

## Dialogue Concerning Tyndale 2.9-2.12

### THE NINTH CHAPTER

The Messenger yet again objecteth against relics. And puteth great doubt in canonising. Whereunto the author maketh answer.

HOW can I, quod he, be sure thereof? May the taking up of a man's bones, and setting his carcase in a gay shrine, and then kissing his bare scalp, make a man a saint? And yet are there some unshrined, for no man wotteth where they lie. And some that men doubt whether ever they had any body at all or not. But, marry, to recompense that withal, there be some again that have two bodies, to lend one to some good fellow that lacketh. For, as I said before, some one body lieth whole in two places far asunder, or else the monks of the one be beguiled. For both places plainly affirm that it lieth there. And at either place they show the shrine. And in the shrine they show a body, which they say is the body and boldly bide thereby that it is it, alleging old writings and miracles also for the proof. Now must we confess, that either miracles at the one place be false or done by the devil, or else that the same saint had two bodies indeed. And then were that in my wind as great a miracle as the greatest of them all. And therefore is it likely somewhere a bone worshipped for a relic of some holy saint, that was peradventure a bone, as Chaucer saith, of some holy Jew's sheep. Our Saviour also seemeth in the gospel to blame and reprove the pharisees for making fresh the sepulchres of holy prophets and making shrines of their graves. Whereby it appeareth that he would not have the dead bodies worshipped and set in gay golden shrines. And yet besides this ye shall find many more worshipped, I ween, than shrined; many shrined that ye find not canonised though ye seek up all the registers in Rome. And when they be shrined and canonised too, yet since the church in the canonisation useth a mean that may beguile them, for they stand to the record of men both of their lives and of their miracles which men may peradventure lie, why may it not then be that the church be deceived in the canonisation? And that they may for lack of true knowledge, believing untrue men, canonise for saints such folk sometime as be full far there from? I dare not say so much as saith St. Austin. For he letteth not to say plainly that many bodies be

#### A SAYING OF SAINT AUSTIN

worshipped for saints here in earth whose souls be buried in hell.

Ye have, quod I, said many things very stoutly. But yet let us first consider whereunto altogether weigheth. For it stretcheth no further, if it were all true, but that we might be deceived in some that we should take for saints. And it neither proveth that there be no saints, which I wot well no wise man will say, nor that if any be they should not be worshipped nor prayed unto. Except ye would say that if we might by possibility mistake some therefore we should worship none. And then should you by that reason never take any physician, since ye might happen upon a dog leech for lack of knowledge of the cunning. For in records of men ye might be as well deceived there as here. Now suppose then first, that of saints and of relics, some were true and some were false, yet the worship that ye would we should do to them all, should be because that, standing as they

do unknowen and undiscerned, ye reckoned them all true and all for God's well beloved servants. For if ye knew of them which were true and which false, then would ye worship the true, and tread the false under foot.

That is no doubt, quod he.

Then, quod I, if we were beguiled in some, I see no great peril grow toward us thereby. For if there came a great many of the king's friends into your country, and ye for his sake made them all great cheer, if there came among them unaware to you some spies that were his mortal enemies, wearing his badge, and seeming to you, and so reported, as his familiar friends, whether would he blame you for the good cheer ye made his enemies or thank you for the good cheer ye made his friends?

He would I think, quod he, thank me for the good entreating of them both, since both seemed good to me and both had of me their cheer but for they seemed his friends and for his sake.

Ye say, quod I, good reason. But I put the case now that ye had an inkling or else a plain warning that some of them were his enemies that seemed his best friends; but which they were no man can tell you, what would you now do, make them all cheer and honourably entreat them all, or else, showing them that ye hear say plainly that some of them be nought, therefore bid them be walking all with sorrow?

Nay, quod he, no doubt were it, but that I should look for thank if I cherished his enemies for his friends, rather than despitely to handle his friends for his enemies.

