

OF THINGS NATURAL

Ambroise Paré (c. 1510–1590)

Ambroise Paré, Royal Surgeon for Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, became a leader in surgical techniques, battlefield medicine, and anatomy. Paré published his discoveries and theories throughout his life, and the first edition of his collected writings appeared in 1575. He soon became Europe's leading medical authority, and his works dominated medical instruction for centuries.

1575

Book 1, Chapter III — *Of Things Natural*

That the surgeon may rightly and according to Art perform the aforesaid works, he must set before his eyes certain indications of working. Otherwise he is like to become an emperick, whom no art, no certain reason, but only a blind temerity of fortune moves to boldness and action. These indications of actions are drawn from things (as they call them) natural, not natural, and besides nature and their adjuncts, as it is singularly delivered of the Ancients, being men of an excellent understanding. Wherefore we will prosecute according to that order all the speculation of this Art of ours. First, therefore, things natural are so termed because they constitute and contain the nature of man's body, which wholly depends of the mixture and temperament of the four first bodies, as it is shown by Hippocrates in his book *De Natura Humana*. Wherefore the consideration thereof belongs to that part of physic which is named *physiologia*, as the examination of things not natural to *diæteticæ*, or diet, because by the use of such things it endeavours to retain and keep health. But *therapeutice*, or the part which cures the diseases and all the affects besides nature challenges the contemplation of those things which are not agreeable to nature. But the things which are called natural may be reduced to seven heads, besides which there comes into their fellowship those which we term annexed.

The seven principal heads of things Natural are:

Elements Temperaments Humors Parts Members Actions Spirits

To these are annexed and somewhat near:

Age Sex Colour Composure Time or Season Region Vocation of Life

Book 1, Chapter IV — *Of Elements*

An element (by the definition which is commonly received among physicians) is the least and most simple portion of that thing which it composes or, that my speech may be the more plain, the four first and simple bodies are called elements—Fire, Air, Water, and Earth. Which accommodate and subject themselves as matter to the promiscuous generation of all things which the Heavens engirt, whether you understand things perfectly or imperfectly mixed. Such elements are only to be conceived in your mind, being it is not granted to any external sense to handle them in their pure and absolute nature. Which was the cause that Hippocrates expressed them not by the names of substances, but of proper qualities—saying Hot, Cold, Moist, Dry—because some one of these qualities is inherent in every element as his proper and essential form, not only according to the excess of latitude, but also of the active faculty, to which is adjoined another simple quality, and by that reason principal, but which notwithstanding attains not to the highest degree of his kind, as you may understand by Galen in his first book of Elements.

So, for example's sake, in the Air we observe two qualities, heat and moisture, both principal and not remitted by the commixture of any contrary quality, for otherwise they were not simple. Therefore, you may say, what hinders that the principal effects of the heat show not themselves as well in the Air as in the Fire? Because, as we said before, although the Air have as great a heat according to his nature, extent, and degree not otherwise than Fire has, yet it is not so great in its active quality. The reason is because that the calfactory force in the Air is hindered and dulled by society of his companion and adjoined quality—that is, humidity—which abates the force of heat, as on the contrary dryness quickens it. The elements therefore are endowed with these qualities.

Fire Hot and Dry

Air Moist and Hot

Water Cold and Moist

Earth Cold and Dry

These four elements in the composition of natural bodies retain the qualities they formerly had, but that by their mixture and meeting together of contraries, they are somewhat tempered and abated. But the elements are so mutually mixed one with another, and all with all, that no simple part may be found...

Book 1, Chapter V — *Of Temperaments*

Temperament is defined a proportionable mixture of hot, cold, moist, and dry; or, it is a concord of the first disagreeing faculties. That harmony springs from the mixture of the four first bodies of the world. This whether temperament or concord is given to plants and brute beasts for the beginning of their life, and so consequently for their life and form. But as plants are inferior in order and dignity to beasts, so their life is more base and infirm, for they have only a growing faculty, by which they may draw an alimentary juice from the earth as from their mother's breasts to preserve them and their life, by which they may grow to a certain bigness, and, lastly, by which they may bring forth their like for the perpetual continuance of their kind.

