoke the decision of many Councils.

S. Gregory in the Fourth Book of his *Dialogues*,[21] says that those who are loſt are even more grievously tormented whilſt their bodies lie in consecrated ground, and he cites inſtances of unhappy souls who have appeared and wailing entreated that their carcasses shall be exhumed and caſt away in some unhallowed spot far from the sanctuary.

I have thought it well briefly to make mention of these and similar happenings in order that it may be the more plainly proved that ghoſts do appear and converse with men.

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CHAPTER XIII

Our everyday Experience proves that Spirits may and do Return

It is not to be denied, and we are all very well aware that many persons of quality and distinction, learned men, too, and sober level-headed folk, who fear God and reverence the truth, have solemnly declared and avouched that they have on occasion both seen and heard Spirits, and it were an easy matter then for us to meet those who have both seen and even conversed with ghosts.

Sometimes a ghost will appear in a house and be only visible to the dogs, who slink and shiver, and immediately run to their masters for protection. For dogs are very much afraid of ghosts, and soon scent the supernatural. Cats, too, have this faculty of recognizing the unseen. Horses and mules are terrified, curvet and plunge in the presence of Spirits.

A Spirit will sometimes suddenly draw and switch away the quilt and blankets from a bed, linen and all; or will restlessly pace up and down a room, when footfalls can be plainly distinguished. Apparitions have appeared as though mounted on horseback and enveloped in flames. It is afterwards learned that the person who is thus seen died a little while before. Not infrequently those who have been killed in battle or have died quietly in their beds return and call their relatives, and they are recognized by their voices. Very often Spirits have been heard about a house at night, as though it were a man dragging his feet wearily with heavy gait; hoarse coughs and deep sighs are heard; and when the

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apparition is questioned he reveals that he is the ghost of such-a-one or such-another. Upon further interrogations and an inquiry how they may be aided such Spirits will ask for Masses to be said, or that some pious person shall go on a pilgrimage to a holy shrine, and thus they will be delivered from their pains. When what they request has been done, they appear all radiant with immortal light in a great glory, announcing that they are free, thanking their benefactors with expressions of warmest gratitude, and promising that in Paradise they will intercede with Almighty God on their behalf.

Very often the servants in a house have at night heard unquiet Spirits who seem to be moving the kitchen utensils and furniture, kettles, pots and pans, dishes, trenchers, voiders, nay, even ambrics, settles, tables and chairs, until one would verily believe that the whole place was turned topsy-turvy and everything spanwhengled and smashed to smithereens. In the morning all has been in apple-pie order, and not a kilterment displaced or disturbed.[1]

Yet there are Spirits who can wrench the very doors off their hinges and throw them to the ground stam bang with a loud crash, or else they upset crockery and earthenware, breaking them in a thousand bits. Thus by their destructive spite and injury they are able to prove a very real nuisance and annoy.

Sometimes strange noises sound in solitary cloisters and remote habitations, and it seems as if coopers or braziers and pewterers were industriously to commence work directly the community or household had retired to rest.

It is known that when new houses are being built the neighbours have heard the sawing of wood, the rattling and soughing of cords, bricks being placed in order, and mortar pounded, as if carpenters, stonemasons, plasterers and other workmen were all busy at their several employments. Some people have tried to explain this by saying that the noises are due to natural causes, and that we imagine we hear at night what we have been listening to during the day. None the

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less it is far more probable that Spirits are mocking us by a show of work and business.

Miners have often declared that in certain mines Spirits are seen, dressed just like men, who run to and fro, and appear to be most deedily occupied, digging a seam, picking and shovelling into the buckets, treading the wheel, cranking, washing in the buddle, and a thousand other labours, although nothing ever visibly results from their efforts. Moreover these Spirits neither harm nor molest anyone if they are not interferred with and obstructed, but then they will throw earth and stones or even an iron block or crowbar at anyone who jeers or laughs at them, or else they will do him some bad turn of another kind. These Spirits are more often seen in mines that are rich in ore.

Ludwig Lavater—in quoting whose pages I will carefully purge them of the poison that infects them, since he is set to prove that the Spirits of the dead never return—Ludwig Lavater,[2] then, says that a certain godly and learned man informed him in a letter that at Davos, in the canton of the Grisons, there was a great silver mine the which Peter Buol, a warm man and the Burgomaster of the town, had carefully worked for a good many years past, and in consequence had become very wealthy thence. Now there dwelt in this mine a Spirit of the Mountains, who was wont especially on a Friday, when the miners were filling vessels with the stuff they had digged, to appear extremely busy, pouring the metals as he listed from one basket into another. The Burgomaster took this in no bad part, and was not the least offended, for when he wished to go down into the pit himself he said a devout prayer, trusting in Our Lord Jesus Christ and blessing himself religiously with the Sign of the Cross, so he never received the least hurt. But it chanced one day that when the Spirit was over meddlesome and making a great bustle and stir one of the miners could brook it no longer, and he let fly a round oath, railing at him very bitterly, cursing and swearing profanely, and in fine he wished the Spirit at the

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devil's crupper. But the Spirit incontinently caught the man by the pate, and so writhed his neck about, that his face stood behind his back, notwithstanding which he was not slain but endured for a twelvemonth and more, well known to many of his intimate friends who are still surviving. Yet he died within a few years after this happened.

It is indeed true that mines are often haunted by cruel and terrible spirits who sadly plague and let the labourers digging for metal.

Georgius Agricola,[3] a most learned man and a famous metallurgist, whose works upon mineralogy are esteemed as of ultimate authority, tells us that at Annaberg,[4] in a mine called locally *Rosy Crown*, a Spirit which appeared in the similitude and likeness of a horse, snorting and snuffling most fiendishly with a pestilent blast, killed twelve men, and at last the workings had to be abandoned although there was a rich vein of ore. He also relates that in the mine of S. George at Schneeberg there was a Spirit who wore a large black cloak or hood,[5] and he suddenly seized one of the metal workers whom he heaved to a vast height, sorely jolting and bruising his limbs. Yet there are some Spirits who are mild and gentle, and these the Germans now call *Kobalds (Cobalts)*, as the Greeks also were wont to name them, since they seem to ape and imitate men. They are often seen laughing out loud and skipping about for very delight, and yet they do nothing at all. Some folk call them Gnomes or Dwarfs of the Mountains because they generally appear as mannikin men. Other Goblins again seem to be very old grandsires, and this kind are clad in such apparel as the miners wear, that is to say, a filleted tunic with a leathern apron about their loins. These never harm the workers unless they are molested or mocked, but they are seen to counterfeit labourers at their work. Georgius Agricola also tells of other Spirits who extremely resemble these Gnomes, and whom the Germans call *Gutales*, for they are very friendly to men, to whom they appear, it is said, when they go to or

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from their day's work, or when they are attending to their cattle.

Other Spirits perform domestic duties under the feigned shapes of men and women. They are principally found in Sweden. Olaus Magnus, the famous Archbishop of Upsala, and Primate of Sweden and Gothland, who was present at the Council of Trent in 1546, has described these Spirits at length in the tenth chapter and Sixth Book of his *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*.[6]

Paul of Middelburg, sometime Bishop of Fossombrone in the Duchy of Urbino, in his work entitled *Paulina*,[7] describes a mountain in Iceland called Hecla, which vomits forth flames and sulphur like Etna in Sicily, and he also says that in this northern Thule dead men meet and accost persons who have known them in life just as if they still walked the earth, inasmuch as if these dead men encounter such a one who is not aware that his friend is deceased he believes him still living. And so they talk together and converse familiarly. But when the living man presses his companion to come back to his house, the dead utters a deep groan and with many a lament reveals that he must plunge into the very bowels of Mount Hecla, and he vanishes from sight, never again manifesting himself, and no man knows why or wherefore. The spectres who generally appear thus are those who have been drowned at sea or have met with some violent and sudden death.[8]

Mariners and sailors who have travelled over the far ocean relate that in certain distant lands, inhabited by cannibals and savages, there are a vast number of evil Spirits and demons who brutally tyrannize over and are worshipped by these unhappy folk.

Plato, in the Tenth Book of his *Republic*, relates that Er, the son of Armenius, a native of Pamphylia, fell in battle, and ten days after they found his body whole and fresh among the mangled and decomposing carcasses of the slain. He was carried home, and a couple of days later they wished to burn the corpse on a funeral pyre in order to preserve his

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ashes in an urn, as was the old pagan custom. But lo! the soul of Er came back again and he returned to life after that he had been dead for twelve days. He related at length how souls live and how the just take the road to the right upwards through the heavens, and the unjust take the road downward to the left. So Plato writes, and S. Justin Martyr [9] says that this is no fabled story but the very truth.

A man named Enarchus,[10] for so Plutarch has it, returned to life after he had been dead three or four days, and thenceforward he passed his allotted span in the practice of every virtue after he had seen the doom of the wicked, although until then he had been a careless and indifferent fellow.

Marsilio Ficino, in the fifth chapter of the Sixteenth Book of his *De Immortalitate Animorum*,[11] relates the story of the Arab physician who after his death visited Abou-Merouan Abdel-Melek and instructed him how to treat his eyes for ophthalmia.

It is told, moreover, in Holy Writ how God has not infrequently been pleased to reveal certain things in their dreams to men, as is said in the first chapter of S. Matthew when the Angel appeared to S. Joseph, and again when the Angel warned him to flee into Egypt, as also to return thence to Palestine. We read in the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles that there came upon S. Peter an ecstasy of mind and he saw descend from the heaven a great linen sheet, as it were, let down by the four corners, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice cried: Arise, Peter, kill and eat. It is recorded in the sixteenth chapter of the same book that S. Paul, being at Troas, a town of Asia, saw a vision which was a man of Macedonia standing and beseeching him: *Pass over into Macedonia, and help us.* Whence S. Paul was assured that it was God's wish he should cross the sea and preach the Gospel in that region. Time and opportunity will not allow me to write at length here of the visions of Saints to men, for it would not be impossible to list a lengthy

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compt as Marcus Marulus of Spalato has done in the Sixth Book, chapter sixteen, of his *Dicta Factaque Memorabilia*,[12] where he adduces at least forty examples, nor must we forget the two holy Bishops who assisted at the Council of Nicæa [13] and signed their names to the roll, as Nicephorus of Calystus writes in the twenty-third chapter and Eighth Book of his Chronicle.[14]

My intention in this work is, be it noticed, to discuss and describe true apparitions, authoritatively avouched, amongst which I can hardly include the apparition of S. John Baptist to the Knights of Rhodes just before this Island was captured by the Turks, of which Guillaume Paradin has written in his *Memoriae Nostrae* or *Memoirs of our Own Time*.[15]

CHAPTER XIV

How strange Omens announce the Death of Great Men, and Portents have preceded pitched Battles, together with other Notable Matter

It not infrequently happens that when a man is lying sick in a house, and the sickness is to death, steps and soft footfalls are heard about the corridors and staircase, and even the sinking person may notice the sound and inquire about it. At the moment of death, or even a little after death, the sick man appears to others and is quite distinctly seen by them.[1] It often happens, too, that when some near friend or relation,[2] dwelling in another part of the country or in a foreign land, is dangerously ill, we hear a noise as if something in the house had fallen with a loud crash,[3] and afterwards we learn that this occurred at the very moment our dear one breathed his last.

Those who are endowed with second sight treat it as quite

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an ordinary matter that they should hear windows or doors opening and shutting as an omen of death when anybody lies ill and cannot recover.[4] These sounds are often caught faintly at first, and then grow to be quite distinct as the time of dissolution draws near.[5] It is true that in these circumstances sceptics and agnostics try to persuade themselves that no friend or relative is going to die, and they would fain pretend that these and similar portents are imaginary and unreal, but experience proves the contrary.

Girolamo Cardano, in his *De rerum uarietate*, Book XVI, chapter 93,[6] writes that there is a noble house of Parma in Italy, the Torelli, and whenever a death occurs of any of this family an old woman of an hundred winters is always spied seated in the chimney-corner in a certain room. On one occasion she was thus seen when a daughter of the family, a young girl, was lying ill, and everyone sadly made sure that the lass was going to die. She recovered, however, but almost immediately after a cousin of the house suddenly expired.

The tradition of the Fairy Melusine[7] is commonly regarded as a mere legend. She was the ancestress of the noble house of Lusignan, and when she is seen near a mansion where any of her race may dwell, lamenting bitterly, wailing and beating her breast, this is a sure omen that some son or daughter of her people is marked for the grave.

In this very town of ours it is well known that if any Councillor is near his end a certain rustling of robes and noise is distinctly heard in the place where he is accustomed to sit at the Council-house. Moreover, in some churches, if any good person always occupies a wonted seat it has been remarked that if such a one is sick and the sickness is to death, a noise or stir is perceived on the spot where the invalid loved to worship and pray.

When a Father or lay brother of our Convent falls ill and cannot recover it has often been noticed that a bier is moved, nobody skills by whom, and laid out decently in a chapel of our Church, just as indeed will be only too soon appointed.

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In country churchyards it is well known that if any person in the village lies on the point of death ſtrange ſighs and ſobs are heard, and the air is full of ſad murmuring and lament. Sometimes alſo on a moonlight night after a funeral a forlorn train of ſhadowy folk are ſeen to go in ſombre and ſlow proceſſion to the new-made grave.

It is often ſaid that if a man's double [8] is ſeen it is a ſign he will not live long. But we muſt not attach any faith to ſuch beliefs, which are ſuperſtitious, for no man knows the hour of his death.

In caſtles and priſons where ſome great criminal is confined, ſome heinous malefactor worthy of death, untoward ſights are eſpied and diſmal noiſes heard. For at night there is often a horrid hubbub, ſhrieks and ſhoutings, as if a mobile had forced their way in to reſcue the captive by force, and often, too, there is a clatter of wrenching doors and burſting them open, but when the warders run to the place all is ſtill in a moment and nothing can be ſeen, whilſt the man himſelf declares he has neither heard nor perceived anything at all.[9]

It is commonly believed, too, that the executioners of juſtice know when they will infallibly be called upon to fulfil their office; for the ſwords with which they behead the condemned give unmiſtakable ſigns of doom.

Many terrible things happen too in connexion with thoſe miſerable wretches who lay violent hands on themſelves. It is often neceſſary to convey their bodies to a conſiderable diſtance, and throw them weighted into deep water. Curiouſly enough if the horſes who draw the cart or other vehicle on this occaſion have to deſcend a ſteep road they rear and ſtumble and can hardly make their way, whereas if they have to go up hill they gallop and ruſh along with whirlwind ſpeed.

If an aſſaſſinate approaches the body of a man he has murdered the corpſe will froth and foam at the mouth, break into a cold dewy ſweat, or give ſome other fearful ſign.

Plato in the Ninth Book of his *Laws* ſays that the ſouls of

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murdered men will relentlessly pursue without ceasing the souls of those who did them to death.[10]

Marsilio Ficino in the fifth chapter and Sixteenth Book of his *De Immortalitate Animorum* [11] refers to this and comments upon it, remarking that perhaps hence it arises that if a murderer comes into the presence of a man whom he has slain and draws nigh the corpse, as he looks upon it the wounds will gush out blood. The poet Lucretius has an elegant allusion to this fact,[12] and it is a circumstance which has come within the experience of many a magistrate and judge.[13]

Not impertinent are the words which in the Fourth *Æneid*,[14] Vergil makes Dido address to Æneas :

> *Dido* shall come, in a black Sulph'ry flame ;
> When death has once dissolv'd her Mortal frame.
> Shall smile to see the Traitor vainly weep,
> Her angry Ghost arising from the Deep,
> Shall haunt thee waking, and disturb thy Sleep

Several rabbis have fantastically written that the lying Spirit who went forth to deceive Achab was the Spirit of Naboth, who had been falsely accused and stoned to death for refusing to give his vineyard to King Achab, and who now rejoiced to lead him on to destruction.[15]

When a thief is seated at table if so happen that a glass of wine is spilled the wine will not flow over the board but will drench through it.

It were easy to write many narratives concerning these signs and other presages and portents. But there is no one who reads this who cannot readily remember similar omens and forewarnings which have befallen either himself or his friends, or which he has been told of by trustworthy and intelligent persons.

None the less I must not in this connexion omit a very striking circumstance which Leonard Vair mentions in the Second Book of his *De Fascino*. Situated upon the very

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limits and boundary of Burgundy, on the banks of the Rhone, there is, he says, a Benedictine Monastery, dedicated to S. Maurice. The monks have a large fish-pond wherein swim a number of very fine fish. Now if any one of the community falls sick it is always noticed that a fish is floating languidly and almost motionless on the surface of the water, and if the monk is destined not to recover the fish invariably dies two or three days before the said religious.[16]

When some terrible political change is imminent, when a Monarchy is tottering to its fall, or a kingdom is threatened by war, internal commotions and republican sedition, such upheavals are frequently presaged by mysterious phenomena by ghostly signs in the air, by prodigious happenings among the animal creation. Those marvels the Romans used to term *Ostenta, Portenta, Monstra, Prodigia.*[17] Such are altogether out of the natural order and beyond the ken and skill of mortal man. If in the course of a single year a comet is seen or perchance two comets flash through space; if the Sun crimsons, incarnadined as with dripping blood; if again armed hosts and foughten battles are discerned in mid-heaven; shall we say that these wonders are natural?

Then it is that the Great and Eternal God Who, provoked to anger by the sins and offences of the world, is about to afflict mankind with chastisements and sore plagues, sends, according to His wont, signs and wonders to warn and premonish man that an evil day is soon to come, and thus He reveals unto us our imminent peril and afflictions by means of portents and threatening harbingers in those heavens, which are, so to speak, His celestial Calendar, and which vary in hue and by their aspect and colour signify what is to come as did—if we may venture in all reverence to compare heavenly things to earthly—the three vast Tents of Scythian Tamerlane,[18] for the expanse of sky above is all painted over and gloriously wrought with planetary signs and zodiacal figures, houses and aspects, whence we may learn as from a book written by the finger of God what is to come. And

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this is plain even to a man who is but little read in the history of nations. Wherefore David also saith in the one hundred and third Psalm: How great are Thy works, O Lord? Thou hast made all things in wisdom. S. Cyprian,[19] too, speaking of signs and heavenly warnings, writes: Since we are forewarned by the premonitions of divine Providence that the day of conflict and combat is at hand, we pray and beseech you to cease not from fasting, watching and prayer with groaning and supplications, and let us, one and all, weep much and lament with bitter tears, for these things will be as armour supernal and approved to shield us against the assaults of the world, the flesh, and the devil, guarding us from sin, so that we may persevere and stand fast in the wholesome fear of the judgements of God. Thus S. Cyprian.

Inasmuch, moreover, as trouble, sore distress, and changes for weal or woe in a kingdom are apt to take place upon the death of a King, and as Almighty God Himself affords Kings His Own especial guidance and protection, it follows that our Guardian Angels, obeying the Will of God, in order to warn us of impending calamities and disasters so that we may walk very carefully, be wary and look about, send Comets speeding through space,[20] and display in the air flashing glaives, keen lances and other martial weapons and harness of red war, so that in mid-sky, or it may even be on some field or plain, two mighty armies join in conflict, the clash of arms is heard with shoutings and fearful cries. The gleam of pikes and halberts is seen; the firing of cannon roars amain; the earth groans with the trampling of many feet.

It is said that before a battle if the standard will not unfurl and float gaily in the wind, but in spite of all that the ancient can do droops and curls around the pole, the soldiers are sadly discouraged, for this is a presage of defeat and disaster. Another bad omen is when the cavalry horses are sluggish and dull, with hanging heads, and will scarce allow their master to mount. On the other hand when the horses prance and move briskly, whinnying in high fettle, it is a

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sign of victory. When Militiades [21] engaged the Persians it is reported that a Spirit was seen, whilst there rang out a loud and terrible cry. The Athenians believed this phantom figure to be the god Pan, whereat the enemy were so sorely frightened that they turned and fled. Hence when a man is seized with some sudden and inexplicable terror it is called a Panic.[22] Before the Spartans were defeated at Leuctra the votive armour and weapons hanging in the temple of Hercules clanged and gave out a loud clash, whilst the doors of the fane suddenly flew wide open, revealing the sacred shrine, and the suits of mail all fell huddled in a heap. So Cicero tells us in the First Book of his *De Diuinatione*.[23]

During the second Punic War, when the Roman army was on the point of marching, the principal standard-bearer, Aquilifer, could not draw the Eagle from the ground, whatever force was used. Caius Flaminius, the Consul, who led the Roman forces, laughed this omen and other grave portents to scorn, and in spite of all pressed forward, but he was slain in battle and his men cut to pieces, as Livy writes in amplest detail.[24]

When, during his fourth consulship, Marius took the field against the Teutons and Cimbri many signs and tokens were witnessed, especially at Tudertum and Ameria, two cities of Italy. For spears and targets were seen in the air, burning like fire in the element with a loud noise of battle, and men going to and fro, presaging a great conflict.[25]

Pliny, in the fifty-seventh chapter of the Second Book of his *Natural History* tells us that before the war of the Romans with the Cimbri, the clash of arms was heard again and again as in the skies, and an unseen clarion rang out with raucous blast.[26]

Appian, who has written at length upon the Civil Wars of the Romans, mentions very many signs and prodigies,[27] as, for example, when a terrible shouting of men in mortal conflict was heard, and the shock of swords with clanging blades struck fear into men's hearts, with the trampling and

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snorting of war-horses, yet nothing was seen all the while.

Valerius Maximus, too, in the sixth chapter of his First Book, *On Prodigies*,[28] relates that Pompey was solemnly warned, again and again by every omen, not to join issue with Caesar, and that when he was about to leave Dyrrhacheium, a certain heaviness and lassitude fell upon his soldiers, so that all through the night the stoutest warriors trembled and were afraid. The same author also tells us that on the day of Caesar's great victory over Pompey at Pharsalia, there was heard at Antioch, a town of Syria, so fearsome a cry and so loud a clatter of pikes that the citizens, each man seizing what dirk or axe he could, rushed to defend the walls. The same omen was observed at Ptolemais. Caesar himself writes of this in the Third Book of his *Civil War*.[29] In the town of Pergamus there sounded on a sudden from a shrine of inviolable sanctity, wherein no one save the Priests dared to enter, the shrill music of many timbrels.

Several ethnic historians say that on more than one occasion the twin brothers, Castor and Pollux, riding on white horses, have been seen fighting for the Romans. Plutarch in his *Coriolanus* tells us that the Dioscuri were seen fighting in the battle against Tarquin, and that they bore back to Rome the news of victory. Livy has many similar accounts of omens and portents in time of war.[30]

Josephus in his chronicle of the *Wars of the Jews* [31] mentions many fearful portents which heralded the fall and destruction of Jerusalem. The great brazen gate of the Temple, although fast shut, flew open of itself, and at set of sun iron chariots were seen in the air, whilst the city was encompassed by armed hosts in battle array. On the day of Pentecost when the Priests and Levites entered the Holy Place to offer sacrifice a terrible din was heard, the earth shook and trembled, whilst an unearthly voice cried: *Let us go hence*. Many more dire and deadly omens does Josephus relate, but it were superfluous to recount them all here.

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On a Christmas morning whilst Leo, Emperor of Constantinople,[32] was assisting at Solemn Matins in the palace Chapel, he was foully assassinated before the altar, at which hour some travellers by sea, whose ship was far from land, heard a voice in the air proclaiming *Leo Basileus hath been within this moment murdered!*

It is recorded that during the investiture of Magdeburg, the capital of Saxony, when the besieged sallied forth upon their foe, there appeared as though it were their leader a man mounted upon a white steed. The enemy only saw him and he presently vanished, none knowing when or how.[33]

Carion tells us in his *Chronicon*[34] that upon the 10 August, 1542, the day preceding that upon which Joachim, the young Marquis of Brandenburg, was to fight the Ottoman armies, during the reign of the glorious Emperor Charles V, a number of little chickens who had but half emerged from their shells chirruped and cheeped most blithely from morn to eve in sign of victory and triumph.

Felix Hemmerlin, a doctor of law, Provost of Solothurn and a Canon of Zurich, a learned man who, as his works are sufficient witness, had both read and seen much, relates in his book *De nobilitate*,[35] how after the battle in which King Rudolph of Habsburg conquered Ottokar King of Bohemia,[36] the victor passed the night on the field where he had vanquished his foe, and about the third watch his ears were stunned by a dreadful noise and shrieks of invisible beings, who it is not to be doubted were the souls of those who had fallen that day. The same author in the twenty-sixth chapter of his work writes that in the year 1280 whilst a preacher was delivering a sermon in the Collegiate Church at Zurich there suddenly split in twain a pillar near the shrine of S. Felix and S. Regula, martyrs, patrons of Zurich,[37] and this breaking stone sounded like a clap of deafening thunder, so that the terrified congregation verily believed that the roof was tumbling over their heads. On the 3 October of the same year a great part of the town was destroyed by fire, and

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immediately after, to add to the distress, hot broils and revolt broke among the citizens with reference to the laws and bans of the Empire. On 12 September, 1440, which is the Feast of the Dedication of the Collegiate Church at Zurich, about midnight a fearful clamour rang through the aisles. Almost immediately after war was proclaimed and lasted seven years. Then, in his thirty-third chapter, Canon Hemmerlin writes that in 1446, a little before the battle in which the Swiss opposed Louis, Dauphin of France, hard by the lazar-house of S. James at Basle was heard for several consecutive nights the sound of a pitched fight, shouting, and the cries of men just as one might expect during a battle.

Leonard Vair in the Second Book of his *De Fascino* recounts a very remarkable circumstance. There is in Spain a town named Vililla, in the diocese of Saragossa (*Caesar augusta*), where is a bell commonly known as the Miraculous Bell. This bell will toll by itself untouched or pulled by any mortal hand, and the note is a sad omen that the state of Christendom is threatened by some misfortune. "I myself," Vair avouches, "have with my own eyes seen the records of this in the public archives of the town, and it has been solemnly attested at various times by Viceroys of that province under whose actual cognizance this prodigious circumstance was wrought more than once." [38]

Baptista Egnatius in the fifth chapter and First Book of his *De exemplis Illustrium Uirorum* [39] relates that when the house of Charlemagne had become extinct and Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France, there fell from heaven fine wheat, abundant rain and a shower of fish, denoting years of plenty and prosperity.

There are many other strange events which I will not linger to dwell upon here since they may be read in the works of many authors, and have been particularly collected by Pierre Boaistuau in his *Histories Prodigieuses Extraictes de plusiers Fameux Autheurs Grecs and Latins, sacrez and prophanes.*[40]

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CHAPTER XV

To Whom, When, and in What Places Spirits are wont to Appear, as also concerning their Businesses

THE foregoing chapters sufficiently prove that apparitions are not only spied by women and children (as is sometimes scoffingly said), nor yet again do spectres only manifest themselves to simple folk and the sick (concerning which Plutarch has something to tell in his life of Dion),[1] but Spirits have been seen by men, who are healthy and well, sane in mind, unemotional, not prone to be deceived, not deluded or suffering from any hallucination. It is true that some classes of persons may be considered to be more aptly in the way of seeing ghosts; travellers, for example, who have to pass through lonely and remote districts; sentinels; shepherds; seamen who are on the ocean all day and night for long periods; those engaged in rustic pursuits, who pass their days in the fields, in valleys and among the mountains; folk, in a word, who are brought face to face with unspoiled Nature.

There are some men who have never seen, and perhaps could never see a ghost; there are others to whose lot it falls to have many such supernatural experiences.

In the same way some travellers meet with frequent strange and marvellous adventures, whilst others encounter nothing extraordinary.

It is commonly believed that children who are born on the first day of the Ember Seasons[2] are able to see and hear Spirits, and, indeed, it may well be that in God's providence those who come into the world at certain seasons of the year should be thus gifted.

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An Angel, being a Messenger of God, will address indifferently a man who leads a saintly life or a heinous sinner, a believer or an atheist. Thus the Angel appeared to S. Peter as well as to the Centurion Cornelius,[3] and in each case he faithfully performed the service appointed him by God.

A ghost will naturally, if it is possible, appear to the person whom he has most loved whilst on earth, since this person will be readiest to carry out any behest or fulfil any wish then communicated by the departed.

But if it be an evil Spirit, *habet mille nocendi modos*,[4] who "*forms a thousand Ills ten thousand Ways*," yea, truly he has a thousand subtle fetches and foul tricks, and will again and again deceive simple and silly women. Even the best and most cautious may be ensnared, as was our first father, Adam, who listened to Eve, when she was beguiled by the Serpent. This evil Spirit goeth about seeking whom he may devour,[5] and should he chance to find a man, already of a melancholic and Saturnian humour, who on account of some great losses, or haply because he deems his honour tarnished, the demon here has a fine field to his hand, and he will tempt the poor wretch to depths of misery and depression, even it may be to deny God and curse his Creator. Thus, as Vincent of Beauvais relates in his *Speculum historiale*,[6] the devil tempted Theophilus to renounce the serving of God and stain his soul with disloyalty, but in a good hour, owing to the great devotion he had to Our Ever Blessed Lady, Mary most pure, he was delivered from Satan's chain.

Not very long ago it happened that a young scholar, a native of the district near Chartres, after he had been spending some time at home, was returning to Paris to complete his course. As he went on his way he met the devil, under the form of a gallant officer, who asked him why he seemed so sad and downcast, and why he went so heavily? The scholar replied that he had very good reason and enough to be unhappy and chagrined since owing to bad times and taxes his parents were now reduced to poverty and could

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not furnish him with the money necessary to maintain him at the University. The devil answered: "*I will succour you with as much money as you need, if you will assign yourself to me, body and soul.*" The scholar consented, and a deed was drawn up on these terms, whereby he was to be amply provided with wealth until such and such a time, when the evil one would come to fetch him away. Soon after, however, the scholar repented. One evening, when he was all alone in his own room at Paris, about seven o'clock, he fell on his knees and prayed earnestly. With a clap of thunder the evil Spirit appeared howling with rage, and seizing his prey, flung the miserable youth so violently against the wall that his brains were dashed out and scattered the floor. Those who rushed to the spot heard a horrible voice which cried: *He has been unfaithful to me, and a traitor to hell!* This sad story I heard from the lips of two doctors of the University of Paris, and one of these learned men also told it from the pulpit, on a Sunday in mid-August of the very year it happened. I was myself in Church.

In the *Rudimentum nouitiorum*[7] a similar account is given of the Count of Mâcon, who had devoted himself to Satan, and who was carried off by the devil bodily upon the day when the contract fell due. The unhappy wretch was booted and spurred, in full armour, and mounted on a war-horse, but the demon appeared and bore him away, willy nilly, through the air. When I was in the district of Lyons I made searching inquiries concerning this history, which has been handed down from father to son, and I am entirely satisfied that it is altogether true.

That a Spirit has the power to convey a body through the air is amply proven, and such transactions actually are not uncommon. The prophet Elias, Habacuc, S. Philip the Deacon, and the prophet Ezechiel were transported through the air by Angels. Our Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafed to suffer the devil to transport Him during the temptation in the wilderness.[8] S. Antivius, Archbishop of Besançon, was

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transported to Rome.[9] Simon Magus flew through the air by Satan's aid, as we learn from S. Maximus of Turin, Abdias, the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, the Apostolic Constitutions, Arnobius and other writers.[10]

Holy Scripture tells us that some men may see and hear things which other persons cannot discern. Thus it is written in the Fourth Book of Kings (A.V. II Kings) and the sixth chapter that the prophet Eliseus saw the mountain round about him full of horses and chariots of fire; but his servant saw nothing until Eliseus prayed, and said: *Lord, open his eyes, that he may see.* And the Lord opened the eyes of the servant, and he saw the heavenly host.

It is written also in the ninth chapter of the Acts, and again in the twenty-second chapter, that Our Lord before Damascus appeared to S. Paul, who fell to the ground, and Jesus spoke to him. "Now the men who went in company with him, stood amazed, hearing indeed a voice, but seeing no man." At Jerusalem, also, when the tribune Claudius Lysias allowed S. Paul to address the multitude from the stairs of the castle, and the Apostle related the history of his conversion, he said: "And they that were with me, saw indeed the light, but they heard not the voice of Him Who spoke with me." There is nothing at all contradictory in these two passages, for S. Paul's companions heard the sound of a voice, but they could not catch the words, and they knew not that Our Lord was speaking.

Plato writes that Socrates had a familiar who used to warn him against danger or scape but the philosopher never saw the Spirit, and nobody else either saw or heard him.[11]

As is well known, the clear unclouded vision of a child often perceives spiritual visitants whom older eyes cannot discern.

In all ages throughout history has it been recorded that disembodied Spirits have appeared, as well by day as night, but more often about midnight when a man wakes from his

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first sleep, and the senses are alert, having taken some repose. Moreover, they frequently appear on a Friday or a Saturday,[12] and on fasting-days, when we are disciplining ourselves and are (so to speak) less in touch with the world, secluding ourselves in prayer and meditation, examining our spiritual progress and repenting of our sins. As to the places where Spirits manifest themselves, there are no particular spots. They have been seen and heard in every circumstance. Chiefly, I ween, do they appear in places where in times past there have been horrid deeds, assassinations, riot and rape, or on battlefields, and again on spots where foul midnight murder has been done, by lonely gallows, in woods, and not unseldom even in Churches and Cloisters, near sepulchres and in graveyards, in prisons, old manor houses and castles, sometimes, too, in the shadow of stately palaces, such as are Gentilly, near Paris,[13] and the house in the Palace Vauvert, where now the Carthusians have their monastery, Notre Dame de Vauvert.[14]

S. Bonaventura, in his *Vita Sancti Patriarchae Francisci*,[15] says that the Saint desired his brethren to repair and pray in abandoned and forsaken churches, so that the evil Spirits might not be able to foregather in these holy but derelict shrines.

The philosopher Pythagoras, in his *Symbola*,[16] advises that on rising from sleep one should cover the bed with the quilt or blanket. He does not give any precise reason for this, but the commentators say that it is done in order that no unclean spirit may lie down and rest in the warm bed a man has just quitted, for incubi delight in occupying places where men have been.

This is alluded to and indeed proven by the Holy Scriptures. In the thirteenth chapter of Isaias God reveals the burden of Babylon, and He declares by the mouth of his prophet that Fauns, Satyrs, and the hairy ones shall dance in their palaces. In the thirty-fourth chapter the prophet, announcing the general judgement of the wicked and the destruction of the

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Gentiles, says that Syim and Iym shall meet in their palaces, their strongholds and pleasure-houses; that the hairy ones shall cry out one to another, that there shall Lamia lie down and find rest for herself.[17] Thus God permits that those places where heinous sinners have dwelled in the offence of Heaven should be plagued and haunted by evil Spirits.

Now these Spirits appear in very many forms and shapes, as is amply shown by the instances already given. Sometimes they even appear under the likeness of some individual who can at once be recognized, a man either still living, or it may be long since dead. Sometimes they appear in the likeness of a man, but a stranger.

Cunegundes, the wife of the Emperor Henry II, was suspected of adultery, and it was bruited that she had carnally given herself to a young gallant of the court. For this spruce juvenal was often espied privily to leave the bedchamber of the Empress. (Now it was not this youth, but a demon who had assumed his likeness.) The devout lady proved her innocence by the ordeal of walking over red-hot ploughshares, unhurt and unharmed, as Canon Albert Crantz relates in his *Metropolis*, the fifth chapter of the Fourth Book.[18]

Several times Spirits have appeared as women, tempting men to lust and venery. They also appear as four-footed animals, dogs, pigs, horses, goats, cats, hares, or again as birds, ravens, horned owls, or creeping beasts, such as snakes and serpents, which infest the dwellings of dwellers in tropic climes and are even worshipped and adored by the besotted natives.

Paolo Giovio, in his *Elogia Doctorum Uirorum*, says that Henry Cornelius Agrippa had a familiar in the shape of a black dog, which accompanied him everywhere.[19]

Abdias, in his *Apostolicae Historiae*, relates that Simon Magus was able to evoke a number of demons in the shape of fierce black bandogs whom he looed on to attack S. Peter, but at a sign from the Apostle, who displayed the Blessed Host, they vanished.[20]

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Joannes Ravisius Textor, in his *Officina*, says that Apuleius was surnamed Asinus, the ass, because he caused a Spirit to appear in this form.[21]

Disembodied Spirits, however, more often manifest themselves in their own proper mortal likeness than under any hideous or horrible aspect. Sometimes they are encountered on a high road as walking, or riding. It is true that it has been recorded that a ghost will appear in a flame of fire, very ghastly; or all covered with wounds and blood; or again horribly mangled with the bowels gushing out and ripped from the belly. Sometimes only a hand appears, or a shadowy form, or it may be some sign or token, some object dear to the departed, is indicated. Sometimes, indeed, the apparition seems like a bundle of blazing straw; or, again, merely a muffled voice is heard.

Ten years ago, more or less, at the friary of the Franciscans of the Strict Observance at Nice in Provence, certain supernatural events occurred when one of the community, Father Gabriel (whom I had myself known intimately while I was a member of that house) appeared to several Fathers of the house. His voice was plaintive and broken, almost a murmur and a sigh, muffled, as though he were speaking from a great distance. He said that he had not paid in full for the cloth of his habit which had been bought from a merchant of Marseilles who had given him credit, and that he could not rest until what was due was discharged. He was asked why, before his actual appearance, he had made so hideous a din and hubbub throughout the corridors, and he explained that it was not he, but an evil Spirit who had tried to prevent him from appearing, and wished to hinder him from communicating with his brethren on earth.

It is not at all surprising that this convent should be haunted, for it is built on the site of a very ancient house where Cemelenum[22] once stood, the old city. Spirits have indeed been heard walking up and down the corridors, turning over the leaves of books, seemingly the great elephant

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folios in the library, counting over money that rattled and chinked, moving tables and furniture about as though dusting the rooms. Not unseldom in houses great noises like sudden claps of thunder or the roar of distant artillery are heard, and this is not without danger, for some Spirits have the power to clutch persons by the dress or by the arm, nay, even to deal blows and tug men by the hair. Some have even been seriously injured and lamed owing to these molestations.

There resides in a country house about two leagues from Boulogne-sur-mer, a lady, the natural daughter of the Sieur de la Meronnière. This lady was actually assaulted and struck by a Spirit who screeched out: *I am your stepmother.* When she paid no heed at all to these manifestations, the Spirit even snatched up her child, swaddling-clothes and all, and cast him into the fire, in order to compel her to ask what it sought. The lady, however, persevered in ignoring these visitations, for she was convinced that it was a lying demon endeavouring to get in touch with her and entrap her, for the wife of her father, the Sieur de la Meronnière, had drowned herself in a creek of the sea. The lady then feared that the suicide must be lost, and she knew that Spirits do not thus return from perdition. But the Spirit, after many months of commotion and disturbance, revealed that she was of a verity the stepmother, who was not lost, inasmuch as she had taken her life when she was of unsound mind, and at the time she drowned herself she was distraught and not responsible. She entreated her relatives to go on certain pilgrimages for the benefit of her soul. This was done, since when all noises and manifestations have ceased.

Spirits, however, appear which have never worn a mortal body. Of these Olaus Magnus speaks in the eleventh chapter and Third Book of his *History* where he relates that in northern lands there are often seen spirits and phantoms, jigging and dancing, generally at night, to the music of bagpipes, flute and cornemeuse, and this sound is called by the natives, *Chorea Eluarum*, the dance of Elves.[23] Saxo

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Grammaticus, also, in his *Danish History*[24] mentions these dances of Spirits and of the dead. With this agrees the description given by Pomponius Mela in the Third Book of his Geography,[25] where, describing Ethiopia, he says that on those mysterious mountains of Mauretania, the Atlas range, lights have been seen, and the music of flutes and chiming bells is heard, but when the place is examined at daybreak there is no trace or vestige to be discerned. Solinus, too, in his *History*, chapter xxxvi,[26] speaks of the Aegipans (and these are also mentioned by Plutarch),[27] that is to say, men with goats' extremities, and he relates that they dance around these mountains, which is confirmed by Pliny in his *Natural History*, Book V, chapter i.[28] Now these can be none other than the Pans, Fauns, Silvans and Satyrs, of whom Latin and Greek authors make frequent mention.

S. Jerome in his Life of S. Paul, the first Hermit[29] of the Egyptian desert, relates that a Hippocentaur, just as described in the classical poets, met S. Antony, who also encountered in a remote and rocky valley, a little man, an ugly flat-nosed fellow, with horns on his forehead, and goat's feet. S. Antony, who as a valiant warrior of Christ, was always armed with the buckler of faith and the breastplate of hope, had no fear, so when this satyrisk approached him, in sign of kindly welcome the Saint gave him a handful of luscious dates. Moreover, being asked by the holy man who he was, the stranger replied: I am a mortal one of those dwellers in the desert whom poor pagan folk call Fauns, Satyrs, or Incubi, and whom they worship. I come as an envoy from my companions and my people to beseech thee to pray for us with the common Creator of us all, that God Who, it hath been told us, is come in the flesh to save the world. It is certain that S. Antony was not deceived by any evil sleight or trick, because he had discernment of Spirits, and he had been tempted—all in vain—by the devil, who plagued this great Saint with a thousand hellish annoys in a thousand ways. For as S. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, tells in the narrative

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which immediately follows,[30] demons appeared to S. Antony in the form of most hideous and loathly worms and dragons, also a cacodemon as a deformed child, black and grim; often, too, the evil spirits attacked him in the likeness of serpents, filling the whole place with their hissings and angry sibilations, smooring him with stench and venomous breath; goblin phantomical lions, horned oxen, wolves, bears, hydras, scorpions, ounces and pards, each one of which roared, bellowed, howled, gruntled, squealed and hissed after his kind, threatening the Saint with yells and shrieks, gnashing their teeth in rage that their master's temptations did nothing avail, and that they were mocked, powerless and contemned.

Nor must we omit that remarkable history which Plutarch relates in his book *Why Oracles cease to give Answers*, and which he tells in this wise: "As touching the death and departure of evil Daemons and Spirits I have heard it reported by a man who was no fool nor a vain lying person: and that was Epitherses, my fellow-citizen and a shrewd philosopher, the father of Aemilianus the oratour, whom some of you (I dare well say) have heard to plead and declaime. Epitherses, then, related that minding on a time to make a voyage by sea into Italy, he was embarqued in a ship fraught with much marchandize and having many passengers beside aboard. Now when it drew towards the evening, they happened to be calmed about the Isles Echinades; by occasion whereof their ship hulled with the tides until at length it was brought neere unto the Islands Paxae, whiles most of the passengers were awake, and many of them still drinking after supper; but then, all on a sudden there was heard a voice from one of the Islands of Paxae, calling aloud unto one Thamus, inasmuch as there was not one of all their company but he wondered thereat. Now this Thamus was a Pilot and a Aegyptian borne: but known he was not to many of those in the ship by that name. At the first two calles, he made no answere; but at the third time he obeied the voice, and answered:

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Here I am. Then he who spake, strained his voice and said unto him: When thou art come to Palodes, publish there and make it knowen: *That the Great Pan is Dead.* And as Epitherses made report unto us, as many as heard this voice were wonderfully amazed thereat, and entered into a discourse and disputation about the point, whether it were best to doe according to this commandment, or rather to let it passe and not curiously to meddle withall; but neglect it? As for Thamus of this mind he was and resolved: If the winde served, to saile by the place quietly and say nothing; but if the windes were laid and that there ensued a calme, to crie and pronounce with a loud voice that which he heard. Well, when they were come to Palodes aforesaid the winde was doune and they were becalmed, so as the sea was very stil without waves. Whereupon Thamus looking from the poupe of the ship towards the land, pronounced with a loud voice that which he had heard, and said: *The great Pan is dead.* He had no sooner spoken the word but there was heard a mighty noise, not of one but of many together, who seemed to groane and lament, and withall to make a great wonder. And as it falleth commonly out when as many be present, the newes thereof was soone spred and divulged through the city of Rome, in such sort as Tiberius Caesar the emperour sent for Thamus: and Tiberius verily gave so good credit unto his wordes, that he searched and inquired with all diligence who that Pan might be. Now the great clerks and learned men (of whom he had many about him) gave their conjecture that it might be he, who was the sonne of Mercurie by Penelope." [31]

Eusebius of Pamphylia of Caesarea tells this history in the seventeenth chapter and Fifth Book of his *Praeparatio Evangelica*,[32] and he also notes that in the reign of Tiberius Caesar many other marvels happened, for Our Lord Jesus Christ was then on earth, and men who were possessed by devils were set free, the evil spirits being driven forth from their bodies.