Very well, quod I, and this were true although ye had warning that some of them were his enemies. But what thank would ye then desire if ye should shake off both, where ye had no such warning at all, but would say that ye durst not make any of them cheer, because ye thought that peradventure it might be that some were worse than they were taken for? For in such case be you here; ye know not that any man worshipped for a saint is none, but only ye think that ye be not sure whether all be or some not.

Yes, quod he, St. Austin, as I told you, giveth me warning that many be none.

Ye be, quod I, deceived therein as I shall tell you after. But in the meanwhile, mark me well this, and let it stand for a sure ground that all your objection, if it were true, serveth not against worshipping of saints or saints' relics but against the worshipping of such as were no saints nor no saints' relics. And that after it were proved, and now this thing that is in question first confessed and agreed between us for a thing nothing able to hurt our principal matter, let us go further therein and search whether we find any such cause of doubt in any or have good cause to reckon ourself sure that all be saints indeed whom the church of Christ hath in honour and veneration for saints. First, as for the authority that ye allege of St. Austin, I have heard it often alleged in likewise for the same purpose. But surely they that so take St. Austin be foul deceived. I durst be bold to say that St. Austin never did write such words,<sup>2</sup> but it is a word run in many men's mouths begun by mistaking, and believed without examination. For surely the words, whereof they took the occasion, which he writeth in the first book *de Civitate Dei*,<sup>3</sup> and repeateth

again in his book of that cure and care that men should have for them that be dead, those words I say go far wide from all such purpose. For there he speaketh only of costly burying and making of sumptuous sepulchres and doing the dead corpse of rich men worldly worship in the carrying forth and entering of the body—as it plainly and evidently appeareth by the matter that he writeth of. And surely since our Lord never would among his chosen people give the glory of his name to another, nor never so suffer idolatry among the Jews but that either he forthwith punished and purged it, or so severed the flock of idolaters that it might well appear where his faithful flock remained—as it did when that Samary, falling to idolatry, the right synagogue of the Jews remained in Jerusalem and in Judea—this were full unlikely, that his holy spirit being sent unto his church here to remain and instruct it, and himself also therewith being and giving his special assistance unto the end of the world, should either suffer his church to be unknowen or in such wise to err and be deceived as to give honour to the devil instead of himself, or to his enemies instead of his friends.

And therefore when the church by diligent ensearch findeth the life of a man holy, and that thereto it is well witnessed that God by his miracles testifieth that man's blessedness and the favour in which he standeth with him in heaven, declaring, by the boot and profit which he doth to many men for his sake, that he will have him honoured and had for hallowed in his church here in earth, and this thing either by them that hath the cure of his church, after such diligence used, being by the canonisation declared unto the people, or peradventure without canonisation growing thereof, by the holiness well knowen and miracles many seen, so sure a common persuasion through the whole people of Christendom, that the person is accepted and reputed for an undoubted saint, be the bones translated or not, his body founden or not, albeit by possibility of nature it might be that men were in such things deceived, as ye have said, yet we boldly may and well we ought in this case to trust that the grace and aid of God and his holy spirit assisting his church, hath governed the judgment of his ministers, and inclined the minds of his people to such consent. And that he hath not suffered them to err in a thing so nearly touching his honour and worship, either truly to be applied where his will were it should, upon himself or his holy saints for his sake, or to be withdrawn thence and by erroneous mistaking of truth, necessary, meet and convenient to be perceived of the church, for 'for God's honour—which kind of truth God sent the holy ghost to teach his church—the same worship to be bestowed upon them whom he would in no wise should have it, but whom he reserveth for eternal shame, for the body shrined or not, maketh no doubt of the saint. No man doubteth of our Lady, no man doubteth of St. John the Evangelist, though their bodies be not founden. And yet if they were, then were there I think no good Christian man but he would be contented they were shrined and had in honour.