But the life of beasts have to the three former the gift of sense annexed, by benefit whereof, as by a certain inward knowledge, they shun those things that are hurtful and follow those which profit them, and by the power of their will they move themselves whither they please.

But the soul of man, far more perfect and noble than the rest, arises not from that earthly mixture and temper of the elements, but acknowledges and has a far more divine offspring, as we shall teach hereafter....

Book 1, Chapter VI — *Of Humors*

To know the nature of humors is a thing not only necessary for physicians, but also for surgeons, because there is no disease with matter which arises not from some one or the mixture of more humors. Which thing Hippocrates understanding, wrote every creature to be either sick or well according to the condition of the humors in the body. And certainly all putrid fevers proceed from the putrefaction of humors. Neither do any acknowledge any other original or distinction of the differences of abscesses or tumors; neither do ulcerated, broken, or otherwise wounded members hope for the restoration of continuity from other than the sweet falling down of humors to the wounded part. Which is the cause that often, in the cure of the abscess, the physicians are necessarily busied in tempering the blood; that is, bringing to a mediocrity the four humors composing the mass of blood, if they at any time offend in quantity or quality. For whether if anything abound or digress from the wonted temper in any excess of heat, cold, viscosity, grossness, thinness, or any such like quality, none of the accustomed functions will be well-performed. For which cause those chief helps to preserve and restore health have been divinely invented. Phlebotomy, or blood-letting, which amends the quantity of too much blood; and purging, which corrects and draws away the vicious quality. But now let us begin to speak of the humors, taking our beginning from the definition.

A humor (is called by physicians) what thing soever is liquid and flowing in the body of living creatures endowed with blood, and that is either natural or against nature. The natural is so called because it is fit to defend, preserve, and sustain the life of a creature. Quite different is the nature and reason of that which is against nature. Again, the former is either alimentary or excrementitious. The alimentary, which is fit to nourish the body, is that humor which is contained in the veins and arteries of a man which is temperate and perfectly well, and which is understood by the general name of blood, which is let out at the opening of a vein. For blood otherwise taken is a humor of a certain kind, distinguished by heat and warmth from the other humors comprehended together with it in the whole mass of the blood. Which thing, that it may the better be understood, I have thought good in this place to declare the generation of blood by the efficient and material causes.

All things which we eat or drink are the materials of blood; which things drawn into the bottom of the ventricle by its attractive force, and there detained, are turned by the force of concoction implanted in it into a substance like to almond butter. Which thing, although it appear one and like itself, yet it consists of parts of a

different nature, which not only the variety of meats, but one and the same meats yields of itself. We term this chylus (when it is perfectly concocted in the stomach). But the gate-vein receives it driven from thence into the small guts and sucked in by the meseraick-veins and, now having gotten a little rudiment of change in the way, carries it to the liver, where by the blood-making faculty which is proper and natural to this part, it acquires the absolute and perfect form of blood.

But with that blood at one and the same time and action all the humors are made, whether alimentary or excrementitious. Therefore the blood, that it may perform its office—that is, the faculty of nutrition—must necessarily be purged and cleansed from the two excrementitious humors, of which the bladder of gall draws one, which we call yellow choler, and the spleen the other, which we term melancholy. These two humors are natural, but not alimentary nor nourishing, but of another use in the body, as afterwards we will show more at large.

The blood, freed from these two kinds of excrements, is sent by the veins and arteries into all parts of the body for their nourishment. Which, although then it seem to be of one simple nature, yet notwithstanding it is truly such that four different and unlike substances may be observed in it—as blood (properly so-named), phlegm, choler, and melancholy—not only distinct in colour, but also in taste, effects, and qualities. For, as Galen notes in his book *De Natura Humana*, melancholy is acid or sour, choler bitter, blood sweet, and phlegm unsavory. But you may know the variety of their effects both by the different temper of the nourished parts as also by the various condition of the diseases springing from thence. For therefore such substances ought to be tempered and mixed amongst themselves in a certain proportion, which remaining, health remains; but violated, diseases follow....