Paulus Marsus, in his Commentary upon the First Book

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of Ovid's *Fasti*,[33] says that this voice was heard at Paxos the night after Our Lord's Death and Passion, that is to say the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, in which year Jesus Christ was crucified, and this mysterious cry which came from the wilderness and from the desert places bare witness that Very God, Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, had suffered on the Cross. For *Pan* means All: and the Lord and Creator of the world and all Nature had been put to death.

To return to the nightly dances of Spirits and elves, it may be remarked that it is impossible to tell the thousand shapes under which familiars and Spirits may appear, for the Evil One, who has a myriad devices at his command, can transform and shift his shape even as fabled Proteus, whom the old poets and particularly Homer,[34] describe as changing swiftly from one form to another, now a flame of fire, now a beast of prey, now running water; just as Ovid, too, describes Achelous,[35] the suitor of Deianira, when he fought with Hercules, and Metra, daughter of Erysichthon,[36] to whom Neptune had given the power of changing her form as oft and as deftly as she would.

Now no demon is naturally male or female, for demons have no sex, and thus it follows that when they manifest themselves under first one shape and now another, displaying congruent passions and corresponsive lusts, the simple substance has invested itself with a number of accidents. Moreover, the bodies they assume are plastic, easy to mould and fashion, and can receive any form or likeness, colouring itself prismatically with as many hues as the chamelion, so that at one time a demon may appear as a man, then as a woman: or again a demon will roar like an enraged lion; bound and leap like a chamois; bark and bay like a dog; miaul and new like a gibcat; bleat and baa like a sheep; for in fine they can, with the utmost facility assume the image and fantastical likeness of any animal, or indeed of anything else just as serves their present purpose. These Spirits, Appari-

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tions, Phantoms—call them what you will—with frontless impudence put themselves, especially in remoter districts, in the way of travellers, whom they lead out of the path to wander and err. To such an extent indeed are poor folk alarmed and terrified that their hair turns white in a single night, so scared, I say, have they been, planet-struck and like to lose their wits.

S. John Chrysostom, in his Eighth Homily [87] to the people of Antioch, paints the dangers of darkness. Night with her veil of gloom covers and conceals the face of the earth, shrouding from our eyes all that is lovely and fair in the golden sunshine, the beauty and thousand comely forms of Nature which speak joy to the heart and mind of man. Nay, goblin fears are brought in her train, for those very objects in which we have taken pleasure and delight often assume such strange and unwonted shapes in the murk that our very hair rises on our heads. In the half-light a man seeing a writhen cord may take it for an envenomed snake; he may suppose his most intimate friend coming upon him suddenly to be his mortal foe, and often if he hears the least noise, even the rustling of a leaf, he shivers with fear when all is so mysterious and shadowed. Soothly we are by no means ill-advised when night draws swiftly darkling on, to be on our guard against unfamiliar sights and sounds.

It is well known that Spirits often contrive to render a man's nights sick and sleepless by their malice. They will even so infest houses that those who dwell there are bound to leave, not without considerable loss in pocket and often injury to health as well. These demons or sprites will upset furniture; bastinado, nip, thump and batoon persons, throwing stones and tiles at them; holding doors and jamming them so fast that it is impossible to open them; marauding high and low throughout the whole house, endamaging property and perilously molesting men and women, even sometimes (if so God permits) endangering life and limb.

Some ghosts of a particularly evil kind can wreak terrible

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hurt and harm, for they strike those who see them with a blast of pestilential wind,[38] and then these unfortunate folk find that their lips crack and swell, their faces puff out all flabber and bloated, and it has been known that they are driven frantic with fear. Sometimes, too, the night-fiends or pookas torment and beset cattle grazing in the fields, and drive them helter-skelter in vain headlong panic.

It were superfluous to tell at length the tale of their mischiefs and malice, since there is nobody who either has not by experience tasted, or else from others heard something of, their devilments.

CHAPTER XVI

It is asked whether Spirits may be said to have any kind of Body?

THE Prince of Philosophers, Aristotle, who has most exactly inquired into and nicely examined the Nature of Things, lays down and proves by natural reasons that those Spirits who have come within the scope of his knowledge are immaterial and have no sort of body save a mere elemental form, for, according to his showing, a material force must be proportioned to the body which it energizes and moves. If, then, the Intelligences which move the Heavens were corporeal and embodied, their bodies must have been created in proportion to the celestial bodies, nay, even to the highest heaven, which we term the *Primum mobile*, which is the outermost sphere, carrying with it the eight (or nine) contained spheres, and beyond which is only the empyrean. Now if Spirits were created upon such a scale and in such proportions they would be of vastest size beyond all ken of man, monstrous and most titan giants, which we must not for a moment dare

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to predicate of these noble, excellent, and pure things. They move the Heavens, then, as our rational soul is the locomotory force of our bodies, energizing and directing it by the will which the body obeys, provided that the impulse be in proportion to the natural strength and size of the body.

Plato has taken some high flights here, but he falls into error and mistakes. For it would seem that he had dipped into the Mosaic scriptures,[1] and reading the words with absolute literalness he writes that exalted spirits have a very subtile body of fine fire or of tenuous air, presumably basing upon Psalm ciii, v. 4, where it is said: Who makest Thy Angels spirits: and Thy Ministers a burning fire. He also perchance had in view the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, v. 21, where it is said of the Angel who guided Israel through the wilderness: And the Lord went before them to shew the way by day in a Pillar of a Cloud, and by night in a Pillar of Fire. Of Mount Sinai also it is said that behold thunders began to be heard, and lightnings to flash, and a very thick cloud to cover the mount, and the noise of a trumpet exceeding loud, And all Mount Sinai was on a smoke: because the Lord was come down upon it in fire, and the smoke arose from it as out of a furnace: and all the mount was terrible.[2] In the tabernacle of Moses was a propitiatory of purest gold, and there were two cherubims of beaten gold, on the two sides of the oracle. These cherubims, in the forms of comely youths, covered both sides of the propitiatory, spreading their wings, and covering the oracle, and looking one towards the other, their faces being turned towards the propitiatory.[3]

When the prophet Elias went up by a whirlwind into heaven, behold a fiery chariot and fiery horses parted him from Eliseus, as they were both walking together by the Jordan.[4]

Plato, then, did not understand that in the Bible ineffable mysteries are revealed and spoken of by metaphors which man's intelligence can fittingly grasp and comprehend. Accordingly if Angels are described as having wings, and

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clothed with the whirlwind or with fire, this merely signifies that they are prompt and ready to do God's command, as David tells us in the one hundred and second Psalm, v. 20, that the Angels are mighty in strength, and execute the word of the Lord, hearkening to the voice of His orders.

Even the old pagans derived similar metaphors from us, when they painted Mercury with winged cap and sandals; Jupiter enthroned on a cloud; their god Helios driving his steeds of the sun and seated in a fiery chariot with four wheels of flame, even as the prophet Elias was taken up to heaven.

Cassian in the second chapter of his Tenth Collation,[5] speaks of the heresy of the Anthropomorphists who erred, even as Plato, in that they held God has a body, since they could not conceive of anything living that was bodiless, and they sought to prove by Holy Scripture that God has eyes, ears, a head, hands, feet, and other members. But if God had a body, as they imagine, His body (with reverence be it spoken) would be of an immense size and magnitude. Moreover, let us consider that the soul has a body, and when death divides body and soul, the former is motionless, inert, without life, and presently falls to corruption. Therefore, when God is spoken of as having parts and passions, it must clearly be borne in mind that all this is a metaphor of hearing, knowing, seeing and understanding, drawn from the human body for man to comprehend. In the same way we explain that passage in Tertullian,[6] who says that God has a body, not a material body, but that God is a Supreme Reality, Who is able to do whatsoever He will. Moses, in the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy, v. 5, speaks of God as a fire—for you feared the fire—because God revealed Himself to the patriarch in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush (Exodus iii, 2), and in fire upon Mount Sinai. Yet we must not assert that Spirits have a body of air or fire. And in the same way as we have just explained must we understand S. Augustine, who, writing in his *De Trinitate*, III, xi, 22–27, of the theophanies recorded in Scripture, gives as his opinion that when

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Almighty God is said to have appeared "uoces illae ac species corporales per Angelos factae sunt," *Angels, God's messengers, spoke and were seen in bodily form.*[7]

S. Bernard, in his *Sermons upon Canticles*,[8] tells us that when Angels appear to us they manifest themselves in human bodies proportionate to our human faculties of understanding and vision.

Lactantius [9] writes that God has created many things which we do not see but only perceive with other senses, not by the medium of the eye, such as the ambient air, the wind, sweet fragrances and odours. Hence we may learn that we cannot see Spirits save when they present themselves to us in embodied raiment. Whence Spirits may in one sense be said to have bodies on occasion to meet our needs.

Apuleius [10] maintained that Spirits actually possess an aerial body. But he mistakes, and profoundly mistakes, for he does not consider that these bodies would be corruptible, for air can be dissipated and evanesce, whereas God has created the Angels and other Spirits immortal. The opinion of this Philosopher and his disciples who teach that Spirits have an aerial body seems to be founded upon the fact that they are the legions of the air, against whom we have to fight; and, indeed, Spirits can in one sense so be termed aerial, inasmuch as they have neither flesh nor bones. This is explained by S. Jerome, in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, vi, 12 [11]: Our wrestling is against the spirits of wickedness in the high places; *in cælestibus*, as S. Jerome explains, not in Heaven, because there are no evil spirits in Heaven, but in the air above us. And in another place, Ephesians ii, 2, S. Paul calls Satan "the prince of the power of the air."

Which is sooth, but Tertullian, in his treatise *De carne Christi*,[12] would have us remark that Abraham washed the feet of the Angels who appeared to him; that these Angels took Lot by the hand and brought him forth out of Sodom, compelling him; that Jacob wrestled all night long with an

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Angel, who touched the sinew of his thigh and it shrank, so that thenceforth he halted on his foot. Tertullian himself answers the question he has posed, and replies that Angels are able to assume bodies, but since these bodies are transitory, not permanent, they cannot justly be termed perfect bodies.

Satan tempted Eve in the body of a serpent.[13] This body must have been formed out of one of the four elements, and it was formed out of air. Now only a complete asinego would be so foolish as to suppose that Angels have the bodies of serpents.

Michael Psellus, in the Seventh Chapter of his *De Dæmonum Operatione*,[14] argues that Spirits, and so Evil Spirits, truly have bodies, else they could not suffer in hell fire, and in the next chapter he goes on to say that these bodies are extremely subtile, so that if they are cut in twain they re-unite and coalesce, just as atoms or dust of the air dancing in the sunshine. That merry mad japer Rabelais [15] says that the din, garboil and outcry, heard in battle at the shock of opposing armies, is but the shrieking and shouting and plangorous black sanctus of aerial demons, whose bodies are cut and slashed into ribbons which immediately re-unite and are whole.

To Psellus we reply that if Spirits may be said to have bodies, these are not their own bodies, proper to their nature, but rather forms and coverings and envelopes of air. As to the punishment of fire, this flame is not material, and it is in God's power to punish a Spirit by fire.

In fine we may note that there is an Antithesis between Body and Spirit, and if a thing is wholly material it cannot be purely spiritual. The contrary also holds good. This is proven by what Our Lord said to the Apostles when He stood in their midst and they supposed they saw a Spirit: *See My hands and feet, that it is I Myself; handle, and see: a Spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see Me to have.*[16]

Certain Stoic philosophers differentiate, and suggest that

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some Spirits have a body, and others have not. It is those who have a body which appear to men and there result amazing phenomena. We have clearly shown, however, that Spirits possess no real body, albeit they may assume a body to manifest themselves to men. For it is very certain that Spirits can insinuate themselves into the most material compact and preponderable hyle; they can enter and possess the bodies of man, dead or alive; and these they can move and energize, directing them and tormenting them, making such bodies perform unnatural and extraordinary feats. S. Jerome [17] tells us that evil spirits observe seasons and watch the changes and the influences of the moon on men, whom they then vex and besiege, and they will stir up melancholic humous enough in a mortal body to damp and dullen a man's heart.

If Spirits invest themselves in an aerial body they only assume it, they do not permanently incorporeate and incorpse themselves in it, and they have not the same relation to it as our soul has to our body; for there is no unity, no vital connexion, as there was of the divine nature with the human nature when the Son of God became Man, and the Word was made flesh. For these Spirits can abandon such a body when they choose; it is only a vehicle, and, as the schoolmen say, they are only so far in that body as they are not elsewhere. In the Old Testament it is recorded that God appeared in certain forms. And He was definitively in these forms, but not circumscriptively, for He is everywhere.

Spirits then, as S. Augustine says in that passage of his *De Trinitate*, which we have quoted above, only clothe themselves with a body when they wish to appear, and they wear it as a garment.

S. John Chrysostom writes in his *First Homily on the Patience of Holy Job*,[18] that it was no man who came as a messenger to the Patriarch announcing how a violent wind had blown down the house crushing his children to death, but an evil spirit or some familiar who assumed the form of

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and feigned himself to be a rascal lackey and slipstring grison. *For*, asks the Saint shrewdly, *if thou wert a man how didst thou know the wind blew from the desert? And if thou wast in the house to learn all these sudden calamitous accidents, how comes it thou wast not overwhelmed and slain with the rest?*

The consensus of authorities is that Spirits fashion bodies for themselves from the air, and there is some connexion between the element in which they swarm and dwell, and the ether they take for their vesture when they appear. (May not S. Jude's words, "clouds without water, which are carried about by winds,"[19] aptly be referred to evil spirits?) These aerial bodies, then, which they assume are exceedingly light, thin and rare, and even should these envelopes be severed, sabled and gashed, the magnetic particles at once re-unite and join again. Now if these demons were earthy and terrestrial, assuredly they could have some property of solidity; if they were aqueous they would flow and trill away; if they were igneous, they could neither be touched by men, nor could they be burned.

Some authors are inclined to believe that when men see a Spirit or phantom, what appears to be the body of this spectrum is wholly subjective, a figment of the imaginative faculty. It is argued against this that it cannot be generally true, inasmuch as it is known that many persons at once have beheld an apparition, and a number of individuals could not all at the same moment be collectively deceived in the same way. When three men visited Abraham in the Vale of Mambre,[20] and he washed their feet, and set before them butter and milk, and cakes, and a very tender and very good calf, boiled meat, and attended them at their repast while they ate, not only he but his servants who also ministered to them saw the three strangers, who took food and drank sensibly. Moreover, when the two Angels came to Lot they were seen by Lot's wife and daughters, and Lot made them a feast, and baked unleavened bread and they ate. Nay, moreover, they were seen and observed by the citizens of Sodom.

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The Bible proves then that at such times Spirits appear to men in bodily form these bodies are objective and not fantastical. It was a Spirit, the devil, who entered into the serpent to tempt Eve. Abraham and Lot were in no wise deluded by any glamour or feigned show of forms. They actually touched the bodies of the Angels, and the Angels again grasped Lot firmly and held him forcibly, constraining him when they were hurrying him out of Sodom, for it is said they took his hand and the hand of his wife, and of his two daughters.[21]

When Our Divine Lord ascended, and the disciples were beholding him going up to heaven, two Angels appeared in white garments, who said: *Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven?* [22] Nobody could be so frontless in impudence and blasphemy as to say that all these appearances were illusion or imaginary. Even the Marcionites and modern Docetae, steeped in error as they are, have never dared to question the truth of these appearances or to assert that they were vain and empty phenomena, but these Gnostics have rather cast about for some other explanation and have discoursed of hermetic secrets of Nature, celestial radiances and astral asomatry.

To sum up the whole matter it is determined that the bodies of Spirits in which they appear are aerial bodies. For just as water congeals to ice, and crystallizes clear, so the circumambient air which surrounds these Spirits inspissateth to a visible body. If the air in itself does not suffice they can mingle some other crassity, a vapour, a mist, or water, whereby they colour and complexion this body, just as we see in the case of the rainbow, typified by Iris, of whom Vergil poetically writes in his Fourth Æneid: [23]

> Downward the various Goddess took her flight;
> And drew a thousand Colours from the Light.

We need not, of course, endow spiritual beings (whether Good Angels or bad) with corporeal members and sarcous parts of the human frame such as lungs, a heart, or a belly

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and entrails, for they do not assume these bodies to energize them permanently and to live in and by them, but only as vehicles and shapes in which suitably to manifest themselves to mortal eyes. It is true that when thus clothed they eat and drink, but they do not take food to sustain their existence; they manducate awhile only as a clinching proof that they are real, and thus we may more readily accept the message God permits or ordains them to convey. Our Lord Jesus Christ after His Resurrection ate with His disciples, as S. Luke tells us, xxiv, 36–43. S. Augustine writes in his three hundred and sixty-second Sermon, *On the Resurrection from the Dead*,[24] that Our Lord then ate, not from any need or necessity, but because it was His will so to do. The holy doctor employs a striking metaphor in this passage: The earth in one way absorbs the rain; in another the rays of the sun. The water is bound to sink into the earth; the rays of the sun penetrate it by their power and strength. Risen bodies would not be perfect and complete if they were unable to eat; but if there were need for them to eat, they would be imperfect. Jesus Christ ate, not by necessity but from choice, and He showed that He was able so to do in order that His disciples might not imagine He was a Spirit. Likewise we believe that pure Spirits, who are sent to men and who appear, eat because it establishes a certain contact and confidence. Ghosts, however, that is disembodied Spirits, have no body and cannot satisfy material needs, although they can hear, see, love, understand, emotions and functions which pure Spirits also feel and perform. Yet, notwithstanding that by the separation of the soul from the body the disembodied Spirit cannot satisfy material needs, yet a ghost can come and go, as God permits. If Almighty God, then, allows a soul to appear to living men that soul will take such a body as the Angels employ when they manifest themselves. And both Angels and disembodied Spirits are able to assume such bodies by the power, under the direction, at the pleasure and goodwill of Almighty God, the Lord and Father of all.

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CHAPTER XVII

Why Spirits Appear to Men

After the great battle in Heaven, of which S. John speaks in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse, the blessed Archangel S. Michael having won a great victory, with his Angel hosts entered triumphant into celestial palaces, whilst the old serpent, the seducer, Satan, was cast into the bottomless pit with his rebel angels. Whence comes it then if we are bound to believe that the Angels are in Heaven, as the Bible tells us, we also firmly hold and are persuaded that here on earth there are Angels, whom God has charged to watch over kingdoms, and provinces, to guard men lest they dash their feet against a stone.[1] The Angels go to and fro from Heaven to earth, ascending and descending, God's Messengers, for this is why they are called Angels (ἄγγελος, messenger). As for the evil Angels, although they are all irrevocably consigned to the bottomless pit, nevertheless they are not all strictly confined below in this dispensation, for God permits evil Spirits to hover abroad in the foul and murky air, and they bring hell to earth. After the thousand years be finished, Satan must be loosed a little time, and by God's permission, he shall go forth and seduce the nations.[2]

We are told in the eighth chapter and third verse of Tobias that the Archangel S. Raphael took the devil Asmodeus, and bound him in the desert of upper Egypt. Whereby we learn that God sometimes imprisons evil Spirits and confines them to one spot, so that they are held there in His own divine Providence, for when the Scripture says in several places that Satan is bound or loosed it signifies that God either restrains him or suffers him to go free. Spirits then

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can only come and go as God permits, and who can prevent souls appearing from Heaven, purgatory or hell if God allow it? At the same time we may of course make some distinction and understand the matter clearly. When we say that the Spirits of the dead return we do not mean that they return permanently, but only for a while. Spirits will never return to earth to sojourn here, whether they come from Heaven or from hell, for these two states are everlasting and eternal, and they will come back from neither for good and all. But there is no theological reason, no philosophical argument to dispute the fact that they may come back, either to give those whom they have left behind intelligence of some all-important fact, to comfort or to warn them. Nor can they come back to us when and just as they please, for the apparitions which are enabled to manifest themselves and the visions vouchsafed are wholly under the will of God and the workings of Divine Providence.

Firstly, then, souls may appear to counsel men in something which God would have them know for their soul's health, as when the souls of the Blessed Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul directed Constantine the Great what he must do in order to be cleansed from his spiritual and bodily leprosy, as Nicephorus Callistus writes at length in the thirty-third chapter and Seventh Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*.[3] Thus S. John Evangelist and S. Philip the Apostle appeared to the Emperor Theodosius, as Theodoret tells us in the twenty-fourth chapter of his Fifth Book,[4] and the *Historia Tripartita* in the Ninth Book, chapter xlv.[5] S. Jerome appeared to S. Augustine, admonishing him that it were a sleeveless task did he attempt to describe the Eternal Glory of Heaven, since it passeth man's understanding. S. Augustine himself recounts this in his Letter to S. Cyril of Jerusalem.[6]. Rufinus, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book X, chapter iv, and Socrates, Book I, chapter xii, relates that Spiridion had a daughter named Irene, into whose charge a cousin-german of her father's had committed a casket of very great value. She conceived the idea

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of hiding it for greater security in the earth, but a little while after she suddenly died. Almoſt immediately upon her decease the intimate who had entruſted her with his ſtore returning home presently demanded the box from Irene's father, at firſt with a requeſt and entreaties, but later, being disappointed, with threats and menaces. The good old man, who could not but be aware that this loss meant much to his friend, betook him to his daughter's tomb and prayed Almighty God that he might be permitted to see and speak with his dead child even before they were re-united on the Day of Reſurrection. His fervent supplication was forthwith heard, for the maiden his daughter appeared to him, juſt as she was whilſt she had been alive, informed him of the exact spot where she had concealed the casket, and then peaceably returned to her own place.

S. Auguſtine relates a not dissimilar event in his eighty-eighth Epiſtle,[7] where a certain wanton youth and bardash named Spes accused the prieſt Boniface of lewdly handling and entering his body. Unable to discover the truth of the matter S. Auguſtine bade them both repair to the shrine of S. Felix of Nola, and by a miracle with a vision of the Saint the prieſt's good name was cleared.

Plato, in the Tenth Book of the *Republic*, writes that Er, the son of Armenius, appeared after his death and admonished many people how the good were rewarded and wicked men punished after their deeds.

There also appeared after death a man named Enarchus, of whom Plutarch tells.[8]

Ariſtotle, speaking of a certain Eudemus, says that whilſt he was returning from a town of Thessaly, named Pherae, he fell grievously sick and lay even at death's door. Whilſt he was almoſt in his agony there ſtood by the bed a fair and moſt comely young man, who assured him that he would recover from his disease and reach home sain and sound, moreover that he would live for a space of five years, but no longer.[9]

In the second place, Spirits appear to men in order to

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terrify and alarm them, and especially do they thus upbraid and urge evil-doers and the guilty. At the moment of death, ill hap, demons appear to the dying in order to plunge them into blackness and reprobation; but, on the other hand, good Angels also appear to comfort, encourage, and console.

S. Augustine, in the eighth chapter and Twenty-second Book *Of the City of God*,[10] tells how Spirits made a great hubbub and garboil in the house of a certain Hesperius, who in order to free himself from their molestations was obliged to send for a priest to offer up the Most Holy and Adorable Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Pliny the younger, in his Twenty-seventh Epistle of his Seventh Book, mentions a Spirit that manifested itself, seeking for an honourable and decent sepulture for its body.[11]

S. Ambrose, in his fifteenth Epistle, says that Acholius appeared in order to reveal the great reward and most sweet rest he was enjoying after his labours.[12]

Finally, God, according to His Divine Will and as His inscrutable Providence directs, causes and permits Spirits to appear, and suffers them to show themselves in divers shapes and fashions in order to do His bidding and fulfil His command. It is true that Almighty God needs no creature He has made to do Him service, seeing He can do all things, whatsoever likes Him, in a flash by the mere exercise of His sovran Will; but on account of His love to men and since He knoweth that His good and faithful servants are ever eager to be diligent in His service, He vouchsafeth that Spirits shall minister to us, and shall do the task of His messengers to His people. If we wander astray and incline to evil paths He will correct and chastise us by good Spirits as well as by demons; if we are disconsolate, lonely and sad He will console us by His holy Angels [13] or by the vision of His Saints who have gone before, as we have already demonstrated and explained, and as S. Ambrose bears witness in his Life of S. Agnes,[14] a testimony often confirmed by very many and weighty authors.

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CHAPTER XVIII

How it may be known whether the Spirits who Appear are Good or Bad Angels, or the Souls of the Departed

THE Bible tells us that when Angels appeared under various forms they admonished, encouraged, defended and delivered men from danger, dehorting them from evil, and punishing the wicked. Very frequent instances of this occur, and they are all so well known it is hardly necessary to particularize and recount them here. Angels sometimes appeared in a dream or vision, and again sometimes executed their message in a human shape of mortal man. It may be that not unseldom the visions which were seen by holy Fathers of old, and which it was piously believed were the appearance of such a one or such another Saint, were in truth glorious manifestations of Angels, as the early Christians thought, for we read in The Acts that when S. Peter knocked at the door of the house of Mary, mother of John Mark, those within said: *It is his Angel.*[1] The Archangel S. Raphael said to Tobias: *I am Azarias the son of the great Ananias*, and Azarias he was for some while thought to be.[2] Thus an Angel might be supposed to be a disembodied Spirit; and contrariwise a disembodied Spirit might be mayhap believed to be an Angel.

The Ecclesiastical Historians, Sozomen, Socrates, and the rest tell us how Angels have often appeared in human figure and have been taken for mortal men. The Byzantine Annals [3] relate that the Emperor Arcadius left at Constantinople with his army a Goth, named Gaïnas. This Gaïnas, who was a black traitor, plotted to seize the city and usurp the throne, wherefore he dispatched some of his barbarians by night to

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fire the Imperial Palace, but when this band drew near the ſtately edifice they saw before them a multitude of armed men of immense ſtature, and they returned to inform Gaïnas that fresh troops had arrived. He forthwith sent others to execute his orders, but these also returned with the same report. At laſt he went himself, and found what his soldiers had said was exactly true, whereupon he abandoned his fell design, and thus God miraculously delivered Conſtantinople from so perfidious a tyrant, and there can be no doubt that these warriors were Angels and Saints who had come from Paradise to succour the faithful, and protect God's own people, juſt as the patriarch Jacob and the prophet Elias were preserved from death and harm by Angels.[4]

Almighty God, Who loves us more dearly than a mother loves her sucking-child, has again and again sent the Holy Angels to protect His chosen. S. Paul in the firſt chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews says that the Angels are all miniſtering spirits, sent to miniſter for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation. In the thirty-third Psalm David says: The Angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him: and shall deliver them. The Prophet Daniel tells us that Principalities and Kingdoms each have a several Angel Guardian, by whom God preserves them and defends them againſt their foes.[5] The hoſts of Archangels and Angels protect the whole human race from the malice of Satan, and each individual man has a particular Angel Guardian. Our Lord Jesus Chriſt in the eighteenth chapter of the Gospel according to S. Matthew tells us that young children have each one a Good Angel Guardian: See that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven. It is not, of course, meant that the Angels are always in Heaven contemplating God, but Our Lord spoke of the Angels as of domeſtic servants who here on earth are attentive to the nod and beck of a maſter or miſtress, and so the Angels are always ready and quick to

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obey their Master, Our Saviour Christ. S. Jerome, in his *Commentary on S. Matthew* xviii, 10,[6] says that whensoever God creates a human soul He appoints and charges an Angel to watch over and guard it.

All the Fathers and Catholic Doctors are of the same opinion, and thus disprove the blind errors of Bodin in his *Demonomania*,[7] and Calvin in his *Harmonie*[8] (chapter xvi, upon S. Luke), who are both audacious enough to write that it is not certain that each man has a Guardian Angel, and it is very evident they only pretend this and dispute in order to do away with our prayers and devotions to the Holy Angels and our Prayers for the Dead.

We will more amply prick and dispel these bubbles and delusions of Bodin and Calvin at another opportunity. Suffice to say that the teaching of the Catholic Church is that God has given His Angels charge concerning the human race, to defend them from the wiles and slights of Satan, and to present their souls before Him when they have died. Now if disembodied Spirits have some business they yet yearn to do upon earth, it may be asked do they themselves return on this quest or are their Angels deputed in their place? For we know how frequently learned Doctors and Historians have written of the Visions of Apostles, Bishops, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and other Saints, long since dead and departed from this corruptible world. Such have appeared to men; conversed with them; warned; counselled; replied to questions, giving just and shrewdly penetrating answers; have bidden men do such and such a thing or refrain from some other plan or design. Often Spirits have been both seen and heard who are judged to be the Souls of the Departed who appear in order to help and assist those whom they may aid and encheer, or again who manifest themselves asking help, some spiritual benefits or consolation, and when this has been afforded they have returned anew and gratefully thanked those who have succoured them. Sometimes, after his death a husband has returned at night to his wife and

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spoken with her. Some also have warned their surviving friends or relatives of an impending calamity, and suggested how it may be best balked and averted.

Some persons suppose that these Spirits are not actually the Souls of the Departed, who (they say) are in the place appointed to them, in Heaven or in hell, whence there is no return, and accordingly if the vision be not (as is likelier far) mere sick fantasy and the idle imagining of a weak brain or intellects disordered by fear or some other emotion, or if, again, it be not a trick and subtle cozenage, or indeed a phenomenon proceeding from some natural cause (all of which possibilities we have discussed at length), well, then, these apparitions must be either Good or bad Angels, or something else commanded and allowed by God.[9]

The Jewish Rabbis[10] have written that Adam, the first parent of us all, had a Good Angel named Raziel; and Sem the eldest son of Noe, had a Guardian Angel, Jophiel. Abraham, father of the faithful, was protected by the Angel Zachiel,[11] whom Moses mentions in Genesis xii.[12] The Angel of Jacob was Pelia. The Archangel S. Gabriel was the protector of Joseph, whom he found wandering in the field near Sichem and directed to his brothers, the sons of Jacob, at Dothain.[13] The Guardian Angel of Moses was Metraton.[14] The Angel of the Prophet Elias was Malthiel. The Angel of S. Peter delivered him from the prison of Herod.[15] S. John Evangelist was in the sacred charge of a high Angel, who revealed to him the celestial Mysteries he has written in the Apocalypse. S. Agnes, S. Cecilia, S. Lucy, and other Saints[16] saw and conversed familiarly with their Angels, and there can be no doubt at all that if we live a spiritual life, walking with God and utterly despising this world, our Guardian Angels will visibly manifest themselves to us, just as, conversely, their dark familiars appear to and consort with warlocks and magicians.

These Angels, who are our Guardians, most certainly can and do appear, but in my opinion they never manifest them-

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selves as though they were disembodied Spirits, or to be taken for ghosts. At any rate S. Augustine will not have it so, and in his treatise *De Spiritu et Anima*,[17] he does not unreservedly pronounce on the subject, which again he will not decide in his one hundred and second Epistle.[18] S. Gregory Nazianzen distinctly says in the Oration he delivered on the occasion of the Obsequies of his brother Caesarius,[19] that he had often seen him in vision since death. I would poise this question, too: What is an Angel but a Spirit?[20] God, then, will cause Spirits to do His Will, even as He commands Angels. This wholly accords with the doctrine of S. Jerome, who when writing against the heretic Vigilantius,[21] asks of him: Canst thou doubt that the Holy Martyrs live and actively pray for us, and that they often appear at their own blessed shrines—(whom some have deemed Angels)—and can it be questioned that they have healed many sick and infirm? And if they return they are yet in full enjoyment of the vision of God, for God is not bounded by accidents or dimensions. He is everywhere, All-powerful, All-good, infinite and transcendent. Amen; thus it is. Wherefore S. Jerome instructs us that the Saints do manifest themselves and have worked miracles innumerable.

Ludwig Lavater,[22] a protestant pastor of Zurich, says that of old it was openly taught both from the pulpit and in theological tractates that the Spirits which men see and hear were either Good or evil Angels, or else the disembodied souls of those in paradise, purgatory or perdition; that most frequently they asked for some spiritual help which was accorded, and so they were released from purgatory. This protestant minister says that Catholics prove their opinion by ten arguments. First (quoth he) they acknowledge that as a natural course the souls of the faithful are in bliss, and the souls of wicked men in bale, detained in such states until the Day of Judgement, and they cannot come hither or go thither. But it is possible, certes, for Almighty God to permit and allow souls to appear in order that they may admonish or

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warn men. Samuel, after his death, appeared to King Saul. Moses, who was long since dead, and Elias who had been charioted to heaven in dazzling glory and flame, appeared talking with Our Lord Jesus Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration and were seen of the three Apostles. Lazarus of Bethany, raised from the dead, returned to his own former home. Many others, too, who were raised by Our Lord Jesus Christ, by His Apostles and the Prophets aforetime, walked and talked once more amid mortal men. When Our Lord Jesus Christ expired upon the Cross "the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose, And coming out of the tombs after His Resurrection, came into the holy city, and appeared to many." [23] Likewise when Our Lord came to them after His Resurrection the disciples thought they saw a Spirit, whether it was the Spirit of Our Lord or some other.[24]

In fine, protestants contemn the opinions and ruling of the Supreme Pontiffs and of Councils. The authority of the Pope they spurn; what wonder then they keck at the received report and general conviction of mankind that ghosts appear and may return? This protestant writer runs clean contrary to common sense; he muddies and obscures any passage of authority which speaks of the return of Spirits; he ignores all proof, and it may perchance be well to deal in ampler fashion with his errors in order that his bumbast fallacies may all the more clearly be evinced and the more sturdily disproved.

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CHAPTER XIX

Wherein it is shown that God can very well cause Disembodied Spirits to Appear in order that they may Admonish Men

Our opponents fall into two very gross and grave errors, which (as they pretend) they derive from the Holy Scriptures. The first is when they assert that God can do nothing contrary to Nature. The second is when with a subtle shift and double quirk they declare that since God has forbidden us to seek to the dead and (inquire of them,[1] He assuredly would not permit souls to return.

The first error is the fatal poison and bitter blasphemies of modern Stoics, who as the Stoics of old (and this the Calvinist Pierre Viret perforce alloweth in his *Christian Instruction*)[2] are of opinion indeed that God made and formed His creatures, but they have—so to speak—entangled and interwoven Him so with the order of Nature that (with reverence be it spoken) He is in bonds and sans liberty or power. Apparently they do not realize that however God may have ordered Nature in the normal course of happenings He is by no means constrained thereto, for He has made the law and He can vary the law, nor is He dependent upon or obliged by any. Albeit that it pleaseth Him to follow the natural order, nevertheless nothing so easy as for Him to alter and divert this order when He listeth, to moderate and deviate it, to make it serve His pleasure just as He desires, of which, certes, we have instances in every miracle the Bible records. Pierre Viret is bound to observe that those who thus limit God (*sit venia verbis*) cannot believe that He is the Creator of all things and Father Almighty, for they deprive Him of and minish His power.

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If God cannot reverse the natural order we must reject the history of Josue, at whose prayer the sun stood still for the space of one day.[3] God by the prophet Isaias caused the sun to return ten times by the degrees by which it was gone down;[4] at the apparition of an Angel he opened the mouth of Balaam's ass and she spoke;[5] He made a dry rod break and burgeon into blossom and flower;[6] iron to swim upon the water;[7] fire to be without the property of burning and consuming.[8] The power of the Lord hath not waxed weak by the passage of years neither is His hand shortened and become little.[9] He still concerns Himself to-day, as in ages past, with the welfare of man. He has changed, and doubtless in His good pleasure He will again change the natural order of events. In days gone by He has caused and permitted the souls of the dead to appear; what He hath once done He may well do again, not twice nor yet thrice but so often and when He will. Daily, when the soul is separated from the body by death, He causes man's immortal part to go hence, wherefore then cannot He cause man's immortal part to return hither? It hath pleased Him so to do; He can, and He will.

Now our opponents in most evil mood boldly say God cannot and will not. They hardly scruple to fling abroad sundry texts and phrases from Scripture and the Fathers, the which (they feign) contradict and oppose our teaching. They deny God's omnipotence, and spout S. Paul, Hebrews vi, 18: *It is impossible for God to lie.* S. Ambrose, in the thirty-seventh Epistle of his Fifth Book, writing to Chromatius,[10] says: What is impossible to Almighty God? That which is contrary to His Being. It is impossible for God to lie. This impossibility is not owing to any limitation, but is due to His Omnipotence, Majesty and Power. S. Jerome, writing to S. Eustochium in his Book of the Praise of Virginity,[11] says: I will dare to aver and avow that God (to Whom all things are possible) will not make a fallen woman a pure maiden again. S. Augustine, in the tenth

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chapter and Fifth Book *Of the City of God*,[12] says that God can neither die nor be deceived. S. Theodoret says that God cannot sin.[13] To understand these passages aright let us turn to S. Augustine, with whom I reply that to utter a lie, to contradict essential being, to die, to sin, and other imperfections and vices are not incident to Supreme Power, but to human weakness, wherefore the Infinite and Supreme Power of God is all the more clearly manifest in that He will not suffer such weakness; for there would then be defects in a Being Who of His Essence is All-good, All-Holy, All-Powerful, All-Perfect. God, then, can do whatsoever pleaseth Him, but He will not contradict the Absolute Perfection of His Divine Nature and Omnipotence. With regard to S. Jerome's words, this sentence is to be understood of God's ordinary dealings with men, not of His extraordinary dispensations. God will not restore the virginity which has been lost, save by a miracle. As S. Theodoret justly says, when we speak of the omnipotence of God, we must with reverence distinguish.

Now it can in no wise contravene the Absolute Perfection of God that the Spirits of the dead should return, nor is there anything in the supernatural order which oppugneth such apparitions. Upon what grounds then can it be held or maintained that God should not permit Spirits to return?

The second error is the fallacy of those who will have it that God does not wish Spirits to return. This is entirely disproved by what we have already advanced, the many instances when disembodied Spirits actually have appeared to living men, whom they have warned, counselled most aptly, and admonished. Yet these objectors argue that God has forbidden us (in Deuteronomy xviii, 10, 11) to seek the truth from the dead. Even Father Abraham (they say) would not send Lazarus back to earth.[14] The right meaning of these two passages, which are not to be wrested from their context, must be sought in the interpretation of the Fathers and Doctors. As to the first, the very context quite clearly

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shows that it applies only to those who curiously consult Necromancers and Sorcerers, who in their witchcrafts use dead bodies and observe the complexion of corpses to predict good luck or bane. These warlocks also evoke or feign to evoke the dead who are (they pretend) compelled by potent charms and suffumigations to reveal the future. But in answer to their incantations demons appear feigning to be disembodied souls. Such necromancy is of a truth expressly and absolutely forbidden by the Law.

The Schoolmen glossing upon the Fourth Book of the Sentences [15] pose the question whether it is a sin to ask God if a Spirit may appear. They answer: If a man ask God to suffer a Spirit to appear by the instrumentality of a sorcerer, then it is mortal sin, because in no circumstances whatsoever is it allowable to resort to the aid of sorcerers, who work by and through the devil. If a man ask God to suffer a Spirit to appear, making this request out of curiosity or idle prying, then it is mortal sin. But if a man pray God humbly and devoutly to suffer a Spirit to appear, in order that he may inquire concerning the estate of his friends, intimates, his parents or benefactors, or relations, who have passed away, in order that if such be their need he may help them by masses and trentals, then there is no sin at all. For if souls themselves appear and seek our aid, why should we not, if such be God's will, require the same from them on their part?

As to Dives, the wicked rich man, who asked Father Abraham that Lazarus should be sent to warn his five brothers, we must not argue from this parable of Our Lord, misinterpreting His words, that Spirits cannot return from the other world. The words of Our Lord, indeed, do not convey this, but they do teach two things very plainly: in the first place, owing to the cruelty and inhumanity of Dives to the poor man he did not merit that his prayer should be granted; and secondly, God has most certainly afforded men every opportunity whilst yet living in this world to acquire the knowledge and avail themselves of the means of salvation, without any

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extraordinary need of ghosts appearing to them to turn their hearts to righteousness and to seek the Lord.

Lazarus of Bethany did come back from the dead, and for aught we know (it surely seems probable, at least) he revealed many mysteries from beyond the grave,[16] but how many were there who learned wisdom from him in their time? The Jews heeded him no more than they hearkened to Our Divine Lord, Who came down from the bosom of the Father, and walked amongst them teaching daily. Moses and Elias appeared to bear witness that the Law and Prophets were accomplished, and the Messiah come.[17] Samuel appeared to Saul,[18] and the High Priest Onias to Judas Machabee.[19] Many of the Saints who slept arose when Christ died on Calvary.

It is frankly conceded that God only sends the dead to warn the living upon extraordinary occasions. In order to conclude this point, we hold that God has forbidden us to seek answers from and inquire of the dead by magic and goetic arts, such as Saul employed when the prophet Samuel was evoked. Nor will God suffer the dead to rise to warn the living who have Moses and the prophets, and the teaching of Christ and His Church. For even if an Angel from heaven preach a gospel to us besides that the Catholic Church preaches to us, let him be anathema.[20]

Almighty God can and does permit the souls of the dead to return and appear, not very often, indeed, but at any rate not altogether infrequently, when it pleaseth Him to use an extraordinary course, chiefly (it seems) that the evil angel, the prince of darkness, transforming himself into an angel of light, may not wholly deceive simple folk by feigning to be the Spirit of such a one who has passed away, even as not so long ago he deluded and cozened a poor woman at Laon, whom he strove to possess, saying he was the soul of her grandfather.[21] If, then, the devil pretends to be the soul of one departed, it follows that the dead may return; for he is too cunning to pretend an impossibility, since he would be at once found out and his malice exposed.