For whereas ye would take the reverence from all relics because that some be doubtful, in that some saint's head is, as you say, and of some the whole body showed at two sundry places, it may fortune for all this that of one head there may be sundry parts, and either part in the common speech of people called the head. For at Amias is St. John's

#### ST. JOHN'S HEAD

head the baptist as men call it in talking, even they that have been there and seen it. But then if they be asked further question thereof, they tell that the nether jaw lacketh. This may well happen also, and so doth it hap indeed, by some saint of whom in two divers countries be divers shrines, and there be reckoned and reported that in either of them be laid the whole body, and the pilgrims at neither places do look into the coffin of the shrine to see whether it be all or part. In

some place peradventure lay the body, and by some occasion the body translated thence of old and yet the shrine showed still with some of the relics remaining therein. It may well hap also that there were two good holy men in divers countries both of one name. And percase in some place may there be some very relics unknowen and misnamed. For in old time when men at the incursion of infidels did hide holy saints' relics, at the finding again the names haply decayed, some relics might rest unknowen, or some peradventure left or mistaken. And myself saw at the abbey of Barking besides London, to my remembrance about thirty years past, in the setting an old image in a new tabernacle, the back of the image being all painted over and of long time before laid with beaten gold, happened to crase ' in one place, and out there fell a pretty little door, at which fell out also many relics that had lien unknowen in that image, God wot how long—and as long had been likely to lie again if God by that chance had not brought them to light. The bishop of London came then thither to see there were no deceit therein. And I among other was present there while he looked thereon and examined the matter.

And in good faith it was to me a marvel to behold the manner of it. I have forgotten much thereof, but I remember a little piece of wood there was rudely shapen in cross with thread wrapped about it. Writing had it none; and what it was we could not tell. But it seemed as new cut as if it had been done within one day before. And divers relics had old writings on them and some had none; but among other were there certain small kercheors ' which were named there our Lady's, and of her own working. Coarse were they not, nor they were not large but served as it seemed to cast in a plain and simple manner upon her head. But surely they were as clean seams to my seeming as ever I saw in my life, and were therewith as white for all the long lying as if they had been washed and laid up within one hour. And how long that image had stande in that old tabernacle that could no man tell, but there had in all that church none, as they thought, standen longer untouched. And they guessed that four or five hundred year ago, the image was hidden when the abbey was burned by infidels, and those relics hidden therein. And after the image founden and set up many years after, when they were gone. that had hidden it. And so the relics remained unknowen therein till now that God gave that chance that opened it.

And thus, as I say, may it peradventure happen some names to be forgotten, or haply to be mistaken, and yet God well content that the relics be had in reverence, since he specially favoureth their persons, and needeth nothing their names to know them by. As he shall once so fully restore again many a glorious body, that they shall not lose the least hair of their head that may serve to their beauty, of whom the names haply the whole world hath long ago forgotten. And the name is not so very requisite but that we may mistake it without peril, so that we nevertheless have the relics of holy men in reverence, but as for pigs' bones for holy relics, or damned wretches to be worshipped for saints, albeit that if it happened, yet it nothing hurted the souls of them that mistake it—no more than if we worship an host in the mass which percase the negligence or malice of some lewd priest hath left unconsecrated; yet is it never to be thought, though such a thing might happen suddenly, that ever God will suffer such a thing to last and endure in his church. For albeit that his church useth one mean might, as ye say, beguile them, which is the record and witness of men; yet hath it in such things, as St. Thomas and other holy doctors write, another mean beside which never can beguile them—and *that is the assistance of God and the holy ghost*. For else might the church be most easily beguiled in the receiving of the very scripture, wherein they take outwardly but the testimonies of men from mouth to mouth and hand to hand, without other examina-tion. But that secret mean that inclineth their credulity to