	Nature	Consistence	Colour	Taste	Use
Blood	Airy, hot, and moist; or, rather, temperate	Of indifferent consistence, neither too thick nor too thin.	Red, rosy, or crimson	Sweet	Of such use that is chiefly serves for the nourishment of the fleshy parts and, carried to the vessels, imparts heat to the whole body.
Phlegm	Watery, cold, and moist	Liquid	White	Sweet or, rather, unsavory, for we commend that water which is unsavory.	Fit to nourish the brain and all the other cold and moist parts, to temper the heat of the blood, and by its slipperiness to helped the motion of the joints.
Choler	Fiery, hot, and dry	Thin	Yellow or pale	Bitter	It provokes the expulsive faculty of the guts, attenuates the phlegm cleaving to them, but the alimentary is fit to nourish the parts of like temper with it.
Melancholy	Earthy, cold, and dry	Gross and muddy	Blackish	Acid, sour, or biting	Stirs up the appetite, nourishes the spleen, and all the parts of like temper to it, as the bones.

Signs of a Sanguine Person

I think it manifest, because the matter and generation of flesh is principally from blood, that a man of a fleshy, dense, and solid habit of body, and full of a sweet and vaporous juice, is of a sanguine complexion. And the same party has a flourishing and rosy colour in his face, tempered as with an equal mixture of white and red. Of white by reason of the skin lying utmost; of red because of the blood spread underneath the skin. For always such as the humor is, such is the colour in the face. In manners, he is courteous, gentle, easy to be spoken to, not altogether estranged from the love of women, of a lovely countenance and smooth forehead, seldom angry, but taking all things in good part, for as the inclination of humors is, so also is the disposition of manners. But blood is thought the mildest of all humors, but the strong heat of the inward parts makes him to eat and drink freely. Their dreams are pleasant, they are troubled with diseases arising from blood, as frequent phlegmons¹

¹ **phlegmon** — an inflammation of connective tissue

and many sanguine pustules breaking through the skin, much bleeding, and menstruous fluxes. Wherefore they can well endure blood-letting and delight in the moderate use of cold and dry things, and, lastly, are offended by hot and moist things. They have a great and strong pulse and much urine in quantity, but mild of quality, of an indifferent colour and substance.

Signs of a Choleric Person

Choleric men are of a pale or yellowish colour, of a lean, slender, and rough habit of body, with fair veins and large arteries, and a strong and quick pulse. Their skin, being touched, feels hot, dry, hard, rough, and harsh, with a pricking and acrid exhalation, which breathes forth of their whole body. They cast forth much choler by stool, vomit, and urine. They are of a quick and nimble wit, stout, hardy, and sharp vindicators of received injuries liberal even to prodigality, and somewhat too desirous of glory. Their sleep is light, and from which they are quickly waked; their dreams are fiery, burning, quick, and full of fury. They are delighted with meats and drinks which are somewhat more cold and moist, and are subject to Tertian¹ and burning fevers, the frenzy, jaundice, inflammations, and other choleric pustules, the lask,² bloody flux, and bitterness of mouth.

Signs of a Phlegmatic Person

Those in whom phlegm has the dominion are of a whitish-coloured face, and sometimes livid and swollen, with their body fat, soft, and cold to touch. They are molested with phlegmatic diseases, as Oedematous tumors, the dropsy, quotidian fevers, falling away of the hairs, and catarrhs falling down upon the lungs and the *aspera arteria*, or weason.³ They are of a slow capacity; dull, slothful, drowsy. They do dream of rains, snows, floods, swimming, and such like, that they often imagine themselves overwhelmed with waters. They vomit up much watery and phlegmatic matter, or otherwise spit and evacuate it, and have a soft and moist tongue. And they are troubled with a dog-like hunger if at any time it should happen that their insipid phlegm become acid. And they are slow of digestion, by reason of which they have great store of cold and phlegmatic humors; which, if they be carried down into the windings of the colic-gut, they cause murmuring and noise, and sometimes the colic. For much wind is easily caused of such like phlegmatic excrements wrought upon by a final and weak heat, such as phlegmatic persons have, which by its natural lightness is diversely carried through the turnings of the guts, and distends and swells them up, and while it strives for passage out, it causes murmurings and noises in the belly, like wind breaking through narrow passages.