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Fifteen hundred years ago the Apostles of Our Lord Jesus Christ, taught from His own lips, held the truth, namely, that Spirits and the souls of the dead do return. That first Eastertide they saw their Lord and Master when He was newly risen from the tomb, and believing that the Resurrection was not possible in the natural order, they supposed they saw His Soul or some Spirit. Our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus returned from the other world, but He did not say to them: You are mistaken and err sadly if you suppose that Spirits come back. And He would have said something of this kind if they had been in the wrong. For it was commonly held that Spirits return, and He knew their thoughts. But what He actually said was: *See my hands and feet that it is I myself; handle, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.*[22] These words confirm the fact that Spirits return, and their sense cannot be gainsaid.

Moreover, all the Doctors of the Church without exception hold and teach that, whensoever it is God's good will, the Spirits of the dead return and appear to men.

Even ethnic Poets show us in their Poems that they at all events held this one Christian truth, namely, that the Spirits of the dead return. Seneca in his tragedy *Thyestes*,[23] and Ovid in the Tenth Book of his *Metamorphoses*,[24] introduce ghosts and spectres who come back from the land of shadows to speak, to counsel and converse with living men.

Some Commentators explain the last chapter of the Book of Job[25] as signifying that his children came back from Abraham's bosom and re-entered their bodies, living for many a long year on the earth until they were truly full of days.

The poet Vergil, too, in the Second Book of his *Æneid*, very fittingly puts the following lines in the mouth of Æneas, who is speaking of his wife Creusa, whom he has lost at the sack of Troy. She appears, "a pale Spectre, larger than the Life," and tells him of his future wanderings.[26]

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She said:

> And gliding pass'd unseen in Air.
> I strove to speak, but Horror ty'd my Tongue;
> And thrice about her Neck my Arms I flung;
> And thrice deceiv'd, on vain Embraces hung.
> Light as an empty Dream at break of Day,
> Or as a blast of Wind, she rush'd away.

CHAPTER XX

Whether Spirits Wander over the Earth, or whether they go direct to Heaven or to Hell and never Return hither

THERE are some who have idly fancied that souls when they leave the body, change their room only and pass into another body in accordance with their deserts or demerits. The Philosopher Pythagoras held this theory, and of later centuries the infamous Albigenses[1] speciously served up anew this obstinate and extravagant vagary, which is clean contrary to the Christian faith, whereby we are taught that after the Last Resurrection each soul will rejoin its proper body therein to be judged, body and soul, according to a man's deeds in this mortal life.

Others there are (and of this number the Epicureans) who have asserted that the soul expires with the body, and hence the wise man enjoys his Heaven in this world without vainly waiting for another. This error has been refuted and disproved by ethnic authors even, such as Seneca in his treatise *On Divine Providence* and in the Fourth Book of his *Benefits;*[2] Cicero in his *Offices*, in his *Republic, IV*, in his *De Senectute* (where he discusses the end or purport of good and evil), and in his *Tusculan Questions.*[3]

Some, again, have advanced the opinion that the souls of wicked men become actual devils, a heresy of which Tertullian

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was accused as S. Augustine tells us in his work on Heresies.[4] This error is based on S. John viii, 44, where Our Lord said to the Jews: Ye are of your father the devil; and in chapter vi, 71, He said: Have I not chosen you twelve; and one of you is a devil? Not a devil by nature, but a devil in that the traitor so closely imitated Satan. When Our Lord said that we shall be as the Angels [5] in Heaven, He did not mean that our nature will be metamorphosed into the Angelic nature, but that we shall be as spiritual and pure as Angels. If souls were changed into Angels, Good or bad, they would cease to be souls, even as air turned to water is no longer air. The Holy Scriptures contradict this doctrine when they tell us that the souls of the lost shall depart, accursed, into everlasting punishment; S. Matthew xxv.

There is yet a fourth opinion whose coinage is that souls when released from their bodies flee away and conceal themselves in certain mysterious places; the souls of the blest into a glorious region of dazzling light, accompanied by Angel hosts; the souls of the reprobate to horrible and shadowy dens thronged with demons; and here they all await the Judgement Day. This belief was first held by certain Syrian fanatics in the days of S. Jerome, as S. Cyril of Jerusalem told S. Augustine.[6] The Muscovites and Ruskies have fallen into the same error, wherefore the Orthodox Greeks deem them heretics, inasmuch as on their own showing they hold a thing clean contrary to Holy Writ, and the teaching of all the Fathers, Eastern and Western alike. William of Ockham [7] withstood some who in his day were hot to maintain this opinion, which was condemned by Pope Benedict XII in a bull contained in the Extravagantes.[8] S. Gregory, in the twenty-eighth chapter and Fourth Book of his Dialogues [9] unsparingly condemns this maggot of the sectaries. Notwithstanding all authority the modern Anabaptists have renewed and revivified the same heresy, since thereby they can deny Purgatory, the intercession of Saints, and prayers for the dead. In order to prove their chimeras they pervert

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Holy Scripture. They assume that when Our Lord promised the kingdom of heaven and life everlasting He intended that these rewards should be given at the last day, and not until then. The poor abused and self-deceived folk either cannot or will not see that Our Lord is speaking of the perfect eternal glory and bliss which shall be man's when he is perfect, body and soul reunited, at the consummation of all things, and that for the present when the soul is separated from the body it receives a rich stole and robe of glory even as the wicked are clothed with cursing like a garment. S. Paul, in the Epistle to the Philippians, chapter i, cries out that he desires to be dissolved and to be with Christ. His hope, then, was to see Christ as soon as his soul was parted from the flesh, not merely afar off at the future Day of Judgement, which in this case he could as well have awaited in this world, without passing hence. The Apostle further says that he was rapt and caught up to the third heaven: "whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body I know not," are his words.[10] but what skills it since actually he was caught up to paradise.

There is even yet a fifth opinion, something brand new, which pretends that when souls are parted from the bodies they go straight to Heaven or to hell, and there is no intermediate state, no Purgatory. Those who pretend this are audacious enough to appeal to the Bible and to the Fathers, from whom they quote passages describing the flight of souls to Heaven. True enough, if there be no spot nor stain to be purged away a soul may forthwith enter Heaven; but if it is speckled with sin, the Celestial Jerusalem is so holy and so pure, that "There shall not enter into it anything defiled," [11] and the soul to pass these gates must be as sinless as when new washed in the water of Baptism. Now by the Sacrament of Penance, which is so to speak a Second Baptism, sins are not so easily washed away nor is the soul so thoroughly cleansed as in Baptism at the first. Thus writes S. Theodoret in his Second Oration, *On Providence*.[12] For in the one Sacrament, Baptism, the soul is completely cleansed, there re-

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maineth no penalty, no pain; but in the other Sacrament, Penance, the eternal penalty is transmuted to a temporal penalty which must be endured, here in this world or hereafter in Purgatory. If it be advanced that by Baptism we are saved by hope, as S. Paul wrote to Titus, iii, 5–7, and that there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not according to the flesh, we make this reply: They are indeed finally saved, but not so soon as if they were cleansed of the rust and fomes of venial sin into which they have so frequently fallen. It is a blessed truth that Our Redeemer has made a full, perfect and sufficient satisfaction for our sins, and in order that we may share in His merits He ordained Holy Baptism, in order to receive which we must have faith so that our sins may be washed away, whilst in the Sacrament of Penance God requires contrition, tears, weeping and groaning, fasting, prayer, alms, good works, in proportion to the gravity of our offences. S. Cyprian, in his Epistle to Antonianus,[13] terms the forgiveness of our sins and the washing away of our iniquities the healthful fruits of penitence. S. Paul chastised and buffeted his body by severest mortification, for fear lest having preached to others he should himself become a castaway.[14] He even says: *With Christ I am nailed to the Cross*.[15] If then a good Catholic has not atoned for his sins in this world, God has ordained that his sins shall be purged in the next before he can enter Heaven.

To enter into this more amply, we must take up the point a little earlier and say that, ordinarily speaking, God does not judge anyone, neither awarding the glories of Heaven, nor assigning to the pains of Purgatory and still less of perdition, until after death. Even Plato [16] was assured that God judges no man until the soul is parted from the body. The particular judgement follows death, and for this it is not required that Christ should descend in majesty from Heaven, and still less must the soul mount to Heaven to be judged. According to the natural course, since God has given His Angels charge over men it is piously believed that when a man is on the

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point of death, nay, as his soul leaves his body, his Guardian Angel presents to Almighty God the record of the good and evil the man has done. And if the soul is saved and has gained Heaven, the Angel joyfully announces to him his salvation, and with a glorious choir of Seraphims and Cherubs the happy soul flies to Paradise. As for the lost, their doom is pronounced by Angels, or by some holy Patriarch, as when Abraham gave sentence upon the wicked rich man, Dives, and then the Angels execute the Divine command, the judgement of God. Just so does some mighty monarch or imperial senate in full conclave doom the guilty; and their officers, the clerks or cipiers, declare the effect of the sentence to the condemned.

Not infrequently, when the good are dying, holy Angels or Saints from Heaven are seen by their side, comforting and encheering them, and consoling them in their fear of temporal death and Divine judgement. God also suffers devils to appear sometimes, as Severus Sulpicius relates when describing the death of S. Martin.[17] Once the soul is parted from the body it sees both good and bad Spirits, just as we see our fellowmen. The bad Spirits fight fiercely and battle amain to carry off this poor soul. And then, alas! if the soul be cast the good Angels sadly say their last farewell and perforce abandon it to the ministers and executioners of Divine Justice, who drag it away violently to the dungeons of outer darkness. On the other hand if—oh joy!—the soul be saved and there are no stains to be cleansed and purified, the good Angels usher it with triumph song to Heaven; and if there is some space to pass in Purgatory they conduct it to those mysterious realms, as God bids them.

The Bible records several instances of persons raised from the dead; the widow's son of Naim, Lazarus, and the daughter of Jairus.[18] Now in what place was each of these three souls when parted from its body? In Heaven? Our Lord had not yet ascended. In Abraham's bosom? Our opponents deny that there is such a place. It only remains

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then to acknowledge that they must have returned from hell, or that they were still lingering here on earth. What of the souls of those Pagans whom the Apostles called back to life? Yet these sectaries argue that the Bible only mentions two ways, the narrow path leading to life, and the broad path that leadeth to destruction.[19] I say that the narrow path leads to Purgatory as well as to Paradise.

They agree at any rate that souls do not wander about the earth; all the Fathers reject this fantasy, which no theologian would maintain. When that great Doctor, S. Athanasius, suggests that good Angels appear and not disembodied Spirits, he argues that the souls of the dead do not return here to be vagabond and idle wanderers, prowling about and as it were linked to their tombs, which seems to be the idea of those dreamers who daily carry provision of meat and bread and wine to the graveyards, putting viands upon the sepultures, as though the dead came back in the night to eat and drink.[20] In order to show the falsity of this conceit, S. Athanasius, in his thirty-fifth Question addressed to Antiochus,[21] says that were it the case departed Spirits not unseldom appeared near the graves, the demons would seize the opportunity to manifest themselves in the guise and shape of those recently dead, and familiars would pretend they were raised from the dead whereby they would be able to impress upon those who are given to these superstitions all kinds of false doctrines and heresies, and lead them (and us too) into every wickedness to our utter undoing at the end. It is clear that S. Athanasius wholly rejected the notion of Spirits wandering about their graves to eat, drink and sup.

This is the meaning of S. John Chrysostom in his Fourth Homily of Lazarus,[22] when he says Spirits do not return. He does not deny for a moment that souls may come back, but in his 29th Homily on S. Matthew [23] he is at pains to explain his doctrine, which is that Spirits do not come back at their own will or by their own power in the natural order of events; but, on extraordinary occasions if God so permits. These

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two great Doctors then, Athanasius and Chrysostom, refute the notion that Spirits wander near their graves and eat and drink. The heresiarch Vigilantius denied that miracles are wrought at the tombs of Martyrs and rejected the Invocation of Saints, for, said he, the Saints are in Heaven, not locally hovering near their tombs. S. Jerome snibbeth him very sharply,[24] and gives him to know that the Martyrs are certainly present at their tombs as well as anywhere else, for it is written in the 14th chapter of the Apocalypse that the Saints follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.[25] Where the Lamb is, there are His Saints also. Consequently they are present at their sepultures. S. Justin, the great Christian Philosopher, confuting the Jew Tryphon,[26] and wishing to prove the immortality of the soul, cites the appearance of Samuel to Saul, after the death of the Prophet. Hence, he argues, the soul does not die with the body, since the soul of Samuel appeared to the King. Origen, in his Second Book against Celsus,[27] adopts precisely the same line. Although they draw their conclusion mainly from this one example, it holds good for all, and remains a universal truth.

S. Augustine, in the sixth question of his *Eight Questions to Dulcitius*, and in his *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*, xv,[28] discusses the appearance of Samuel in amplest detail, and poises whether it was an empty phantom, or an evil spirit, or the soul of Samuel, or the Prophet himself, soul and body.[29] He will not pronounce dogmatically upon the point lest some should accuse him of temerity in so dark and riddling a matter, but for his part he is clearly of opinion that it was verily Samuel himself, who by the permission of God appeared to Saul in the cave of Endor, and it assuredly was not the devil in Samuel's shape or likeness. For in Ecclesiasticus xxvi, after the Wise Man has praised men of renown, men of great power, and rehearsed the laud of Moses, of Aaron, of Josue and others, he speaks of Samuel, concerning whom it is said: "And after this he slept, and he made known to the king, and shewed him the end of his life, and he

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lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy to blot out the wickedness of the nation." S. Augustine continues his thought, remarking that it is no more strange for Spirits to appear on earth coming from the other world, than it is for Spirits to leave this world and pass into the next. It is certain that some men whilst yet on earth have been rapt and caught up even to Heaven, as was S. Paul (II Corinthians ii, 22). Moreover, says the Saint of Hippo again, we know that S. Felix of Nola appeared and fought for our city and delivered us from the enemy.[30] This is no doubtful tradition, no grannam's tale, but a fact reported by men of probity and trust who saw it with their own eyes. When therefore we say that Spirits return to appear to men, we do not mean that souls gad and go abroad from one spot to another, and that they are always tarrying and abiding here without returning whence they came, but our firm and reasonable belief is that when it so pleaseth Almighty God to permit Spirits to appear or to send them to us He gives them the power to manifest themselves in such shape as seemeth best to Him.

CHAPTER XXI

The Opinions held by the Jews and Mussulmen concerning the State of Disembodied Spirits and the Dead

THE whole end, aim and intent of those who deny that Spirits and disembodied souls appear may be concisely enough summed up; for their design lies in the fact that these malignants heartily desire to reject and disallow Masses and Requiems, Obits, Trentals, Month's-minds, Prayers, Suffrages and all manner of devout Supplications for the Faithful Departed, since it is common knowledge that again and again

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souls have appeared and earnestly besought the living to have Masses said and dirges sung on their behalf, or to go on some pilgrimage for their deliverance, or to make restitution, to discharge obligations, to restore some goods or piece which may have been borrowed and not returned, or perchance filched and stolen. If these obstinate objectors adduce Holy Scripture they twist, turn, torture and trepan the text with fantastic perversions, or else they bawl out that it is uncanonical, forsooth, since it accords not with their blind errors. In fine, these folk have a thousand starting-holes, shifts and evasions, and they scruple not to say that the whole world is at fault save only themselves.

Surely they must see that they are wrong by the common consent of mankind, non-Christian as well as Christian, since not alone the teaching of the Catholic Church, consonant with the plain doctrine of Scripture, bears testimony to the state of the departed, but strangers to the Faith, Jews and Mussulmen, pray and make supplication for the dead, in order that they may be delivered from the intermediate state of probation and pain ere they can enter into Paradise.

With regard to the Jews[1]: They believe that there are seven rooms or stations in Gehenna according to the seven several names which are given in the Old Testament, and which have been collected by Joshua ben Levi[2] in his Commentaries. By the word *Sheol*, which occurs in Job xiv, 13, the Jews generally understand that place where souls are purified until they are fit to be made partakers of the Glorious Kingdom of God. Before Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ came into this world, the Patriarchs and Fathers prayed for the dead for thirty days and sometimes for seventy days. The Book of Blessings, called in Hebrew *Berakot*, sets this forth most clearly; and if we inquire of Jews to-day whether they hold there is a Purgatory, they reply in the affirmative, and they prove it by the words of the Bible, as also by their most ancient, unbroken, and sacred traditions and ceremonial. From Scriptures they cite Psalms vi, xvii,

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xxvi, xxviii, xxx, cxliii; Job xiv; Isaias iv, xlii; Micheas vii; Malachias iii; Deuteronomy xxxii. They further say that when the Bible speaks of the Fathers mourning the dead, by the lamentation is meant the ritual prayers and supplications, Kaddish, which are solemnly observed to-day. First they wash the dead body; next it is anointed, and then they wrap it in a shroud of white linen cloth (figuratively termed *zewada* [3]) which consists of several garments; in the case of a man, a cap in the form of a mitre, breeches, shirt, an over-robe very like an alb, and a girdle. After this is superadded the tallit or prayer-shawl, whence, however, the fringes are removed. The corpse thus arrayed and embalmed with spices is with great honour and respect borne in procession to the cemetery, and before it is placed in the earth the mourners begin the prayers commencing *Dei perfecta sunt opera*. When the prayers and supplications are finished, the relations of the deceased throw themselves upon the coffin, weeping and wailing aloud, tearing their garments and cutting them with a knife. Next the body is committed to the tomb, and meanwhile the assistants pray to God unceasingly for the soul of the departed. When the ceremony is completed, all return home, and for seven days the relatives of the deceased take their food seated sadly on the floor. For seven days, too, a lighted candle is placed upon the bed where the defunct breathed his last, and during this time the friends and neighbours visit the house upon two occasions, at each of which they pray for his soul. Upon the seventh day all the relations assemble at the house of mourning, and conduct with weeping and many signs of grief and awe those who dwell in the house to the Synagogue in funeral train. On that day a service of prayer is offered thrice for the departed. This service commences with Psalm xx, *Exaudiat te Dominus in die tribulationis*, which Psalm is used in the Hebrew liturgy just as we recite the *De Profundis*. Further, they light a lamp at the Synagogue, which must burn continually for one whole year, and upon the anniversary the relatives and friends of the deceased

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assemble at the Synagogue for a memorial service, which is the same as that just mentioned.

Every year on the ninth day of the first moon in the month of July the Jews observe a Commemoration of the Dead, and this corresponds to the Christian All Souls' Day upon the 2 November. They fast and attend the Synagogue where they mourn, weep aloud and chant in Hebrew the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremias, accompanied by many prayers for the dead. On leaving the Synagogue they repair to the cemetery and here each man takes his place by the ancestral sepulchre. All shed tears, lifting up their voices in supplications for the souls of their dead parents, friends and relations. The Jews who live in Rome have a special book containing the ceremonies of the Hebrew Office of the Dead, and this manual has been translated into Latin by Gilbert Génebrand,[4] a most learned Doctor of Theology and Professor of Hebrew and exegesis at the College Royal. Now if the Jews believed that the souls of the departed at once enter Heaven these prayers and supplications for those who are detained in the outer-courts of Paradise (which they call *Migras eden gan*, but the Greeks *Kathartirion*) [5] would be superfluous and vain. Indeed, just as they believe there are seven rooms in Gehenna, so they hold there are seven stages or circles in Heaven, fitting and aptly provided according to the merits of those who enter there, after these souls have been cleansed and purged in the outer courts beyond, in which intermediate state what time they tarry perforce they are greatly helped and much comforted by the prayers and fervent supplications of the living.

With regard to the Mussulmen Turks of to-day [6]: When they bury their dead, after they have washed the body and wrapped it in a shroud, they are careful to leave the head and the feet uncovered, following a commandment of the Koran, which says that when the dead man enters his tomb two black Angels, whose names are *Nakir* and *Mounkar*, meet it. The one is armed with a huge hammer or mace of iron, the other

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with iron hooks and nails. They raise the dead man from his knees, and restore his soul to his body (just as if, says the Koran, his soul were clothed with a garment), and then these two Angels, who are named the dark Inquisitors of the Grave, question the deceased. Has he truly believed in Muhammed? Has he observed the law of the prophet? Has he done good works in his lifetime? Has he fasted throughout the Turkish Lent, which is termed Ramadâm? Has he observed the ceremonies of the Kibla?[7] Has he paid tithes and given alms? If the defunct satisfies the Angels in these points they depart, and instantly there appears a choir of Angels in dazzling white as driven snow with music and sweet odours. Of this fair company one takes the head of the deceased in his arms, tenderly embracing him; another takes his feet gently, and fondles them, whilst all companion with him in complete joy until the Day of Judgement.

But if the dead man cannot render an account of his life to the black Angels, *Nakir* and *Mounkar*, if he has done evil and has not believed in Muhammed and has neglected the duties Islam prescribes, the Book entitled *The Spoils*[8] says that the Angel who wields the massy hammer deals the hapless wretch so violent a blow on his skull that he sinks nine ells into the ground. All the while the other Angel scourges him mercilessly and tortures him with the iron hooks and nails. The torment ceases not until the Day of Judgement.

The Turks, then, write with saffron the ineffable Name of God upon the forehead of the defunct, and they make their tombs deep and caved, with ample space to kneel down within, and some shelter the monuments with planks and boards lest by any chance they crumble and fall. Their ideas concerning the next world so alarm Mussulmen that in the morning when they say their prayers they add a supplication which runs something as follows: *O God most High, deliver me from the Interrogations of the Two Angels and from the torture of the Tomb and from the evil way. Amen.*

The prayers which Turks pour forth most earnestly on

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behalf of the dead when they visit their cemeteries are all uttered with this intention, that the departed may be spared from the Interrogations of the two black Angels. They base this belief of theirs on the 92nd chapter of the Koran, *The Night*, where it is said that at death all men shall enter into fire, whence the good shall be speedily delivered but evil-doers never. The same book in the tenth *Sura* (or chapter), entitled *Jonas*,[9] forbids prayer to be made for those who have not confessed Islam. It follows then that the strict Mussulmen should be prayed for after death. Actually Muhammedans pray for the dead constantly; they distribute alms and perform good works on their behalf; they build hospitals in order that the inmates may pray for the founder deceased. The famous Arabian Philosopher Aboû Hâmid Ibn Muhammed al-Ghazâli [10] speaks of the pains of Purgatory which grievously torment many poor souls.

Besides the infidel Turks many other Pagans and Heathen have believed in another world, an intermediate state besides Paradise and Hades, where souls are detained in order to be cleansed before they find perfect repose. Two ancient Greek poets, Euripides and Archilochus,[11] tell us in their works that sacrifice was offered to Pluto, Lord of hell, in order that the souls of the dead might attain peace. Plato, the "Divine Philosopher," as Olympiodorus [12] tells us in his Scholia on the Phaedo, taught that there were three places or states for the souls of the dead. The highest state was one of supreme bliss for Souls who needed no purgation. Sinners he classes in three categories. Those who sin deliberately, obstinately and maliciously, and remain impenitent, he assigns (following Homer) to Tartarus, the lowest depths of hell, whence there is no return, no release. The other sinners, who have had impulses of good and who are by no means so outrageously wicked, are divided into two kinds. Some are contrite; others feel attrition. The first are purged in Acheron; the others in Phlegethon and Cocytus. Vergil, who was in this a disciple of Plato, in the Sixth *Æneid* speaks of three modes

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of purgation, the air, the water, and fire. In the Eleventh Æneid, describing the funeral rites of the brave Trojan warriors who had fallen in battle with the Rutulians, he says that three great pyres were built to burn the dead:

> Then thrice around the kindled Piles they go:
> (For ancient Custom had ordain'd it so)
> Thrice Horse and Foot about the Fires are led,
> And thrice with loud Laments they hail the dead . . .
> Whole Herds of offer'd Bulls about the Fire,
> And bristled Boars, and woolly Sheep expire.[13]

Holocausts and sacrifices, then, were offered for the repose of the souls of the fallen.

Anyone who will read the works of Plutarch will see that he is altogether of Plato's opinion with regard to three future states, Heaven, Purgatory and Hell.[14]

It were a witless thing utterly to disregard the view of these Latin and Greek writers. We, who know the truth and have the light of Christianity, ought rather to consider that the truths contained in their teaching concerning the future life are either drawn from us or from that sacred Hebrew tradition, which is fulfilled and incorporated in the Catholic doctrine. When Plato writes, for example, that heroic and noble souls on death at once are received into celestial palaces, since they are pure and unflecked; whilst souls who are infect and stained with lusts of the body and worldliness wander far below and are errant, hovering near their graves, which souls (he thinks) are the ghosts who appear to men; let us consider that Plato derived this opinion from Hebrew lore, for there can be no doubt that, deeply interested in religion as he was, he must have carefully studied the ancient Jewish traditions, as Josephus argues in his work against Apion.[15]

Tertullian, too, a writer of authority, in his *De Anima*,[16] says that the wise old Pagans who held the immortality of the soul taught that at death the souls of good men ascend to

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heavenly places, and that the wicked are plunged into Hades. These poor Pagans also believed that when a corpse was not decently and properly buried, the weary soul wandered long and far ere it could find rest. For among the Greeks and Romans it was a most shocking and impious thing for a dead body to be left unburied, a circumstance of which the poets speak again and again.[17] In the 22 Iliad of Homer the Trojan Hector earnestly entreats Achilles not to throw his dead body to the dogs and birds of prey, but to give it to his father King Priam and to his mother Queen Hecuba for honourable burial. And in Iliad 23, Patroclus appears to Achilles begging him to give his body burial, without which he must wander a forlorn shade unable to enter the underworld, whereunto those whose bodies lie uncoffined have no admittance. Palinurus (as Vergil tells in Æneid VI) prays Æneas at least to cast a handful of earth on his corpse, however maimed a rite.[18]

Moreover, the Ancients believed that those who had met with an untimely death,[19] even were they cut off by justice, decapitated, hanged or drowned, wandered sadly and grievously afflicted up and down, to and fro, until such time as they would have died in the order of nature. Plato in his *Laws*, IX, writes that the souls of those who have been foully slain pursue their murderers and torment them.[20] This is derived from the Rabbinical writings, where it is said by some that the soul of Naboth (who was treacherously done to death since he refused Achab his vineyard) was that Spirit which came forth to deceive Achab, as taking pleasure and an especial delight in his impending destruction.[21]

Most of these opinions are refuted and corrected both by Tertullian and by S. Augustine, who show that they are shadows of the real truth. Disembodied Spirits do not err and wander here below, being in some sense enchained to earth as the Platonists suppose, but, as we have shown, they go to their merited reward, to Heaven, or to bale. If there is the rust of sin to be cleansed then they go to Purgatory,

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according to God's purpose and Holy Will. Here they remain until released and relieved. Therefore, since all souls must obey Almighty God, whether they are in Heaven, in Purgatory, or below, they can return and manifest themselves to men if God so permit, since He accords them the same power, when He will, as He allows Good Angels and demons.

To say then that "no man hath been known to have returned from the other world" [22] is an Epicurean error, most hateful and most false, one of the vain reasonings of the wicked, which are reprehended by the Wise Man in the Book of Wisdom. Moses, Elias, Lazarus, the Widow's Son of Naim, the daughter of Jairus, Dorcas (who is also Tabitha),[23] and others raised from the dead, by our Divine Lord Himself, by His Apostles and His Prophets aforetime, are all witnesses of this solemn fact, that the dead may and do return to this world. To say that the soul of Lazarus was detained and in some way held in his body by Angels, as though they were grasping him by the arms, or that it hovered about his body waiting until Our Lord bade him come forth from the grave, are ridiculous and baseless fantasies, theories too trivial and, indeed, too inept to inquire into and seriously refute. We must, as Our Lord bids us in His Holy Gospel: *Have the faith of God.*[24]

CHAPTER XXII

The Catholic Teaching concerning those Places or States whither Souls go when they are Parted from the Body

THE great Schoolmen in their Commentaries upon the Fourth Book of Sentences,[1] following the teaching of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church throughout the centuries, are unanimously agreed and plainly write that there are four places or states whereunto the souls of men at death repair.

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The first place is Heaven, the abode of the Saints and Blessed Spirits, which in Holy Scripture is termed Paradise.

The second place is Hell, which is in the bowels of the earth, where devils have their habitation, and whereunto the wicked and utterly reprobate, obstinate in artful and deliberate sin, unforgiven because unrepentant, are doomed.

The third place is the Limbo Infantum, a state where are detained little children and babes who have died unbaptized and therefore can never enjoy the Beatific Vision.

The fourth place is Purgatory, destined for those whose mortal sins are pardoned; or at any rate who are heartily contrite for mortal sins, yet who have not made full satisfaction by penance due; or who have (it may be) died only flecked with venial sins. Now besides this realm of Purgatory it sometimes pleases the hidden counsels of God that for certain mysterious reasons disembodied souls endure their Purgatory, either among mountains or in waters, or in valleys, or in houses, and particularly are they attached to those spots where on earth they sinned and offended God. If we are asked to prove the existence of Purgatory from Holy Writ we will turn to S. Augustine, who in the *City of God*, Book XX, chapter xxv, proves it by reference to Malachias iii, and Isaias iv.[2] In Book XXI, chapter xxvi, he again proves it by a passage from the Epistles of S. Paul, I Corinthians iii,[3] which text is thus explained by the Fathers; by Origen, *On Exodus*, vi, in his Third Homily on Psalm xxxvi, and again in his Twelfth Homily on Jeremias[4]; by S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and other great Doctors and Saints. S. Augustine in his *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda*,[5] chapter i, further proves the fact of Purgatory and the duty of praying for the dead from the history of Judas Machabee and his devout words, for which see II Machabees xii, 43–46. If anyone objects to or denies their duty and this dogma he is worse than a caitiff Jew. So judges S. Augustine, *Of the City of God*, XVIII, xxxvi.[6]

The fact of Purgatory logically presupposes and enjoins

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prayers for the dead, which duty, I say, is taught as essential and absolutely incumbent on us by all the Fathers, Doctors and theologians, and it follows that Purgatory is some other place than Heaven or Hell. To pray for the lost were vain, since alas! they cannot participate in the treasures of merits of the Church. To pray for Saints and those already in Heaven were superfluous indeed. There only remains, then, to pray for those who whilst in this world did not make full satisfaction for their sins. S. John Chrysostom, in his Twenty-first Homily on the Acts of the Apostles, tells us how the Holy Apostles bade that the Sacrifice of the Mass be offered for the departed.[7] S. Clement in his Epistle to S. James, the brother of the Lord, tells us the same [8]; as also do Tertullian in his treatises *The Soldier's Crown* and on *Monogamy* [9]; S. Cyprian, in his Sixty-sixth Epistle [10]; S. John Damascene, in his Sermon on Purgatory [11]; S. Gregory of Nyssa, in his Sermon on Purgatory [12]; S. Gregory Nazianzen in his Seventh Oration.[13] Tertullian, a very early writer of the sub-Apostolic age, in his *Exhortation to Chastity*,[14] says that in his time Christians were careful to have Requiems for the departed upon their anniversary days; he also tells how they wholly devoted solemn days to God to pray for the defunct; and in the *Soldier's Crown* [15] he speaks of exequial masses, obits, trentals, requiems on the fortieth day. In the time of S. Ambrose the day of burial was solemnly observed, as also the third, seventh, and thirtieth days after death, which were given entirely to God in order to pray without ceasing for the departed, and to offer to the Father Our Lord's Body in Holy Mass.

S. Gregory Nazianzen, writing against Julian the Apostate,[16] speaks of dirges, chanted psalms, prayers, cierges, cere-candles and other ceremonies, just as are the custom of the Church to-day. These ceremonies were used by the Apostles themselves at the Falling Asleep of Our Lady; they were used at the death of Constantine the Great and other emperors, as is related by the Ecclesiastical Historians.

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But somebody may say: *Is not Our Lord's Atonement perfect and complete? Has He not redeemed us all? Why then did He not relieve us of these pains and penalties and restore us to the sinless state of Adam before the Fall?* S. Augustine, in the *City of God*, XII, and in his treatise *On the Baptism of Children*,[17] replies that Our Saviour has saved us from all things which hindered salvation but not from those things which secure it, for the trials and temptations of this life, tribulations and hardships and affliction, fit us the more for Heaven. Our Lord and Saviour endured all these first, leaving us an ensample of suffering, patience, and victory. Suffering here below is the very earnest and pledge of our King; the badge of His service which all who fight under His banner must wear. He wishes that before we drink of the fruit of the vine from His precious and heavenly cup in God's kingdom, we should drink of the chalice of grief and sorrow here below, even as He drank. Upon the Altar of the Cross He offered to God the Father His Spirit, Blood and Water, for us; and there are three that give testimony on earth that we are the children of God; the Spirit, and the water, and the blood. And as our Mediator offered Himself upon the Cross for the sins of the Fathers who lived under the Law aforetime, and there were three estates of Purgatory, fire, blood and water, so we who live under the Christian dispensation have also three purgatorial estates instituted by God, fulfilling the ancient types, namely, fire, water and Blood. Instead of the blood of beasts and bullocks slain we have the Blood of Jesus, with which our souls are sprinkled in a worthy reception of the Sacraments; we are redeemed and set free, I say, from any eternal retribution, but not from temporal penalties, whereby God chastens and corrects us. The Precious Blood of Jesus has purchased our Salvation. Many times does Holy Scripture tell us that we are sanctified by the Holy Ghost. See Romans, chapter i; the First Epistle of S. John, chapters i, ii, iii and v; Galatians, chapter iii; I Corinthians, chapter vi; Philippians, chapter v; Hebrews, chapter ix. Jesus Christ,

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in love and charity, by the Holy Spirit, is offered unto us, and cleanses our souls with the cleansing fire of the Spirit of God, a holy purgatory, the fire of love and charity whereof He spoke in S. Luke xii, 49: *I am come to cast fire on the earth: and what will I, but that it be kindled?* From this holy fire of God comes the spirit of almsgiving, which purgeth from all sins, as S. Raphael the Archangel taught Tobias: *For alms delivereth from death, and the same is that which purgeth away sins, and maketh to find mercy and life everlasting.* In Ecclesiasticus iii, the Wise Man saith: *Water quencheth a flaming fire, and alms resisteth sins.* Again: *By mercy and faith sins are purged away;* Proverbs xv, 27. Our Lord said: *Give alms; and behold, all things are clean unto you;* S. Luke xi, 41. *Judgement without mercy to him that hath not done mercy. And mercy exalteth itself above judgement;* S. James ii, 13. (Read also S. Matthew, chapter xxv.)

The third purgation or cleansing is of water: Holy Baptism, whereby we are washed from all sin. The Scriptures tell us of another water also wherein the fire of God's wrath is extinguished, the water of tribulation, of which Our Lord spoke to us as well as to the sons of Zebedee: *My chalice indeed you shall drink;* S. Matthew xx, 23. For as S. Paul says in Romans viii (29 and 17), whom God foreknew, He also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of His Son, yet so, if we suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified with Him, *For whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth; and He scourgeth every son whom He receiveth;* Hebrews xii, 6. And finally, as S. John saw in mystic vision of the new Jerusalem, Apocalypse xxi, 4; God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor any sorrow shall be any more, for the former things are passed away.

Inasmuch then as we may atone and make compensation patiently enduring temporal pain in this world, and thus secure the guerdon of a total remission—or at any rate a very considerable relaxation and abbreviation of purgatorial

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penalties both for ourselves and for others, as David did of olden times (II Kings xxiv), there can be no question at all that our prayers and fervent supplications avail for those who in the next world are suffering the temporal penalties of Purgatory, and we can greatly assuage that just retribution for their sins, hastening and happily accomplishing their release.

This is the Holy Catholic Faith taught by the Apostles; the Communion of Saints. The merits of the Saints are most profitable to us and efficacious in our behalf, and we also (in our lesser and lowlier way) can very sensibly help and succour the Departed, who have often appeared, asking for prayers and entreating assistance.

CHAPTER XXIII

The question is asked whether Samuel himself actually Appeared to King Saul and likewise did Moses himself actually Appear at the Transfiguration?

Those who are obstinate enough in their errors to deny that Spirits appear, have (as they imagine) no less than three strings to their bow; and these, they fondly opine, cannot be snapped asunder or broken.

First; they assert that it was not actually Samuel who appeared. Secondly; they are perforce obliged to acknowledge that Moses appeared, but they hasten to add that he did not speak one word to the Apostles. In the third place; they declare that the Apostles did not suppose they saw a Spirit, when their newly-risen Master, Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ stood in the midst of them; or some even add, if the Apostles did suppose they saw a Spirit, why then, they held entirely erroneous and much mistaken ideas with regard to this point.

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The first instance: Holy Scripture itself, in Ecclesiasticus xlvi, plainly contradicts our opponents, for there it is said (v. 23) that after his death Samuel "lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy to blot out the wickedness of the nation." S. Augustine and many other Doctors arguing from this passage are of opinion that Samuel actually appeared. The exact Biblical phrase is "he slept," but "to sleep" in the Bible often signifies "to die." Now the devil never dies nor sleeps. Moreover, the Spirit who appeared to Saul is explicitly and precisely named Samuel, and if it had been the devil in a feigned shape who manifested himself, some other phrase would have been found. Nay, the text would surely have informed us of the deceit. Moreover, this Spirit prophesied to King Saul that the army of Israel was delivered into the hands of the Philistines, and that "to-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me." Are we then to suppose that the devil, the father of lies, is endowed with the gift of prophecy? Nay, assuredly not, for he knows not the future, which is in God's hand alone. It is true, of course, that now and again old and experienced people can forsee what the likely result of such and such a course will be, which younger folk who have no judgement cannot possibly presage. An old salt, for example, can foretell rough weather. Shepherds and Farmers are also shrewdly weatherwise. An Astrologer can exactly predict the year, the day, the hour, the minute and exact moment of an eclipse of the Sun or Moon. Skilled Physicians by the pulse, the urine and other indications, can judge of the progress of a disease, and foretell the recovery or death of a patient. Carpenters and Builders can forewarn the owner of a property how long a house or barns will endure and stand without repair. All these things are a very different matter from predicting the death of a sound and healthy man, as well as of his children, and prophesying the result of a battle. Such oracles of truth could not be given by the devil, who if questioned always return ambiguous answers, dilemmatical with double meanings.

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Further the Bible relates that the Spirit said: *Why hast thou disturbed my rest, that I should be brought up?* If it had been the devil in feigned shape who appeared, certes, he would not have reproached Saul for having invoked him, nor would he have rebuked him thus, but rather he would have been well pleased that he should have been called upon in this way, for such appeal ministers to his pride and likes him well, so that he would have mocked and deluded the King with fair promises, as ever is his wont. When he tempted Adam and Eve to break the divine commandment, he seduced them silkily saying: *You shall be as Gods knowing good and evil.* When he tempted Our Lord in the wilderness, he promised largely all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. It is the devil's plan to vaunt thus and inveigle those whom he is seeking to destroy. Yet this Spirit who appeared at Endor, threatened and upbraided King Saul for his backsliding and evil, and it is certainly not the devil's office to rebuke sin. It was the true Samuel who snibbed guilty Saul.

The Fathers advance these weighty reasons and other proofs, wherefore it is a certain conclusion, not to be doubted, that Samuel actually appeared. Tertullian questions the fact,[1] as indeed he perplexes several other points which both the teaching of the Church and experience show us to be true. But to bring forward the opinion of Tertullian alone against the consensus of the Fathers is sleeveless indeed. Tertullian says that God has a body, but this phrase of his must not be understood in any ambiguous sense or as contrary to what the Catholic Church teaches. Else it must be rejected. The Bible, divinely inspired with all the evidences of infallible certitude, shows us that it was Samuel who appeared, and we must accordingly believe this, and abandon any hypothetical vagary or conceit.

If it be agreed that it were unfitting and unworthy that a lozel witch should have evoked the holy Prophet Samuel from his grave, we answer that this took place according to God's will, and that Heaven permitted it for some inscrutable

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reason, which is justly hidden from our inquiry. S. Augustine discusses three several opinions albeit he will not dogmatically decide.[2] We may answer, in order to support the correct opinion, that it was not the Sorceress who raised up Samuel, but that God caused the prophet to appear in order that King Saul should be chidden for his disobedience to the divine command and learn wherefore his doom had come upon him. But there is an objection here. It is hardly likely that God should seem to countenance, as it were, the art of black magic and goety, but rather it were to be supposed that Heaven should hinder and nullify these vain spells and incantations, just as the sorceries of Balaam were frustrated when he invoked the devil, and instead there appeared an Angel, who forbade him to go with the messengers of Balac or accept their rewards and fine gold, the price of divination.[3] The witch of Endor invoked the devil, and instead of an evil familiar God allowed the Spirit of Samuel to appear, in order to tell the King what he could not learn by dreams, by priests, or by prophets, inasmuch as he had so abominably stained and defiled his wicked hands with holy blood, and slain the priest Achimelech, and the priests that were in Nobe, asserting they had helped David whom he called a traitor.[4]

It is written that when Saul saw the Spirit of Samuel, "he bowed himself with his face to the ground and adored." Some, over subtle, say that hence the Spirit was certainly the devil, who asks for nothing better than to be adored and worshipped. None the less, when Nathan entered the presence of King David he "worshipped, bowing down to the ground" (III Kings i, 23). The words "adored" and "worshipped" in these passages signify nothing more than a lowly and meet reverence, a formal observance of outward respect.

When the Spirit of Samuel announced: *To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me*, it cannot be the devil who spoke, for assuredly that excellent and pious prince Jonathan, of

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whom the Bible speaks so highly and so well, would not have been lost, nay, rather he would as a reward for his good life and devotion have been in the company of Samuel in the next world. Samuel then appeared in accordance with God's will and of the divine permission, not evoked by any warlock incantation, but rather to frustrate and let the foul ends of sorcery, and to manifest how heinous a sin is Necromancy. S. Justin the Philosopher; S. Augustin; Origen; Tostado; S. Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons; Angelomus; Fra Pietro Colonna; Galatino and the Rabbis; Nicholas of Lyra; Josephus,[5] and other eminent writers all most emphatically aver and attest that it was no evil spirit who appeared, but Samuel himself.

There is no question here touching the Supreme Power of God. It is a question of God's will. Our opponents confess that since God is Almighty, if such were His good pleasure, He could certainly have suffered Samuel to appear. So we must carefully read the exact words of the Bible to find out whether God wished it. The Bible taken in its plain sense leaves no doubt that Samuel appeared, and all the Fathers hold that this of itself sufficiently proves that it was God's will the Prophet should appear just as it was His good will that Moses and Elias, both of whom had long since passed from this world, should appear on the Mount of Transfiguration. In reply, it is sometimes said that Moses and Elias appeared indeed in vision on Tabor, but they did not address the Apostles. If we study the account of the Transfiguration diligently it soon becomes plain that the discourse of Moses and Elias with Our Lord Jesus Christ was directed solely to instruct and teach the Apostles that their Master Jesus Christ was the true Messiah, the Eternal Son of God, the fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets. S. Peter in his Second Epistle (i, 19) says "we have the most firm prophetical word," received at the mystery of the Transfiguration, and he would not have written this if Moses and Elias had only appeared in glorious vision, and were seen but spoke

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not. It was meet that those who were going forth to bear witness to Jesus Christ should learn from these two great seers of old, the Patriarch and the Prophet, that the Law and the Prophets of the former dispensation showed that Christ must die, and rise the third day from the dead, a handsel of blessed immortality.