consent in the believing all in one point which is the secret instinct of God, this is the sure mean that never can in any necessary point fail here in Christ's church. For if it might, all were quite at large. And that point once taken away scripture and all walketh with it. And in this mind as it seemeth, was very sure and fastly confirmed that holy apostle St. Paul, which in his first epistle to the Corinthians, writeth in this wise. *Obsecro vos fratres, per nomens domini ,nostri Jesu Christi, ut idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis scismata, sed sitis integrum corpus eadem menle et eadem sententia.* I beseech you my brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that you say all one thing, and let there be no schisms or several sects among you, but be ye one whole and entire body of one mind and one sentence. \* Truth is it that he taught them and other the right way so far forth that he boldly forbode an angel of heaven to be believed if any would come and preach another gospel. \* But yet in this place I note much that he called upon them only for agreement, bidding them only to agree all upon one thing, and maketh no mention of agreement upon the best and upon the truth, but only to avoid all discord and division and by common consent exhorteth them to agree all in one, meaning thereby, as methinketh, that if the church of Christ,

#### THE AGREEMENT UPON ONE THING

intending well, do all agree upon any one thing concerning God's honour or man's soul, it cannot be but that thing must needs be true. For God's holy spirit that animateth his church and giveth it life, will never suffer it all [to] consent and agree together upon any damnable error. And therefore would he never suffer the church so fully to consent in the worship of saints and reverence of relics if it were a thing, such as some men would have it seem, that is to wit a thing damnable, false and feigned. Wherein as much as ye lay to minish their credence, that it might seem, as ye say, well enough that some of them were feigned; yet wist I never proved that any such, so taken and by the church approved, was ever yet hitherto reprov'd, either here in Christ's church or among the Jews in their synagogue before Christ's days; and yet saints they had in honour, as patriarchs and prophets, and their bodies and relics in reverence. Now if of such as seemed good men we never had founden any for hypocrites, albeit [it] might be that some were such, yet would we not, I think, suppose that there were any so indeed, if we never had knowen it tried and proved so. And why shall we then of saints or relics have doubt and mistrust? Of whom being received by the church for true, we never, that I could wit, since God wrought the world, tried and proved any of both sorts untrue—neither, as say, in the church of Christ nor synagogue of the Jews which two sorts only were God's chosen people. And yet had as well the Jews as we, both saints, as I said, in honour, and their relics in great reverence, as appeareth as well by the gospel as by the old testament, Jacob, that holy patriarch, commanded his children in his deathbed to carry his body to the burial out of that country of Egypt, and so they did. \* And Joseph also required his brethren, that when they should after depart act of Egypt, they should carry his bones with them. The dead bones of the prophet Eliseus, as the bible mentioneth \* , raised a dead body to life. And think you then that those bones were not there honoured for holy relics? Nor our Saviour Christ blameth not the Jews in the gospel for that they garnished the sepulchres of the old prophets, with whose honour he was well content but for that they condemned themselves in following the condition of them that slew them, intending to kill Christ as their forefathers did his holy prophets. For as for the dead bodies of the holy prophets, that God would have them had in honour and reverence, he declared well by that he raised dead body by the touch of the dead bones of the prophet Eliseus as I said to you before. Did not our Lord in the finding of that holy relic; his holy cross, declare by miracle and make his own cross knowen from the crosses of the two thieves by the raising of a dead man with the touch thereof? Wherein

is to be noted, by the way, that there was between his and theirs no notable difference but they nailed as he was or else had it been no doubt upon the first sight which of them was his. Was not the body of St. Stephen found out by miracle and the head of St. John Baptist also? Yes, of surety, and many another holy marty more, that else had lien unknown. Whereby well appeared that God would have not their souls only, but also their bodies, and in a manner the very soles of their shoon, set by for their sakes, and themselves for his. Was not the woman healed by the touch of our Lords garment? ⁂ Hath there not both among the Jews and Christian people also many men marvellously been holpen by the only touch of holy saints' vestures? ⁂ And doubt we then whether God would we should worship them, when he so well and above nature, rewardeth us for the worship we do them?

## THE TENTH CHAPTER

The Messenger objecteth many things against pilgrimages and relics and worshipping of saints, because of much superstitious manner used therein and unlawful petitions asked of them, and harm growing thereupon.