Signs of a Melancholic Person

The face of melancholy persons is swart, their countenance cloudy and often cruel, their aspect is sad and forward; frequent scirrhus or hard swellings, tumors of the spleen, hemorrhoids, varices (or swollen veins), quartain fevers, whether continual or intermitting; Quintain, Sextain, and Septimane fevers, and, to conclude, all such wandering fevers or agues set upon than. But when it happens the melancholy humor is sharpened, either by adustion or commixture of choler, then tetter, the black morpew, the cancer simple and ulcerated, the leprous and filthy scab, sending forth certain scaly and bran-like excrescences (being vulgarly called Saint Mania, his evil) and the leprosy itself invades them. They have small veins and arteries, because coldness has dominion over them, whose property is to straighten, as the quality of heat is to dilate. But if at any time their veins seem big, that largeness is not by reason of the laudable blood contained in them, but from much windiness, by occasion whereof it is somewhat difficult to let them blood. Not only because that when the vein is opened, the blood flows slowly forth by reason of the cold slowness of the humors, but much the rather for that the vein does not receive the impression of the lancet, sliding this way and that by reason of the windiness contained in it, and because that the harsh dryness of the upper skin resists the edge of the instrument. Their bodies seem cold and hard to the touch, and they are troubled with terrible dreams, for they are observed to seem to see in the night devils, serpents, dark dens and caves, sepulchers, dead corpses, and many other such things full of horror, by reason of a black vapor diversely moving and disturbing the brain, which also we see

¹ **Tertian fever** — a 48-hour fever

² **the lask** — diarrhea

³ **weason** — the esophagus

happens to those who fear the water by reason of the biting of a mad dog. You shall find them forward, fraudulent, parsimonious and covetous even to baseness, slow speakers, fearful, sad, complainers, careful, ingenious, lovers of solitariness, man-haters, obstinate maintainers of opinions once conceived, slow to anger, but angered, not to be pacified. But when melancholy has exceeded nature's and its own bounds, then by reason of putrefaction and inflammation all things appear full of extreme fury and madness, so that they often cast themselves headlong down from some high place, or are otherwise guilty of their death, with fear of which notwithstanding, they are terrified.

But we must note that changes of the native temperament do often happen in the course of a man's life, so that he which a while ago was sanguine may now be choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic; not truly by the changing of the blood into such humors, but by the mutation of diet and the course or vocation of life. For none of a sanguine complexion but will prove choleric if he eat hot and dry meats (as all like things are cherished and preserved by the use of their like, and contraries are destroyed by their contraries) and weary his body by violent exercises and continual labors, and if there be a suppression of choleric excrements, which before did freely flow, either by nature or art. But whosoever feeds upon meats generating gross blood, as beef, venison, hare, old cheese, and all salt meats, he, without all doubt sliding from his nature, will fall into a melancholy temper, especially if to that manner of diet he shall have a vocation full of cares, turmoils, miseries, strong and much study, careful thoughts and fears; and also if he sit much, wanting exercise, for so the inward heat, as it were, defrauded of its nourishment, faints and grows dull, whereupon gross and drossy humors abound in the body. To this also the cold and dry condition of the place in which we live does conduce, and the suppression of the melancholy humor accustomed to be evacuated by the hemorrhoids courses and stools.