Finally there are those who advance this objection: that the Apostles were simply mistaken in their ideas if they supposed it was a Spirit when Our Risen Lord stood in their midst. This is tantamount to asserting that Spirits never appear, that Spirits never manifest themselves to men, and that those who hold the contrary (be they Apostles or who they may) are simple ignorant folk, duped and credulous. Yet S. Luke in his Gospel, xxiv, 37, distinctly says that when the Apostles saw Our Lord they supposed they saw a Spirit. Calvin,[6] in order to deny the reality of apparitions and that Spirits return, protests that the disciples did not think they had seen a Spirit, but a type of the Resurrection, which alarmed them. If this were the case, as Calvin pretends, we have yet another reason for setting up Images of the Saints in our churches, and the erection of Images would be instituted by Our Saviour's example here. Such, indeed, is the case, but we do not derive it from this passage in S. Luke. Moreover, Jesus Christ could just as well cause the actual thing to appear as any image of it. When then we read that the Apostles thought they saw a Spirit we know that they believed Spirits could appear, and that in those days, as now, everybody of sense and experience held the opinion that Spirits certainly may and as certainly do manifest themselves.

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CHAPTER XXIV

How Those to Whom Spirits Appear should Conduct and Demean themselves

THE darkness of night alarming our fearful senses often makes us imagine something which has no existence at all. How much more should we dread and tremble at that other night which comes to seel our eyes until they open on a sudden to the judgement of God, no fantasy, but eternal verity. S. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, xii; Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities*, xix, 7; and Eusebius in the 10 chapter of Book II of his *Ecclesiastical History* relate how a great multitude of those who were honourable and excelled in dignity, yet a people of a foolish and ignorant mind, beholding King Herod seated on his royal throne, richly apparelled in robes of silver tissue and gold passemented with pearls, none the less had their eyes seeled by the wonderful glistening of his robes, shining by reason of the beams of the rising sun cast on them. Presently his flatterers, and the whole mobile, were fondly wrought to believe that it was a god who harangued them most eloquently in polished words, and with overt blasphemy cried aloud proclaiming him divine. But God, who is a jealous God and will not be dishonoured nor mocked, incontinently avenged Him of this vainglorious puppet god, and turned the impious worship and adoration into a hissing and a scorn. For Herod was seized with a sudden griping and most vehement pain all over his belly, and then burst forth in his entrails a vast fry of worms, and being thus eaten and devoured, he fell down all putrid and corrupt and gave up the ghost, a most terrible and agonizing death.

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In ancient days the evil-working and besotted Pagans and heathen seeled the eyes and blinded the judgement of men by the vaſt extent and extreme grandeur of the magnifical temple of Serapis [1] at Alexandria in Egypt, as also by the immense size, the stateliness and towering height of that superb colossus, the huge wooden idol named Serapis, which they set up there, for, as Rufinus tells in his Eleventh Book and twenty-third chapter, and is also related in the *Hiſtoria Tripartita* by Theodoret,[2] these prieſts of Serapis in order that they might the better moſt egregiously and moſt knavishly abuse and chouse the people with their shifty device and full crafty fetch, had secretly fashioned a certain little dormer-window, so contrived that the rising sun muſt needs caſt his firſt beams and arrows upon the mouth of this great idol, whereat the crowd of worshippers, a deluded and superſtitious throng, were easily persuaded to believe that the Sun in token of the power and divinity of Serapis had come to kiss their idol on the lips. So firm were they in this opinion and with such reverence did they regard the idol that there was none who did not confidently hold that if a man dared irreligiously to touch the god the very bowels of the earth would gape open and swallow both him and all who saw the deed in a bottomless abyss. Hence this temple and god Serapis were regarded by all, high and low, with the greatest reſpect, with reverence and fear. But this sacrilegious game, which was played long enough, was brought to an end amid laughter and derision of the god when, at the bidding of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, a Chriſtian soldier, armed with a ſtout hatchet, broke up amain and battered the huge and haughty moppet while he sent the splinters flying in a thousand bits, and hiccius doccius! there rushed out, scattering in all directions, myriads of rats and mice who had built their neſts in the very head and cranium of the god, and who ran off golynoly, golynolo, when their home was deſtroyed. The idol was burned to ashes in a furnace seven times hot, and never any harm,

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forsooth, resulted either to the city of Alexandria or to the zealous soldier.

The folly and blindness of these people in worshipping an idol which was soon smashed and calcined, unable to defend or avenge itself, may serve as a lesson to some men not to admire and adore other idols, which themselves fashion and set up in a shrine to worship as god.

Now if people can be so imposed upon and tricked day after day in full noon—and wrought to imagine they see even when the sun shines brightest what does not exist, must it not follow that at night when all is dark and shaded in treacherous gloom a man may easily enough be misled and deceived by strange sights and apparitions, against which we ought indeed to be on our guard.

We should always bear in mind that the devil can take the shape of someone who is dead, even a good and holy person of eminent sanctity, for S. Paul warns us: "Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light," II Corinthians xi, 14. A Spirit is often called an Angel because God sends Spirits as His messengers to do His bidding. A Spirit went forth at God's command and was a lying Spirit in the mouth of all Achab's prophets to lead that King to destruction. Now this was an Angel of death and darkness and deceit. Not infrequently this Angel can play his part so cleverly that he is taken to be an Angel of light and truth, as he was by this company of false prophets who supposed (as we may believe) that they were assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost, as is written in III Kings (A.V., I Kings) xxii.

A true prophet is made manifest by the working of miracles, such as the signs and wonders God performed through His servant Elias. *Miracles are a sign and a proof of the true religion preached by the Apostles of Jesus Christ.* Wherefore the devil, who knows this full well, is constrained to attempt to counterfeit and imitate these miracles, even in this our own time, as witness the feigned miracles of Martin Luther,[3] and when Calvin attempted to raise from the dead a man named le

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Brulle,[4] as also in Apostolic times when the followers of Simon Magus were so puffed with their own conceits that they promised they would by their esoteric arts bring down from heaven the souls of the holy Prophets, as Tertullian tells us in his treatise *De Anima*.[5] The same writer adds that this is sheer idolatry, for just as in the worship of devils Satan pretends to be a god, so when incantations and spells are employed devils appear feigning to be men raised from the dead, whose human shapes and countenances they assume, under which guise they are able to trick and trepan in a thousand evil ways. Tertullian shrewdly remarks that it is easy enough for Satan to blind the eyes of the body once he has seeled the eyes of the soul. Pharao and the Egyptians thought that the rods of the magicians were serpents, but Aaron's rod devoured their rods. Lactantius, in his *Divine Institutions*, Book VII, "On the Source of Error," c. xvii, writes that evil spirits conceal themselves under the shapes and names of dead men, and then they spread their nets for the living, pretending to be such a one or such an other. Thus the Pagans worshipped demons as Jupiter and Juno. Severus Sulpicius, who wrote the *Life of S. Martin*,[6]—now these two holy men were contemporaries and lived about three hundred years after Our Lord's Ascension—relates in his First Book how once upon a time there appeared in his chamber to S. Martin, the devil, who was aureoled in dazzling light, having upon his head a stately diadem set with precious stones as Kings and Emperors of old were wont to wear, gold shone all bejewelled and begemmed upon his feet, most comely and most royal to see. At the first S. Martin was astonied, and he gazed long at the vision, which regarded him wistly. Then the devil spoke, saying: *I am Jesus Christ, Who manifest myself to thee.* But S. Martin replied never a word. The devil thereupon took up his word: *Martin, Martin, why doubtest thou? I say unto thee I am Christ Jesus.* Whereat the Spirit of God enlightened S. Martin who knew it was the devil, and made answer: *Jesus Christ said not that*

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He would return in a robe of purple, crowned with a golden crown. Verily I will not believe that Christ hath appeared unto me until I see Him as He suffered upon rood at Calvary, having the print of the nails in hands and feet, and the wound in His side. Whereupon the apparition vanished away like a foul black smoke, leaving so horrid a stench and noisome stink in the chamber as showed it was the fiend himself.

S. Augustine in the Third Book of his treatise *De Anima et Origine eius*,[7] tells how Vincent, a Donatist, was bidden by a certain vision to employ his eloquence and polished style in speaking and writing against the Catholic Faith.

Thus, as Cicero tells us in his *De Legibus*,[8] Romulus after his death appeared to Proculus Julius, announcing that he was a god and in heaven, named Quirinus, under which dedication he bade the Romans build in his honour a magnificent and surpassing rich temple.

In view of these happenings well may we take to heart and ponder the words of S. John: *Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God.* The First Epistle of S. John iv, 1.

There are four ways by which one may distinguish a Good Spirit from a bad Spirit.

First, if it is a Good Spirit who appears there is a certain awe and reverential fear. Even Our Most Blessed Lady, the Mother of God, on seeing the Archangel S. Gabriel and hearing his Ave, was troubled at his saying, and thought with Herself what manner of salutation this should be. And the Angel said to Her: Fear not, MARY, for thou hast found grace with God, and humbly kneeling before his Queen he delivered God's message.

Holy Zachary, again, when he saw the Archangel, was troubled, and fear fell upon him (S. Luke i, 12). The Shepherds, also, feared with a great fear when an angel of the Lord stood by them at the Nativity of Christ (S. Luke ii, 9). Manue and his wife were sore afraid when the Angel announced the birth of Samson (Judges xiii). On the first

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Resurrection morning when the three Maries, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Mary Salome came early to the sepulchre and saw the Angel they were astonished. But the Angel said to them: *Be not affrighted* (S. Mark xvi, 1–8). Yet a trembling and fear had seized them, and they were afraid. S. John the Evangelist writes in the Apocalypse that he fell down before the Angel, xxii, 8–9. Many other instances does the Bible relate, showing that those to whom Angels appear are filled with awe and trembling, yet the Angels never depart without reassuring and comforting them.

In the case of evil Spirits it is quite the contrary. They flatter and cajole; then they lead to bad thoughts and wicked deeds and desires; and finally they exhibit their true colours, alarming and terrifying those who have seen them as they depart furiously.

Secondly: Good and evil Spirits may very often (but not always) be distinguished by their form. Evil Spirits appear as a lion, a bear, a black dog, a puddock or hop-toad, a serpent, a great grimalkin. If we see any of these it is certes a familiar. Good Spirits appear as a dove,[9] a man of gracious aspect, a lamb, or aureoled with dazzling light, all in white.[10] It should be noted whether the voice is soft, agreeable, musical, sweetly-sounding, consolatory and soothing; or else if it be rough, harsh and loud. Moreover, the words, gestures and look of the apparition are carefully to be remarked. Does the vision speak humbly, acknowledging sins and trespasses done, with tears and sad groans: Or does it vomit pride, threats, curses, heresy and blasphemy?

Above all, it is of the last importance to consider whether the apparition says or suggests anything contrary to the Word of God, to the Apostolic traditions, to the Catholic Faith; anything in fine contrary to faith and morals. When Spirits who appear recommend and enjoin good works and pious prayers they are almost certainly holy souls or Saints, and yet the Apostle warns us that Satan transformeth himself into

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an angel of light the better to deceive. But let us arm ourselves with the infallible maxim of S. John, which he gives in his First Epistle, iv, 1–3; Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world. By this is the spirit of God known. Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; And every spirit that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God. (*That dissolveth Jesus*, either by denying His Sacred Humanity, or His Divinity.) Prove all things: hold fast that which is good, S. Paul directs us (I Thessalonians v, 21). If an apparition counsels and commends certain good works or devotions it will probably be well to perform these. Yet if such a vision advises some long voyage (for example) which it is practically impossible to undertake, it may be questioned whether the Spirit is good or bad, although there is no actual suggestion of anything contrary to Catholic faith or practice, and in such a case it is well to seek the advice and ruling of some wise and discreet head, one who is acquainted with and has studied the supernatural. S. Athanasius, in his *Thirty-fifth Question to Antiochus*,[11] says that if we were to believe every apparition sad errors would arise, since many evil Spirits would seize upon the opportunity to appear under the form of the deceased, saying that they had risen from the dead, and thus they would propagate and teach all kinds of false notions concerning the next world and the future life,[12] all of which would do great harm and damage to living men, and eventually lead to destruction.

If the apparition bids us fast and pray, be instant in humble supplication to God, give alms, live in charity, then we are bound to obey and accept, for these things are enjoined by God's own command. Only a good Spirit will say: Walk uprightly, neither covet nor steal what is another's, make restitution if you have taken or acquired anything falsely or by stealth, refrain from any oaths or blasphemy, swear not, curse not, keep from all revelling wherein is drunkenness,

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gluttony and excess, cleanse the heart of all evil thoughts, do not give way to hatred, malice or wrath; lie not, neither deceive; pray unceasingly; go frequently to Church and hear Holy Mass devoutly; humbly hear and humbly obey God's word. Now the devil delights in none of these things. Indeed, nothing irks and chafes him more than when he sees men confirmed and persisting in good works. He is a liar and the father of lies, the spirit of iniquity, but he cannot encourage anybody to tread the way of virtue and truth. He may, it is not impossible, for some dark design seem to applaud and exhort at first, but he will very soon try to tempt men out of the right path and seduce them into error and sin. If he were to show his horns at the first moment, we should be on our guard and flee his wiles. The false prophets, who in our own day have come in sheep's clothing, have pretended to have the welfare and salvation of the poor mightily at heart, but they very soon show that they are children of the Father of Lies, sons of Satan, seeking nothing but their own ends and aggrandisement and wealth, puffed up with ambition and pride. All the modern sects and heretics—Martinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Adamites, Tritheists, Antitrinitarians, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Sacramentarians, Evangelicals, Puritans, Naturalists, Politiques, Machiavelists, Lucianists, Bodinists,[13] and the rest who have made so much noise and are highly esteemed by the world—one and all began their false teaching by declaring they were favoured by God, and that they were come to show men the right way and cleanse them from sin. It is very well known that certain brigands and robbers, joining a traveller's company begin the most pious and moral conversation, discoursing of the wickedness of the world and of the pains and punishments which so surely await bad men, sweetly praising the future reward of the good, so that they lull their victims into a false security and thus taking them unawares they are able to plunder and murder them the more conveniently and more securely. Satan acts in precisely the same way, and can at

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first discourse very finely and very religiously to make us think he is an Angel of light, so that we may be led to trust him. He plays his part, just as false Sinon[14] (of whom Vergil speaks in the Second Æneid) played the traitor, most cunningly and speciously masking his lies under a semblance of candid truth, in order that he might more easily betray the Trojans to destruction.

Satan acts, I say, like a cunning gamester or tattmonger who when drawing in some rich gull loses a little money at first in order to enmesh his caravan and lure him until he is stripped of all. Just so some cogging mate will pay back the money he has borrowed on the exact day and at the precise moment it becomes due. This happens twice or thrice may be, and then my master will obtain the loan of a considerable sum from the put he is about to cozen gaily, and the lender may whistle for his gold. In the same way does Satan feign to encourage us in the truth and speak seeming pious words. It is a snare to draw men by his birdlime flattery from the narrow path. He dares us with light as larks are dazzled and caught. Just as a merchant who wishes to sell off some commodity dresses it to the best advantage and deacons it devisedly, so Satan under show and colour of fairness and truth, envenoms and infects the good with evil, for he has honey indeed in his mouth, but beware the serpent's fatal sting.

CHAPTER XXV

How to Prove and Adjure Spirits

In the common walks and ordinary businesses of everyday life with its journey work we instinctively suspect and misdoubt men who flatter and gloze overmuch, and so ought we to be on our guard against Spirits who essay to tickle our

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vanity. Such precaution not only experience and many a wise saw teach, but as regards the supernatural world Holy Scripture warns us that we must not easily believe every Spirit, especially in those things that appertain to salvation.

Our Lord Jesus Christ when first He sent out His twelve Apostles (S. Matthew x), gave divine counsel: *Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves.* Whereunto He added: *But beware of men.* How much more then must we beware of devils. I cannot too often repeat S. Paul's words (Galatians i, 8), though "an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema." Again, S. John saith: Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God, the First Epistle of S. John iv, 1.

When the Angel appeared to Manue, the father of the strong man Samson, Manue inquired whether the Angel was a man of God.[1] Gedeon also desired a sign that it was a good Angel who spoke with him.[2] S. Zachary even was troubled when the Archangel S. Gabriel announced the birth of S. John Baptist, and doubted. *Whereby shall I know this?* he questioned. The Archangel gave him a sign, albeit S. Zachary was dumb until the nativity of the Baptist, because he had not believed the divine message.[3]

It was the Archangel S. Gabriel who appeared to Our Blessed Lady, saluting her with Ave, Queen of Heaven, and announcing the Conception, Nativity and Life of Our Lord. Our Lady having heard, was troubled at his saying, and thought unto Herself what manner of salutation this should be. The Angel then asked Her consent to the Incarnation, which She gave, saying: *Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it done to me according to thy word.* There can be no better example and pattern in anything than the Mother of God, and She (as we have seen) did not easily believe the Archangel, but modestly inquired, and surely proved that he was indeed of God.

If then we hear any strange noise or crash in a house, or if

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we see some figure or appearance, we must not at once conclude that this is a disembodied Spirit manifesting itself to us, but let us rather, as did the boy Samuel,[4] ask and inquire two or three times. Neither let us be overmuch startled and alarmed by sudden shrieks and clamour or loud yells, for if evil Spirits appear they cannot do us any further harm than God permits. If they are good Spirits they will entreat us well. If it is a mere irrelevant and polymorphic phantasm without volition or intelligence, a mere shadow, how foolish to be afraid of it! It is quite true that we are naturally affrighted and startled in some degree at any such appearance or at a ghost, and our hair will rise and prickle on our heads, nevertheless even if it be a Spirit of evil and malignant aspect, who upsets tables and chairs and jolts furniture with a wrack and hurly-burly,[5] do not fear any the more, nor tremble and shake, but boldly say: *If thou art of God, speak; if thou art not of God, begone.* Some are of opinion that the best way to drive off any Spirit they may see is by banning and cursing, nay, even by blasphemy. For, they say, that unless one is threatening and violent in abuse the Spirit may proceed to molest and plaguily vex those to whom it appeareth. But Our Lord Jesus Christ, than Whom none could know how best to deal with Spirits, directed us to be instant in prayer; S. Matthew xvii, 19–20; S. Mark ix, 27–28. We must on no account then launch forth imprecations or swear and rail on, or become outrageous in our address. Others would have recourse to the sword if they see a ghost and rely on weapons.[6] They even try to drive a phantom out of the window or door. There was a case of this in 1574 at Lyons on the Rhone, when a soldier stationed in the Castle—he had been a stout waggon-man—several times sprung up out of his bed at night to chase and drive off the Spirit who was disturbing the whole building with his din and nightly black Sanctus. The soldier deemed that he could stop this annoyance and injury by pursuing it with his naked toledo. None the less he utterly failed time after time, and was obliged in

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the end—as he himself told me—to find some other way of ridding the place from this disturbance.

Whilst it is necessary not to give way to any panicky fear or affright, on the other hand a man seeing a ghost should not be over-confident in himself and presumptuously daring. Some men in dealing a blow at a phantom have felt as though they encountered a soft feathery substance. Others, again, in this case have been under the impression that they have knocked against a stack of wooden billets which come skeltering about them. In fine, on such occasions no sword of tempered steel however trusty will avail, we must fight with spiritual weapons.

Upon hearing any strange noise or crack in a house let us fervently recommend ourselves to God, and every night and morning pray to our Father, Who will protect us, even as Jesus Christ taught us by word and example whilst He walked this earth, saying: *Lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil* (or *from the evil one*), S. Matthew vi, 13. In another place Christ saith that the evil Spirit *is not cast out but by prayer and fasting*, S. Matthew xvii, 26. Likewise He warned S. Peter: *Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.*[1] *But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not*, S. Luke xxii, 31–32. Accordingly, if anyone is tormented and infested by apparitions it is good to have recourse to the general and public prayers of the Church, as well as privately and individually to pray without ceasing.

The Christians of the primitive Church knew how to treat visitations of Spirits wisely and well. They led in their first fervour a holy life, adorned and enriched with good works of every kind, fastings, watchings, prayer and supplications, fleeing all suspicion of ill. If a Spirit appeared to a man, he signed himself with the health-giving Sign of the Cross, just as all good Christians bless themselves to-day.

Tertullian, in his *The Soldier's Crown* states that the faithful very frequently thus guarded themselves, signing their foreheads with the Cross.[7] S. Jerome, writing to Eustochium,

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says: At every movement, at every step bless thyself with the Cross; and writing to Demetrias, he admonishes her often to sign her forehead with the Cross, that the Angel of Death who slew the first-born of Egypt may find no fault in her.[8] S. Augustine, S. John Chrysostom, Origen, Epiphanius Theodoret, and others praise and magnify the power of the Sign of the Cross. S. Athanasius in his treatise on the *Humanity of the Son of God*,[9] says that evil Spirits in old times have caused men to err, appearing to them on the borders of streams and at fountains and wells, in deep woods and amid lonely rocky places, fascinating their senses and deluding them with glamour. But since the Word of God became Incarnate, the ethnic illusions and oracular pratings have failed and are ceasing fast, nor have they any force if men only make the Sign of the Cross which instantly dispels all cozenage and wily crafts of evil Spirits. The great Doctor emphasizes this in more than one passage of his book.

Lactantius Firmian, in his *Divine Institutions*, Book IV, chapters 26 and 27, tells us that the evil Spirit can neither vex nor molest, nay, not so much as approach, those who sign their foreheads with the Cross. He adds that the Holy Apostles always employed the Sacred Sign when they expelled devils from the possessed or healed the sick. The Israelites in the land of Egypt sprinkled the blood of the first Paschal Lamb on the doors and posts of their houses and were saved from death, because the exterminating Angel, seeing the Sign of the Cross in blood, passed by those dwellings and did no harm.[10] Those who had the Sign Tau on their foreheads were preserved in Jerusalem. The demons themselves confess in their own despite that they can do nothing against those who are fortified and protected by the Sign of the Cross. Many holy men have told us the same, and among others, S. Gregory Nazianzen in his first Oration to Julian, for the Apostate having one day withdrawn secretly to some hidden shrine in a heathen temple was there horribly alarmed by a most hideous spectre, from whom he saved himself only in

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making the Sign of the Cross. This same Doctor, as well as Aurelius Prudentius, who wrote a poem upon the Life of S. Cyprian,[11] both tell us that aforetime Cyprian was a magician who became enamoured of and burned with passion for S. Justina, a Christian maid, and designing to work her to his lust by charms and bewitchments, he consulted his familiar how best he might accomplish his end. Maugre himself, the demon, confessed that neither spells nor cantrips any can hurt or prevail against the true worshippers of Jesus Christ, and that the Sign of the Cross destroys infernal power. The rest of the story is known to all.

Moreover the Name of JESUS, our only hope of salvation, hath such virtue and such might, that we are protected from all harm if we but pronounce that Holy Name, in which every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.[12]

Therefore if any ghastly apparition suddenly affront us let us invoke the Name of JESUS, and then pray humbly and with confidence to God. If a Spirit appear, and we know not whether it be a good or an evil Spirit, call on JESUS, and ask Him if it be a good Spirit to grant us courage and understanding to hear what it may request us to do; or if it be an evil Spirit ask Him again to protect and shield us from the snare. If, therefore, we hear any sudden crack or noise we must fortify ourselves with the Sign of the Cross and the Holy Name, and thus armed we can prove if the Spirits be of God or no.

Our holy Mother Church bids us also read our Bibles continually. Let us search the Scriptures. If any demon molests and alarms us we may put the foul fiend to flight by devoutly reciting Psalms, and in particular the Psalm *Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius*[1] Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered.[13]

Above all let us make a good general confession to God's representative, the priest. Confession is dreaded and loathed by all evil Spirits, since in the Sacrament of Penance, we follow

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the example of Our Saviour Jesus Christ when He delivered the man possessed of a deaf and dumb devil, which afflicted and tormented him. For Our Lord Jesus Christ cast out the evil Spirit from the man's body, and the priest in pronouncing absolution casts the evil Spirit from the penitent's soul, for these words, *Ego te absoluo, I absolve thee*, have so great virtue and power that the black and hideous fumes and stench of sin, together with the evil Spirits who are princes of darkness, disperse and scatter at the voice of the priest, just as upon the Day of Creation the darkness vanished and was no more at the voice of God, Who said: *Let there be light.*

The Sacrament of Penance must be meetly followed by the Sacrament of the Altar. The horror and fear which evil Spirits feel at a good confession are redoubled by a good communion, than which there is no surer defence against the devil and all his works. For the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, devoutly received and with sincere contrition and repentance, as also a firm resolution to hate and abhor sin and flee the occasions of sin, most healthfully refreshes the conscience, renews and repairs our spiritual vigour, makes us participators in the merits of Christ Jesus, stirs up devotion, enlightens faith, confirms and strengthens our Christian hope, rekindles the fire of charity, moderates and stills our passions, wipes away our faults, effaces the stain of sin, fortifies and prearms us against future temptations, and wholly disenables the malice and sick fantasies of evil Spirits. And what time the Body of Our Lord is lifted up, not only when we ourselves purpose to receive God in Holy Communion, but daily at His Altars, morning by morning, a true and lively Sacrifice and propitiation for the quick and the dead, we shall do best to assist at this most adorable Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, in order that we may ask Almighty God to banish far from our homes and protect us from the visitation of those unruly Spirits who cause such fear and such horror in the places where they walk. And if we do this we shall be of a truth following the good ensample and practice of those

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Christians concerning whom S. Augustine writes. For this holy Doctor, relating various miracles which were done in his day in order that men might thus be brought to believe on Jesus Christ, in the eighth chapter of the Twenty-Second Book *Of the City of God* tells the following history: There was well known to me (he says) a man of wealth named Hesperius, a neighbour of ours, who dwelt at Fussala, the master of a farm named Zubedi, and he was sadly plagued and tormented by evil Spirits who sorely vexed both his cattle and his servants on the estate. It so chanced that I was away when he sought the Church's help, but he begged one of our priests to visit the farm, and banish the Spirits who haunted him to distraction. One of us accordingly went to the house and there offered up the Holy Sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood, with the especial intention that this haunting might cease. Now there was in this house some cantle from Jerusalem, from Christ's very sepulchre, a gift presented to Hesperius by a friend, and the goodman had kept this cantle in his own chamber to preserve himself from supernatural invasion, just as we to-day might keep an *Agnus Dei* or some Relics. In the end the house was freed from molestation by Spirits.

Hence it is proved that the sovran remedy to drive away evil Spirits is the celebration of Holy Mass, and we have a striking example of this fact in our own time and in our own experience, to wit the case of the possessed woman of Laon whose history [14] has been recently written by Jean Boulaese, a learned Professor of Hebrew. God permitted an evil Spirit to possess this poor woman in order to confound the sceptics and heretics who dare to assert that the Mass is a blasphemous idol, an abomination which not a few reprobates are ready to vomit forth to-day. But it was proven even to these that the Mass is a true propitiatory Sacrifice, by the power and virtue of which evil Spirits are put to flight and the possessed delivered and set free. Jean Boulaese tells us that several protestants and followers of the new religion, who held the

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Mass to be an idol, ſtrained every effort to prevent the miracle. Amongſt others a libertine physician, named Carlier, privily adminiſtered a poisonous draught to the demoniac, hoping to kill her incontinently. It is also related how a proteſtant miniſter of Chaulnes, named Mameiac, contrived to faſten a heavy ſtone to the sufferer and push her into the river. The intention of this wicked deed can have been naught else but to prevent her being delivered by Holy Mass to the greater glory of God.

In order to safeguard ourself againſt the crafts and attacks of evil Spirits it is well to have a ſtoup of Holy Water at the bed's-head, and to sprinkle both oneself and the room with it every day, night and morning, for the aspersion of Holy Water is moſt healthful and efficacious, a sure protection againſt the malice and attacks of evil Spirits. Of the many authors who have written of the virtue of Holy Water we may mention Cassiodorus in the *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, ix, 24; S. Epiphanius in his *Firſt Book on Heresies*, Heresy xxx; the Eighth Book of the Clementine Conſtitutions, xxxv; and S. Theodoret in his *Ecclesiaſtical Hiſtory*, V, xxi.[15]

CHAPTER XXVI

Why Almighty God allows extraordinary Portents and Wonders manifold to happen before great changes and commotions in the State; and how we muſt guide and rule our Conduct at such crises.

Those extraordinary signs and omens which may be discerned before the death of any great person or on the eve of sudden changes and commotions in the ſtate,[1] are very advantageous and helpful to all good Chriſtians, albeit they sorely perplex and amaze unbelievers and agnoſtics. For

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hereby God shows us that nothing in this world happens fortuitously and by mere chance, but that life and death, prosperity and adversity are in His hand. It is foul shame and sin to think, as the Epicureans vainly imagine, that whether a man lives or dies, whether his affairs go well or ill, whether Empires totter and fall or are ſtable and secure, God cares for none of these things, and is not concerned with His creation. Our Lord Jesus Chriſt tells us the very contrary: *Are not two ſparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father* (S. Matthew x, 29). *The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord,* saith Solomon (Proverbs xxxi, 1). God *taketh away kingdoms and eſtabliſheth them* (Daniel ii, 21). *I will give thee a king in my wrath, and will take him away in my indignation* saith the Lord (Osee xiii, 11.) God, saith holy Job, *maketh a man that is a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people* (xxxiv, 30).

When sins abound and a people turn from the right way Almighty God takes good Kings unto Himself, and gives the nations monarchs of oppression and cruel tyrants in the land. Yet in His mercy He will not do so without omens and warnings enow, ſtrange portents and extraordinary presages, such as thunder in a clear sky, a great hurly-burly and noise in the heavens, a clamour and piercing shrieks all men may hear. All this is wrought by the miniſtry of Angels. He also suffers fiends to cause diabolic phenomena so that men's hearts fail with fear, and He allows Satan to fill their minds with sick fantasies, with ghaſtly apprehensions and horrid imaginings, so that they enjoy neither reſt nor repose and are sore amazed by day and by night. When such portents are descried we muſt by no means moil and dadder foolishly as planet-ſtricken simpletons and utterly undone, not knowing whither to turn; let us rather arouse ourselves and collect our wandering senses, resolving to repent and be sorry for our grievous offences, whereby we have so outraged the Divine Majeſty of God; let us take heed to do His Will more carefully, let us watch and resolve obediently to walk in His

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ways lest as Our Lord Jesus Christ warned us, He shall come in an hour we know not, whilst we slumber and sleep. Let us learn to bear our sorrows patiently, ay even cheerfully day by day. And although many afflictions that befall us are the work of evil Spirits, let us always remember that God loves us and cares for us, He keepeth us and protects us from the snares of Satan, who is never idle, but always seeking occasion and making opportunity to lead us into sin, which happily he cannot do if we will but correspond with the grace of God and call upon Our Lord in our every hour of need.

Even ethnic folk and Pagans realized that the omens and prodigies which foretell the fate of Kings and the overthrow of republics were supernatural signs sent by Heaven, and they believed such portents to be revelations from their gods, as we may read again and again in the poets and historians of Greece and Rome. Thus Plutarch in his Life of Alexander tne Great gives us a full and detailed account of the prodigies that foreshadowed the death of this hero,[2] who for a great while let these extraordinary events pass unheeded, being deceived, and thinking that some trifling circumstances, which went cross, boded ill-fortune. Upon this Plutarch very wisely comments that it is an exceedingly dangerous thing to disregard the warnings God gives us, and to indulge in superstitious fears born of fortuitous and meaningless accidents. For as in all other events of life we are bound to use reason and common sense, so must we be circumspect with regard to these signs and omens. The same word of caution may be given in respect of other portents and marvels. It is told in the Life of Camillus [3] the famous Roman general, that when he had captured and razed to the ground the city of Veii, he then proceeded (in fulfilment of his vow) to carry the statue of Juno to Rome. And having sent for workmen for this purpose, he first sacrificed to the goddess, praying her to accept well of the Romans' good will, and that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other gods who had the protection of the City of Rome. Some say the

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image answered that she was content, and would go with a good will. Whereupon Camillus gave orders that the statue should be reverently carried to a temple at Rome. Authors who have written of marvels such as this relate many extraordinary things, to wit that images have sweated, that they have been heard to sigh, that they have averted their faces, wept, laughed aloud, look smilingly and cheerfully on their worshippers, or lowered their eyes to earth and drooped their lids. Plutarch further writes that he himself could tell of many such wonders, as well those rehearsed in ancient story, as those he has heard men of his own day affirm, not lightly, nor uncredible nor easily to be condemned. But for such matters, it is dangerous to give too much credit to them, as also to discredit them too much, by reason of the weakness of man's nature, which hath no certain bounds, nor can such itself, but runneth sometimes after vanity and superstition, and other which also despiseth and contemneth holy and divine matters, and therefore the mean is the virtue, and not to go too far in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best.

Valerius Maximus, in his First Book [4] candidly allows that all the miracles said to be worked by the gods are hardly to be believed. None the less, true miracles, proven and unquestioned, ought to make us very watchful and cautious. A good steed who goes his paces well pricks his ears at the whistle of the whip. We also in our passage through this world, even if we are endeavouring our best to walk in the narrow way, should any strange portent happen, either in our domestic businesses or abroad, some general sign warning a city, or province, or kingdom, ought thereupon to regulate our days with even stricter precision and more fervent devotion, turning more and more nearly to God. When the Pagans were admonished by heavenly presages and celestial prodigies, they were greatly moved and amazed, for they at once thronged their temples and went in solemn procession through the streets, ordaining public prayers, in order that

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they might appease the gods, and cause their deities to be favourable and propitious to the suppliant nation.

How much the more then shall not we who live in the true light of the Christian Faith, when Almighty God warns us, by some remarkable sign or miracle, some strange appearance in His pavilion the sky, mantling with thunder clouds or blazing with the Auric-bolt, that for our sins He is about to visit us with plagues and the chastisement of His wrath, shall not we, I say, turn unto Him with tears and prayers, bewailing and acknowledging our offences, amending our lives and forsaking evil, that haply He may have mercy and spare His penitent people.

So much, then, have I thought well to write and set forth upon Apparitions, Ghosts, and Spirits, and may my little book and all things on earth or in Heaven redound to the greater Glory of God, to Whom be All Honour, Glory, Dominion and Power throughout the ages of ages. Amen.

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TAILLEPIED: COMMENTARY

DEDICATION

Monseigneur Claude Groulart. Claude Groulart was born at Dieppe in 1551 of wealthy parents, and in his day became eminent as a lawyer. He studied in his youth at Valence, where de Thou was a fellow collegian. In his earlier years, of unsettled opinions and dissolute life, he was resident in Geneva from the autumn of 1572 to 1573, or early in the following year. He also learned Greek and Latin from Scaliger. On his return to France he either abandoned his heterodoxy or (as has been suggested) so disguised it that in 1585 he was appointed first president of the Parliament of Rouen. He died in December, 1607, leaving a distinguished name as a Patron of learning. Groulart gave the world several translations of the Greek Orators, and Huet highly praises his version of Lysias. See further Louis Moreri, *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, ed. 10 vols., folio, Paris, 1759; vol. v, p. 407.

Aristobulus. When Pompey was at Damascus, Aristobulus, the son of Alexander Jannæus, sent him a gift of a golden vine or "garden," valued at five hundred talents, which Strabo says he had himself seen in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, where it was solemnly dedicated to the god. It was called "Terpole" (*Delight*), and suitably inscribed. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIV, iii, 1. Tr. Whiston, revised by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto, Bohn, vol. III, pp. 6–7, with Whiston's note.

Julius Pollux. Of Naucratis in Egypt, a Greek sophist and grammarian, dedicated the *Onomasticon* (his only surviving work) to Caesar Commodus. Therefore it is earlier than A.D. 177 in which year Commodus became Augustus.

Vitruvius. The famous *De Architectura Libri X* is dedicated to Augustus.

Valerius Maximus. The *De Factis Dictisque Memorabilibus Libri IX* is dedicated to Tiberius.

Diophanes. Of Nicaea in Bithynia in the first century B.C., abridged the agricultural work of Cassius Dionysius for King Deiotarus of Galatia.

Valerius Flaccus. The *Argonautica*, an epic addressed (as we gather from the exordium) to Vespasian.

Oppian. The reference is to the author of the *Cynegitica*, addressed to the Emperor Caracalla.

Seneca. Most of his works were inscribed to distinguished men, thus

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the *De Providentia* is addressed to the younger Lucilius, procurator of Sicily. The *De Tranquillitate* and *De Constantia* are addressed to Annaeus Serenus, *praefectus uigilum* under Nero. The *De Clementia*, written at the beginning of Nero's reign, is addressed to that Emperor.

Aristides. Surnamed Theodorus, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who was patronized and favoured by Marcus Aurelius.

Quadratus. Ummidius Quadratus, an admirer of the younger Pliny, whom he took as his model in oratory and addressed with profoundest respect. Pliny, *Epistolae*, vi, 11, 29, and vii, 24.

S. Justin. Eusebius, IV, xviii, tells us that S. Justin addressed a "Discourse in favour of our Faith to Antoninus Pius, to his Sons, and to the Roman Senati," and an "Apology" to Marcus Aurelius.

Athenagoras. His *Apology* is addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius, and his son Commodus, conquerors, "but above all philosophers."

S. Ambrose. In 378 S. Ambrose wrote the two first Books of his *De Fide* at the express wish of the Emperor Gratian, to whom also are dedicated the three Books *De Spiritu Sancto*, 381.

S. Hilary. The reference to the First Treatise of S. Hilary addressed to Constantius in 356. A Second Treatise, similarly addressed to this Emperor, followed in January, 360.

Peucer. Gaspar Peucer, 1525–1602. *Commentarius de praecipuis diuinationum generibus, in quo . . . discernuntur artes et impostvrae Diabolicae atque obseruationes natae ex superstitione et cum hac coniunctae . . .*, 8°, 1553, Wittemburg. The famous *Commentarius* was often reprinted. There is a French translation by Simon Goulart, 4°, 1584. Also, Peucer, *De Magia*, Wittemburg, 8°, 1572.

Weyer. *De praestigus daemonum, libri V*, Basileae, 8°, 1563. *Libri VI, de lamiis*, Basil. 4°, 1577. Weyer's works have often been reprinted; *Opera omnia*, Amstel. 4°, 1660.

Milichius. Ludwig Milichius; *Der Zauber-Teufel, d. i. von Zauberei, Wahrsagung-auss H. Schrift und bewerten Scriventen*. Frankfort, 8°, 1563.

Rivius. Joannes Rivius; *De Spectris et apparitionibus umbrarum. Lipsiae*, 8°, 1541.

Camerarius. Joachim Camerarius (Liebhard), 1500–1574. An immensely prolific writer, of whose works it will suffice to mention the *De natura et affectionibus Daemonum*, Lips., 8°, 1576 (from Plutarch with a commentary); and the *De generibus diuinationum*, Lips., 8°, 1576.

Pierre Martyr. The *De Spectris* of Ludwig Lavater of Zurich, Geneva, 8°, 1571, was translated into French, *Trois livres des apparitions . . . Suivi de Trois questions proposées et resolues par M. Pierre Martyr, excellent théologien*, 12°, 1571.

Girolamo Cardano. 1501–1576. *De Subtilitate Libri XXI*, folio, Lugduni, 1550. See Henry Morley's *Life of Cardano*, 2 vols, 8°, 1854.

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Bodin. *De la demonomanie sorcias*, Paris, 4°, 1580. There are many editions. *Le fleau des demons et sorcias* (a complete revision of the former work), 8°, 1616.

Cornelius Agrippa. *De occulta philosophia, Libri III* [Colon.] folio, 1533. The notorious *Libri IV* first appeared with the *Elementa Magica* of Pietro d'Abano, Marpurgi, 8°, 1559. Under the title *Libri de ceremonis magicis* it was printed at Paris, 8°, 1567.

Michaelis. Ven. Sebastian Michaelis, O.P. *Pneumalogie. Discours des Esprits* . . . , Paris, 8°, 1587.

Melchior. Melchior de Flavin, *De l'estat des âmes après le trepas* . . . Tholose, 4°, 1563 ; also Paris, 8°, 1579 and 1581. See further Chapter XII, n. 7.

Vair. Leonard Vair, *c.* 1540–1603. *De Fascino, libri tres*, Parisiis, 4°, 1583. Venetiis, apud Aldum, 8°, 1589. French translation, *Trois livres des charmes* . . . , Paris, 8°, 1583.

CHAPTER I

1. *One Supreme Cause.* Dr. Case thus briefly sums up the pertinent points in the teaching of Aristotle's *Metaphysics :* " Above all natural substances, the objects of natural science, there stands a supernatural substance, the object of metaphysics as theology. Nature's boundary is the outer sphere of the fixed stars, which is eternally moved day after day in a uniform circle round the earth. Now, an actual cause is required for an actual effect. Therefore, there must be a prime mover of the prime movable, and equally eternal and uniform. That prime mover is God, who is not the creator only but the mover directly of the heavens, and indirectly through the planets of sublunary substances. God . . . moves as motive (*κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐρώμενον, Met.* Λ 7, 1072 b. 3) . . . For God is a living being, eternal, very good (*ζῶον αἴδιον ἄριστον, ib.* 1072 b. 29). . . . God . . . is . . . the only substance whose essence is entirely without matter and unconjoined with matter." See further *The Metaphysics of Aristotle*, translated by Thomas Taylor (1801) who furnishes an Introduction, copious notes and dissertations.

2. *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus*, The Ninth Book, 66 : " For neither of all the other which are called Gods, nor of Men, nor *Demons*, or Angels, can any one be, though never so little, Good, save only God alone." English translation by Doctor Everard, 1650 ; reprint with Introduction by Hargrave Jennings (200 copies), Bath, 1884, p. 58. See also the edition by W. W. Westcott, 1894. Of the Rev. John

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Everard, D.D., little is known. Alsager Vian states he was born about 1575 and died about 1650.

3. God created all spirits. *Ibid.* II, 12 (p. 9). "But whence, quoth I, or whereof are the Elements of Nature made? *Pisiander.*—Of the Will and counsel of God." And XVI, 6: "For the first of all is God, the Eternal, the Unmade, and the Workman of all things."

4. "L'homme, selon Avicenne, est le plus parfait des êtres intelligibles de notre planète sublunaire; il est doué par sa nature de la puissance virtuelle de s'élever au degré de l'union intime avec les êtres spirituels formant une chaîne continue de pures intelligences au delà de notre horizon terrestre, c'est-à-dire avec les anges et même avec l'être suprême, manifestation directe et immédiate de Dieu, avec l'Intellect actif." A. F. Mehren, "Vues d'Avicenne sur l'Astrologie et sur le Rapport de la Responsabilité humain avec le Destin," pp. 235–250, *Homenaje à D. Francisco Codera*, Zaragoza, 1904. See further *Avicennae . . . Compendium de anima . . . ab Andrea Alpago Bellunensi . . . ex arabico in latinum versa*, Venetiis, 4°, 1546. And also *The Psychology of Ibn Sina*, translated (with notes) by James Middleton Macdonald, M.A., Beyrouth, 1884.