SIR, quod he, ye have in my mind very well touched the matter concerning that it is not in vain to pray to saints nor to worship them and to have melt relics in some reverence. But, Sir, all this is far from the great sore; for though saints may hear us and help us too, and are glad and willing so to do, and God also contented that they and their relics and images also be had in honour, yet can neither he nor they be content with the manner of the worship first, taking away his own worship, in that we do them the same worship in every point that we do to God, and, secondly, taking their worship from them then also, in that we do to their images the same that we do to themselves, taking their images for themselves, and so make not themselves only, but also their images, fellows and matches to God, wherewith as I have said before, neither God nor good saint can nor good man ought to, be content and pleased.

In faith, quod I, therein if it so be, ye say very true.

What say we then, quod he, of the harm That goeth by going of pilgrimages, rolling about in idleness with the riot, revelling, and ribaldry, gluttony, wantonness, waste and lechery? Trow ye that God and his holy saints had not liefer they sit still at home than thus to come seek them with such worshipful service?

Yes, surely, quod I.

What say we then, quod he, to that I spake not of yet, in which we do them little worship while we set every saint to his office and assign tin a craft such as pleaseth us? St. Loy we make an horse-leech, and must let our horse rather renne unshod and mar his hoof, than to shoe him on his day, which we must for that point more religiously keep high and holy than Easter day. Mid because one smith is too few at a forge, we set St. Ipolitus to help him. And on St. Stephen's day we must let all our horse blood with a knife, because St. Stephen was killed with stones. St.

Apoline we make a tooth drawer, and may speak to her of nothing but of sore teeth. St. Sythe women set to seek their keys. St. Poke we set to see to the great sickness because he had a sore. And, with him they join St. Sebastian, because he was martyred with arrows. Some serve for the eye only. And some for a sore breast. St. Germaine only for children. And yet will he not once look at them, but if the mother bring with them a white loaf and a pot of good ale. And yet is he wiser than St. Wilgefort, for the good soul is as they say served and content with oats—whereof I cannot perceive the reason, but if it be because she should provide an horse for an evil husband to ride to the devil upon. For that is the thing that she is so sought for, as they say.

#### WHY WOMEN SEEK UPON ST. UNCUMBER

In so much that women hath therefore changed her name, and instead of St. Wilgefort <sup>is</sup> call her St. Uncumber because they reckon that for a peck of oats she will not fail to uncumber them of their husbands. Long work were it to rehearse you the divers manner of many pretty pilgrimages; but one or two will I tell you. The one Pontanus speaketh of in his dialogues, how St. Martin is worshipped, I have forgot the town, but the manner I cannot forget, it is so strange. His image is on his day borne in procession about all the streets. And if it be a fair day then use they, as he cometh by, to cast rosewater and all things of pleasant savour upon his image. But and it happen to rain, out pour they pisspots upon his head, at every door and every window. Is not this a sweet service and a worshipful worship? And this as I say Pontanus writeth and telleth where it is. But this that I shall now tell you, I dare as boldly make you sure of, as if I had seen it myself. At St. Waleries here in Picardy, there is a fair abbey where St. Walery <sup>is</sup> was monk. Arid upon a furlong oil or two up in a wood is there a chapel in which that saint is specially sought unto for the stone—not only in those parts, but also out of England. Now there was a young gentleman which had married a merchants wife. And having a little wanton money, which him thought breed <sup>is</sup> out the bottom of his purse, in the first year of his wedding took his wife with him, and went over the sea for none other errand but to see Flanders end France, and ride out one summer in those countries. And having one in his company that told by the way many strange things of the pilgrimage, he thought he would go somewhat out of his way either to see it if it were true or laugh at his man if he found it false, as he verily thought he should have done indeed. But when they came into the chapel they found it all true, And to behold they found it fonder than he had told. For like as in other pilgrimages ye see hanged up legs of wax or arms or such other parts, so was in that chapel all their offerings that hung about the walls none other thing but men's gear and women's gear made in wax. Then was there besides these, two round rings of silver the one much larger than the other, through which every man did put his privy members at the altars end. Not every man through both, but some through the one and some through the other. For they were not both of a bigness, but the one larger than the other. Then as there yet a monk standing at the altar that hallowed certain threads of Venice gold. And then he delivered to the pilgrims, teaching then in what wise themselves or their friends should use those threads against the stone. That they should knit it about their gear and say I cannot tell you what prayers. And when the monk had declared the manner that gentleman had a servant that was a married man and yet a merry fellow, and he, thanking the monk for the thread, desired him to teach him how he should knit it about his wife's gear, which, except the monk had some special craft in knitting, he thought would be cumbrous because her gear was somewhat short, It need not to tell you that every man laughed then, save the monk that cast up his rings and threads in a great anger and went his way. Was not this—Abide! by God, I had almost forgotten one thing, that would not be left for a groat. As this gentleman and his wife were kneeling in the chapel, there came a good sad woman to him showing him that one special point used in the pilgrimage and the surest