But he acquires a phlegmatic temper whosoever uses cold and moist nourishment, much feeding, who before the former meat is gone out of the belly shall stuff his paunch with more, who presently after meat runs into violent exercises, who inhabit cold and moist places, who lead their life at ease in all idleness, and, lastly, who suffer a suppression of the phlegmatic humor accustomedly evacuated by vomit, cough, or blowing the nose, or any other way, either by nature or art. Certainly it is very convenient to know these things, that we may discern if any at the present be phlegmatic, melancholic, or of any other temper, whether he be such by nature or necessity. Having declared those things which concern the nature of temperaments, and deferred the description of the parts of the body to our anatomy, we will begin to speak of the faculties governing this, our life, when first we shall have shown by a practical demonstration of examples the use and certainty of the aforesaid rules of temperaments.

Book 1, Chapter VII — Of the Practice of the Aforesaid Rules of Temperaments

That we may draw the theory of the temperaments into practice, it has seemed good for avoiding confusion which might make this, our introduction, seem obscure if we would prosecute the differences of the tempers of all men of all nations to take those limits which nature has placed in the world—as south, north, east, and west—and, as it were, the center of those bounds, that the described variety of tempers in colour, habit, manners, studies, actions, and form of life of men that inhabit those regions situated so far distant from one another may be as a sure rule, by which we may certainly judge of every man's temperature in particular as he shall appear to be nearer or further from this or that region.

Those which inhabit the south—as the Africans, Ethiopians, Arabians, and Egyptians—are for the most part deformed, lean, dusky-coloured, and pale, with black eyes and great lips, curled hair, and a small and shrill voice. Those which inhabit the northern parts—as the Scythians, Muscovites, Polonians, and Germans—have their faces of colour white, mixed with a convenient quantity of blood, their skin soft and delicate, their hair long, hanging down and spreading abroad, and of a yellowish or reddish colour. Of stature they are commonly tall, and of a well-proportioned, fat, and compact habit of body, their eyes gray, their voice strong, loud, and big. But those who are situated between these two former, as the Italians and French, have their faces somewhat swart, are well-favoured, nimble, strong, hairy, slender, well in flesh, with their eyes resembling the colour of goats' eyes, and often hollow-eyed, having a clear, shrill, and pleasing voice.

The southern people are exceeded so much by the northern in strength and ability of body, as they surpass them in wit and faculties of the mind. Hence it is you may read in histories that the Scythians, Goths, and Vandals vexed Africa and Spain with infinite incursions, and most large and famous empires have been founded from the north to south, but few or none from the south to the north. Therefore the northern people, thinking all right and law to consist in arms, did by duel only determine all causes and controversies arising amongst themselves, as we may gather by the ancient laws and customs of the Lombards, English, Burgonians, Danes, and Germans, and we may see in Saxo the Grammarian that such a law was once made by Fronto, King of Denmark. The which custom at this day is everywhere in force amongst the Muscovites.

But the southern people have always much abhorred that fashion, and have thought it more agreeable to beasts than men. Wherefore, we never heard of any such thing used by the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, or Jews. But, moved by the goodness of their wit, they erected kingdoms and empires by the only help of learning and hidden sciences. For seeing by nature they are melancholic, by reason of the dryness of their temperature, they willing addict themselves to solitariness and contemplation, being endowed with a singular sharpness of wit. Wherefore the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Africans, Jews, Phoenicians, Persians, Assyrians, and Indians have invented many curious sciences, revealed the mysteries and secrets of nature, digested the mathematics into order, observed the motions of the heavens, and first brought in the worship and religious sacrifices of the gods. Even so far that the Arabians, who live only by stealth and have only a wagon for their house, do boast that they have many things diligently and accurately observed in astrology by their ancestors. Which, every day more accurate and copious, they, as by a hereditary right, commend to posterity, as it is recorded by Leo the African.

But the northern people, as the Germans, by reason of the abundance of humors and blood, by which the mind is, at it were, oppressed, apply themselves to works obvious to the senses and which may be done by hand. For their minds, oppressed with the earthly mass of their bodies, are easily drawn from heaven and the contemplation of celestial things to these inferior things, as to find out mines by digging, to buy and cast metals, to draw and hammer out works of iron, steel, and brass. In which things they have proved so excellent that the glory of the invention of guns and printing belongs to them.