5. Ed. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1615, p. 56. Gilbert Gaulmin thus turns the passage: "Alia quaedam his diuersa Medici nobis persuadere conantur, olum hujus modi affectus non a daemonibus procederi dicunt sed potius ab humoribus, articulis, et spiritibus male affectis." See also the edition *De Operationi Dæmonum*, curante Fo. Fr. Boissonade; Norimbergae, 1838.

6. Thus verses 2 and 3 show the vain reasonings of the wicked: "For we are born of nothing, and after this we shall be as if we had not been: for the breath in our nostrils is smoke, and speech a spark to move our heart, which being put out, our body shall be ashes, and our spirit shall be passed abroad as soft air, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist, which is driven away by the beams of the sun, and overpowered with the heat thereof."

7. In modern editions Ep. CLIX. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (S. Augustinus, t. II), t. XXXIII, p. 699.

8. A town in proconsular Africa, not far from Ultica.

9. *Laon.* The woman's name was Nicole Aubry. She was exorcised by Jean de Bourg, Bishop and Duke of Laon. Many contemporary accounts were written of this astonishing case. The most important are by Jehan Boulaese, Professor of Scripture and Hebrew at the College of

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Montaigut: *Le manuel di l'admirable Victoire du Corps de Dieu sur l'esprit maling Beelzebub, obtenue a Laon*, 1566 . . . Paris, 16°, 1575; *L'abbrigée histoire du grand miracle par nostre Sauueur et Seigneur Iesvs-Christ en la Saincte Hostie du Sacrament de l'Autel fait à Laon* 1566, Paris, 16°, 1573, and *Histoire veritable de la guerison admirable . . . faicte par la bonté de Dieu . . . à l'endroi et d'une femme nommée Nicole Obry . . . en la grande église d'Amiens holimanche dix neufiesme iour de May* 1577, Paris, 1578. See also, Jovet, *Le triomfe du S. Sacrement sur le Démon*, Laon, 12°, 1682; Bodin, *Demonomanie*, III, 6, ed. Lyon, 1593, pp. 336–337. There are modern accounts by Garinet, *Histoire de la magie*, pp. 125, *sqq.*; Görres, *La Mystique Divine*, tr. Sainte Foi, t. IV, p. 532; Calmeil, *De La Folie*, t. I, p. 264; de Cauzons, *La Magie en France*, t. III, pp. 118–121.

10. III, 6. The rubric of this chapter is: "*De Ceux qui sont assiegez & forcez par les malings esprits: & s'il y a moyen de les chasser.* The first edition of the *Demonomanie* is 1580, 4° (Nicéron wrongly speaks of an edition, Paris, 1578, 8°). It must be remembered that by his contemporaries, as indeed by many since, Jean Bodin was regarded as an atheist or at least as an advanced agnostic. Diecman terms him "superstition, judaicæ immortuus," and Scharbau *Iudaismus detectus*, Lubecae, 1722, pp. 36–38, sums Bodin up as "in religione homo inconstantissimus." The *Heptaplomeres* is indeed a most irreligious and scandalous work. Bodin had great genius, but too often his beliefs were those of a mere philosopher. For a full discussion of this point see Roger Chauvisé, *Jean Bodin*, Paris, 1914, c. iii, "La Religion de Bodin," pp. 141–170.

11. *Demonomanie*, Livre Premier, c. ii, ed. Lyon, 1593, pp. 21–29.

12. *Psalmes di David translatez de plusieurs autheurs, et principalement de Clément Marot*, Anvers, 1541, 8°. This version was recommended by Calvin and much used by the Huguenots. See Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, II, an 1558, ed. Paris, 1682, pp. 96–98.

13. *Life of Brutus*; 37. I have quoted from Sir Thomas North's rendering, 1579; reprint "Tudor Translations," 1896, Vol. VI, p. 218.

14. φανταστικὸν; imaginative principle.

15. In the original Greek "Δαίμονας δ'οὔτ εἶναι . . . ." Taillepied: "des esprits ou des anges."

16. *Life of Dion*; 2. North, ed. cit. Vol. VI, p. 129.

17. φάντασμα δαίμονος. Taillepied: "apparitions et visions d'Esprits."

18. *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus*, translated out of the

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Latine, and French, by Tho. Lodge. Folio, 1620, XVIII, 2 (p. 463). "But the Sadduces are of that opinion, that the soules of men perish with their bodies." I have judged that the reader will prefer the version of Lodge to that of the more correct Whiston. For this passage see *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, new ed. four vols, 1755, Vol. II, p. 589.

19. Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 617. "But the Sadduces deny Fate and Destiny, . . . and they generally deny both paines and rewards for the soules after this life." Whiston, *op. cit*, Vol. III, p. 349.

20. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, t. XLI (S. Epiphanius, I), pp. 239–42.

21. Surnamed "The Atheist." He is alluded to by Aristophanes in *The Clouds;* l. 830, upon which passage the Scholiast describes him as θεομάγος. Formally accused of impiety in B.C. 411, he fled from Athens, was condemned to death in his absence, and later wandered to Corinth where he died. See Diogenes Laertius, VI, 59; and Cicero, *Tusc.* I, 46, 111.

22. This philosopher was born at Abdera in Thrace about 480 B.C. He died about 411. He was the first to call himself a sophist. In 411 he was accused of impiety, imprisoned and banished. This exile was chiefly due to his work upon the gods, which commenced: "Respecting the gods, I am unable to know whether they do or do not exist."

23. The pupils of Aristippus of Cyrene, who was born *c.* 428 B.C. He was a hedonist, and held that the pleasant coincided with the good. Although he may himself have in some sense safeguarded his teaching, this was pushed to its logical conclusion by Antipater, Annicesis, Theodorus, Megesias, and others.

24. In August, 1536.

25. 1489–1565. "Un chétif malheureux prédicant nommé Maistre Guillaume."

26. II Machabees, xii, 46.

27. *The Institution of Christian Religion*, first English translation, 1561: II, xvi, fol. 98. "Some . . . saye, that Christ went downe to the soules of the fathers that dyed in the time of the lawe, to carry them tidynges, that the redemption was performed, and to deliuer them out of the pryson wherein they were kepte enclosed: . . . I wote not howe it is come to passe, that they which came after, thought that there was a certaine place under the earth whereunto they have fayned the name of *Limbus*. But this fable, although they were great authors, and at this day many do

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earnestly defende it for a truthe: is yet nothing els but a fable." It may be remarked that Calvin's whole chapter is more than ordinarily blasphemous and offensive.

28. The temporary place or state of the souls of the just who, although purified from sin, were excluded from the Beatific Vision until the Ascension of Our Lord and His Session at the right hand of the Father. Christ refers by various names to the Limbus Patrum as in S. Matthew, viii, 11, where it is spoken of as a banquet "with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob," and in the parable of Dives and Lazarus where it is termed Abraham's bosom. In Christ's promise to S. Dismas, the Penitent Thief on Calvary, the word *Paradise* is used, S. Luke, xxiii, 43. S. Paul teaches that Christ descended "into the lower parts of the earth" before the Ascension, Ephesians, iv, 9, and S. Peter in his First Epistle, iii, 18–20, is even more explicit concerning the Limbus Patrum.

29. Migne, *Patres Latini*, t. II. *Liber de Praescriptionibus*, c. viii; p. 21. "Et hoc quantum ad Judaeos . . . *Habent*, inquit, *Moysen et Heliam* (*Luc.*, xvi, 29), id est legem et prophetas Christum prædicantes."

CHAPTER II

1. Genesis, i, 2–3.

2. S. Matthew, iii, 18–19.

3. S. Matthew, xvii, 5; S. Mark, ix, 6; S. Luke, ix, 35.

4. The Acts, ii, 1–4.

5. S. John, xx, 19.

6. Acts, ix, 1–8.

7. Acts, xviii, 7–10.

8. Act xxiii, 11.

9. Of Hegesippus (or Egesippus) nothing is certainly known, but the work ascribed to him, *De Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanae Libri V*, must be dated about 400, and it is referred to by many authors of eminence. The work itself is largely based on Josephus. It has been given by Migne in the appendix to S. Ambrose, *P.L.*, xiv, pp. 1962–2218.

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10. The exact words of S. Ambrose are: "Petrus ait: Domine: quo vadis? Respondit Christus: Venio iterum crucifigi." *Epistolarum Classis I.* Sermo contra Auxentium. Migne, *P.L.*, xvi, p. 1011.

11. The little church of "Domine Quo Vadis" stands on the Appian Way, to the left if one leaves Rome by the Porta S. Sebastiano, at the point where the Via Ardeatina diverges to the right. A copy of the footprint which Christ impressed on the marble is venerated here.

12. *Oratio S. Anselmi ad Sanctam Virginem Mariam. In Assumptione Ejus.* Opera S. Anselmi, Migne, *P.L.*, clviii, pp. 965–966.

13. *S. Ildefonsi Sermones Varii de Assumptione Beatissimae et Gloriosae Virginis Mariae.* Migne, *P.L.*, xcvi, pp. 239–271, Sermones, I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and IX.

14. Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Lib. XV, c. xiv. *P.G.* cxlvii, 41–46 (608–610).

15. *Tres Homiliae in Dormitionem B.V. Mariae*, Migne, *Patres Graeci*, Opera S. Ioannis Damasceni, t. xcvi, pp. 697–762.

16. Symeon Metaphrastes is the principal compiler of the Histories of the Saints in the Byzantine Menologia (Metaphrastes is equivalent to *Compiler*). Little is known of his life, but he flourished in the latter half of the tenth century, and was a Logothete, or Secretary of State. He was a favourite of Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, 912–59. *Opera omnia*, Migne, *P.G.*, tomi cxiv–cxvi. This great writer treats of the Assumption in his *Oratio de Sancta Maria*, 15 August, 38–52 (*P.G.* cxv, pp. 556–566).

17. S. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, lived in the second half of the second century. His feast is 1 April. The *De transitu Beatæ Mariae Virginis*, a work of great beauty, is now generally held not to be his.

18. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, siue Historia Certaminis Apostolici, adscripta Abdiae, primo, ut ferunt, Babyloniae Episcopo, et distributi in libro Decem*, t. II of the *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, ed. by Joannes Albertus Fabricius, 2 vols., Hamburgi, 1703, Lib. V (t. II, pp. 531–590), *De S. Iohanne*, xxii. "Cum esset [Iohannes] annorum nonaginta septem apparuit ei Dominus Iesus Christus cum discipulis suis, et dixit ei: Ueni ad me, quia tempus est, ut epuleris in conuiuio meo cum fratribus tuis . . ."

19. *Vita S. Maclovii sive Machuti*, Ep. et Con. auctore Sigeberto Gemblacensi. Migne, *P.L.* clx, pp. 729–746. The reference is to chapter x of the *Vita*, when the Boy Christ appeared to S. Machutus.

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20. *Symeonis Metaphrastis Opera, ed. cit.*
Die 25 Nov. Certamen S. Mercurii, t. cxvi, p. 269.
Die 26 Dec. Vita S. P. N. et Confessoris Theodori Grapti, *ibid.* p. 653.
Die 2 Nov. Certamen SS. Acindyni, Pegasii, et sociorum, *ibid.* p. 9.
Die 10 Dec. Martyrium S. Menae, Hermogenis et Eugraphi, *ibid.* p. 367.
Die 5 Nov. Vita SS. Galactionis et Epistemes, *ibid.* p. 93.
Die 13 Dec. Certamen SS. Eustratii, Auxentii, et sociorum, *ibid.* p. 467.

21. Psalm ciii, 20: Bless the Lord, all ye his angels: you that are mighty in strength, and execute his word, hearkening to the voice of his orders.

22. Genesis, iii, 24.

23. Galatians, iii, 19.

24. Psalm xc.

25. Daniel, x, 12–21.

26. IV Kings (A.V. II Kings), vi, 15–17.

27. Genesis, xxxii, 1–2.

28. Isaias, vi.

29. Ezechiel, 1.

30. See also Apocalypse, v, 11.

31. I Corinthians, xv, 52.

32. S. Matthew, xxiv, 31.

33. Genesis, xxi, 14–20.

34. S. Matthew, i, 20.

35. Genesis, xviii. The mystery of the Theophanies to Abraham, whether direct or through the mediation of Angels, is much discussed by the theologians. See for a further consideration Chapter XVIII, n. 12.

36. Genesis, xix.

37. Genesis, xxii, 1–19.

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38. Genesis, xxiv, 7.

39. Genesis, xvi, 6–14; Judges, ii, 1–6; II Kings (A.V. II Samuel), xxiv, 16–19; I Paralipomenon, xxi, 15–19; Daniel, viii, 16; ix, 21; x; xi; xii; II Machabees, iii, 25–26; S. Matthew, xxviii, 1–8; the Acts, i, 9–12; v, 18–21; xxvii, 23–24.

40. III Kings (A.V. I Kings), xxii.

41. II Kings (A.V. II Samuel), xxiv; I Paralipomenon, xxi.

42. Tobias, iii, 7–11.

43. I Kings (A.V. I Samuel), xvi, 15–23.

44. Job, i and ii.

45. S. Matthew, iv, 1–11.

46. Our Lord: S. Matthew, iv, 24; viii, 31; xvii, 14–18; S. Mark, i, 23; v, 2; ix, 14–27; S. Luke, viii, 27–39; ix, 37–42; the Apostles: S. Luke, ix, 1; Acts, xvi, 16; xix, 12.

47. I S. Peter, v, 8.

48. Ephesians, vi, 12.

49. S. Matthew, xxv, 41.

50. I Kings (A.V. I Samuel), xxviii. It is believed by many that Moses appeared at Endor with Samuel.

51. II Machabees, xv, 12–16.

52. At the Transfiguration; S. Matthew, xvii; S. Mark, ix; S. Luke, ix.

53. Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of the Soul, is the doctrine that at death the soul passes into another living creature, man, animal, or even plant. Orpheus, the legendary founder of the Orphic cults, is said to have taught that "the soul is divine, immortal and aspires to freedom, while the body holds it in fetters as a prisoner. Death dissolves this compact, but only to re-imprison the liberated soul after a short time: for the wheel birth revolves inexorably. Thus the soul continues its journey, alternating between a separate unrestrained existence and fresh re-incarnation, round the wide circle of necessity, as the companion of many bodies of men and animals . . . the purer their lives the higher will be their next re-incarnation, until the soul has completed the spiral ascent of destiny to live for ever as God from Whom it comes." "The earliest

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Greek thinker with whom metempsychosis is connected is Pherecydes; but Pythagoras, who is said to have been his pupil, is its first famous exponent." Aristotle has a doctrine of immortality totally inconsistent with any belief in metempsychosis.

Plotinus and the Neoplatonists held the transmigration of souls. Julian, whose ideal was to be a Greek of the Greeks, in beliefs and philosophic principles was a fervent disciple of Iamblichus of Chalcis in Cœle-Syria, a sage who had developed and added to the doctrines of Plotinus and Porphyry. He may indeed not unfairly be said to have been steeped in Neoplatonism and was an ardent worshipper of Mithras, in whose rites the passage of the soul from a lower to a higher state of existence was represented by a mystic ladder or stair leading from one to another of the planetary spheres. See Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 22.

To-day re-incarnation is most generally known as being one of the cardinal doctrines of the Theosophists, "the master-key," writes one of their leaders, "to all modern problems."

54. "The spirit of intelligence whereby we live and dwell in houses and communities, though invisible is yet seen in its operations; for by it the whole ordering of life has been discovered and organized and is held together—the ploughing and planting of the earth, the discovery of the arts, the use of law, the ordering of constitutions, the administration of home affairs and war outside our borders and peace." *De Mundo*, tr. E. S. Forster, Oxford, 1914.

55. Aristotle, *Ethics*, I, 6, says that the rational element of his soul inspiring a life of action is distinctive of man *as man* and the characteristic function of man *as man*, since mere life is common to man and plants, whilst a kind of conscious, sensitive life is shared by man with other organizations—the horse, the ox, and every living creature. See further W. M. Hatch, *The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle*, being a translation of the Nicomachean Ethics with Commentary, London, 1879, pp. 1–64.

CHAPTER III

1. See note 13, Chapter I, *supra*. *Life of Brutus*, 37.

2. Taillepied quotes in the margin: *An, qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt*, Vergil, Eclogue, viii, l. 108, which Dryden turns:

> Good Heav'n! may Lovers what they wish believe;
> Or dream their wishes, and those dreams deceive!

ll. 157–8, Pastoral viii; *The Works of Virgil*, folio, 1697.

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3. Περὶ *θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, 31. *Aristotelis Opera*, ed. Bekker, Berolini, 1831, Vol. II, p. 832.

4. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs*, Cambridge, 1670, p. 146.

5. *Epistles*, II, ii, ll. 128–140. Thus translated by Francis:

> At Argos liv'd a citizen, well known,
> Who long imagin'd that he heard the tone
> Of deep tragedians on an empty stage,
> And sat applauding in ecstatic rage . . .
> He when his friends, at much expense and pains,
> Had amply purg'd with ellebore his brains,
> Come to himself—" Ah! cruel friends! " he cried,
> " Is this to save me? Better far have died,
> Than thus be robb'd of pleasure so refin'd
> The dear delusion of a raptur'd mind."

6. Athenæus *Deipnosophists*, xii, 80. Eng. tr. C. D. Yonge (Bohn), 1854, Vol. III, p. 888.

7. Ludwig Lavater was born at Kybourg in 1527, and died at Zurich, where he was pastor, in 1586. His *De Spectris, lemuribus, . . .* appeared at Geneva 8°, 1570. " Translated into Englyshe by R. H.," it was issued, London, 1572, of which version a new edition has been published *cura* J. Dover Wilson and May Yardley, Oxford, 1929. Unfortunately the value of this reprint is much depreciated by the entire lack of notes or commentary, essential adjuncts in a work of this nature. The *De Spectris* was frequently re-issued, and has been translated into several tongues.

8. One is reminded of Dean Swift's Martin in *A Tale of a Tub*. " In the picture of Martin, we view Luther and the first reformers: . . . The criticisms of the Martinists (whom we may suppose the members of the Church of *England*) were, it is to be hoped, more candid " than the criticism of Calvin. John, Earl of Orery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, London, 1752, 5th ed. pp. 214 and 216.

9. For Calvin see Jerome Bolsec's *Histoire de la Vie, Moeurs, Actes, Doctrine, Constance, et Mort de Iean Calvin*, Lyons, 1577. There is a useful reprint in the *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France*, L. Cimber and F. Danjou, 12e Série, t. V (Paris, 1835), pp. 301–386. There is a Latin version *De Ioannis Calvini Vita*, Coloniae, 1580. The account of Calvin's attempt to raise the dead man, whose name was le Brullé, is given in chapter xiii: *Calvin voulut ressuciter un qui faisoit le mort, et qui se trouva mort effectivement*. The man, who was to feign to be dead, actually expired and therefore did not open his eyes or show any signs of life, as pre-arranged, at Calvin's prayer and exhortations. When he found that

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his threats could not silence the widow, he made out that she was demented and beside herself with grief at her husband's death. She afterwards married a Protestant minister named La Couldréc.

Calvin was wont to declare: "Ego propheta sum: ego Dei spiritum habeo. . . . Ego errare non possum." Julius Brigger, *Flores Calvinistici*, Neapoli, 1585, p. 60.

For Pierre Ameaux, see Audin's *La Vie de Calvin*, Paris, 1841, t. II, c. viii. Ameaux was sentenced on 27 January, 1546, and did public penance on the following 5 April. "La victoire de Calvin le rend insolent: c'est un pédant de collège devenu roi qui prend ses ébats."

10. *Sermons et Exhortations Catholiques sur les Evangiles des cinquante & deux Dimeches de l'anee, pour l'infiructiō du peuplè Chreftien.* Par M. Denys Peronnet, Docteur en Theologie, Theologal de Perigueux. 2 vols. Paris, 1582.

11. This amazing work was printed Paris, 16°, 1553. I have used the facsimile reprint, n.d., but about 1770. Postel who was born in 1505 (or according to some authorities 1510) died at Paris in 1581. The *Tres Merveilleuses Victoires*, a mad moon-struck book, was written, according to his own account, under the inspiration of a certain beata whom he called his spiritual mother, *la mère Jeanne*. She is praised in a vein of ecstatic mysticism which at times certainly seems to leave poor reason panting far behind. But with all his illusions and rhapsodies Postel never fell into deliberate heresy. He is acknowledged by his contemporaries to have been a marvel of erudition, and a man of austere manner and decent gravity. At the same time he was certainly unbalanced and strangely fantastical.

12. François Valois, Duc d'Anjou, de Berri et d'Alencon, born 11 March, 1554, died 10 December, 1584. He was the leader of the *mécontents* opposed to his brother Henri III. The incident here alluded to by Taillepied probably took place about 1576–80.

13. In particular reference to the death of the Duc de Guise, who was dispatched by the orders of Henri III at Blois on Friday morning, 23 December, 1588. This event was then in all its freshness in men's minds, for Taillepied's *Traité*, although carrying on the title-page date 1588, was issued early in the following year. For the death of the Duc de Guise see Amigo Caterino Davila's *Stona delli Guerre Civili di Francia*, Venice, 1630, Lib. IX. English translation, *The Civill Warres of France*, folio, 1648, Vol. II, p. 746.

14. Château-Thierry is in the valley of the Marne, on the right bank of the river. The Château is traditionally said to have been built by

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Charles Martel for Thierry IV in 720. In 1591 it was besieged by the Duc de Mayenne. It is to-day a ruin.

15. *Cf.* Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Sec. 2, Memb. v: *Waking and terrible Dreams rectified.*

16. Ovid, *Metamorphoseon* X, 243–297. Clemens Alexandrinus in his *Hortatory Discourse to the Greeks* (Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας), 50, and Arnobius *Aduersus Gentes*, vi, both relate the story of Pygmalion as derived from Philostephanus of Cyrene, whose narrative apparently differed in some details from Ovid.

Posidippus mentions a youth of Cnidus who similarly fell in love with a beautiful statue of Aphrodite.

17. Aelian, *Variae Historiae*, IX, 39: "De ridiculis et absurdis amoribus." Dom Roberto, the Camaldolese Hermit, in his golden treatise *The Love of Mary*, chapter i, gives this same story from Aelian as an example of irrational affection, and comments: "Can you imagine greater folly?"

18. Blount, *Glossographia*, 1656, has: *Saturnian* or *Saturnine*, barren, dull, heavy, melancholy. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1738, includes: *Saturnine* or *Saturnian*, a term applied to persons of dark, sullen, melancholic complections. Marston, *Pigmalion* (1598), Satyre IV, 3, speaks of a "cold Saturnian." In his *Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesie* prefixed to *The Indian Emperour*, 4°, 1667, Dryden remarks of himself: "My conversation is slow and dull, my humour Saturnine and reserv'd." See *The Dramatic Works of John Dryden*, edited by Montague Summers, 1931, Vol. I, p. 259.

19. "The first of these [Secundary, peculiar causes, efficient, of melancholy], which is naturall to all, and which no man living can avoide, is olde age, which being colde and dry, and of the same quality as melancholy is, must needes cause it by diminution of spirits and substance, and increasing adust humors." Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I, Sec. 2, Mem. i, Subs. 6 (the whole subsection), Oxford, 1621, pp. 78–80. It would be easy, but as I think, superfluous, very amply to illustrate and gloss this chapter of Taillepied from Burton, so I conceive the above will serve as an apposite and sufficient illustration.

20. *De Fascino, Libri Tres*, Parisiis, 1583, Lib. I,c. 12, p. 51. Taillepied describes Vair as a Spaniard. Yve-Plessis (p. 126, no. 1003) confirms this: Léonard Vair, *Espagnol.* Upon the title-page of his *De Fascino* we have: "Leonardo Vairo, *Beneuentano, Ordinis S. Benedicti Canonico regulari, ac sacrae Theologiae Doctore sapientissimo auctore.*

Caillet, t. III, p. 653, blunders, a most unusual accident in so careful a

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bibliographer. No. 10963 he writes: "Léonard Vair ou Vairo, prélat italien . . . ," and No. 10965 he has: "Léonard Vair, Espagnol." Probably the confusion has arisen from the fact that Leonard Vair was of a noble Spanish family living in the Kingdom of Naples. Born at Benevento about 1540, he became Bishop of Pozzuoli, dying in this city in 1603. The *De Fascino*, his most celebrated work, originally issued *Parisiis*, 4°, 1583, was reprinted *Venetiis apud Aldum*, 8°, 1589. There is a French translation, Paris, 1583.

21. However familiar the lines, *The Rape of the Lock* must be quoted here; IV, ll. 47–54; ed. 1714:

> Unnumber'd Throngs on ev'ry side are seen
> Of Bodies chang'd to various Forms of *Spleen*.
> Here living *Teapots* stand, one Arm held out,
> One bent; the Handle this, and that the Spout:
> A Pipkin there like *Homer's Tripod* walks;
> Here sighs a Jar, and there a Goose-pye talks;
> These prove with Child, as pow'rful Fancy works,
> And Maids turn'd Bottels, call aloud for Corks.

22. *Scriptores Medici Graeci*, ed. Carolus Gottlieb Kühn, Vol. VIII. *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, VIII, Lipsiae, 1824. *De locis affectis*, III, 10, p. 190. εἴγε ὁ μέν τις ὀστρακοῦς ᾤετο γεγονέναι; καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐξίστατο τοις ἀπαντῶσιν, ὅπως μὴ συντριβείη. Taillepied gives a cursory reference here to chapter 6. This I have emended in the text.

23. This abominable book was translated "into English by Io. Feilde" and issued as *A Notable Treatise of the Church*, London, 1579, being appropriately inscribed to "the Lord Robert Dudley, Earle of Leycester." The passage to which Taillepied refers at the conclusion of the book (pagina penultima) runs thus: "Thus began to appeare in the firmament this newe starre, whereof sithens the creation of ye world the like hath not beene seene, but at the birth of our Lorde Jesus Christ. All the worlde sawe it three yeres together. Al Astrologers wondered at it, and are yet amazed to think of it. The wise men of ye world, which beleeue al things to be eternall, beganne from thenceforth to worshippe one Creator. And what shall we think that it signifieth unto us, but that seconde birth of Jesus Christ in the earth, by the preaching of his word? But you wil say, We have seene yet nothing . . ."

Tractus de Ecclesia, . . . Philippo Mornæo Plessio Authore. M.D. LXXIX, p. 250: "fulgere coepit e cœlo nouum ille sydus . . ."

24. *De Fascino*, II, 3. *Imaginationis natura, ac munus declaratur . . .*, ed. cit. pp. 63–75.

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25. *Galeni opera omnia*, ed. Kühn (*ut cit.*) Vol. VIII. *De symptomatum differentiis liber*, pp. 60–61.

26. So little is known of Paulus Ægineta that it is even uncertain in which era he flourished, but he cannot have lived at an earlier period than the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. The English version of his *Seven Books* by Francis Adams, 3 vols, London, 1844–47, Sydenham Society, is much admired as well for the admirable rendering of the Greek as the ample glosses and commentaries with which the learned translator has enriched his book. For Lycanthropia (III, 16), see Vol. I, pp. 389–390.

27. Migne: *P.L.* XXXIV (S. Augustini Opera, III), pp. 560–561.

28. *Works*, ed. cit. tr. Adams, Vol. II, pp. 162–167.

29. There were two physicians of the name of Rufus who cannot easily be distinguished. The one, Menius Rufus, lived in the first century, A.D. He is mentioned by Asclepiades Pharmacion.

The other, Rufus Ephesius, who lived in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117), as we learn from Suidas, is cited by Paulus Ægineta, V, 3. He wrote many medical books, some of which are still extant. Several of these when printed were accompanied by a Latin version of the Greek due to the pen of J. P. Crassus.

30. "Ephialtes ou incube est une maladie qu'on appella communement le fardeau ou cauchemare."

William Carr, *The Dialect of Craven*, 2 vols, London, 1828, gives bitch-daughter as a Yorkshire name for the nightmare. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1777 (p. 324) has: "Ephialtes or Night Mare is called by Common People Witch-riding."

Ephialtes is usually derived from ἐφάλλεσθαι, to leap upon, but the phonological difficulties are very great. Paulus Ægineta (III, 16) writes: "Some say that this disorder is called *Ephialtes* in Greek, from the name of a man . . ." Themison preferred the term *pnigaleon*, suffocation.

31. Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, vii, 36; Sophocles, *Ajax*, *passim*; Ovid, *Metamorphoseon*, xiii, 1–398, where the contest is described at length but not the madness of Ajax; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, l. 455 and the scholia *in loco*, ed. Kinhel (Teubner, 1880), pp. 20 and 110. The story was told in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, and in the *Ilias Minor* of Lesches.

32. *De Anima*, XVII. Migne, *P.L.* II, p. 675. For Orestes see the *Orestes* of Euripides. For Athamas, who killed his son Learchus, see Ovid *Metamorphoseon*, iv, 511–523. Apollodorus says that Athamas took his son for a stag. Cicero has "Athamante dementior," *In Pisonem*, xx,

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47. For Agave, who in her frenzy tore Pentheus to pieces, see the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

CHAPTER IV

1. "And herein lies the difference between virtue and vice." Plato, *Leges*, I, 644. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, Oxford, 1881, Vol. IV, p. 166. Lodovico Vives in his Commentary on S. Augustine, *The City of God*, IV, 9, writes: "*Plato* saith that affects are in a man as like nerues or little strings whereby nature drawes vs forwarde, into contraries, as themselves are contraries: but hee that hath giuen his reason once dominion ouer them shall finde their force of no effect worth esteeming." *Of the Citie of God*, tr. *J. H.*, folio, 1610, p. 343. See below, n. 4.

2. It has been shrewdly remarked that the worst troubles are those which never happen.

3. The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, 20–22.

4. This chapter may be read in "St. Augustine, Of the Citie of God: With The Learned *Comments* Of Io. Lod. Vives *Englished by J*[*ohn*] *H*[*ealey*], folio, 1610, pp. 340–343.

5. Leviticus, xxvi, 36: "And as to them that shall remain of you I will send fear in their hearts in the countries of their enemies, the sound of a flying leaf shall terrify them, and they shall flee as it were from the sword: they shall fall, when no man pursueth them."

6. The woodpecker was sacred among the Latins, and a woodpecker as well as a wolf is fabled to have fed the twins Romulus and Remus. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii, 37, *sqq.*; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 21. Pliny tells us that the woodpeckers were much used in augury, "pici Martio cognomini insignes, et in auspiciis Magni," *Nat. Hist.* X, 18. There are many country superstitions connected with this bird, and his sudden tap on a tree is often sufficiently startling.

According to some legends mice are the souls of murdered people, and if a mouse is heard gnawing behind the wainscot it is indicative of impending misfortune.

7. viii. *Plutarchi Moralia*, t. III, Teubner, Lipsiae, 1929, pp. 408–409. The *De Sera Numinis Vindicta* was done into English by Philemon Holland in his *Morals of Plutarch*, folio, 1603, pp. 538–581, "How it commeth that

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the divine Justice differreth otherwiles the punishment of wicked persons"; and into French by Amyot; and again by Comte Joseph Le Maistre, Paris, 1854.

8. The martin and the swallow
Are God Almighty's birds to hallow.

It is well known that to kill a swallow is most unlucky. "The notion of its being unfortunate to kill Swallows seems to owe its Original to the *Romans'* Superstition, who had appropriated these Birds to their *Penates* or household gods, and therefore would not injure them," *An Agreeable Companion*, Norwich, 1742, p. 18. If a swallow build his nest on a house it is sure to bring good luck to thy family. Witches are unable to assume the form of swallows, says L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogotum Oldenburg*, 2 vols, Oldenburg, 1867, Vol. I, p. 327.

9. "Englished by Henry Holcroft, Knight," folio, 1653. *Of The Gothick Warre*, I, Chap. ii, pp. 4 and 5. Theodoric died in 526 A.D.

Of recent editions of Procopius the best are: Jacobus Haury, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, Leipzig, 1905–13; 3 vols. (Teubner); and Domenico Comparetti, *La Guerra Gotica di Procopio di Cesarea;* testo Greco emendato sui mano scritti contraduxione Italiana, Rome, 1895–98, 3 vols.

The *Secret History*, of which there is a privately printed English translation, Athenian Society, was not included in the *editio principo* of Procopius, David Hoeschel, Augsburg, 1607, but was issued for the first time separately into a Latin translation by Alemannus, Lyons, 1623. The first complete edition of Procopius was that of Maltsetus, Paris, 1661–63. This includes a Latin translation of all the works. It was reprinted Venice, 1729.

10. S. Matthew, xiv, 27; S. Mark, vi, 50.

CHAPTER V

1. Aha! meseemeth I behold two suns,
A twofold Thebes, our seven-gated burg!

Bacchae, ll. 918–919, tr. A. S. Way, Euripides, Vol. III, Loeb Classical Library.

2. Proverbs, xxiii, 31–33. Douai has in this passage, v. 33, "strange women," for the Vulgate reads: *Oculi tui videlunt extraneas, et contuum*

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loquetur perversa. Cornelius à Lapide glossing this passage notes: "Pro *extraneas* hebr. est *Zaroth*, quod Chald. Vatablus, Cajetanus et alii vertunt *extranea*. . . . Extranea puta absurda phantasmata, visiones et spectra videbunt oculi tui, propter confusionem vaporum ascendentium ad cerebrum." *Commentaria in Salomonis Proverbia*, Antuerpiae, folio, 1635, pp. 258–9 (pars. II).

François Vatable, famous French Hebraist, died at Paris 16 March, 1547.

Cardinal Cajetan, O.P. (Tommaso de Vio Gaetani), the eminent philosopher, theologian and exegete, was born in 1469, and died in 1534. His *In parabolas Salominis* was published, Rome, 1542.

English Revised Version, Proverbs, xxiii, 33, has: "Thine eyes shall behold strange things," and in a note, "Or, *strange women*."

3. Genesis, xix, 30–38.

4. See for example Reginald Scot's *The discouerie of Witchraft*, 1584 (reprint with Introduction by Montague Summers, London, folio, 1930), Booke XIII, chap. 22, *The art of juggling discovered, and in what points it dooth principallie consist*, and following chapters—34. Scot explains "diverse petie juggling knacks," and amongst others how *To cut off one's head, and to laie it in a platter, which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.*

5. *Mémoires sur les règnes de Louis XI et de Charles VIII.* I have used the edition in the collection by Michaud, Paris, 1854, I, xi, pp. 21–22. I quote from the *Historie of Philip De Commines, Knight*, translated by Thomas Danett, folio, 1601, I, xi, "*How the Burgundians lying neere to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great thistles to have been launces held upright*," pp. 29–30.

6. (A.V. II Kings), chapters 1 (v. i), and 3.

CHAPTER VI

1. Phantom monk. *Moine bourré de Paris.* Chesnel de la Charbouclais, *Dictionnaire des Superstitions*, Migne, 1856, p. 693, notes: "*Moine Bourru ou Moine Gris.* C'est le nom que l'on donnait jadis, à Paris, à un méchant démon qui parcourait les rues pendant le nuit, et se donnait le divertissement de tordre le cou à tous ceux qui s'avis aient de mettre la tête à la fenêtre. On l'accusait de tenir de très-vilains propos durant sa promenade, ce qui ne laissait subsister aucun doute sur ses rapports avec Satan."

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In the *Cabinet satyrique*, 1633, p. 156, we have :

Moine bourru dont on se moque,
A Paris l'effroi des enfants.

Corbineli in Cyrano de Bergerac's *Le Pedant Joue*, acted in 1654, among his long catalogue of spectres and demons cries : " J'envoye les Démons familiers, . . . les Gobelins, le Moine-bourru, le Loup-garou . . . "

In the Amsterdam edition, 1683, of Molière's *Dom Juan, ou, le Feſtin de Pierre* (produced 15 February, 1665), III, 1, occurs the following passage which had been quickly suppressed as giving great offence : *Sganarelle.* Et dites-moi un peu, le Moine bourru, qu'en croyez-vous ? eh ! *D. Juan.* La peſte soit du fat ! *Sganarelle.* Et voilà ce que je ne puis souffrir ; car il n'y a rien de plus vrai que le Moine bourru, et je me ferois pendre pour celui-là. Mais encore faut-il croire quelque chose dans le monde. Rochemont, who severely censured the play, in his *Observations*, written in April, 1665, says that among the moſt culpable dialogues in the piece Molière introduces " un valet infâme, fait au badinage de son maître, dont toute la créance aboutit au Moine bourru, *car pourvu que l'on croie le Moine bourru, tout va bien, le reſte n'eſt que bagatelle.*"

Regnier, towards the conclusion of his *Satire XI* (1612) tells how returning at dawn after an adventurous night he was scarce recognised by his servant who

demande étonné
Si le Moine bourru l'avoit point promené.

Furetière (1690) remarks that " Le *Moine bourru* eſt un lutin, qui dans la croyance du peuple, court les mes aux avents de Noël et qui fait des cris effroyables."

In Bohemia and some parts of Germany there is a phantom monk named Rubezal, who is identified with the evil one. " Monachus iſte uel Rubezal eſt Satanas ipse quia sumpta monachi specie iſtas nugas agit." *Magica de Spectris*, Lugd. Bat, 1656, p. 79. See further " On Friar Rush and the Frolicsome Elves " ; Thomas Wright, *Essays on subjects connected with the Literature, Popular Superſtitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., 1846, Vol. II, pp. 1–37.

The Boggart Beaſt of the Bailly of Pontoise was a purely local goblin of Taillepied's native town. It will be remembered that Taillepied wrote a *Recueil des antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Pontoise*, Rouen, 8°, 1587, a work which is now of the laſt rarity. (I have used the Bodleian copy, shelfmark 55. c. 92.) " Cet ouvrage eſt extrêmement rare ; aussi quand, de loin en loin, il s'en présente un exemplaire dans les ventes, atteint-il un prix très élevé," Léon Thomas, *Bibliographie de la Ville et du Canton de Pontoise*, Pontoise, 1883, being Tome V of the *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de l'arrondissement de Pontoise et du Vexin*, pp.

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165–6, Appendice B. Taillepied's *Recueil des antiquitez . . . de Pontoise* was reprinted under the editorship of MM. François and Henri de Charpentier in 1876; Pontoise, librairie Seyès; Paris, librarie Champion.

References to Taillepied will be found in the *Mémoires de la Société Historique de Pontoise*, Tome I, 12, 46; III, 16; V, 154, 159, 165–6, 194; VI, xxxii, 31, 34; IX, 11, note, 49, 55; and elsewhere *passim*.

2. XVIII, iii, 4. *Flavii Josephi Opera*, ed. Benedictus Nisse, Berolini, 1890, Vol. IV, pp. 152–155. Lodge, folio, 1620, *ut cit.* pp. 466–468. The gallant was an Equestrian, "one of the knights of the greatest account at that time," named Decius Mundus. Paulina was married to Saturninus, a man of rank. The go-between was a freedwoman of Decius Mundus called Ide. She bribed the priests of Isis with 25,000 drachmas and a promise of 25,000 to come. Mundus foolishly boasted of his exploit and even thanked Paulina for having granted him her favours. The lady "amated with the mans audacious impudence" revealed the "subtill circumvention" to her husband, who at her tears and plaints certified the Emperor of each particular. After a full inquisition and examination Tiberius ordered the priests and Ide to be crucified, the temple was razed to the ground, whilst Mundus as having acted on the impulse of extreme love was considered sufficiently punished by banishment. Bandello has related the history in his *Novelle*, Lucca, 1554, III, nov. 19.

This story also gave Fletcher a hint for an incident in his *The Mad Lover*, acted not later than 1618, folio, 1647.

It is further the subject of the Masque *Decius and Paulina* by Lewis Theobald, with music by Galliard, which was introduced into Act V of Settle's "Comi-Dramatick Opera" *The Lady's Triumph*, given at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 22 March, 1718. The Masque was printed with the play, 12°, 1718. Mrs. Thurmond acted Paulina; Mrs. Barbier, Decius; Leveridge, Simo; Pack, Ida; and Mrs. FitzGerald, a Priestess of Isis. The verdict of Genest, II, p. 633, is just: "The Masque is poor stuff—the rest of the play is pretty good." None the less the Masque was published separately, 8°, 1718, and (with additions) 4°, 1719. It was even introduced into a revival of Charles Davenant's *Circe*, April, 1719.

3. Rufini Aquilensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 25, apud Migne, P.L. XXI, pp. 553–54. The name of the priest was Tyrannus, serving the temple of Saturn at Alexandria. The trick was played much in the same way as the violation of Paulina. Tyrannus when all the doors were locked and lamps extinguished was able to enter the shrine by a secret passage and thus he enjoyed many of the fair votaries. His impudence and lewdness grew so confident and unabashed that one modest lady resisted his embrace and in the scuffle recognized his voice, so the cheat was exposed.

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4. Numa communed with Egeria in the hallowed grove of the Camenae, near the Porta Capena, Livy, I, 12. S. Augustin, *De Ciuitate Dei*, VII, 35, writes *Of hydromancy through which King Numa was choused and mocked by the appearance of certain reflections cast by demons in the clear water*. The saint clearly regards *hydromantia* as a form of Persian magic.

5. *Plutarch's Morals*, translated by Philemon Holland, folio, 1603, p. 474; 40–50.

6. "Mais passant outre, n'est-ce point chose assez diuulguee és anciens Autheurs, que Tibere Cesar voyoit de nuict, que Theon & Titoreus Stoicien, se pourmenoiet en dormat." Le Loyer, *Des Spectres*, ed. Paris, 1605, I, vi, p. 40.

7. Lavater, *De Spectris*, I, x (ed. 1683, p. 68): "Sunt quidem qui hoc morbo laborant, ut dormientes ambulent, id quod de *Theone Stoico* legitur, et seruo *Periclis*, qui dormiens in summa tecta ascendit." Actually these are stock examples of somnambulism, and are repeated again and again by many authors.

8. *Curiositas Regia, Octo Quaestiones . . . a Maximiliano I. Caesare Ioanni Trithemio Abbati ordinis S. Benedicti propositae, & ab eodem pie & solide solutae*. Duaci, Ex Typ. Baltazaris Belleri, p. 30, when speaking of somnambulists the Abbot says: Dormiens "Altiora domus aedificia velocissime penetrauit, & more passeris haerebat in tectis. Uisa loquor, non uaga relatione audita."

9. *De Natura Rerum*, IV, ll. 962–968. I quote the translation by Creech, Second Edition Corrected, Oxford, 1683, pp. 130–131.

10. Gurney in *Phantasms of the Living*, by Gurney, Myers, and Podmore, 1886, Vol. I, p. 175, has the following note: "A story quoted by Horst from the *De Hirco Nocturno* of Scherertz of a young man found on the roof towards morning is apparently a typical case of natural somnambulism." This is completely erroneous. The young man in question had been translated to a Sabbat, and no such explanation as Gurney suggests applies to, much less covers the circumstance. It will be noticed, moreover, that he quotes at secondhand. The *Libellus de Spectris seu Apparitionibus et Illusionibus Daemonum* of Sigismund Scherertz was published at Wittenburg, 8°, 1620.

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CHAPTER VII

1. A weasel is considered particularly unlucky. Thus Aristophanes, *Ecclasiazusae*, 791–2, when Chremes is told he must delay his business if the omens are against him:

σεισμὸς εἰ γένοιτο πολλάκις,
ἢ πῦρ ἀπότροπον, ἢ διᾴξειεν γαλῆ.