The people who inhabit the middle regions between these are neither naturally fit for the more abstruse sciences, as the southern people are, nor for the mechanic works, as the northern, but intermeddle with civil affairs, commerce, and merchandising. But they are endowed with such strength of body as may suffice to avoid and delude the crafts and arts of the southern inhabitants, and with such wisdom as may be sufficient to restrain the fury and violence of the northern....

Book 2, Chapter XI — *Of the Adjuncts of Things Natural*

Cocks are kingly birds, and therefore nature has adorned them with a comb, as with a princely diadem. And whereforever they come, their magnanimity and courage makes them kings. They fight with their beaks and their spurs, and with their martial voice they fright the lion, who is otherwise the king of beasts.

Conies have taught us the art of undermining the earth, whereby the most lofty cities and structures, reaching the very skies, are, by taking away their foundation, leveled with the ground. Marcus Varro writes that in Spain there was a town, and that no mean one, which standing on a sandy ground, was so undermined by a company of conies that all the houses tumbling and falling down to the ground, the inhabitants were fain to depart and seek new dwellings.

Men have learned the art of waging war from the wolves, for they come out by troops, and lie in ambush near the towns which they have appointed, and then one of them runs unto the town and provokes the dogs. And making as if to run away, incites the dogs to follow him until he has gotten them unto the place where their ambush lies, which on a sudden appears and rushes out upon them. And so they kill and eat all, or as many of the dogs as they are able to catch.

...

Neither are the dragons less crafty, for thus do they overcome those vast and otherwise invincible beasts, the elephants. They lie in ambush, and suddenly set upon the elephants where they fear no such matter, and involve their legs with the twines of their tail in such sort that they are not able to go forward, and stop their nostrils with their heads so that they cannot fetch their breath. They pull out their eyes, and wheresoever they find the skin most tender, there they bite and suck the blood until they make them fall down dead. Pliny says that there are dragons found in Ethiopia of ten cubits long, but that in India there are dragons of a hundred feet long, that fly so high that they fetch birds and take their prey even from the midst of the clouds.

Book 25 — Of Monsters and Prodigies

We call monsters what things soever are brought forth contrary to the common decree and order of nature. So we term that infant monstrous which is born with one arm alone, or two heads. But we define prodigies those things which happen contrary to the whole course of nature; that is, altogether differing and dissenting from nature, as if a woman should be delivered of a snake or a dog. Of the first sort are thought all these in which any of those things which ought and are accustomed to be, according to nature, is wanting or does abound, is changed, worn, covered or defended, hurt, or not put in his right place. For sometimes some are born with more fingers than they should, other some but with one finger. Some with those parts divided which should be joined, others with those parts joined which should be divided. Some are born with the privities of both sexes, male and female. And Aristotle saw a goat with a horn upon her knee...

Book 25, Chapter I — Of the Cause of Monsters

There are reckoned up many causes of monsters; the first whereof is the glory of God, that His immense power may be manifested to those which are ignorant of it by the sending of those things which happen contrary to nature. For thus our Savior Christ answered the Disciples (asking whether he or his parents had offended, who being born blind, received his sight from Him) that neither he nor his parents had committed any fault so great, but this so happened only that the glory and majesty of God should be divulged by that miracle and such great works.

Another cause is that God may either punish men's wickedness or show signs of punishment at hand, because parents sometimes lie and join themselves together without law and measure, or luxuriously and beastly, or at such times as they ought to forbear by the command of God and of the Church, such monstrous, horrid, and unnatural births do happen.

At Verona, A.D. 1254, a mare foaled a colt with the perfect face of a man, but all the rest of the body like a horse. A little after that, the war between Florence and Pisans began, by which all Italy was in a combustion.