Gelasimus in the *Stichus*, III, ii, ll. 43–44, says:

Certum est mustelae posthac nunquam credere:
Nam incertiorem nullam noui bestiam . . .

Old Foresight in *Love for Love*, II, 1, is perturbed: "I stumbled coming down stairs, and met a Weasel; bad Omens those." See *Congreve's Works*, edited by Montague Summers, Nonesuch Press, 1923, Vol. II, the scene quoted and the note on that passage.

"A whittoret [weasel] about a house is considered very sonsie," *Notes & Queries*, V, 1. Edward Topsell, *History of Four-footed Beasts*, 1607, p. 729, comments: "I do marvel how it came to pass that a Weasel was called an unhappy, unfortunate and unlucky beast among hunters . . ."

Auspiciis res cœpta malis bene cedere nescit;
Felici quaesunt omine facta iuuant,
Quidquid ages *mustela* si tibi occurret omitte;
Signa malæ hæc sortis bestia praua gerit.

2. This belief still prevails in many rural districts in England.

3. The squeaking of a mouse behind the bed of a sick person is an omen of death. The Rev. Henry Bourne in his *Antiquitates Vulgares*, Newcastle, 1725, and Grose, *Provincial Glossary . . . and Popular Superstitions*, London, 1787, both cite the ticking of the death-watch (or the death-chack as it is called) as a warning of death. The death-watch is scarabæus galeatus pulsator. Thus Gay in his *Pastorals*, V, 101. Swift, *Wood an Insect*, written in the year 1725, a satire on William Wood, has:

The next is an insect we call a *wood*-worm,
That lies in old *Wood* like a hare in her form;
With teeth or with claws it will bite or will scratch,
And chambermaids christen this worm a death-watch;
Because like a watch it always cries *click*:
Then woe be to those in the house who are sick:
For, as sure as a gun they will give up the ghost,
If the maggot cries *click*, when it scratches the post.

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But a kettle of scalding hot water injected
Infallibly cures the timber affected:
The omen is broken, the danger is over;
The maggot will die, and the sick will recover.

Swift's *Works*, London, 1760, Vol. VII, pp. 64–65.

4. "Si le ver de bois ronge pendant la nuit de la chandeleur aux meubles on dit L'orologe de la mort." William Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, London, 1866, notes as death warnings three raps given by no human hand, or three successive strokes as dealt by a wand or club. This supernatural omen is in some country villages known as "the coffin-maker at work."

5. For the pixies of Devonshire, see Mrs. Bray's *A Description of the Part of Devonshire Bordering on the Tamar and the Tavy . . . in a Series of Letters to Robert Southey, esq.*, 3 vols, 1836; Vol. I, letter x, pp. 167–192.

See also Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Romae, 1555, III, xi, pp. 112–13; *De Eluarum, id est spectrorum nocturna chorea*, and III, xxii, *De ministerio daemonum*, pp. 127–8, to which further reference will be made.

Tholosanus, Lib. VII, c. 14, calls the pixies, Trullos or Getulos, and Felix Malleolus in his *De crudelitate daemonum* says that Trolli or Telchines are very common in Norway and often do servile work. Weyer, *De Praetigiis Daemonum*, I, 22, discourses at length of the "Daemones familiares, Uirunculi terrei et montani" and the rest. He tells of a gnome who served as cook in a kitchen and dressed dishes most savourily.

6. "For all the gods of the Gentiles are devils," Psalm xcv, 5.

7. Orthon, a familiar spirit, served Raymond, lord of Corasse, which is about seven leagues from Orthez, Béarn. Froissart, *Chronicles*, trs. by Thomas Johnes, 3rd ed., London, 1808, Vol. VII, chapter xl, pp. 294 302.

8. *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Romae, 1556, III, xi, p. 113, *Spiritus familiares*, and *Chorus Eluarum*. Olaus Magnus says that Elves assume human form, "Equorum numero endunt eos esse, qui se adhuc nostro seculo in effigie humana accommodare solent ministeriis hominum nocturnis horis laborando, equosque et iumenta curando." See also Olaus Magnus, III, xxii, *De ministerio daemonum*, ed. cit. pp. 127–28, where he gives, p. 127, a woodcut of pixies, one of whom is employed in sweeping out a stable.

9. II. 14. "Et Socrates esse circa se assiduum daemona loquebatur; qui sibi puero adhaesisset; cuius arbitrio et nutu sua uita regeretur."

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10. *Da Deo Socratis Liber.* There is an English translation by Thomas Taylor the Platonist.

11. *The Works of Xenophon*, tr. by H. G. Dakyns, Vol. III, Part I (1897), p. 186, and n. 1 on p. 179. τὸ δαιμόνιον, "a divine something which warned him."

12. Suetonius, *Caligula*, XXVII. The usual reading of the passage—quod nunquam per genium suum deierassent—bears a rather different sense from that in which Taillepied takes it, but in any case this does not at all affect his argument. See the gloss by Torrentius *in loco.*

13. *De Subtilitate Libri XXI.* I have used this edition, Basle, folio, 1557. *De Mirabilibus*, Libri XVIII, p. 527. The name of the citizen of Como whom the echo deceived was Agostino Lavizaro.

14. *Debo passar qui? Passa qui.* In English literature the echo-scene, V, 3, in *The Duchesse of Malfy* is famous. Of this echo Delio says that it is

> So hollow and so dismall, and withall
> So plaine in the destinction of our words,
> That many have supposde it is a Spirit
> That answeres.

Cf. The echo-scene in *The Hogge hath Loft his Pearle*, acted in 1612–13, 4to, 1614.

15. Cardano, *op. cit.* p. 527. He also mentions an echo in San Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, and gives instances of other churches. The Cathedral of Pavia was built by Rocchi and Omedeo (1488) on the site of the Churches of S. Maria del Popolo and San Stefano. The former Cathedral was the Church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, restored in the twelfth century, which contains the body of S. Augustine.

16. *Scotorum Historiae*, Lib. X, folio, Paris, 1526, Fo. ccii, 35–55. The King was Kenneth I, MacAlpine, who finally defeated the Picts in 846, the twelfth year of his reign. He died in 860. See Bellenden's translation of Bœce (*c.* 1536, reprint, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1821; Vol. II, p. 152. "Kenneth causit sindry men, clad with fische skinnis, to pas to the beddis quhare thir lordis lay . . . Ilkane of thame had in thair hand ane club of muscane tre quhilk keft ane uncoute glance, with the fische scalis in the mirk . . . Than thir men spak . . . with hevy basse voice, nocht semand, as it war, of mortall creaturis; and schew them angellis send . . ." Also Holinshed, *The Description of Scotland* (from Bœce and Bellenden), folio, 1585, p. 128, 42; p. 129, 21. "A pretie shift deuised by the king to persuade the nobilitie."

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17. *Le Dimenche des Brandons.* Chesnel de la Charbouclais in his *Dictionnaire des Superstitions*, Migne, 1856, pp. 144–152, has a long and very interesting account, under *Brandons*, of these torchlight vigils and celebrations. The day differed in various parts of France, being sometimes Christmas Eve; or 5 January, the Eve of the Kings; or S. John's Eve (23 June); or the First Sunday in Lent. In some districts the children only, in other villages all the inhabitants old and young, used to go to and fro the streets and lanes each holding a lantern, flambeau, or torch. In the department of Loiret, at Valenciennes, in the Jura, and throughout Lorraine generally, these torchlight processions was held on the First Sunday of Lent. Dancing and many other quaint customs were observed. For further particulars of the *fête des Brandons*, see Richard's *Les traditions populaires de Lorraine.*

18. Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae, were overwhelmed by the great eruption of Mt. Vesuvius on 24 August, 79 A.D. Cassius Dio, lxvi, 23. *Cf.* also Pliny, *Epistolae*, vi, 16, 20. The altered appearance of the country is noted by Tacitus, *Annals*, iv, 67. See also Martial, iv, 44; and Siluis Italicus, xvii, 594.

19. *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Romae, 1555, II, 2, p. 61. *De secreta natura quorundam montium.* Olaus Magnus mentions Vesuvius, Etna, and other volcanoes when describing *Islandiae montes*, and in particular Mons Hekla, *Nix in uertice et ignis it perinde.*

20. Παρὰ λύχνον μὴ ἐσοπτρίζου. Quoted by Iamblichas, *Adhortatio ad philosophos*, cap. 21. Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum, Didot, Paris, 1860, Vol. I, p. 506, 29.

CHAPTER VIII

1. S. Luke, xxiv, 33–43.

2. II Kings (A.V. II Samuel), v, 18–25; I Paralipomenon (A.V. I Chronicles), xiv, 9–16.

3. Daniel, v.

4. II Machabees, iii.

5. II Machabees, x, 28–30.

6. II Machabees, xi, 8–9.

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CHAPTER IX

1. *D. Julius Caesar*, xxxii.

2. Now the Pisatello, near Rimini. A very ancient law of the Republic forbade any general, returning from a campaign, to cross the Rubicon with his troops under arms.

3. *Theseus*, xxxv. "His shadow and image in arms," North. *Cf.* Pausanias, I, Attica, xv, 4.

4. I, xxxii. The date of Marathon was 490 B.C. Many, indeed most, battlefields are haunted in a similar manner. *Cf.* Plutarch, *Parallela*, 7; Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii, 18 and 26, of the plains of Troy; Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 63, a battle against Attila and the Huns under the walls of Rome; for battlefields in Germany, K. Lynken *Deutsche Sager und Sitten*, p. 11, *sqq.*; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (2nd ed.), II, p. 783. Also Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamaiten*, II, p. 140, and Sebillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, p. 222. Henderson, *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, p. 308, tells us that Neville's Cross is haunted, and many instances of our battlefields in the British Isles might be given.

5. *Cimon*, i.

6. *Dion*, lv.

7. *Brutus*, xxxvi–vii; xlviii; and lii. See also *Julius Caesar*, lxix.

8. xxi. See chapter iv, n. 7. The same history is related by Plutarch in *Cimon*, vi. Here the ghost utters the words: "Draw thou nigh to thy doom; 'tis evil for men to be wanton in their unbridled lusts." I have quoted North for the version of the couplet as here. See Joseph de Maistre's translation, Paris, 1854, of the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, p. 34, and note 14, p. 103.

9. τὸ νεκυομαντεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν. *Cimon*, vi.

10. iii. *Plutarchi Opera*, cum notis Gul. Xylandri et. Io. Iac. Reiskii, Lipsiae, 1828, t. IX (*Moralia*, iv), pp. 95–100 Scedasus, a poor man, dwelt at Leuctra with his daughters, Miletia (or Molpia) and Hippo (some name them Theano and Euexippe). The maidens were ravished by two Spartan warriors, Phrurarchidas and Parthenius, whereupon not brooking the shame they hanged themselves. Scedasus, unable to obtain any redress from Sparta, dispatched himself by the sword. The tomb of the daughters,

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who were called from the place, Leuctridae, was at Leuctra, and many an oracle warned the Spartans against the Leuctrian wrath. The matter, however, was well nigh forgotten in the passage of the centuries.

Plutarch tells this history again, *Pelopidas*, xx–xxii; *cf.* Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi, 4, 7; Diodorus, xv, 54; and Pausanias, IX, xiii, 3.

11. I, cap. viii, *Somniis*, 7. Cassius of Parma was one of the murderers of Julius Caesar, B.C. 43; Actium was fought B.C. 31, and he was put to death in the following year: See Appian, *Bellum Ciuile*, v, 2; and Velleius Paterculus, ii, 87.

12. I, viii, *De Miraculis* (Romanis), 8.

13. *M. Iuniani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, ex recen. Francisci Ruehl, Lipsiae, Teubner, 1886, p. 243.

14. *Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica*, recen. Dr. Petrus Erasmus Müller, absoluit Mag. Joannes Matthias Velschow, 2 vols, Havniae, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 159–160. There is an English translation of the First Nine Books of Saxo Grammaticus by Elton, London, 1894. An Introduction by Professor York Powell has a section xxii–xcvii on Folk-lore.

15. *Angeli Politiani Opera*, Lugduni, 1536, t. I, p. 613. There is a marginal note, *Daemonium præfigia.*

16. Dion, it will be borne in mind, writes in Greek, lv, 1. Drusus died B.C. 9.

17. Dion, lxviii, 25. The earthquake was in A.D. 115.

18. I, vii, *De Miraculis* (*Externis*), 8.

19. Helvius Pertinax was Roman Emperor from 1 January to 28 March, A.D. 193.

20. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae.* The traditional assignment to six different authors involves, it is true, many difficulties, but even if it must be abandoned, it is none the less quite clear that the theory that the *Vitae* are the work of a "forger" who lived at the end of the fourth century is untenable and utterly lacking in proof. A detailed consideration of these points hardly concerns us here.

M. Claudius Tacitus Cæsar died in April, 276.

21. xxi, 14: *Praesagia mortis Constantii. Ammiani* Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Libri . . . ad V. Gandthausen, Lipsiae, Teubner, 1873, t. I, p. 257. The historian especially remarks of Constantius: "Namque et nocturnis imaginibus terrebatur." Constantius died in Cilicia, 361.

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22. *Ibid.* xxv, 11, 3, t. II, p. 33. Julian died 26 June, 363.

23. I, ll. 578–583. I quote Marlowe's translation—*Lucans* First Booke, Translated Line for Line, By Chr. Marlovv, 4°, 1600. Teverone is the modern name of the Anio.

CHAPTER X

1. Trajan appointed Pliny as *legatus* to Bithynia in 111 A.D. The Seventh Book of the *Epistles* was published in 108 or 109 A.D. Licinius Sura, a native of Spain, was a trusted friend and counsellor of Trajan.

2. The story is likewise told by Tacitus, *Annals*, xi, 21.

3. *Libri IX Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium*, in the collection *Exampla Virtutum et Vitiorum*, Basileae, folio, 1555, p. 694, *De Curtio Rufo Romano.*
Gianbattista Fregoso, II, sometime Doge of Genoa. After he had been deposed from his sovranty he devoted himself to literature and lived in great retirement. First published at Milan, folio, 1509, the *Libri IX Memorabilium* became very popular and was several times reprinted.

4. Cicero, *Offices*, III, xiii, raises a question concerning the sale of a haunted house. Should the vendor in honesty disclose this fact to the purchaser? "Uendat aedes cui bonus propter aliqua uitia, quae ipse nosit, ceteri ignosent, pestilentes sint . . ." *Pestilens* is Pliny's word (Epistolae, vii, 27) for *haunted:* "Spatiosa et capax domus, sed infamis et pestilens." It may be remarked that Cicero's meaning in this passage of the *Offices* has repeatedly been missed.

5. There were two Stoic philosophers of this name. The one was for a long while an inmate of Cato's household; the other taught Augustus. It is uncertain which of the two is referred to by Pliny here.

6. At the end of this Emperor's reign. Domitian was assassinated in September, A.D. 96, and Pliny intimates that if the phenomenon had been inquired into it might have gone hardly with him under the tyrant.

7. *Genialium Dierum Libri. VI*, first published at Paris, 1532. A useful edition is Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officini Hackiana, 2 vols, 1673. Alessandro Alessandri (Alexander ab Alexandro), the famous Neapolitan jurisconsult, was born 1461 and died *circa* 1523.

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8. II, ix. This narrative immediately follows the former, *ed. cit.*, t. I, p. 326.

9. IV, xix, a narrative immediately following that just quoted, *ed. cit.*, t. I, pp. 1133–1134.

10. Taillepied possibly took this narrative from Marsilio Ficino, *De Immortalitate Animorum*, xvi, 5, where it is quoted as related by Passidonius Stoicus, ed. Paris, 1559, p. 299. It is told by Cicero, *De Diuinatione*, I, 27, and is very famous in English literature as having been introduced by Chaucer into the Nonne Preestes Tale of the Cok and the Hen, Chauntecleer and Pertelote. It is also related by Valerius Maximus, I, 7 (*De Somniis*), where Warton wrongly supposed that Chaucer had found it. But it is plain that Cicero was the author to whom Chaucer refers, since in the *De Diuinatione* are two histories and both of these the poet gives, but in a changed order, and notes before the second narrative:

> And certes, in the same book I rede,
> Right in the nexte chapter after this . . .

The present history is also given by Guazzo in his *Compendium Maleficarum*, 1608, I, i.

11. *Bellum Iugurthinum*, xlvi.

12. *Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri VII*, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, being Vol. V, ed. Carolus Zangemeister, Vindobonae, 1882, V, 8, 9 and 12.

13. Often merely known as Avenzoar or Abenzoar, which leads to great confusion with others of that name. Abou-Merouan (often corrupted to Abumeron, Albumeron and even Albumaaron) Abdel-Melek (Ibn-Aboul-Ala-Zohr-Ibn-Abd-el-Melik) was born at Peñaflor near Seville in 1072–73, and died at Seville in 1162–63. He was one of the most eminent physicians of his day. His principal treatise, *Kitabou-el-Teisir-fi-Madaouati-oua-Tedbiri* has been translated into Latin from the Hebrew version as *Adiumentum de medela et regimine*, Venice, 1490. It was several times reprinted, the last edition being Venice, Guinta, 8°, 1574, 1555, *ut cit.* See also the *Exempla Baptistae Campofulgosi*, ed. Basileae, I, v, p. 708, *De Auenzoaro Albumarone medico arabe.*

14. I have used the edition Francofurti ad Moenum, anno 1594. The adventure quoted here will be found on pp. 32–33. It is given in my *The Vampire in Europe*, 1929, chapter i, pp. 62–63. Theodore of Gaza, the celebrated Greek humanist and translator of Aristotle, died in Southern Italy in 1478.

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15. *Ut cit.*, n. 3, *supra*, pp. 694–95, *exempla recentiora*. Matteo I Visconti, il Grande, died in 1322. The Emperor, Henry VII (of Luxemburg), reigned 1308–1313.

16. Filippo Maria Visconti, third Duke of Milan, died in 1447, exclaiming with his last breath, " che volontieri vorrebbe che doppo la sua morte ogni cosa roinasse." Corio, *L'Historia di Milano*, parte quinta, ed. Venice, 1554, p. 358.

17. 1497–1560. Carl Schmidt wrote *Philipp Melanchthon, Leben und aus gewählte Schriften*, Elberfeld, 1861; and there is *A Life of Philip Melanchthon*, by F. A. Cox, 2nd ed, 1817. Both must be consulted with caution and reserve.

18. I have used the edition, Tiguri, apud Jacobum Gesnerum, 1563. See the section *De Immortalitate Animae Humanae*, pp. 708–717.

19. *Examen eorum qui audiuntur ante Ritum Publicae Ordinationis, . . . Traditum Vuiterbergae Anno* 1554, Philippvs Melanth. Witsbergae . . . Anno 1557. " Errores Papistarum de Poenitentia," p. 76, *verso*. The pages in this edition actually are not numbered, but in the Bodley copy, 8°, K. 28, art. B 5, this has been supplied in a contemporary hand.

20. Vives says that in the Canary Isles, before the natives embraced Christianity, demons delivered oracles through idols. " *In nouo hoc orbe recens inuento nihil est tristius aut uulgarius, quam non de nocte solum, sed medio die ac luce occurrere manifesto daemonem in urbe, in agro, qui aliquid loquatur, iubeat, uetet, infestet, terreat, feriat. De Veritate Fidei Christiane*, Libri V, Basileae, 1543, Lib. I, pp. 184–85.

21. Psalm xc, 6: *daemonium meridianum*, " the noonday devil." *Cf.* S. Bernard *In Psalm. Qui habitat serm.* VI, 6, and also the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, Migne, P.L. Vol. CLXXXV.

22. *Op. cit. supra*, ed. folio, 1553, Libri XIX, de daemonibus, pp. 529–541.

23. Olaus Magnus, *Historia*, ed. cit. Romae, 1555, p. 62.

24. Petrus Thyraeus, S.J., in his *De Locis Infestis*, Lib. III, cap. 8, ed. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1594, pp. 149–152, discusses at length this question of the ethnic Lares: " Malos genios et praeterea daemones quosdam domesticos, quos Lares uocant."

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CHAPTER XI

1. Psalm lxxvii, 39. "Et recordatus est quia caro sunt: spiritus uadens, et non rediens." In the new Breviary Psalm lxxvii is recited on Friday at Matins.

2. Deuteronomy, xviii, 10–12; Isaias, viii, 19–20.

3. S. Luke, xvi, 19–31.

4. II Corinthians, xi, 14.

5. I S. John, iv, 1–3.

6. I Timothy, i, 15; Colossians, ii, 13, 14.

7. S. Luke, xxiv, 27.

8. Galatians, i, 8.

9. A translation of the *History* of Hermias Sozomen by Edward Walford, first published in 1846, was re-issued in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library, 1855.

10. Acoris in the Upper Thebaid. See Palladius of Helenopolis *De Uitis Patrum*, cap. 60, *Uita Abbatis Apelle*, apud Rosweyde, *Uitae Patrum*, Lugduni, folio, 1617, p. 572.

11. Baronius shows that this revolt occurred in A.D. 388. Theodosius the Great, born A.D. 346, reigned 379–395.

12. *Collectaneorum ex Historia Ecclesiastica Theodori Lectoris* apud *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptora Graeci*, Coloniae Allobrogum, folio, 1612, Lib. I, p. 183. The *History* of Theodorus Anagnostes (Lector) is largely derived from Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret.

13. S. Gennadius I was Patriarch of Constantinople 458–471. He is celebrated in the Roman Martyrology on 25 August and in the Greek Menæa on 25 August and 17 November.

14. Migne, *P.L.* t. XVIII (S. Ambrosii II), pp. 735–742.

15. The Breviary Lessons (Second Nocturn) for the Feast of S. Agnes, 21 January, are from S. Ambrose *De Uirginibus*. See further this treatise in Migne, *P.L.* t. XVI, 200–202; Lib. I, 2.

For the account of the healing of Constantia see the Breviary, 28

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January, In Festo secundo S. Agnetis, V.M. lectio iii unius nocturni. See also Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, for S. Agnes under 21 January.

The Trinitarians keep S. Agnes on 21 January as a double major, but on 28 January as a double of the first class with an octave, since their Order was instituted on that day and this Saint is their especial Patroness. The lessons of the Second Nocturn in the Trinitarian Breviary give a fuller account of the miracle.

The first basilica was erected by the Princess Constantia over the grave of S. Agnes in the Via Nomentana during the reign of Constantine between 325 and 337. It was afterwards entirely remodelled by Pope Honorius (625–638) and has since remained unaltered.

16. "The year 415, in the tenth consulship of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius the younger, on Friday, 3 December": Butler, under 3 August.

17. See the Roman Breviary, 3 August, The Invention of S. Stephen the first Martyr, lections iv, v, of the Second Nocturn. Also Butler under 3 August, where will be found a long account of the apparition of S. Gamaliel to Lucian. S. Gamaliel buried S. Stephen, S. Nicodemus, and his own son, S. Abibo, in the place called Caphargamala, borough of Gamaliel.

The history of the discovery, written by Lucian and translated into Latin by Avitus of Braga, is given in the Benedictine edition of S. Augustine, Vol. VII, appendix.

The Body of S. Stephen now lies at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome.

The Body of S. Gamaliel is venerated at Pisa.

Under the 3 August the *Roman Martyrology* has: "At Jerusalem, the finding of the body of blessed Stephen the Protomartyr, and SS. Gamaliel, Nicodemus and Abibo, divinely revealed to Lucian the priest in the time of the Emperor Honorius."

18. The Feast of S. Lucy, Virgin and Martyr, is celebrated by Latins and Greeks alike on 13 December. She was born about the year 283, and suffered martyrdom in 303 during the persecution of Diocletian. S. Aldhelm is perhaps the first writer who utilizes her Acts to give a full account of her life and death. This he does in prose in the *Tractatus de Laudibus Virginitatis*, xlii (Migne, *P.L.* LXXXIX, 142), and again, in verse, in the poem *De Laudibus Virginum* (*P.L.* idem. t., 266).

S. Lucy sleeps at Venice; there are Relics in the Church of S. Vincent at Metz; at Rome in the Vatican Basilica, in San Marco (Piazza Venezia), and other churches; also at Bourges, and elsewhere.

In art S. Lucy has been painted by Fra Angelico, Domenico Veneziano, Pesellino, Massarotti, Garofalo, Crivelli, and very finely by Ticpolo in

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the SS. Apostoli, Venice, of which picture there is a study by John Addington Symonds, *In the Key of Blue*.

19. S. Ambrose, *Epistola xxii*, Migne, *P.L.* XVI (S. Ambrosii II), pp. 1019–1026. The Feast of SS. Gervase and Protase is 19 June.

20. Migne, *P.L.* XL (S. Augustini VI), pp. 591–610.

21. A.V. I Samuel, xxviii, 7–19.

22. S. Felix of Nola (near Naples) lived in the third century. He suffered much in the Decian persecution which broke out in the year 250, but he lived to a ripe old age, dying on 14 January, on which day he is commemorated.

23. Migne, *P.L.* XXXIII (Augustini II), Appendix, pp. 1120–1153. This Epistle and the Epistle called from S. Cyril of Jerusalem to S. Augustine of Hippo are by most editors accounted not to be genuine.
Saint Jerome died at Bethlehem, 30 September, 420.

24. Migne, *P.L.* XXXIII, p. 1127.

25. Palladius, *Dialogus cum Theodoro, Ecclesiae Romanae Diacono, de uita et conuersatione b. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, written *c.* 408; Migne, *P.G.* XLVII, pp. 5–82. Palladius was Bishop of Helenopolis, and also wrote the *Historia Lausiaca*. He was born in Galatia, A.D. 368, and died before 431.

26. Migne, *P.G.* CXLV, pp. 1280–1284. Pope S. Silvester I ruled the Church 314–335. He died on 31 December, on which day his feast is kept. See the *Uita beati Siluestri* in Surius, *Uitae Sanctorum*, VI, 1173, *sqq.*

27. Migne, *P.G.* LXXXII, pp. 1250–1254. Theodosius I, the Great, Emperor of the East, resigned 378–395. He defeated Eugenius, Emperor of the West, and Arbogastes, in 394, dying about four months after this victory.

28. Migne, *P.L.* LXXVII (S. Gregorii Magni, III), pp. 417–418.

CHAPTER XII

1. Of this Chronicle I have used the copies at the Bodleian Library with Shelfmarks — 1470 ? Auct. Q. sub. fen. 1, 2; 1473, Inc. b. G. 7, 1473/1, 2; 1483, pc. b. G. 1483/1.

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2. Cited by Taillepied under the French title *La mer des hyſtoires*, 2 vols. folio, 1488. I have used the Douce copy at the Bodleian, Douce 278. The original, folio 1475, has colophon "Quod placuit rudimentum nouiciorum intitulari . . ." There is a later edition of the French, folio, 1506. See Juvigny, V, 98. "Bruno fondateur de la chartreuse," *La sixiesme âge*, feuillets ix[xxi]ix[xxvi], and feuillet ix[xxviii], t. II, 1488.

3. *De Inuentoribus Rerum*, Lib. VII, cap. iii. *De origine Hieronymianorum, . . . Carthusianorum, Carmelitanorum. . . .* I have used the Elzevir edition, Amstedolami, 12°, 1671, pp. 446–447.

4. The name of this doctor was Raymond Diocres. The scene of the fearful resurrection of the corpse has been painted by Le Sueur in his series of the Life of S. Bruno (No. 3), as by other brushes. Since some have taken upon themselves on no sufficient grounds to doubt these terrible facts it should be stated that they have been proved true by the erudite Jesuit father, Théophile Raynaud (1587–1663), who lived some years near Grenoble and inquired diligently into the whole history.

5. Job, xiii, 22–23: Do thou answer me, How many are my iniquities and sins? Make me know my crimes and offences.

6. S. Bruno, born about the year 1030, is traditionally said to have belonged to the family of Hartenfauſt (or Hardevüſt). In 1075 S. Bruno was appointed Chancellor of the Cathedral of Rheims. He was inſtalled with his companions at the Chartreuse by S. Hugh of Grenoble in 1084.

7. *De l'eſtat des âmes après le trepas, comment elles vivent étant séparées du corps, et des purgatoires qu'elles souffrent en ce monde et an l'autre, après icelle séparation*, Tholose, 4°, 1563; also Paris, 8°, 1579 and 1581; Paris, 8°, 1605; Rouen, 12°, 1605; and Rouen, 12°, 1623.

Melchior de Flavin was an eſteemed and acute theologian, and his admired *Reſolutiones Quæſtionum Fr. Ioannis Duns Scoti, Doct. Subtilis, Ordinis Minorum* are printed in the edition, Venice, folio, 1597, of the *In quatuor Libros Sententiarum* of Scotus.

8. Ascended the Papal Throne, 25 June, 1243; died at Naples, 7 December, 1254. In October, 1244, owing to the menaces of the Emperor Frederick II the Pope was obliged to withdraw from Italy to Burgundy, and in December of that year he took up his residence at Lyons, where he abode for six years.

9. The glory of this house was S. Roseline de Villeneuve, born 27 January, 1263, at the Château des Arcs in Provence. She died, a Carthusian nun, 17 January, 1329. Her incorrupt body is venerated at Celle-Roubaud, near des Arcs; and her feaſt is kept in the Order on 16 October.

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10. William of Auvergne was consecrated Bishop of Paris in 1228. He died here in 1249. His theological and philosophical works have several times been collected—at Nuremburg, 1496; Venice, 1591; Orleans, 1674.

11. Hugues de Saint-Cher, O.P., was born *c.* 1200, and died at Orvieto, 19 March, 1263. Having joined the Dominican Order he was appointed Prior of the house at Paris in 1230. He received the red hat from Innocent IV in 1244.

12. Randle Cotgrave in 1611 in his *Dictionarie* gives: "Livre Parisis. *Is worth 20s. of Paris, or 25s.* Tourn. which come to *2s. 6d.* sterl."

13. Saint-Pons, which to-day numbers some 2,168 inhabitants, lies in a hill-girt valley of the Jaur. The Cathedral, founded *c.* 1200, was rebuilt in 1450, and again 1700. The Bishop of Rodez in question was Blessed François d'Estaing, who ruled that famous see from 1501–1529.

14. The pamphlet to which reference is made was written by Adrian de Montalembert, Almoner to François I: *La merveilleuse hiſtoire de leſprit qui depuis nagueres s'eſt apparu au monaſtère des religieuses de Saint-Pierre de Lyon, laquelle eſt plaine de grant admiration.* Colophon: *Nouuellement imprime a paris en la rue Saint Jaques a l'erseigne du chaſteau rouge, pres les Mathurins (chez Guillaume de Bossozel). Acheue le xv^e iour doctobre lan mil cinq cens xxviij*, 4°. Reprinted at Rouen, 4°, 1529; and again, 12°, Paris, 1580, as *Hiſtoire merveilleuse de sœur Alexis de Resieux, religieuse de Saint Pierre.* There are modern reprints in Lenglet-Dufresnoy, *Recueil de dissertations*, tome I, partie i, pp. 1–90; and in l'Abbé d'Artigny, *Nouveaux Mémoires*, t. vii.

At the time the affair made a great noise and was long talked of and remembered.

15. A good account of the Chronicle of Turpin and the Charlemagne romances will be found in Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, chapter iv, new ed., Bohn, 2 vols. 1888, Vol. I, p. 274 *sqq.*

16. See *La mer des hyſtoires*, folio, 1488, t. II, chapitres lxxvii and lxxix.

17. Dom Matthias Lambert is called (in error) Dom Matthieu on the title-page of his *Discours du danger et péril qu'il y a de converser et hanter trop familiarement avec femmes*, 8°, Liège, 1596. He is also the author of a commentary upon the Benedictine Rule, *Le Reigle de S. Benoiſt*, Liège, 8°, 1596. This learned monk was sometime Prior of Alne.

18. About 41 kilometres from Paris. This little town has a remarkable church.

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19. John Sleidan, born in 1506 at Sleidan near Cologne, died 1556, a notorious fanatic. His rancorous polemic, which was answered by Surius and others, *De statu religiones ac reipublicae, Carolo V Caesare*, was first published in 1555. It is now forgotten. A translation appeared folio, 1689, as the *General History of the Reformation of the Church from* 1517 *to* 1556, faithfully Englished by Edmund Bohun, esq. The passage in question will be found on pp. 170–172.

20. Innocentii III PP. Regestorum Lib. IX, Ep. CCXIII, addressed to the Abbot and Monks of San Hippolito, Faenza, *Quod corpus hæretici faciant extumulare*, P.L. CCXV (Innocentii III, ii), 1057.

21. Libri IV, l, li, lii, liii. Caput l has rubric: *An prosit animabus, si mortuorum corpora in ecclesiis fuerint sepulta.*

CHAPTER XIII

1. For similar poltergeist hauntings as are here described, see my *Geography of Witchcraft*, p. 184, and pp. 280–286. The *Morning Post*, Friday, 5 September, 1930, mentions malignant hauntings at Pilibhit, in India, where the lives of a family "have been made miserable for years from some invisible and destructive agency. . . . Articles of food, utensils, and cash have disappeared under the noses of the inmates, while bricks fall like hail, and knocks are heard day and night at the doors of the house." Well nigh innumerable cases of poltergeist visitations might be cited.

2. Ludwig Lavater was a protestant minister and his *De Spectris, lemuribus, et magnis atque insolitis fragoribus*, Geneva, 8°, 1570, is written in a thoroughly partisan spirit. It is moreover full of grotesque blunders, as for example in the passage now under consideration, where Lavater misunderstanding and misquoting Agricola turns the two towns Annaberg and Schneeberg into the names of spirits, "Talem fuisse [daemonem] Annebergium quendam. . . . Euismodi etiam fuisse *Snebergium*, nigro cucullum indictum . . . ," I, xvi, ed. Gorinchemi, 1683, p. 104. The version of Lavater *Of Ghosts and Spirites . . . translated into Englyshe by R. H.*, 1572, has recently (1929) been reprinted, "*Edited with introduction and Appendix by* J. Dover Wilson, Litt.D., *and* May Yardley, B.A." Unfortunately, save for the correction of a few obvious misprints, trifling in themselves, no editorial care has been given to the volume, and both references and allusions, often very obscure and sadly needing elucidation, are left unexplained. A mere re-issue without commentary or critical

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apparatus is valueless, and indeed perpetuates error. It is true that to supply such glosses is a long, laborious—and often an ungrateful—toil. But the 1929 reprint of Lavater cannot in any sense claim to be " edited " as advanced and set forth on the title-page.

3. Georgius Agricola, born at Glauchau 24 March, 1494, died 21 November, 1555. His real name was George Bauer, which was probably in the first place Latinized by his teachers. He was a scholar of such vast attainments that he even won the favour of Protestant princes in spite of the notable fact that he was a staunch Catholic. His chief work, the *De Re Metallica*, on which he was engaged for over twenty years, was first published at Basle, folio, 1556, and ran through several editions. It was first translated into German, Froben, folio, 1557. There is an admirable English version by H. C. Hoover and L. H. Hoover, published by the *Mining Magazine*, folio, London, 1912. The old methods being superseded, for practical purposes the *De Re Metallica* is now, of course, obsolete, but it is a work of immense erudition, and it was not even approached until Schlüter's book on metallurgy in 1738. An account of Agricola's other treatises is given in the English translation of 1912.

4. The references are to the two last paragraphs of Agricola's *De Animantibus Subterraneis*, a short work consisting of 23 folio pages, first printed at Basle, 1549, and often re-issued. *Rosy Crown*, " qui corona rosacea appelatur." Agricola frequently refers to the mines at Annaberg and Schneeberg in the *De Re Metallica*.

It is curious to note that H. C. Hoover and L. H. Hoover derive Cobalt (Ger. *Kobelt*) from the Greek (Kobalos), a mine. They say that the German miners, finding a material which injured their hands and feet, connected it with the goblins, and finally it was established for certain minerals. But Κόβαλος is an impudent rogue, and the Κόβαλοι were mischievous goblins invoked by these rascals. See Aristophanes, *Equites*, 635. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, translated Stallybrass, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 500–514, traces the word *Kobold* to the twelfth century and writes at length of the various manifestations and shapes of these gnomes.

Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 1, Sect. 2, Mem. 1, Sub-s. 2, dealing with Subterranean devils " Getuli and Cobali," quotes largely from Agricola and Olaus Magnus.

The haunting of mines has long been an established fact, and numerous authentic stories have been collected. In Cornwall many a mine is frequented by the " knockers." In the English Midlands the " Seven Whistles " are well known, and their warnings invariably heeded by the miners. " Bluecap " is a gnome who works the coal-tub towards the trolley-way. He appears as a blue flame, and every fortnight his wages

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must be set in a certain spot. " Cutty Soames " is a mischievous spirit who hinders and lets the workers.

5. *Cf.* Petronius, *Satyricon*, 38 : " Sed quomodo dicunt—ego nihil scio, sed audiui—quom Incuboni pilleum rapuisset, [et] thesaurum inuenit," ed. Buecheler, Berolini, 1895, p. 25. In Calderon's *La Dama Duende* the elf wears a large hat, Jornada II :

Cosme. Era un fraile
Tamañito, y tenia puesto
Un cucurucho tamaño ;
Que por estas senas creo,
Que era duende capuchino.

6. Romae, 1555, VI, x, *De Metallicis Daemonibus*, pp. 210–211.

7. *Paulina de Recta Paschae Celebratione : Et de Die Passionis Domini Nostri Iesv Christi*, folio, Fossombrone, 1513 : colophon, " Impressum Forosempronii per spectabilē uirū Octauianū petrutiū ciuē Forosemproniesem impressoriæ artis peritissimū Anno Domini M.D.XIII die octaua Iulii. (Bodley : F. 1. 9. Th. Seld.)

Paul of Middelburg was born at this town, an island of Zeeland (whence Taillepied refers to him as Paul Zelande), in the year 1446. He studied at Bruges and Louvain, acquiring a great reputation for learning, and in 1479 was appointed Professor of Astronomy at Padua. In 1481 he had become Physician in ordinary and Astrologer Royal to Federico of Urbino. On 30 July, 1494, he was preconized Bishop of Fossombrone by Alexander VI. Bishop Paul is now chiefly remembered for his work in connexion with the reform of the Calendar. He wrote much on learned and abstruse subjects, and was high in favour with Leo X, and was called to Rome by Paul III to receive the red hat, but unhappily died on 14 December, 1533, and was buried in the German church of S. Maria del l'Anima.

For a full account of Bishop Paul, see Demetrio Marzi's *La Questione della Reforma del Calendario*, Firenze, 1895, which prints for the first time Bernardino Baldi's *Vita di Paolo di Middelburg*.

8. See also Olaus Magnus, *op. cit.*, II, 2 and 3 (pp. 61, 62).

9. *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, xxviii, Migne, *P.G.* VI, p. 290.

10. " Io. Duns Scotus, uiuus pro mortuo sepultus interiit. Tali morbo censuerim laborasse Enarchum illum Plutarchi." Delrio, *Disquisitionum Magicarum*, Liber II, Q. xxix, Sec. 11, ed. 1603, p. 268, D. *Cf.* J. B. Salgues, *Des Erreurs et des Préjugés*, t. I (second ed.), 1811, p. 304 : " Je vous parlerai d'Énarque, qui revint au monde après avoir passé plusieurs jours en enfer, et raconta à Plutarque lui-même tout ce

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concernoit Pluton, Minos, Earque, Rhadamante, les Parques et les Furies." Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Infernal*, 6me éd. 1863, p. 236, *s.v.* "Énarque."

11. "Theologia Platonica," ed. Parisiis, 1559, p. 299, K.

12. *M. Maruli Spalatenois Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium Libri sex*, Parissiis, 1586, VI, xvi; *De reuelationibus cœlestis Beatitudinis*, pp. 610–631, being the last chapter of the work.

13. The First Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325.

14. VIII, xxiii: *Ut duo etiam mortui episcopi et Patres decretis synodi subscripserint, Chrysanthus et Musonius.* P.G. CXLVI, 89–90.

15. *Gulielmi Paradini Memoriae Nostrae Libri Quatuor*, Lugduni, folio, 1548, pp. 17–35: *Rhodi insulae Lyciae Nobilissimæ, oppugnatis prodigiosa, ac Miserabilis deditio.*

S. John Baptist was principal patron of the Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem, called Knights of Rhodes from 1309 to 1522, and since 1530 Knights of Malta.

It was on 24 October, 1522, that Villiers de l'Isle Adam had to make an honourable capitulation to Solyman II and deliver the island to the Turks.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Of this I have myself had experience, and I know many instances of such apparitions *in hora mortis*. J. T. Brockett, *A Glossary of North-Country Words*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 8°, 1825, notes as an infallible death-warning, "A waff or apparition of the person to die, though absent." John Jamieson, in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, 2 vols. 4°, Edinburgh, 1808, says: "The wraith of a living person does not, as some have supposed, indicate that he shall die soon. Although in all cases viewed as a premonition of the disembodied state, the season in the natural day at which the spectre makes its appearance is understood as a certain presage of the time of the person's departure. If seen early in the morning, it forebodes that he shall live long, and even arrive at old age; if in the evening, it indicates that his death is at hand." E. Shortland, in his *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 8°, 1856, writes: "It is always ominous to see the figure of an absent person. If the figure is very shadowy and its face is not seen, Death, although he

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may ere long be expected, has not yet seized his prey. If the face of the absent person is seen, the omen forewarns the beholder that he is already dead." See further Dr. F. G. Lee, *Lights and Shadows*, 1894, chapter iii, "Warnings of Danger and Death."

2. Bacon in his *Sylva* writes: "There be many reports in history that upon the death of persons of near blood, men have had an inward feeling of it."

3. T. Sternberg, *Dialect and Folklore of Northamptonshire*, London, 8°, 1851, notes as a death-warning: "The sudden dropping of an article of furniture without apparent cause." William Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, London, 8°, 1866, mentions as a similar omen: "Sounds as though the house were falling down." "At the inquest on Mr. Hunt, of Stratford-on-Avon, who committed suicide, his cook, who had been expecting it, said that hearing a bang she went out into the garden to see whether the looking-glass had not fallen." *Birmingham Post*, 14 September, 1874.

4. It is unlucky for the door of a chamber to open of its own accord and nobody to enter. In West Sussex the unusual rattling of the church-door is an omen of death. *Folk Lore Record*, Vol. I.

5. *Cf.* "The more distinct the voice, the more distant the individual whose decease is indicated; and the more indistinct the voice, the nearer the person whose death is certain." Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 2 vols. 8°, New York, 1867; Vol. II, p. 329.

6. Basle, folio, 1557, p. 645. This circumstance was told to Cardano by Paola Barbiana, a lady of the family, whilst she was supping in his company at the Château of Belgioioso, which is some nine and a half miles from Pavia.

I would suggest to the next editor of Webster—a dramatist who stands badly in need of this attention—that the present passage from Cardano seems to have afforded a hint for the following lines in *The Duchesse of Malfy*, V, 2, 4°, 1623,, L, 3:

Pescara. Knowes your grace
What accident hath brought vnto the Prince,
This strange distraction?
Cardinall. I must faigne somewhat; Thus they say it grew,
You haue heard it rumor'd for these many yeares,
None of our family dies, but there is seene
The shape of an old woman, which is giuen
By tradition, to vs, to haue bin murther'd
By her Nephewes, for her riches: Such a figure

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One night (as the Prince sat vp late at's booke)
Appear'd to him, when crying out for helpe,
The gentlemen of's chamber, found his grace
All on a cold sweate, alter'd much in face
And language: Since which apparition,
He hath growne worse, and worse, and I much feare
He cannot liue.

In Roxburghshire "Wag-at-the-Wa" is the name given to a spectre supposed to haunt the kitchen and to take its station on the [chimney] crook. It is seen to wag backwards and forwards before the death of any one of the family.

"So numerous are the cases in which persons have been supernaturally warned of coming danger or death, that there is scarcely a family of any note, the members of which are not acquainted, either by personal experience, hearsay, or tradition, with instances of such. In certain families the warning is systematic and uniform." *Sights and Shadows*, by Dr. E. G. Lee, 1894, chapter iii, "Warnings of Danger and Death," p. 71.

7. The legend says that Mélusine by her art inclosed her father in the bowels of a mountain to avenge her mother Pressyne. For this she was condemned every Saturday to be changed from her waist downward into a serpent. If she wedded and her husband, owing to his confidence and love, would never inquire or intrude upon her privacy that day the spell should presently be ended. Mélusine marries Raymond, an adopted son of the Count of Poitiers, who owing to evil counsel in jealousy conceals himself to watch his wife in her retirement. Mélusine, however, discovers she is spied upon and vanishes from sight with heart-rending cries. She haunts the castle of Lusignan (destroyed in 1574–5) which she herself had built, and here she announces by loud shrieks any disaster that is to befall either her own race or the French monarchy.

Pousser des cris de Mélusine is still a French phrase in use. In 1387, at the request of John, Duke of Berri, Jean d'Arras wrote the story of Mélusine, *Chronique de la princesse*. This prose romance, first printed in 1478, was very popular and has been translated into various languages.

There is a recent study, 1932, *The Romance of Mélusine and de Lusignan*, by Sir Algernon Tudor Tudor-Craig, with genealogical notes and pedigrees.

Taillepied, be it noted, does not imply anything more than that the house of Lusignan was haunted by a Banshee. See *The Banshee*, n.d., London and Edinburgh, Sands, by Elliot O'Donnell, who does not however mention Mélusine.

8. "Some Men of that exalted Sight (whither by Art or Nature) have told me that they have seen at there [funeral] Meitings a Doubleman, or

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the Shape of some Man in two places; that is, a superterranean and a subterranean Inhabitant, perfectly resembling one another in all Points, whom he notwithstanding could easily distinguish one from another, by some secret Tockens and Operations, and so go speak to the Man, his Neighbour and Familiar, passing by the Apparition or Resemblance of him. . . . They call this Reflex-man a Co-Walker, every way like the Man as a Twin-brother and Companion, haunting him as his shadow, as is oft seen and known among Men (resembling the Originall) both before and after the Originall is dead; and wes also often seen of old to enter a Hous, by which the People knew that the Person of that Liknes wes to Visite them within a few days. This Copy, Echo, or living Picture goes att last to his own Herd." Robert Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, written in 1691, chapter i, Sect. 3: ed. Andrew Lang, London, 1893.

Among the many fearful portents which presaged the speedy decease of Queen Elizabeth when she lay at Richmond Palace in March, 1603, was the following circumstance, which Miss Strickland quotes from Lady Southwell's MS., written in April, 1607, and now preserved at Stonyhurst. "Lady Guildford, then in waiting on the Queen, and leaving her in an almost breathless sleep in her privy-chamber, went out to take a little air, and met her Majesty, as she thought, three or four chambers off. Alarmed at the thought of being discovered in the act of leaving the royal patient alone, she hurried forward, in some trepidation, in order to excuse herself, when the apparition vanished away. Lady Guildford returned, terrified, to the chamber, but there lay Queen Elizabeth, still in the same lethargic, motionless slumber, in which she had left her." *Lives of the Queens of England*, by Agnes Strickland, *Elizabeth*, chapter xii, ed. 1845, Vol. VII, p. 293.

For other examples of the Double, see W. T. Stead, *Real Ghost Stories*, 1897, Part I, chapter 1. This work is a revised reprint of the Christmas and New Year's Numbers of the *Review of Reviews*," 1891–2.

9. It may be remarked that great storms are often associated with the death of criminals. In Willis' *Current Notes*, 1852, p. 104, the belief is recorded that while the Mannings were awaiting execution [in 1849] heavy rain-floods were not expected to cease until the sentence had been carried out.

There are few contemporary writers who do not allude to the terrible storm at the time of Oliver Cromwell's death, 3 September, 1658, an omen of fearful significance.

Chesnel de la Charbouclais, in his *Dictionnaire des Superstitions*, 4°, 1855, mentions that "Les Bretons croient encore que lorsque de grands criminels cessent de vivre, l'air, la terre et les mus sont violemment ajutés; et que quand il ya une Tempête, elle ne peut cesser qu'autant les corps impurs ont été vomis sur le plage."

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10. Plato, *Laws*, IX, 872, 873. Jowett's translation, Vol. IV, ed. 1871, pp. 383–4.

11. Ed. Parisiis, 1559, p. 299.

12. *De Natura Rerum*, IV, 1025–27.

> namque omnes plerumque cadunt in uulnus, et illam
> emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimur ictu,
> et si comminus est, hostem ruber occupat umor.

"For as a rule all men fall towards the wound, and the blood spirts out in that direction, whence we are struck by the blow, and, if it is near at hand, the red stream reaches our foe." *Lucretius*, translated by Cyril Bailey, Oxford, 1910, p. 178.

13. Bacon, *Sylva*, 958, has: "It is an usual observation that if the body of one murdered be brought before the murderer, the wounds will bleed afresh. Some do affirm that the dead hath opened his eyes." King James I in his *Daemonologie* (1597), III, 6, speaking of the swimming of witches as one of two tests (the first being the insensible witch-mark), writes: "The other is their fleeting on the water: for as in a secret murther, if the dead carcase be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of bloud, as if the blud wer crying to the heauen for reuenge of the murtherer, God hauing appoynted that secret supernaturall signe, for tryall of that secrete vnnaturall crime, so it appeares that God hath appoynted (for a super-naturall signe of the monstruous impietie of the Witches) that the water shal refuse to receiue them in her bosom." So Chapman, *The Widdowes Tears*, 4to, 1612, V, 3, where the first Soldier says: "The Captain will assay an old conclusion, often approved, that at the murtherer's sight, the blood revives again, and boils afresh: and every wound has a condemning voice to cry out guilty gainst the murtherer." There are very many allusions to this belief: see Shakespeare's *Richard III*, I, ii, 55. Drayton's *Idea. In Sixtie Three Sonnets* (1594), ed. 1619, 46:

> In making tryall of a Murther wrought,
> If the vile actors of the heynous deed
> Neere the dead Body happily be brought,
> Oft 't'ath been prou'd, the breathlesse Coarse will bleed.

In Richard Whitlock's *Zootomia* (1654) we have: "But at the approach of whom must this coarse bleed?" (p. 123, and p. 135). In *A Warning for Faire Women*, 4to, 1599, when Browne who has wellnigh slain John Beane is brought to his dying victim, Master Barnes cries:

> See how his wounds break out afresh in bleeding.

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Robert Heath in his *Clarastella*, 12mo, 1650, has a poem, *Bleeding at the Nose at Clarastella's Approach*, with this couplet:

So at the Murtherer's approach we see
The corpse weep at its wounds again.

Thus in Dryden's *Tyrannick Love; or, The Royal Martyr*, 4to, 1670, Act I, Porphyrius upon seeing the Empress Berenice exclaims:

How my old wounds are open'd at this view!
And in my murd'rers presence bleed anew!

In Otway's *The Souldiers Fortune*, produced at Dorset Garden early in 1680, 4to, 1681; at the end of Act IV when Sir David Dunce would approach Beaugard, whom he is supposed to have murdered, Lady Dunce fearing the trick will be discovered prevents him with: "Oh, come not near him, there's such a horrid Antipathy follows all murders, his wounds would stream afresh should you but touch him."

14. Dryden's translation, folio, 1697, pp. 312–13, ll. 555–59.

15. III Kings (A.V. I Kings), xxii, 19–23.

16. *De Fascino*, II, xiv, Paris, 1583, p. 193. The house in question was presumably Saint Maurice, which stood on the right bank of the Eygues, a tributary of the Rhone. It was situated about thirteen kilometres from Nyons, on the border of Drôme and Vaucluse.

17. "Praedictiones uero et praesensiones rerum futurarum quid aliud declarant, nisi hominibus ea, quae futura sunt, ostendi, monstrari, portendi, praedici? Ex quo illa ostenta, monstra, portenta, prodigia dicuntur." Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, iii, 7.

18. Newton, in his *A Notable History of the Saracens . . . Drawen out of Augustine Curio and Sundry other good Authours (Caelii Augustini Curionis Sarracenicae, Libri III*, 1567), 1575, p. 129, writing of *Tamburlane*, Kyng of *Scythia*, has: "When he cam in sight of his enemies, his custome was to set up three sortes of Pavylions or Tentes: the first, was white, signifying thereby to his enemyes, that if at that shew, they would yelde, there was hope of grace and mercye at hys handes: the next was redde, whereby he signified bloude and flame: and lastly blacke, which betokened utter subversion and mercilesse havocke of all things for their contempt." The three Tents are mentioned by Cambini, *Libro d'Andrea Cambini Fiorentino della origine de'Turchi*, 1529, and by other sixteenth century writers of trust of Tamerlane, Cuspinian, Pedro Mexia, Christopherus Thickerius, etc., and particularly by Petrus Perondinus, whose *Magni Tamerlanis Scythiarum Imperatoris Uita* was published at Florence in 1553: cap. xvii, *De tentoriis, quibus in oppugnandis urbibus utebantur*. Marlowe, in

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his *Tamburlaine the Great*, Part I, iv, 1, makes his Messenger give the Soldan a highly rhetorical but supremely effective description of Tamburlaine's three Tents and their successive significations.

19. Taillepied here follows Vair, who paraphrases rather than exactly quoting S. Cyprian in this context, *De Fascino*, II, xiv, *ut cit. supra*, p. 193. See *S. Cypriani Opera*, Oxon, folio, 1682, Epistola xi, pp. 23–26, especially the passage which commences: "Oremus instante, et assiduis precibus ingemiscamus."

20. "Comonly wonders fall more ayenst wo than ayenst welthe, as comets and starres, brennyng castelles in the air, eclypses of the sun and mone ayenst kynde, men in the ayre armed or fyghtynge, the rainbowe turned up so downe." *Dives and Pauper*, 1493, c. xxix. Primerosius, *De Uulgi Erroribus in Medicina*, 1669, II, xxxiv, writes: "Cometam mirabile sidus, neque ordinarium, mala perniciumque mortalibus portendose uulgaris est opinio. Politicis bella, seditiones; Theologis religionum mutationes, hæreses; Nautis uentos et tempestates; Agricolis annonae penuriam, sterelitates; Medicis pestem significare, creditur." Thomas Draxe, in his *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, 8°, 1633, saith that Comets and blazing stars portend alterations. John Swan, in his *Speculum Mundi*, 4°, 1645, discusses how comets announce the approach of wars, seditions, changes of kingdom, rebellions. *Cf.* Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, II, 2, 30:

> When beggars die there are no comets seen,
> The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.

And Webster, *The White Devil*,

> No less an ominous fate than blazing stars to princes.

21. At Marathon, B.C. 490. See Herodotus, VI, 108–117. Pausanias, I, 32; and VIII, 54, 55.

22. Philemon Holland, *Plutarch's Morals*, folio, 1603; *Apophthegmes of Kings, Princes and Captaines*, p. 425, 4°, has: "So long as Epaminondas was captaine general of the Thebans, there was never seene in his campe any of these sudden foolish frights, without any certaine cause, which they call *Paniques Terrores*."

23. Epaminondas and the Thebans defeated Cleombrotus and the Spartans at Leuctra in B.C. 371. *De Diuinatione*, I, 34; *Ciceronis Scripta*, ed. Teubner, Lipsiae, 1898, pars. iv, 2, p. 173. Cicero relates this omen with "ut ait Callisthenes."

24. Livy, XXII, 3 (for the plucking up of the standards). The battle

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by the Thrasimene Lake and the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal is described, 1–7.

25. Plutarch, *Marius*, xvii; Teubner, 1879, Vol. II, pp. 346–7. In B.C. 102 the Teutones were cut to pieces and defeated by Marius near Aquae Sextiae (*Aix*) in Gaul; and the following year the Cimbri with their allies were likewise crushed and destroyed by Marius and Catulus in the battle of Campi Raudii, near Verona.

26. II, lvii: *De crepitu armorum, et tubarum de caelo audito.* The Cimbri, a Celtic people, defeated the Roman armies in B.C. 113, B.C. 109, B.C. 107, and B.C. 105. In B.C. 101 they were destroyed by Marius and Catulus in the battle of Campi Raudii, near Verona.

27. For omens, see the *Civil War*, I, 61, to Marius; II, 18, to Crassus; II, 58, 68, to Pompey; V, 80, to Octavian. Also the *Syrian Wars*, IX, 56, to Seleucus and to Alexander; X, 64, to Lysimachus.

28. *De Prodigiis*, I, vi, 12. In the Civil War Dyrrhachium (now Durazzo) served as the headquarters of Pompey. Pharsalia, B.C. 48. Ptolemais; St.-Jean d'Acre or Akka. Pergamus was the capital of Mysia.

29. Caesar, *De Bello Ciuili*, III, 105.

30. Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, iii, iv; Teubner, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 420–421. The reference is to the battle of Lake Regillus, on whose banks the Romans defeated the Latins, B.C. 498. See Livy, II, 19; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, VI, 3. Julius Obsequens has mainly derived his *De Prodigiis* from Livy whose very phrase he often uses, ed. Oudendorp, Ludg. Bat. 1720. There is a recent thesis, Philadelphia, 1930, by F. B. Krauss, *An Interpretation of the Omens, Portents, and Prodigies recorded by Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius.*

31. Book VII, chapter xii. *Of the strange signes and tokens that appeared before the destruction of Ierusalem.* Josephus, tr. Thomas Lodge, folio, 1620, pp. 738–39.

32. Leo V the Armenian, reigned 813–820. For his life see "the anonymous author at the end of Theophanes; Leo Grammaticus, 445; the continuator of Theophanes by order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in Scriptores post Theophanem; Symeon Log. et Mag, 411, and Georgius Monachos, 500—both in the *Scriptores post Theoph.*; Genesius; Cedrenus, 487; Zonares, ii, 152; and the shorter chronicles" (Finlay).

33. It is doubtful to which siege of Magdeburg Taillepied refers, certainly not to that of 1550–51 when the Margrave Maurice of Saxony was investing this town.

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34. "*Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, was by common Consent and the Will of the Emperor, made *Generalissimo*, who immediately leaving *Spire*, prepared himself for the Expedition," against the Turk. Sleidan, *History*, XIV, Eng. tr., folio, 1689, p. 292, *sub anno* 1542.

John Carion, 1499–1538, a German scholar, wrote a *Chronicon* or History which he asked Melanchthon to overlook before he sent it to the press. Melanchthon promptly claimed it as his own and thus published it at Wittenberg, pretending that Carion was a pseudonym. From this treachery much confusion has resulted. Peucer also made additions to Melanchthon's work. Carion's original and proper *Chronicon* was issued with a preface, Berlin, 1531, and dedicated to Joachim, Marquis of Brandenburg. I have used the edition *Chronicon Carionis* (Melanchthon and Peucer) Bernae, 1601, and also the French translation (with emendations) by Simon Goulart, 2 vols. (1579) 1611. See Vol. II, p. 244, *sqq.*, *Guerres contre les Turcs*, and p. 354, *sqq.*

35. Capitulum tricesimum. The *De Nobilitate et Rusticitate* is a dialogue between Nobilis and Rusticus. I have used the edition Joh. Prüss, Strassburg, 15 cent., cxxx, ff. cx–cxvii. Bodley, N. 1. 21. Th. Seld. (1).

Felix Hemmerlin (properly Hemmerli), Latinized as Malleolus, was born at Zurich in 1388 or 1389, and died about 1460. He was prominent, if not always discreet, in ecclesiastical affairs, and took part in the Council of Constance. He was also present at the Council of Basle. Certain of his writings were so violently polemical and ill-advised in spite of his immense erudition that a popular outcry resulted in his being brought before the court of the Vicar-general of Constance, and he ended his days in the Franciscan monastery at Lucerne, although he can hardly be said ever to have undergone confinement here. To represent him as in any way a precursor of the Protestant movement is absurd. See Reber *Felix Hemmerlin von Zurich, neu nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, Basle, 1846; and Fiala *Dr. Felix Hemmerlin als Propst des St. Ursenstiftes in Solothurn*, Solothurn, 1857.

36. Rudolf of Habsburg (1273–91) defeated Ottokar II of Bohemia in 1276 on the plain called Marchfeld, when the Bohemian monarch lost both life and crown.

37. S. Felix, his sister S. Regula, and S. Exsuperantius, Martyrs, are patrons of Zurich, where their bodies lie. Their feast is 11 September. S. Felix and S. Exsuperantius were soldiers of the Theban legion. S. Regula accompanied her brother in his military marches. These Saints are also the patrons of Heiligenberg in Swabia. They were beheaded at Zurich. In Mone's *Hymni medii aeui*, I, III, p. 294 will be found a sequence and a prose in their honour.

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38. *De Fascino*, II, xiv, ed. cit. p. 193.

39. Venetiis, MDLIIII. "De prodigijs, quae definenti Caroli magni ſtirpe apparuerunt," p. 27. Hugh Capet.

40. Paris, 8°, 1561. Belleforeſt and others contributed to this work. I have used the Bodley copy, 8°, d, 244, BS. Six tomes, Paris, 1598. Pierre Boaiſtuau (or Boiſtuau, Baiſtuau) also known as Launay, was a native of Nantes. He died at Paris in 1566. He has left several works including translations from Bandello, which were continued by Belleforeſt.

CHAPTER XV

1. Dio, lv.

2. "The Jesuit Thyraeus quotes an observation of some people sufficiently superſtitious, who say that all children borne in the Ember-weeks commonly bring along with them their caules or certaine membranes, and are much more likely then others to gaine the acquaintance and familiarity of the Genii designed for their conduct." *The History of Magick* . . . Written in French, by G. Naudæus, . . . Englished by J. Davies. London, 1657; chapter xiii, p. 143. John Melton *Aſtrologaſter, or, The Figure-Caſter*, London, 1620, p. 48 (22) notes among other common beliefs: *That if a child be borne with a Caule on his head, he ſhall be very fortunate.*

Peter Thyraeus, S.J., *De Apparitione Spirituum*, Liber I, xiv, 346, ed. Cologne, 1594, p. 51, writes: "Quod asserunt quidam, esse certa quaedam hominum genera (illos scilicet, qui cassidem secum ex utero deferunt, et qui diebus illis, quos quatuor anni tempora dicimus in lucem sunt editi), qui frequentius spiritus uideant, quos etiam alii praesentes uidere non possint, inter aniles reponimus fabulas." I cannot agree with the good Jesuit in this particular, and I prefer to subscribe to Father Taillepied.

3. The Acts, x.

4. Vergil, *Æneid*, VII, of Alecto, 337–38:

tibi nomina mille,
Mille nocendi artes.

(It will be noted that Taillepied varies the words.) I quote Dryden's

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version, folio, 1697, *Æn.* VII, l. 471, p. 414. "Innumeras habit diabolus artes nocendi," S. Athanasius, *Uita S. Antonii*, c. 8. Apud Rosweyde, *Uitae Patrum*, folio, 1555, p. 27, col. 1.

5. I. S. Peter, v, 8.

6. *Speculum historiale*, XXI, lxix: *De Theophilo uicedomino et tyrographo quod dedit diabolo.* Of Vincent of Beauvais I have used the Bodley copy, Auct. IV, Q, II, 2. The history is on p. 277. S. Alphonsus, *Glorie di Maria*, ed. Torino, 1830, p. 190, writes: "È famosa la storia di Teofilo scritta da Eustachiano patriarca di Constantinopoli, che fu testimonio oculare del fatto, che qui si narra, e vien confermata da S. Pier Damiano, da S. Bernando, S. Bonaventura, S. Antonino, e da altri appresso il padre Crasset (*Div. alla B.V. to.* 1. *tr.* 1. *q.* 10)." The reference is to a famous work by Jean Crasset, S.J. (d. 1638), *La veritable devotion envers la S. Vierge établie et defendue*, Paris, 1679; and 1687. (There is a reprint, Bruxellez, 1885.) Theophilus was Archdeacon of Adanas in Cilicia. This history was current in the West during the tenth century. In the eleventh century it was given by "Botho," who was abbot of Priefling near Regensburg. Abbot Razzi of Camaldoli includes this glorious example of the mercy of Mary in his *Miracoli della Gloriosa Virgine Maria*, Firenze, 1618, and it will be found in Dom Roberto's *Love of Mary*, Twenty-Fourth Day, English translation, New York, 1856, pp. 289–90. This was, it will be remembered, a favourite book of S. Gabriel the Passionist.

7. *La mer des hystoires.* See note above, Chapter XII, n. 2. This terrible incident is first related by Peter the Venerable of Cluny, *De Miraculis*, Lib. II, c. 1: *De oppressore ecclesiarum, qui uisibiliter raptus a diabolo et per aera subuectus est, stupentibus qui aderant uniuersis.* Migne, *P.L.* CLXXXIX, 909–911.

8. Elias; IV Kings (A.V. II Kings), ii, 11. Habacuc; Daniel, xiv, 32–38; S. Philip; The Acts, viii, 39–40. Ezechiel; Ezechiel, viii, 3; xi, 1 and 24; xxxvii, 1; xl, 1–3. The Temptation; S. Matthew, iv; 5, 8.

9. The Feast of S. Antidius, Martyr, Bishop of Besançon, who for Christ's sake was slain by the Vandals, is 25 June. He was killed *c.* 411 by the chief Crocus, who put the Saint to death in the Castle of Rufec. See the Bollandists *Acta Sanctorum*, under 25 June; Junii t. V, pp. 39–48; Antwerp, 1709; especially cap. ii: *Fabulosa narratio transuecti per daemonem Antidii Romam, et inde reuecti*, pp. 43–44. The tradition of the transvection of S. Antidius to Rome is now often regarded as largely legendary or metaphorical.

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10. For Simon Magus see *Acta Apoſtolorum Abdiae*, ed. t. II, *De S. Petro*, I, xviii, pp. 435–7 and the notes. S. Maximus, *Homilia* lxxii and hom. ci, *P.L.* LVII, 406 and 488–89; Arnobius, *Aduersus Gentes*, II, 12, *P.L.* V, 828–29; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catachesis*, VI, xv, *P.G.* XXXIII, 361–64; *Apoſtolii Conſtitutions*, vi, ix; *P.G.*, I. See also S. Ambrose, *Hexaem.* IV, 8; S. Auguſtine, *De Hæres.*, vi; and *de SS. Petro et Paulo*, Serm. III; Isidorus Pelusiota, Lib. I, Ep. xv; Theodoretus, *Hæret. fabul.* I, xiii; Hegesippus, III, 2; Epiphanius, *Adu. Hæreses*, I; Sulpicius Seuerus, *Hiſt. Sacr.*, II, 42.

11. The reference is to the *Theages*, a short dialogue between Demodocus, Socrates, and Theages, wherein Socrates discourses at some length of his *daimon*. The *Theages* is often considered not to be the work of Plato, and by some it is ascribed to that Antipater, who is mentioned by Cicero in the *De Diuinatione*, I, 3, and from whom Plutarch is known to have drawn. The *Theages* is translated in Bohn's *Plato*, Vol. IV, 1851, pp. 399–416.

12. The Saturday faſt is of devotion in honour of Our Lady. S. Alphonsus in *The Glories of Mary*, English translation "By a Catholic Clergyman," Dublin, Duffy & Co., no date, Vol. II, pp. 327–29, fervently recommends this practice, and tells us that S. Carlo Borromeo, Cardinal Toledo, and many holy persons always faſted on bread and water on Saturdays, whilſt Bishop Nittard of Bamberg, Father Joseph Arriaga, and others abſtained from all food in Her honour. S. Alphonsus refers to the work of Father Auriemma, Vol. I, c. 17, for further details.

13. Le "Chaſteau de Viceſtre pres Paris."

14. See Gerard Dubois *Hiſtoria Ecclesiae Pariſiensis*, XVI, 4, Pariſiis, folio, 1710, t. II, pp. 434–35. "Juxta Pariſios erat caſtrum haud procul ab aede sacra, quam Mariam de Campis aut de Uineis uulgo dicebant. Ad auſtrum situm erat, hocque castrum Uallis-uiridis appellabatur. Regium erat, et ab aliquot annis desertum et inhospitum. Fama erat in eo loco esse phantasma quoddam, quod inhabitantibus metum et timorem faceret. Tum quisque quasi a peſtilenti et infami loco refugere. Cartusienses scribunt adeo omnibus infeſtum locum fuisse, ut etiam Daemonium illius loci plagis praetereuntes afficeret. Hunc locum a Ludovico Rege IX quem inhabitarent Cartusienses poposcerent. Haesitabat Rex, an rogationi annueret, ne quid incommodi hinc sancta familia caperet; sed demum illis castrum Uallis-uiridis concessum est. Illic familia Cartusiensium posuit sedes anno MCCLVII. Dicunt triduana prece et oratione expulsum e domo Daemonium, nec sanctis uiris deinde usquam monstra apparuisse." It was for the Carthusian monastery of Notre Dame de Vauvert—destroyed at the

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Revolution—that Le Sueur painted his famous pictures of the life of S. Bruno, a series now in the Louvre. "Opposite the hospital [Val de Grâce], the Rue Val de Grâce leads to the *Rue d'Enfer*, on the site of Vauvert, a hunting lodge of the early kings. 'Le rue d'Enfer, ou l'on ne voit plus ni diables, ni revenants, mais qui porte sur des carrières beaucoup plus dangereuses. Saint Louis le donna aux Chartreux, pour exorciser ces fantômes. Depuis ce temps, on n'y vit plus de spectres; et lesdites maisons, bien peuplées, rapportent de bel et bon argent. *Tableau de Paris*.'" Augustus J. C. Hare, *Paris*, n. d. Chapter vi, p. 328.

15. *Uita Beati Francisci* in *Medii Ævi Bibliotheca Patristica*, ed. Horoy, Series Prima, tomus VI, Paris, 1880. There is a convenient English translation, *The Life of Saint Francis by Saint Bonaventura*, by Miss E. Gurney Salyer, Temple Classics, 1904. The *Uita* was composed between 1260–63. There is an excellent edition by the Franciscan fathers, Quaracchi, 1898, being Vol. VIII of *S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*. This is also published separately.

16. Iamblichus, *Adhortaltio ad philosophos*, xxi; Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 17. *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, ed. Fr. Gul. Aug. Mullachius, Paris, Didot, 1860, Vol. I, p. 507 (33).

17. Isaias, xiii, 21, 22. Upon which verses see the Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in IV Prophetas Maiores*, Antwerp, folio, 1622, p. 195. "Pilosi, Fauni and Satyri, de quibus Plinius, lib. 7, 2. hoc est, vt Chald. et Septuag. daemones scilicet qui . . . apparent hirsuti specie hircorum."

Again, c. xxxiv, 14, 15. See Cornelius à Lapide, *op. cit.* pp. 323, 324. Taillepied writes: "le Prophete . . . dit Syim auec Iym se rẽcontreront en leur palais." *Syim auec Iym* is the Hebrew word *Se'irim;* Vulgate, *daemonia*. S. Jerome *Comm. in Is.* xiii, 21, Migne, *P.L.* XXIV, 159, writes: "uel incubones, uel satyros, . . . quos nonnulli fatuos ficarios uocant, aut dæmonum genera intelligunt."

Lamia is in Hebrew *Lilith*. "*Lamiae* sunt dæmones succubi uel illorum spectra, quae Empusae dicuntur . . . *lamiae* possunt hic accipi stryges et sagae, quae pueros intoxicant et necant." Cornelius à Lapide.

18. *Metropolis, sive Historia Ecclesiastica Saxoniae*, Alberti Crantzii, Uiri Doctissimi . . . Coloniae, 1584, IV, v, p. 231. Albert Crantz, who died in 1517, was a Canon of Hamburg. His *Metropolis*, an ecclesiastical history of Northern Germany from 780 to 1504, first printed Frankfort, 1576, was often reissued. For S. Cunegundes see the Bollandists under 3 March, her feast. When S. Henry, her husband, died in 1024, the holy Empress entered religion. She died 3 March, 1040, and was buried in

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Bamberg Cathedral near her husband. She was canonized by Innocent III in 1200.

19. *Elogia Doctorum Uirorum*, Basileae, 1571, pp. 236–37. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa "excessit e uita nondum senex . . . multis eum tanquam Necromantiæ suspicione infamem execrantibus, quod Cacodaemonem nigri canis specie circumduceret." The dog was called Monsieur. But it was not a familiar. Weyer knew the dog well: "canem hunc nigrum . . . Gallico nomine Monsieur, quod Dominum sonat, [*anglice* Prince] nuncupatum noui ego, si quis alius, familiarissime." *Ioannis Wieri Opera*, Amstedolami, 1660, pp. 110–111.

20. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* . . . adscripta Abdiae, primo, ut ferunt, Babyloniae Episcopo. ed. Fabricius, 1703, t. II. De S. Petro, Lib. I, xviii, p. 435. "Petrus uero extendens manus in orationem, ostendit canibus, quem benedix erat panem. Quem ut uiderent canes, subito nusquam comparuerunt."

21. *Ioannis Ravisii Textoris Niuernensis Officina*. . . . Basilieae, . . . Anno M.D. xxxviii, Mense Septembri. The *Officina* is really a Dictionary of Allusions under many curious headings, *e.g.*, "Deorum amasii"; "A Canibus occisi"; "Peste mortui"; "Sororum interfectores"; "Qui senes genuerunt"; "Cinaedi, Paedicones, et Pathici"; "In latrinis Mortui aut occisi"; "Cursores Velocissimi"; and other recondite matter.

22. Now Cimiez, where still can be seen the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, made illustrious by the martyrdom of S. Pontius, *c.* 260. Charlemagne visiting Cimiez, devastated by the Lombards in 574, caused S. Syagrius, Bishop of Nice (d. 787) to build on the ruins of the old town the magnificent Abbey of S. Pontius. Prior to the persecution of 1901 the diocese of Nice still boasted a Capuchin convent.

23. III, xi. De Eluarum, id est spectrorum nocturna chorea, ed. cit. 1555, p. 112.

24. "danses des Macabrez."

25. III, c. xv. *Æthiopes Asiæ*. Pomponii Melae *De Situ Orbis*, opera et studio Joannis Reinoldii, . . . Etonae, 1826, p. 62, Cl. 44–51.

26. In Arthur Golding's translation, *The excellent and pleasant worke of Iulius Solinus Polyhistor.*, 1587, Q iii, of Mount Atlas: "But in the night time he glystreth wyth fires, and rings with the noyse that the *Ægyptians* make in dauncing on a ryng." *These seeme to be all one wyth the Fayries*, marginal note.

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27. *Parallela*, xxii, t. II, p. 370, 6 : ed. Teubner, 1889.

28. Atlantem " noctibus micare crebris ignibus, Ægipanum Satyrorumque lasciuia impleri, tibiarum ac fistulae cantu, tympanorumque et cymbalorum sonitu strepere. Haec celebrati auctores prodidere."

29. Heribert Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, folio, Lugduni, 1617, *Vita S. Pauli ;* cap. vi. and cap. vii, pp. 11–12.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–33, *Uita S. Antonii*, cap. iv—cap. xx.

31. I quote the translation by Philemon Holland, *Plutarch's Morals*, folio, 1603, pp. 1331–32.

32. Migne, *P.G.* t. XXI, p. 353–58.

33. Paulus Marsus is glossing upon *Fasti* I, 397 ; *Panes, et in Uenerem Satyrorum prona iuuentus.* He tells the story from Plutarch, which he discusses at length. I have used the edition of his Commentary, folio, Venetiis, 1502 (Bodley, folio, D. 59), p. xxv. (ed. 1527, p. xxx). The Commentary of Paulus Marsus was much esteemed, and printed 1482, 1485, 1492, 1497, 1502 (*ut supra*), 1520, 1527 (*ut supra*), *et saepius.*

34. *Odyssey*, IV, 351, *sqq.* ; Vergil, *Georgics*, IV, 386, *sqq.*

35. *Metamorphoseon*, IX, 1–100.

36. *Ibid.*, VIII, 737–884. Metra is called by Lycophron, v. 410, Mestra ; by Palæphatus, c. xxiv, Metra ; by Antoninus Liberalis, xvii, Hypermestra.

37. But S. John Chrysostom also speaks of the blessedness of night and man's repose from his labour. Yet in days when after dark even the streets of towns and large populous cities were fraught with danger and violence, and passers by in ancient Rome under Nero (Suetonius *Nero*, xxvi), or in London under William and Mary (Thomas Shadwell, *The Scowsers*, 4to, 1691), walked in imminent danger of life and limb, it can well be understood that nightfall both abroad and indoors had its own especial terrors, both from man and from other sources.

38. See my *The Vampire in Europe*, 1929, Chapter III, pp. 136–48, the account of the horrible haunting by Johannes Cuntius at Pentsch in Silesia. The spectre attacked the minister of the parish, and creeping to his bed-side " breathes upon him an exceedingly cold breath, of so intolerably stinking and malignant a scent, as is beyond all imagination and expression. Whereupon the *Theologer*, good soul, grew very ill, and was fain to keep his bed, his face, belly and guts swelling as if he had been poysoned."

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CHAPTER XVI

1. The best comment upon this may perhaps be to quote Alfred Fouillée, *La Philosophie de Platon*, 1889, t. III, p. 172: "L'école juive d'Alexandrie, avec Aristobule et Philon, consomme l'union de la philosophie grecque et de la theologie hébraïque, et prépare par là l'école néoplatonicienne." Those who wish to pursue this fascinating but intricate study may be recommended to Vol. III of Mons. Fouillée's work, which especially treats of "Histoire du Platonisme et de Ses Rapports avec le Christianisme." See especially livre v: "Le Platonisme au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance."

2. Exodus, xix, 16–18.

3. Exodus, xxv, 17–20. It was called the *propitiatory*, or *mercy seat*, because mystically the Lord was supposed to rest there upon the wings of the cherubims, with the Ark for his footstool, and thence He showed mercy. It was also called the *oracle* since thence God gave His commands and His answers.

4. IV Kings (A.V. II Kings) ii, 7–12.

5. Migne, *P.L.* XLIX (Ioannis Cassiani I), pp. 821–822.

6. Although Tertullian says that God has a *corpus* he explains himself to some extent at least when he writes *corpus* as "cum ipsa substantia corpus sit rei cuiusque," *Adu. Hermogenem*, xxxv, *P.L.* II, 229–230; and *Adu. Marcionem*, xvi, he says: "Nam et dexteram, et oculos, et pedes Dei legimus, nec ideo tamen humanis comparabuntur, quia de appellatione sociantur." See the whole passage, *P.L.* II, pp. 302–303. Abbot Chapman writes of Tertullian: "His notion that all things, pure spirits and even God, must be bodies, is accounted for by his ignorance of philosophical terminology."

7. Migne, *P.L.* XLII (S. Augustini, VIII), pp. 831–836.

8. Sermo V, 7, of the Angels "porro ipsa corpora mutent et uersent in forma et specie qua uolunt quando apparere uolunt." The whole passage must be read. Migne, *P.L.* CLXXXIII, pp. 798–803.

9. *De Officio Dei*, v–xvii.

10. In his *De Deo Socratis*.

11. *P.L.* XXVI (S. Hicronymi vii), pp. 544–549.

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12. Caput III. *P.L.* II, pp. 756–758.

13. Genesis, xviii, 1–16; xix, 16, 17; xxxii, 24–32.

14. *P.G.* CXXII, pp. 835–840. See further Caelius Rhodiginus (Lodovico Ricchieri), *Lectionum Antiquarum Libri XXX;* Lib. II, v, *Daemones an habeant corpus: item Angeli. Corporum genera quinque:* ed. folio, 1666, Francofurti et Lipsiae, pp. 59–61.

15. *Pantagruel*, III, c. xxiii. Urquhart's translation, ed. Bohn, 1851, Vol. II, pp. 45–47.

16. S. Luke, xxiv, 36–43.

17. *Comm. in Matthaeum*, c. iv, 24, when the Saint speaks of devils "obseruantes lunaria tempore" to vex and molest men. *P.L.* XXVI (S. Hieronymi, VII), p. 33.

18. Some authorities consider these Four Homilies to be not the work of S. John Chrysostom. The passage in question will be found in Sermo I, 2. *P.G.* LVI, 565–566.

19. S. Jude, v, 12.

20. Genesis, xviii, 1–16.

21. Genesis, xix, 16.

22. The Acts, i; 10, 11.

23. Cl. 700–701. Dryden, folio, 1697, ll. 1003–1004, p. 326.

24. *P.L.* XXXIX (S. Augustini, V), pp. 1617–19. Caput xii, 12: *Manducandi potestas post resurrectionem erit, sicut in Christo, non necessitas.*

CHAPTER XVII

1. Psalm xc; 11, 12.

2. Apocalypse, xx; 2, 3, and 7. For a commentary upon and elucidation of the Thousand Years and the loosing of Satan see Malvenda's great work *De Anti Christo*, Romae, folio, 1604, Lib. X, cap. vii and cap. viii, pp. 489–493. Malvenda terms the Thousand Years, "nodus et cardo difficultatis." He decides that "hic a Ioanne Millenarium numenum finitum pro indefinito."

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3. Migne, *P.G.* CXLV, 1279–1284.

4. *P.G.* LXXXII (Theodoreti iii), pp. 1249–1254.

5. The *Historia Tripartita* of. M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, *P.L.* LXIX, pp. 1160–1162.

6. *P.L.* XXXIII (S. Augustini II) Epistola xviii, 1120–1126. This letter is now not generally regarded as authentic.

7. S. Augustini, Ep. LXXXVIII. *P.L.* XXXIII (S. Augustini, t. II): 267–272.

8. See Chapter XIII, n. 10, *supra.*

9. This history was told by Aristotle in a dialogue, *Eudemus, or Of the Soul*, which is now lost, and fragments are preserved. See Bekker's *Aristotle*, Berolini, 1831, Vol. II, p. 1479. The present incident is related (from Aristotle) by Plutarch *De audiendis poetis*, 1; and by Cicero, *De Diuinatione*, I, 25.

10. *De Cinitate Dei*, ed. J. E. C. Welldon, D.D., 2 vols., 1924: Vol. II, p. 594. Hesperius was a "uir tribunicius," and a neighbour of S. Augustine, inasmuch as he dwelt at Fussala, some 40 miles from Hippo, so the facts came under the Saint's own notice. After Mass had been said in the house of Hesperius the supernatural disturbance ceased.

11. The history has already been related. The haunted house at Athens and the philosopher Athenodorus.

12. *P.L.* XVI (S. Ambrosii, I), Epistola xv, Primae Classis, pp. 955–959.

13. Taillepied quotes marginally Psalm ciii, 4: Who makest Thy Angels spirits: and Thy Ministers a burning fire. Cf. Hebrews, i, 7.

14. *De Uirginibus*, c. ii, *P.L.* XVI (S. Ambrosii, ii), 189–191; also Sermo xlviii, In festo S. Agnetis; and Epistola i (Diem festum sacratissimae virginis celebremus), *P.L.* XVII, 701–705; and 735–742.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Acts, xii, 15. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was throughout France a very great devotion to the Holy Angels. Jacques de Jésus (who is also known as Jacques de Sainte-

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Barbe), a religious most highly esteemed by his contemporaries, published in 1644 (second edition 1655) a work of six pages, 4°, entitled *Litanies des saints Anges mentionnés dans l'Écriture Sainte, pour réciter à l'intention d'obtenir de Dieu la paix et la conserver par l'entremise de la Reine des Anges.* These extra-liturgical prayers are very beautiful, and the Bishop of Condom, Jean Destrades, wrote with perfect justice: "On ne peut les improuver sans violer le respect qui est dû a l'autorité de l'Ancien et Nouveau Testament, d'où elles sont fidèlement extraites. Celui qui a pris le soin de les recueiller a heureusement rencontré tout ce que l'Écriture nous enseigne de remarquable, touchant les emplois charitables que Dieu donne à ses Anges pour les hommes."

Even finer are the *Litanies des Saints Anges* given in a rather later work, *Litanies . . . qui contiennent en substance toute la doctrine chrétienne.* Here we have such invocations as: "Anges saints, que l'élévation et la gloire de votre état n'empêche pas de prendre soin même des enfants, priez pour nous: Saints Moissonneurs du champ de l'Eglise, qui séparerez à la fin du monde les mauvais grains du bon grain, priez pour nous: *V.* Les Anges du Seigneur campent à l'entour de ceux qui le craignent. R. Afin de les délivrer et de les mettre en sûreté."

2. Tobias, v, 18. "Celauit uobis Angelus nomen: Azarias sum, inquit, Ananiae magni filius; et non dixit: Ego sum Raphael Angelus," Sermo S. Augustini Episcopi. *Serm. i in Domin. xv de B. Tobia, qui est* 226, *de Tempore.* Being the three lections of the Second Nocturn of the feast of S. Raphael Archangel, 24 October.

3. Sozomen, VIII, 4. Eng. tr. pub. Samuel Bagster, 1846, pp. 380–383.

4. Genesis, xxviii, 11–22. III Kings (A.V. I Kings), xix, 1–8.

5. Daniel, x. In v. 13 "the prince of the kingdom of the Persians" is the Angel Guardian of Persia whose name, according to the Rabbis, was Dubbiel.

6. "Magna dignitas animarum ut unaquaeque habeat ab ortu natiuitatis in custodiam sui Angelum delegatum": *Comm. in Math.*, xviii; 10, 11, Lib. III. *P.L.* XXVI (S. Hier. vii, 130). Cf. also S. Jerome, Epistola cxlvii, *P.L.* I, 1200 (1090); and *In Isaiam*, xiii, xlvii, *P.L.* IV, 455 (550); and *In Isaiam*, xvi, clvii, *P.L.* IV, 553 (675).

7. For the views of Bodin see *Démonomanie*, Livre Premier, chap. ii: *De l'Association des Esprits avec les Hommes*, ed. Lyon, 1593.

8. *A Harmonie Vpon The Three Euangelists Matthew Mark and Luke, with the Commentarie of M. Iohn Caluine.* Tr. by Eusebius Paget. Londini, 1584, p. 489, S. Matthew, xviii, 6–10; S. Mark, ix, 42–48; and S. Luke,

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xvii, 1, 2. "That some doe take this place, as if God shuld assigne proper Angells to euery of the faithfull ones is of no force: for the wordes of Christ do not signifie any such thing, that one Aungell should bee always appoynted to this or to that man: and it disagreeth from the whole doctrine of the Scripture. . . . Therefore let that fancy go of the good Aungell and the bad."