About the time that Pope Julius II raised up all Italy and the greatest part of Christendom against Louis XII, the King of France, in the year of our Lord 1512 (in which year, upon Easter day, near Ravenna was fought that mortal battle in which the Pope's forces were overthrown) a monster was born in Ravenna, having a horn upon the crown of his head, and besides two wings and one foot alone, most like to the feet of birds of prey, and in the knee thereof an eye, the privities of male and female, the rest of the body like a man, as you may see by this figure.

The third cause is an abundance of seed and overflowing matter. The fourth, the same in too little quantity, and deficient. The fifth, the force and efficacy of imagination. The sixth, the straightness of the womb. The seventh, the disorderly site of the party with child, and the position of the parts of the body. The eighth, a fall, strain, or stroke, especially upon the belly of a woman with child. The ninth, hereditary diseases, or effects by any other accident. The tenth, the confusion and mingling together of the feed. The eleventh, the craft and wickedness of the devil. There are some others which are accounted for monsters because their original or essence full of admiration, or do assume a certain prodigious form by the craft of some begging companions. Therefore we will speak briefly of them in their place in this, our treatise of monsters....

In treating of such monsters as are occasioned by the craft of the Devil, we crave pardon of the courteous reader if, peradventure going further from our purpose, we may seem to speak more freely and largely of the existence, nature, and kinds of devils. Therefore first it is manifest that there are conjurers, charmers, and witches, which, whatsoever they do, perform it by an agreement and compact with the devil, to whom they have addicted themselves. For none can be admitted into that society of witches who has not forsaken God the Creator and his Saviour, and has not transferred the worship due to Him above upon the Devil, to whom he has obliged himself. And assuredly, whosoever addicts himself to these magical vanities and witchcrafts, does it either because he doubts of God's power, promises, study, and great good will towards us. Or else for that he is maddened with an earnest desire of knowing things to come. Or else because, disdainful of poverty, he affects and desires from a poor estate to become rich on the sudden.

It is the constant opinion of all, both ancient and modern, as well philosophers as divines, that there are some such men which, when they have once addicted themselves to impious and devilish arts, can by the wondrous craft of the Devil do many strange things, and change and corrupt bodies, and the health and life of them, and the condition of all mundane things.

Also experience forces us to confess the same, for punishments are ordained by the laws against the professors and practisers of such arts; but there are no laws against those things which neither ever have been nor never came into the knowledge of men. For such things are rightly judged and accounted for impossibilities which have never been seen nor heard of. Before the birth of Christ there have been many such people, for you may find in Exodus and Leviticus laws made against such persons by Moses, by whom God gave the Law to His people.¹ The Lord gave the sentence of death to Ahaziah by His prophet for that he turned into these kind of people.² We are taught by the Scriptures that there are good and evil spirits, and that the former are termed angels, but the later devils; for the law is also said to be given by the ministry of angels. And it is said that our bodies shall rise again at the sound of a trumpet and the voice of an archangel. Christ said that God would send His angels to receive the elect into the heavens.

The history of Job testifies that the Devil sent fire from heaven and killed his sheep and cattle, and raised winds that shook the four corners of the house and overwhelmed his children in the ruins thereof. The history of Michaiah mentions a certain lying spirit in the mouth of the false prophets.³ Satan entering into Judas, moved him to betray Christ. Devils, who in a great number possessed the body of a man, were called and obtained of Christ that they might enter into swine, whom they carried headlong into the sea.

In the beginning God created a great number of angels, that those divine and incorporeal spirits might inhabit heaven and, as messengers, signify God's pleasure to men, and as ministers or servants perform His commands, who might be as overseers and protectors of human affairs. Yet of this great number, there were some who were blinded by pride, and thereby also cast down from the presence and heavenly habitation of God the Creator. These harmful and crafty spirits delude men's minds by diverse juggling tricks, and are always contriving something to our harm, and would in a short space destroy mankind but that God restrains their fury; for they can only do so much as is permitted them. Expelled heaven, some of them inhabit the air, others the bowels of the earth; there to remain until God shall come to judge the world. And as you see the clouds in the air sometimes to resemble centaurs, otherwhiles serpents, rocks, towers, men, birds, fishes, and other shapes, so these spirits turn themselves into all the shapes and wondrous forms of things; as oft-times into wild beasts, into serpents, toads, owls, lapwings, crows or ravens, goats, asses, dogs, cats, wolves, bulls, and the like. Moreover, they oft-times assume and enter human bodies, as well dead as alive, whom they torment and punish; yea, also they transform themselves into angels of light.