9. Taillepied is here summing up the objections, such as they are, put forward in the weak and wicked arguments of Ludwig Lavater, the pastor of Zurich, whose *De Spectris*, first published at Geneva, 8°, 1570, was translated into French the following year, and into English 1572.

10. For the Hebrew Angelology see the very ample article "Angelology: Biblical, Talmudical, and Post-Talmudical" in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, New York and London, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 583–597.

11. Or, Jehoel.

12. Genesis, xii, 1–3; and 7. The whole question of the Theophanies in the Old Testament arises from these references. It is not possible to discuss so difficult and intricate a question at any length here, but we may briefly say the earlier Fathers, and most of the Eastern Fathers, believe that in many cases (as here) God Himself actually appeared. The Vulgate (Exodus iii and xix–xx) clearly regards the Supreme Being as appearing to Moses in the Bush and on Mount Sinai. See further Vandenbroeck, *Dissertatio Theologica de Theophaniis sub Veteri Testamento*, Louvain, 1851, a most valuable work.

In the *Révue Biblique*, III, 2, April 1894 (pp. 232–247), Fr. Ambroise Montagne, O.P., a Professor of Toulouse, discusses "L'Apparition de Dieu à Moyse." He clearly sets forth that the Third Chapter of Exodus is quite explicit. "Ouvrez la Vulgate. Une simple lecture suffira pour vous éclairer; vous serez convaincu que Dieu s'est manifesté d'une façon immédiate à son serviteur Moyse." S. Justin, S. Irenaeus, S. Hilary, S. Athanasius, S. John Chrysostom all hold this view. The Church in her Advent antiphon sings: "*O Adonaï et dux domus Israël, qui Moysi in igne flammae rubi apparuisti et in Sina legem de isti. . . .*" that is to say the Second Person of the Ever-Blessed Trinity manifested Himself to Moses. And yet S. Augustine, S. Jerome, S. Gregory the Great, who are generally followed by the Schoolmen hold that the apparition was through Angelic mediation. None the less S. Augustine will not decide definitely between the two opinions: *ex his autem duabus propositis sententiis eligatis quam uolueritis.* (*Serm. vii, De Scripturis Vet. et Nou. Testam.*)

S. Dionysius, *De caelesti Hierarchia*, iv, holds that all the Theophanies of the Old Testament were mediatory by Angels. Cornelius à Lapide

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In Pentateuchum, Antwerp, folio, 1616, pp. 330–333 (Exodus, iii, 2–6) even goes so far as to say that S. Michael spoke to Moses from the Burning Bush, which is not consonant with Daniel, x.

The views of S. Dionysius are followed by the pious author of the *Litanies des Saints Anges* given in *Litanies . . . qui contiennent en substance toute la doctrine chrétienne*, a manual composed about the middle of the seventeenth century. Here we have the invocation: Anges saints, qui avez représenté la majesté de Dieu même, et qui avez parlé en son nom aux Patriarches et aux Prophètes, priez pour nous.

With submission to the great Fathers and Doctors who have judged differently the plain sense of the Vulgate must be maintained, and with S. Athanasius (*De Decretis Nicænae Synodi*, vii; *P.G.* XXV, 435–436) we hold that Almighty God appeared to Moses, to Abraham, and other Patriarchs of old.

13. Genesis, xxvii, 15–17: "And a man found him wandering in the field, and asked what he sought. . . ." The man was S. Gabriel in human shape.

14. Metraton, "the Prince of the Face," in Jewish legend taught Moses the mystery of the practical Cabala.

15. Acts, xii.

16. See also the Breviary, 9 March, the Second Nocturn of Matins, lectio vi, for S. Frances of Rome: "humani generis hostis uariis eam contumeliis ac uerberibus a proposito dimouere conabatur; quem tamen illa imperterrita semper elusit; Angeli præsertim præsidio, cuius familiari consuetudine gloriosum de eo triumphum reportauit." Many Saints have seen and conversed with their Guardian Angels;—to name but a few, S. Magloire, S. Servais of Maestricht, S. Erasmus, S. Eleutherius of Dalmatia, S. Martial of Limoges, S. Ulrich, S. Gal of Clermont, S. Bonaventura, S. Achache, S. Secundus of Asti, S. Caprasius of Lérins, S. Piammon the Solitary, S. Amabilis of Riom, S. Cyril the Carmelite, the Blessed Alaric of Ufnau, S. Isidore Agricola, S. Guy of Anderlecht, S. Renier of Pisa, S. John de Matha, S. Felix of Valois, S. Peter Nolasco, S. Serapia, S. Aldegonde, S. Opportune, S. Hermelinde, S. Hildegonde, and many more.

17. *P.L.* XL (S. Augustini, VI); caput xxvii: *Spiritus angelici quid possint in humanum* (798–799). This little treatise is now considered to be based on S. Augustine with conveyance from many other authors, Boethius, Cassiodorus, S. Isidore, the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, S. Bernard, Abbot Isaac Stellensis, etc., rather than the Saint's own work.

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18. *P.L.* XXXIII (S. Augustini II), Ep. cii, Quaestio prima, *De Resurrectione*, 570–573. Cf. eodem tomo, Epistola clxix.

19. *In Laudem Caesarii Fratris*, xxi. *P.G.* XXV (S. Gregorii Nazianzeni I), 783–784.

20. *Every Angel is a Spirit, but not every Spirit is an Angel.* Taillepied, marginal note.

21. *Libre contra Uigilantium.* The whole treatise should be read. *P.L.* XXIII (S. Hieronymi, II, 339–352). Vigilantius of Calagurris, a Gascon priest, was a fearful heretic, rejecting the monastic life, the veneration of Saints and Relics. Harnack *Das apostoliche Glaubensbekenntniss*, Berlin, 1892, p. 31, even held that the article of the Creed, *communio sanctorum*, was directed against the abominable teachings of Vigilantius.

22. *De Spectris*, II, xiv and xv. Caput xiv: Quid sint illa quae uidentur et audiuntur: et primum quidem quod interdum boni angeli appareant. Caput xv: Aliquando et plerumque conspici malos angelos.

23. S. Matthew, xxvii, 52, 53.

24. S. Luke, xxiv, 36–43.

CHAPTER XIX

1. Deuteronomy, xviii, 10, 11: "Neither let there be found among you any one . . . that consulteth pythonic spirits, or fortune tellers, or that seeketh the truth from the dead."

2. *Instruction Chrestienne en la Doctrine de la foy et de l'Euangile. . . .* Par Pierre Viret, of Geneve, folio, 1564, t. II. *Exposition de la Doctrine de la Foy*, Dialogue V, "Qui est de la foy en Dieu, and de la Trinité, *De la necesité entre la premiere cause, qui est Dieu, & les secondes qui sont l'ordre naturel qu'il a mis entre les creatures*," pp. 80–81. " . . . ils pensent que nature fait tout, and qu'elle tire tousiours son chemin, selon l'ordre que Dieu luy a vne fois baillé, sans se mesler plus d'elle. *Phillipe* [interlocutor]: Cest erreur est venu de l'eschole des Stoiciens. . . . *Nathanael* [interlocutor]: . . . me semble que tous ceux qui ont telle opinion de Dieu, ne croyent pas qu'il soit Createur & Père tout-puissant: car ils luy limitent sa puissance."

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3. Josue, x, 12 and 13.

4. Isaias, xxxviii, 1–8.

5. Numbers, xxii, 21–33.

6. Numbers, xvii. Compare the blossoming of the rod of S. Joseph.

7. IV Kings (A.V. II Kings), vi, 4–7.

8. Exodus, iii, 2.

9. Isaias, l, 2 : Numbers, xi, 23.

10. *Diui Ambrosii Opera*, Parisiis, folio, MDLXXXVI, pp. 1039–1041. The Epistle commences : "Numquidnam mentitur Deus? Sed non mentitur, quia impossibile est mentiri Deum."

11. Epistola XXII. Ad Eustochium, Paulæ Filiam. *De custodia Uirginitatis.* (Written A.D. 384) *P.L.* XXII (S. Hieronymi, I), 394–423.

12. "For the reason why God cannot die or be deceived is that, if He could, He would certainly be less powerful than He is." *De Ciuitate Dei*, V, 10, ed. Welldon, 1924, Vol. I, p. 213. "All philosophical speculation upon God necessarily recognizes certain limits of His power," comments the Editor, a gloss which must not be misinterpreted.

13. Epistola CXLIV. *P.G.* LXXXIII (Theodoreti IV) : 1369–1372 (1239–1241). "God who is All Wise and All Good in His Essential Being cannot contradict that Being." Οὐκοῦν πολλὰ ἀδύνατα τῷ Θεῷ.

14. S. Luke, xvi, 19–31.

15. *Petri Lombardi . . . Sententiarum Lib. IIII.* Parisiis, M.D.L. Lib. IV. Distinctio xlv : De diuersis animarum receptaculis post mortem ; De officiis sepulturae ; Quomodo Sancti et glorificati, uel Angeli audiunt preces supplicantium, et quomodo intercedunt pro nobis ad Dominum ; pp. 387–389.

16. Cf. Browning's conception of Lazarus in *An Epistle Containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish the Arab Physician :*

> He listened not except I spoke to him,
> But folded his two hands and let them talk,
> Watching the flies that buzzed : and yet no fool,
> And that's a sample how his years must go . . .
> So here—we call the treasure knowledge, say,
> Increased beyond the fleshly faculty—
> Heaven opened to a soul while yet on earth,

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Earth forced on a soul's use while seeing heaven:
The man is witless of the size, the sum,
The value in proportion of all things
Or whether it be little or be much.

17. At the Transfiguration of Our Lord; S. Matthew, xvii, 1–12; S. Mark, ix, 1–12; S. Luke, ix, 28–36.

18. I Kings (A.V. I Samuel), xxviii, 7–25.

19. II Machabees, xv, 7–16.

20. Galatians, i, 8.

21. The reference is to the case of Nicole Aubry, 1566. See Chapter I, n. 9, *supra*.

22. S. Luke, xxiv, 39.

23. The play opens with the appearance of the ghost of Tantalus, Umbra Tantali, who is seen with the fury Megæra. Seneca's *Agamemnon* opens with the ghost of Thyestes. The Senecan ghost had a far-reaching influence in dramatic literature, both in Italy and France, and among our own Elizabethans.

24. Book X of the *Metamorphoseon* commences with the episode of the descent to Hades of Orpheus, who brings back Eurydice, only to lose her as they come to the upper air. It is to this famous legend that reference is here made.

25. Tertullian, *De Patientia*, XIV (*P.L.* I, 1270–1271) certainly suggests this, although actually his phrase is vague. "Et si filios quoque restitui uoluisset, pater iterum uocaretur." The whole chapter must be read. Gaspar Sanchez, S.J. (1554–1628) in his *In Librum Iob Commentarii*, Lugduni, folio, 1625, p. 515, glosses upon xlii, 13: "Tertul. li. de patientia c. 14. Uidetur negare Iobo post illam plagam redditos esse filios. Vnde id sumpserit, nec diuinare quidem possum. Nisi fortasse neget illos suscitatos, et parenti redditos, quos domus ruina prius obtriucrat." Pamelius in his *Defensio Tertulliani* enumerates this passage from the *De Patienta* as among the errors or paradoxes of this author, but Pineda in his *Commentarium in Iob*, 2 vols., folio, 1603; II, p. 959, gives it as his opinion that although Tertullian may be ambiguous he is orthodox and correct in his exposition.

Pineda adds: "At uero plerique alii patres ad Resurrectionis fidem confirmandam rem hanc esse referunt. Gregorius: *Filii autem totidem sunt redditi, quot amisit: septem quippe filios, et tres filias habuit. Septem autem nunc filios et tres filias recepisse describitur, ut et hi, qui extincti fuerant,*

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uiuere demonſtrentur. Idem eisdem fere uerbis scribunt Basilius, et Olympiodorus in Catena, Philippus et Beda hoc loco, describunt etiam posteriores Interpretes. Eleganter Gregorius Nyssenus in oratione habita in funere Pulcheriae."

26. *Æneid II*, 791–794. Dryden, *Virgil*, folio, 1697; p. 266; ll. 1077–1082.

CHAPTER XX

1. The belief of the Albigenses in metempsychosis was a logical consequence of their rejection of purgatory. It has been aptly said that "Properly speaking, Albigensianism was not a Christian heresy but an extra-Christian religion." A vast literature surrounds this Neo-Manichæan sect which so sadly infected southern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

2. *Quare Aliqua Incommoda Bonis Uiris Accidant cum Prouidentia Sit*, ed. Teubner, *Senecae Opera*, I (1898), pp. 3–16. *De Beneficiis*, Ibid., II, Lib. IV, pp. 59–85. Cap. ii commences: "In hac parte nobis pugna est cum Epicureorum delicata et umbratica turba in conuiuio suo philosophantium."

3. *De Officiis*. Especially Book III, where Cicero traverses the Epicurean philosophy. Cicero in 54 B.C. wrote a *De Republica* in six books This work disappeared in the 10th or 11th century with the exception of the episode preserved by Macrobius in his *Somnium Scipionis*, to which therefore Taillepied refers. In 1822 Cardinal Mai found a portion of the lost treatise among the palimpsests of the Vatican, comprising the greater portion of Books I and II, and other fragments. There are brief citations in other authors, such as Gellius, S. Augustine, and Priscian. *De Senectute: Cato Maior De Senectute*, xx: "sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

Nemo me lacrumis decoret neque funera fletu Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur." Ed. *Ciceronis Opera*, Teubner, 1898, Pars IV, Vol. iii, p. 157.

Tusculanarum Disputationum, I, 23. A translation from the *Phaedo*.

4. "Dicit sane etiam ipse [Tertullianus] animas hominum pessimas post mortem in daemones uerti." *De Hæresibus*, lxxxvi. *P.L.* XLII (S. Augustini, VIII), 46–47.

5. S. Mark, xii, 25; S. Luke, xx, 36.

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6. " Post obitum gloriosi Hicronymi quaedam haeresis, id est, secta inter Graecos surrexit, quae ad Latinos usque deuenit." Epistola xix; c. 2. Uen. Uiro Ep. exmo Augustino Hipponensi praesuli, Cyrillus Ierosolymitanus pontifex. *P.L.* XXXIII (Augustini II), 1126–1156. This Epistle is now generally considered not to be genuine.

7. William of Ockham, Franciscan, born at the village of Ockham in Surrey, *c.* 1280; died, probably at Munich, about 1349. The work referred to is his *Compendium errorum Ioannis Papae XXII.* Of his philosophy Hauréau truly remarks: " qui connait un livre de Guillaume d'Ockam les connait tous " (p. 422). *La Philosophie Scolastique*, Paris, 1850, t. II, c. xxviii, " Guillaume d'Ockam."

8. The " Extravagantes " are certain papal documents and decretals not contained in such canonical collections as the Decree of Gratian. They are, however, included in all editions of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, and obligatory upon the whole Church. The Bull in question, " Benedictus Deus," 29 January, 1336, defines the immediate intuitive vision of God by the souls of the just having no faults to expiate.

On 2 February, 1335, Benedict XII, who was elected 20 December of the previous year, preached a sermon on the text, " Behold, the bridegroom cometh " in which he explicitly taught that the Saints have a distinct vision of the Divine Essence.

At the Council of Florence in 1439, one of the articles enunciated for the acceptance of the Greeks lays down that souls which after baptism incur no sin, or which have been thoroughly purged from sin even if they have fallen, are at death forthwith received into Heaven and abide in full enjoyment of the Beatific Vision.

9. *Dialogorum IV*, xxviii: Quod sicut perfectorum animae in cœlo, ita post dissolutionem corporis iniquorum animae in inferno esse credendae sunt. *P.L.* LXXVII (S. Gregorii, iii), 365–366.

10. II Corinthians, xii, 2.

11. Apocalypse, xxi, 27.

12. *De Prouidentia, Oratio II.* *P.G.* LXXXIII (Theodoreti IV), 575–588; par. 507.

13. *P.L.* III (S. Cypriani, I) Epistola x ad Antonianum, paesaltera, xxvi–xxx, pp. 816–820.

14. I Corinthians, ix, 27.

15. Galatians, ii, 19.

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16. *Republic*, Book X.

17. Epistola III. Quomodo Beatus Martinus ex hac uita ad immortalem transierit. *P.L.* XX, pp. 181–184. The letter is addressed by Sulpicius Severus to his mother-in-law Bassula.

18. S. Luke, vii, 11–17; S. John, xi, 1–45; S. Matthew, ix, 18–26; S. Mark, v, 22–43; S. Luke, viii, 41–56.

19. S. Matthew, vii, 13.

20. In my book *The Vampire in Europe*, 1929, Chapter I, pp. 58–62, I have discussed at length these food offerings at tombs, of which Father Taillepied seems to take rather a severe and narrow view.

21. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Decem.* *P.G.* XXVIII (S. Athansii, IV), pp. 617–618. Qu. xxxv. The *Quaestiones*, however, are spurious and not from the pen of S. Athanasius.

22. *Homiliae de Lazaro.* Concio IV. *P.G.* XLVIII, p. 1010, the passage commencing: Μὴ τοιὺν ζητῶμεν παρὰ νεκρῶν ἀκούειν ταῦτα, . . .

23. *In Matthaeum Homil. xxviii al. xxix.* *P.G.* LVII, pp. 354 sqq., the passage commencing: ὥστε γραϊδίων μεθυόντων ταυτὰ τὰ ῥῆματα, καί πάιδων μορμολύκεια, . . .

24. *Liber contra Uigilantium.* *P.L.* XXXIII. See Chapter XXI, n. 21, *supra.*

25. *Apocalypse*, xiv, 4.

26. *Dialogue with Trypho on the Jew*, 105. *P.G.* VI, 721.

27. *P.G.* XI (Origenis I), pp. 791–920. The argument runs throughout the whole book, but see particularly p. 876 (51), and p. 850, D.

28. *De Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus.* Quaest. vi: Utrum Samuel per pythonissam uere fuerit de inferno euocatus. Samuelis forte phantasma, non spiritus apparuit. Daemones quomodo norint futura. *P.L.* XL, 162–165.
De cura pro mortuis gerenda, *P.L.* XL, 605–606.

29. The whole question of the appearance of Samuel to Saul is discussed in my *History of Witchcraft*, 1926, Chapter V, pp. 176–181. The event must be literally and exactly understood. Samuel did verily appear to the King at Endor.

30. *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda.* *P.L.* XL, xv, 18; p. 606.

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CHAPTER XXI

1. Those who wish to enter more fully into Jewish customs and ceremonial at death, and their funeral rites, as well as to inquire into the Jewish beliefs concerning the next world, may conveniently consult the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, twelve vols., New York, 1901, under the following—amongst other—heads: *Burial*, III, pp. 432–438; *Cemetery*, II, pp. 637–642; *Death*, IV, pp. 480–486; *Funeral Rites*, V, pp. 529–530; *Gehenna*, V, 582–584; *Heaven*, VI, p. 298; *Paradise*, X, 515–520; *Sheol*, XI, pp. 282–283 and *Shroud*, XI, 313–314.

2. A Palestinian amora (official speaker or interpreter of recognized authority) of the first half of the third century. He was the head of the school of Lydda in southern Palestine, and was regarded as a representative of Palestinian Jewry. As an exegete and in the Haggidah he is an important figure, whilst legend has been busy with his name.

3. " Provision for a journey."

4. This famous Benedictine Orientalist was born 1535 and died 1597. In 1591 he accepted at the express command of Gregory XIII the Archbishopric of Aix. He is the author of many profoundly learned works, which include the translation into Latin of not a few rabbinic writings. See Desvoye, *Etude historique sur Gilbert Génebrard* in *Revue de Marseille et de Provence*, August, 1885, pp. 327–353. The reference is to the *Supremum Lugentium officium ex libro precationum Hebraicarum, qui inscribitur Mahzor sanctae Synagogae Romanae*, pp. 18–27 of the *Symbolum Fidei Iudaeorum. . . . Interprete G. Genebrardo Theologo Parisiensi.* Parisiis, M.D. LXIX. Page 19, 1. " Dei perfectum est opus."

5. Τὸ *καθαρτήριον, purgatoire.* Κοινῶς τὸ *πουργατόριον*, Hépitès, *Dictionnaire Grec-Français*, Athens, 1909, II, p. 9.

6. For the references to the Koran I have used Sale's translation with the valuable Preliminary Discourse, reprint " Chandos Classics," n.d. (*c.* 1875), Warne & Co., and also *Ad-dourra Al-Fâkhira* (*La Perle Précieuse de Ghazâli*), translated and edited by Lucien Gautier, Genève-Bâle-Lyon, 1878. Those who wish to inquire further into Moslem eschatology will do well to consult this admirably edited and detailed treatise. Sale, also, is very ample and very good. He remarks, Section IV of the Preliminary Discourse: " The examination of the sepulchre is not only founded on an express tradition of Mohammed, but is also plainly hinted at, though not distinctly taught in the Koran (Cap. 8 and 47, etc.), as the commentators agree."

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7. The Kibla is the direction towards which the devout Muhammedan turns to pray. *Koran*, II, 138–145.

8. Sura (or Chapter VIII) of the Koran. So called as said to have been revealed upon the high disputes concerning The Spoils taken at the battle of Bedr, a valley where Muhammed gained a victory over the Meccans, being his first conquest.

9. This prophet is mentioned towards the end of the chapter.

10. 1059–1111. Often referred to under the Western form of his name, Algazil. See note 6 *supra*.

11. For Euripides see the *Alcestis* (for the heroic death of one who is blessed and blameless); in l. 845 Death is spoken of as quaffing deep the blood of sacrifices offered at the grave.
Archilochus. The fragments of this poet are collected in Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, Vol. II (4th ed.) Teubner, pp. 383–440.
Euripides and Archilochus are quoted together by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*, I, 17, but not in the present connexion.

12. The last famous philosopher of the Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria. He lived in the first half of the sixth century during the reign of Justinian. His life of Plato and his Commentaries on several of the Dialogues are still extant and well esteemed.

13. ll. 188–190; 197–199. Dryden, *Ænid*, XI, ll. 288–291 (p. 546), and ll. 302–303 (p. 547); folio, 1697.

14. See for example his *De Iside et Osiride* (*Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*), ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1850.

15. *Contra Apionem*, II, 168–172. *Iosephi Opera*, Teubner, Vol. V (1895–6), pp. 269–270. *Flavius Josephus*, Whiston, ed. Shilleto, Bohn, 1890, Vol. V, p. 242.

16. Caput liv. *P.L.* II, 741–742.

17. Almost innumerable references might be cited. Horace, *Carminum*, I, xxviii, is of course very famous. To leave a corpse unburied was the crime of *ἀσέβεια*, a deed sure of swift relentless punishment by the outraged Majesty of Heaven. It will be readily remembered that the catastrophe of the *Antigone* turns on this.

18. Iliad XXII, 338–343. Hector to Achilles. *Iliad*, XXIII, 71 sqq., the shade of Patroclus addressing Achilles:

Θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἀΐδαο περήσω.

Æneid, VI, 337–383. Cf. 325, the Sybil to Æneas:

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Haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est; . . . Palinurus asks Æneas, 365–366:

tu miki terram
iniice (namque potes) portusque require Uelinos . . .

Actually *Uelinos* is an anachronism. Velia (or Elea) was founded *c.* 540 B.C. by the exiles from Phocaea in Ionia; Herodotus, i, 167. The promontory is still called *Punta di Palinure.*

19. It may be remarked that suicide was by no means so universally applauded among the Ancients as is often supposed. Aeschines in his *Aduersum Ctesiphontem* tells us that at Athens the body of a suicide was deprived of the right hand as an instrument of evil, which was left unburied when they interred the corpse. Martial could write, XI, lvi, 15–16:

Rebus in angustis facile est contemnere uitam,
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

See S. Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, I, xxii–xxiv.

20. Laws, IX, 872–873. See Chapter XIV, n. 10, *supra.*

21. III Kings (A.V. I Kings), xxii, 19–23.

22. *Wisdom*, ii, 1. The word translated "hell" in Douay is in the A.V. "grave," and in the R.V. "Hades."

23. Dorcas; Acts ix, 36–41.

24. S. Mark, xi, 22.

CHAPTER XXII

1. Petri Lombardi . . . Sententiarum Lib. IIII. Parisiis, M.D.L. Lib. IV. *Distinct.* xlv. "De Diuersis Animarum Receptaculis," pp. 387–389.

2. Malachias, iii, 1–6. Isaias, iv, 4. The rubric of this twenty-fifth chapter, *Of the City of God*, XX, runs: *Of the prophecy of Malachias declaring the last Judgement of God and asserting that there are some persons who have to undergo a process of cleansing by means of purificatory penalties.*

3. I Corinthians, iii, 15; If any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.

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4. *In Exodum Homilia VI*, *P.G.* XII (Origenis II) ; 331–349, no. 148, 4.
Homilia III in Psalm xxxvi. *P.G.* XII, *Selecta in Psalmos* ; 1336–1349, no. 663–664, i.
In Ieremiam, Homilia xii. *P.G.* XIII ; 377–404.

5. I, 3, *P.L.* XL (S. Augustini VI), 593.

6. Although what Taillepied says is perfectly true, it is perhaps hardly borne out by S. Augustine in the passage to which he refers, *De Ciuitate Dei*, XVIII, xxxvi, when the Saint writes briefly " De Esdra et Libris Macchabaeorum," ed. Welldon, II, p. 364.

7. *In Acta Apostolorum Hom. xxi :* *P.G.* LX (S. Joannis Chrysostomi IX), pp. 169–172.

8. *Clementina : Epistola Clementis ad Jacobum :* *P.G.* II, 31–56.

9. *De Corona Militis*, *P.L.* II, 73–102.
De Monogamia. *Ibid.*, 929–954.
In the *De Corona* Tertullian defends a soldier who had refused to wear a chaplet on his head when he received the donative granted to the army at the accession of Caracalla and Geta in 211. The man had been degraded and imprisoned. Many Christians deeming his action extravagant refused to regard him as a martyr. Tertullian declares that to wear the crown would have been idolatry, and suggests an extreme rigorism.

10. *P.L.* IV. Epistola lxvi, 2, pp. 411–12.

11. *De Iis qui in Fide Dormierunt.* *P.G.* XCV, pp. 247–278.

12. *De Mortuis.* *P.G.* XLVI, pp. 492–538.

13. Oratio vii, *Funebris in laudem Caesarii fratris Oratio ;* *P.G.* XXXV, 755–788.

14. *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, c. xi. " pro cuius spiritum postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddas." *P.L.* II, p. 926.

15. *De Corona*, iii. *P.L.* II, 79, B.

16. *Orationes iv* and *v*, *Contra Julianum.* *P.G.* XXXV, pp. 525–720.

17. *De Ciuitate Dei*, xii, 5–8.

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CHAPTER XXIII

1. *De Anima*, lvii. *P.L.* II, p. 749. Tertullian will not admit immateriality in the fullest sense for anything that exists, even God is *corpus*. (The psychology of Tertullian is contained in *De Anima*.) S. Augustine in his *De Haeresibus* inveighs against this heresy, or rather absurdity.

2. The *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* II, xi, *P.L.* XXXV, p. 2179, and the *Quaestiones ex Ueteri Testamento*, xxvii, *Ibid.*, pp. 2230–31, are now generally held not to be the work of S. Augustine.

3. Numbers, xxii.

4. I Kings (A.V. I Samuel), xxi, 1–10, and xxii.

5. S. Justin; *Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew*, 105; Καὶ ὅτι μένουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ, ἀπέδειξα ὑμῖν ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὴν Σαμουὴλ ψυχὴν κληθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου, ὡς ἠξίωσεν ὁ Σαούλ. *P.G.* VI, 721.

S. Augustine; *De Doctrina Christiana*, *P.L.* XXXIV, p. 52; *De Cura pro mortuis gerenda*, *Ibid.*, XL, p. 606, *et alibi*.

Origen; *In librum Regum*, Homilia II, *P.G.* XII, p. 1013.

Alonso Tostado Abulensis; *Commentaria*, Venice, folio, 1728, Vol. XI, *In I Regum Cap. XXVIII;* qu. xxviii, *An suscitatus per Pythonissam fuerit Samuel*, pp. 271–273. A most learned and convincing exposition.

S. Eucherius, *Commentarii in Libros Regum, Lib. I*, xxix. *P.L.* L, pp. 1078–80. The work is placed in an Appendix, as many hesitate to ascribe it to S. Eucherius.

Angelomus was a Benedictine monk of Luxeuil in Burgundy, *c.* 855. He is described by John Trithemius as "uir in diuinis scripturis exponendis nobile sortitus ingenium . . . Scripsit excellentissimum opus, et quale me in scripturis sanctis alias legisse non memini, in libros Regum. Floruit sub Ludouico et Lothario eius filio, An. DCCCXXX." The reference is to his *Enarrationes* (or *Stromata*) *in Libros Regum*, Lib. I, c. xxviii. *P.L.* CXV, pp. 327–331. I have also used the folio edition, Coloniae, 1530, pp. 52–54.

Fra Pietro Colonna Galatino (Franciscan philosopher, Theologian and Orientalist, died at Rome soon after 1539), in his *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis Libri XII*, a work of profound scholarship and absorbing interest, treats at length the apparition of Samuel to Saul. I have used the folio ed. 1603, "Apud Hæredes Andreæ VVecheli." Lib. VI, viii, *Quod Patriarchæ quoque ac prophetæ cæterique sancti ueteris Testamenti, usque ad Messiae mortem omnes ad infernum descenderunt*, and ix, *Quod sancti patres in*

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inferno a diabolo Deo permittente propter Adæ peccatum detinebantur. Et de limbo, ad quem descendetant: pp. 347–355. The Rabbis are, Rabbi Isaac Alfeci, Rabbi David Kimhi, Rabbi Levi, and an anonymous Rabbi.

Nicolas de Lyra, *Postillae*, Venice, 1482, 3, folio (Bodley, Auct. M. III, 1); Vol. I, *Regum I*, caput xxviii, dd, dd 2. I have also used the edition generally known as *Biblia Sacra Lyrani*, Parisiis, folio, 1590, Vol. II, pp. 494–503. Problema: *De Uero Samuele Excitato.* The whole question is discussed in detail, and it is decided that Samuel actually appeared. Such, concludes de Lyra, is the plain sense of Scripture, "nec scriptura inducit aliquid falsum."

Josephus; *Jewish Antiquities*, VI, xiv, 2; Whiston's translation, ed. 1825; Vol. I, p. 203.

Cornelius a Lapide *Commentarius in Iosue . . . IV Libros Regum. . . .* Antwerp, folio, 1642, p. 353, discussing the point very fairly, gives his opinion that it was actually Samuel who appeared to Saul. He concludes: "Estque haec sententia Abulensis Lyran. Caiet. Dion. Serarii hic, et S. August. lib. de cura pro mortuis cap. 15. 5. Basil. Epist. 80. Nazianz. orat. 3. Iosephi lib. 6. Antiq. c. 15. Justin Dial. contra Tryphonem. S. Ambros. in c. 1. Lucae. S. Hierom. in c. 17 Isaiae. S. Thomae 1. part. q. 89, art. 8. ad 2. Suarez 3 part. tom. 2. disp. 42. sect. 2. Bellarm. lib. 2. de Purgat. c. 6.

6. *A Harmonie Vpon the Three Euangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, translated by E. P., London, 4°, 1584, p. 790. Calvin, commenting upon S. Luke, xxiv, 37, impiously says that the senses of the disciples were so shaken with admiration they fell into error. "And though this errour was not without fault, which came of their infirmitie, yet they had not so forgotten themselves, as that they should be afraid of delusions: but though they thought they were not mocked, yet they do rather incline to this, that the image of the resurrection was proposed to them in a vision by a spirite, than that Christ himselfe shuld be present a liue, who euen now of late was dead vpon the crosse. So they suspected it not to be a deceitfull vision, as if it had been a vaine Ghost: but being afraid, they only thought that they had, beene showed by a spirite, that which they saw in deede."

CHAPTER XXIV

1. A long and learned article upon Serapis will be found in Saglio and Pottier's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, t. IV, ii, pp. 1248–1251. The worship of this god was introduced into Egypt about 332 B.C., a little after the

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foundation of Alexandria. The statute of Serapis was the work of Bryaxis, a sculptor of the school of Scopas. It was made by command of Ptolemy I Soter. The Serapeion of Alexandria was one of the most famous monuments of antiquity, see Julian, *Epist.* 51; Avian. *Descr. orb.* 354; Dionysius Periegetes 255; Amm. Marcell. xxii, 16; Ennap. *Uit. Aedes*, p. 77; Lafaye, *Divinités d'Alexandrie*, p. 174. The worship of Serapis spread through Greece and Italy with great rapidity. He was severally identified with Osiris and with Zeus (Jupiter). He also received the attributes of Pluto, and of Helios, being saluted as Ἥλιος Σέραπις, and Ἡλιοσέραπις, the complete identification. In later times he occurs in magic symbols, amulets and abraxas. Some authorities consider Serapis to be Beelzebub, which the history of the demolition of the Serapeion in A.D. 397 goes far to prove.

2. Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 23: "De situ templi Serapis, et subuersione eius," *P.L.* XXI, pp. 529–533. *Historia Tripartita*, ix, 38. M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, *P.L.* LXIX, pp. 1143–45. *Theodoret.* Lib. V, c. 22.

3. For Martin Luther's frauds and pretended miracles see Nicholas Harpsfield's crushing reply to Fox, *Dialogi Sex, Ab Alano Copo Londinensi editi*, Antwerp, 1573, *Dial.* vi, c. 29, p. 667, and c. 33, p. 680. See also Malvenda, *De Antichristo*, Rome, folio, 1604, p. 385, Liber Octauus, Cap. xvii, *Haereticorum nostri temporis tentata miracula*, with the authorities to whom reference is there made. Johann Dobeneck (Cochlæus) in his famous *Commentaria de Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri, sub anno* 1523, tells how Luther vainly attempted with mysterious abracadabra to recall to life a man named Neuss, who had been drowned in the Elbe. Other feigned miracles of Luther are related by Bishop Feliciano Ninguarda, O.P., of Como, in his *Assertio fidei Catholicae*, Venice, folio, 1563; by Bishop William Damasus van der Linden of Ghent in his *Dubitantius*, Coloniae, 1565, Dialogue iii, cap. i; by S. Robert Bellarmine, S.J., in his *De Ecclesia*, Lib. IV, cap. xiv; and by many contemporaries.

4. See note 9, Chapter III, *supra*.

5. c. xxxiv. *P.L.* II, pp. 708–9.

6. *De Uita Beati Martini Liber Unus; P.L.* XX, pp. 159–176. The vision is related in xxiv, p. 174.

7. *Liber III ad Uincentium Uictorem. P.L.* XLIV, pp. 509–524. Cf. also Liber IV.

8. Cicero: *De Legibus*, I, i, 3. Cf. *De Republica*, I, 16, 25; II, 10, 20. For the apotheosis of Romulus see also Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 475–512;

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Livy, I, 16; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 27 *sq.*; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquit. Rom.*, ii, 56 and 63; Zonaras, *Annal.* vii, 4; Aurelius Victor, *De Uiris Illustribus*, 2; Florus, *Epitoma*, I, i, 16–18; S. Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, II, xv, and XXII, vi. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* III, iii, 15:

hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit.

9. See *The History of Witchcraft*, 1926, by Montague Summers, Chapter I, pp. 40–41.

10. "Color autem albus, praecipue decorus deo est." Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, xviii, 44.

11. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*. *P.G.* XXVIII (S. Athanasii, IV), pp. 617–18. Qu. xxxv. But see pp. 613–14, Qu. xxv, which seems to deny the appearance of ghosts, and quotes (misinterpreting) Psalm cii, 15, 16. This is, however, not important, for we may separate the grain from the chaff, since the *Quaestiones* cannot be attributed to S. Athanasius. All agree this is a spurious work.

12. It is impossible not to point the moral here in reference to the Spiritism of to-day, and the answers received by mediums concerning the next world, the reported glories of the "Summerland," for example. Such descriptions as are given in the following Spiritistic books may be pondered: *Pheneas Speaks*, by the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 1927; *Raymond*, by Sir Oliver Lodge (6th ed. pp. 184 and 198); *Claude's Book*, ed. by Mrs. Kelway Bamber; *Speaking Across the Border-Line*, by Mrs. Heslop (5th ed. p. 81); *Spirit Intercourse*, by J. Hewat McKenzie, 1917 (New York, p. 203). Father Taillepied's words are only too pregnant and too true to-day.

13. *Martinists*, see note 8, Chapter III, *supra*.

Anabaptists. The Anabaptists appeared in Germany and German Switzerland shortly after the outbreak of Luther and Zwingli. From them issued the Mennonites, founded by Menno Simonis, who died in 1561.

Tritheists, heretics who divide the substance of Blessed Trinity.

Antitrinitarians. Socinians and other heretics who attacked the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

Sacramentarians. Mainly the followers of Zwingli, and those who held an empty and purely nugatory view of the Blessed Sacrament, denying Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Naturalists. Pantheists. In particular here, followers of Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), who in 1581–2 had been publicly delivering philosophical lectures at the Paris University.

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Politiques. *Les Politiques* were extremely lukewarm and wavering Catholics who during the troublous days of Henri III, the struggle with the Guises, and the League, favoured Henri of Navarre even before he had renounced his errors. Among their leaders was Jean François de Faudoas-Sérillac, comte de Belin et d'Averton.

Machiavelists. Atheists and agnostics generally.

Lucianists. Scoffing sceptics and snarling blasphemers.

Bodinists. Followers of Jean Bodin, for whom see n. 10, Chapter I.

14. Dante, with utter loathing, places Sinon in the tenth *Bolgia* of the *Inferno*, Canto XXX, 97–99, *sqq*.

> L'una è la falsa che accusi Giuseppe,
> L'altri è 'l falso Sinone Greco da Troia;
> Per febbre acuta gittan tanti leppo . . .

CHAPTER XXV

1. Judges, xiii.

2. Judges, vi, 11–23.

3. S. Luke, i, 5–22.

4. I Kings (A.V. I Samuel), iii.

5. Probably then a poltergeist haunting. See my *History of Witchcraft*.

6. *Tangere uel tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res*. Lucretius, I, 304. It is always hurtful to strike at an apparition with a weapon. In the famous case of the figure which appeared at the Jewel Office in the Tower of London, October, 1817, Mr. Lenthal Swifte, who was an eyewitness of the affair, said that one of the sentries seeing the ghost "thrust at it with his bayonet, which stuck in the door . . . He dropped in a fit, and was carried senseless to the guard-room," only to die a few days later. See *Notes and Queries*, Vol. X, Second Series, 8 Sept., 1860, pp. 192–3, and 22 Sept., 1860, p. 236.

7. *De Corona*, c. iii. *P.L.* II, p. 80; "Ad omnem progressum atque promotum . . . quae cumque nos conuersatio exercet, frontem Crucis signaculo terimus." Peter Thyraeus, S.J., *De Spirituum Apparitionibus*, Lib. I, cap. xvi, 412–416, ed. Coloniae Agr., 1594, pp. 60–61, writes most learnedly and most helpfully upon this point. "Signo Crucis, inquit

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Athanasius (*De Human. Uerbi.*), omnia magica compescuntur. . . . Solo signo Crucis homo utens, dolos a se daemonum propellit."

8. Epistola xxii, *P.L.* XXII, p. 421 (n. 121); and Epistola cxxx, *Ibid.*, pp. 1107–1124, *Ad Demetriadem*, "De seruanda Uirginitate" (p. 1115, no. 986): "Crebro signaculo Crucis munias frontem tuam, ne exterminator Ægypti in te locum reperiat."

9. As quoted by Thyraeus above.

10. Exodus, xii.

11. S. Gregorii *Contra Iulianum*, I, lv. *P.G.* XXV, p. 577–580. Julian descending "εἶστι τῶν ἀδύτων τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀβάτων καὶ φοβερῶν," a very pit of hell, encounters horrible demons and signs himself with the Cross. "Ἴσχυσεν ἡ σφραγὶς, ἠτῶνται οἱ δοίμονες, λύονται οἱ φόβοί."

Prudentius, *P.L.* LX (Prudentii II), *Peristephanon*, Hymn xiii, *Passio S. Crypriani Martyris*, pp. 569–580. See the commentary on this hymn, since there seems to have been some confusion between S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and S. Cyprian *olim magus*.

12. Philippians, ii, 10.

13. Psalm lxvii.

14. *Le manuel de l'admirable victoire du corps du Dieu sur l'esprit maling Beelzebub, obtenue à Laon* 1566 . . . *Paris, D. Du Val*, 1575, 16°. The magistrates appointed two physicians to examine the possessed woman, "Maistre Muyau Catholique, & maistre Iehan Carlier, pour ceux de la Religion," (p. 144). "Lors ce medecin reformé, sans en cõmuniquer au Catholique, ne perdãt ceste occasiõ de bouche ouuerte, tira de sa gibbessiere vne petite phiole de verre, cõtenãt vne liqueur d'vn rouge tãt couuert qu'à la chãdelle il apparoissoit noir, & luy ietta en la bouche. *Poison dõnee à Nicole*," (p. 149). "A dict à haulte voix, que ledict Carlier luy bailla vn bruuage noir, & estant dedans vne petite bouteille, ou y auoit huict grains d'antimoine," (p. 326). "Un Medecin, nommé maistre Iehan Carlier, luy donna vn breuuage si puant, que ie crois qu'il n'estoit sans poison. *Medicine de Carlier & calomnies des Huguenots*," (pp. 658–659). Le Medecin Huguenot, (p. 706):

un Carlier
Medecin quant au nom, mais de fait borrellier.

See also pp. 149–151; 173–174.

15. Cassiodorus: *P.L.* LXIX, pp. 1149–1151. S. Epiphanius.

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CHAPTER XXVI

1. The appearance of a Comet, for example, is held to portend the death of Kings and great political changes in a ſtate. J. Swan in his *Speculum Mundi*, 1635, says that the blazing ſtar announces seditions, wars, the fall of kingdoms, and the like. Primerosius in his *De Uulgi Erroribus in Medicina*, 1669, Book II, c. xxxiv, writes: "Cometam mirabile sidus, neque ordinarium, mala perniciemque mortalibus portendere uulgaris eſt opinio. Politicis bella, seditiones: Theologis religionum mutationes, hæreses; Nautis uentos et tempeſtates; Agricolis annonae penuriam, ſterilitates; Medicis peſtem significare creditur."

2. *Diuers signes before Alexaders death.* North's *Plutarch*, folio, 1595, p. 756. Plutarch, *Alexander*, lxxiii, ed. Teubner, Vol. III, 1881, pp. 359–360.

3. North's *Plutarch, Ibid.*, p. 145. *Camillus praier when Veies was taken: Fained wonders of images: Plutarches iudgement of miracles.* Plutarch, *Camillus*, vi, ed. Teubner, Vol. I, 1895, pp. 258–59.

4. Liber I, *De Religione*, cap. i, 8; also cap. viii, *De Miraculis*, i.

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