¹ Exodus 22:18; Leviticus 19:31

² II Kings 1:1–18

³ I Kings 22:22–23

They feign themselves to be shut up and forced by magical rings, but that is only their deceit and craft; they wish, fear, love, hate, and oft-times as by the appointment and decree of God they punish malefactors. For we read that God sent evil angels into Egypt, there to destroy. They howl on the night, they murmur and rattle as if they were bound in chains, they move benches, tables, counters, props, cupboards, children in the cradles, play at tables and chess, turn over books, tell money, walk up and down rooms, and are heard to laugh, to open windows and doors, cast sounding vessels, as brass and the like, upon the ground, break stone-pots and glasses, and make other the like noises. Yet none of all these things appear to us when, as we arise in the morning, neither find we anything out of its place or broken.

They are called by diverse names, as devils, evil spirits, incubi, succubi, hobgoblins, fairies, Robin-goodfellows, evil angels, Satan, Lucifer, the father of lies, Prince of Darkness and of the world, Legion, and other names agreeable to their offices and natures.

Book 25, Chapter XIV — *Of Subterranean Devils, and Such as Haunt Mines*

Lewis Lavater writes that by the certain report of such as work in mines, that in some mines there are seen spirits who, in the shape and habit of men, work there, and running up and down seem to do much work, when as notwithstanding they do nothing indeed. But in the meantime they hurt none of the bystanders, unless they be provoked thereto by words or laughter. For then they will throw some heavy or hard thing upon him that hurt them, or injure them some other way.

The same author affirms that there is a silver mine in Rhetia out of which Peter Briot, the governor of the place, did in his time get much silver. In this mine there was a devil who, chiefly on Friday, when as the miners put the mineral they had digged into tubs, kept a great quarter and made himself exceeding busy, and poured the mineral as he listed, out of one tub into another. It happened one day that he was more busy than it used to be, so that one of the miners reviled him and bad him be gone on a vengeance to the punishment appointed for him. The devil, offended with his imprecation and scoff, so wrested the miner, taking him by the head, twining his neck about, he set his face behind him, yet was not the workman killed therewith, but lived and was known by diverse for manic years after.

Book 25, Chapter XV — *By What Means the Devils May Deceive Us*

Our minds, involved in the earthly habitation of our bodies, may be deluded by the devils' diverse ways, for they excel in purity and subtlety of essence, and in the much use of things. Besides, they challenge a great pre-eminence, as the princes of this world, over all sublunary bodies. Wherefore is it no marvel if they, the teachers and parents of lies, should cast clouds and mists before our eyes from the beginning, and turn themselves into a thousand shapes of things and bodies, that by these jugglings and tricks they may shadow and darken men's minds.

Book 25, Chapter XVI — *Of Succubi and Incubi*

Powerful by these fore-mentioned arts and deceits, they have sundry times accompanied with men in copulation, whereupon such as have had to do with men were called succubi, those which made use of women, incubi. Verily, Saint Augustine seems not to be altogether against it but that they, taking upon them the shape of man, may fill the genitals, as by the help of nature, to the end that by this means they may draw aside the unwary by the flames of lust from virtue and chastity.¹...

Thomas Johnson, ed. *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey, Translated out of the Latine and Compared with the French* (London: Richard Cotes, 1649):3, 4, 8, 9, 12–14, 50–51, 648–649, 665–666.

¹ Augustine, *City of God*, Book 15, Chapter 23