against the stone, she wist nere whether he were yet advertised of, which if it were done she durst lay her life he should never have the stone in his life. And that was she would have the length of his gear and that should she make it a wax candle which should bren up in the chapel and certain prayers should there be said the while. And this was against the stone the very sheet anchor.

When he had heard her—and lie was one that in earnest feared the stone—he went and asked his wife counsel but she like a good faithful Christian woman loved no such superstitions. She could abide the remnant well enough. But when she heard once of brenning up the candle, she knit the brows and earnestly blessing her: “Beware in the virtue of God what ye do,” quod she. “Burn up,” quod she. “Marry God forbid. It would waste up your gear upon pain of my life. I pray you beware of such witchcraft.” Is this kind of worship and service acceptable and pleasant unto God and his saints? Now when people worship saints in such wise that they mate them fellows to God and images in such wise that they take their for the saints self, and then again on the other side honour them with such superstitious ways that the paynim gods were worshipped with no worse, finally the worst is of all, pray to them for unlawful things as thieves pray to the thief that hung upon the right side of Christ to speed them

#### DISMAS AND GISMAS

well in their robbery, and have found him a name also calling him Dismas, I ween, and his fellow, Gismas, to rime withal, think you not that this gear is such among the people as rather were likely so to provoke God and his saints to displeasure that the devil should have license, and liberty therefor to work his wonders in delusion of our superstitions idolatry then so to like and content our Lord that he should show miracles for the comprobation of that manner of worshipping which we may well perceive all reason, religion and virtue reproveth.

#### THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER

The author answereth all the objections proponed by the Messenger in the tenth chapter. And same of them touched by the Messenger more at large in other parts before.

YOUR whole tale in effect, quod I, containeth three things. One that the people worship the saints and their images also with like honour as they do God himself. Another, that they take the images for the things' self, which points do sowne to idolatry. The third is the superstitious fashion of worship with desire of unlawful things. And since the worship that the people do to the saints and the images be such, ye conclude that thing displeasent to God and to all hallows; and that it may thereby well appear that the miracles also be pot the works of God but the delusion of the devil.

The first point, which ye have now twice touched, is at once soon and shortly answered, for it is not tree. For though men kneel to saints and images and incense them also, yet it is not true that therefore they worship them in every point like unto God.

What point lack they, quod he?

Marry, the chief of all, quod I, that is that they worship God with the mind that he is God, which

mind in worship is the only thing that maketh it *latria*, and no certain gesture, nor bodily observance—not and we would wallow—upon the ground unto Christ having therewith a mind that he were the best man that we could devise and thinking him not God. For if the lowly manner of bodily observance were the thing that would make *latria*, then were we much in peril of idolatry in our curtsey used to princes, prelates and popes, to whom we kneel as low as to God Almighty, and kiss some their hands and some our own, or ever we presume to touch them and, in the pope, his foot. And as for incensing the poor priests in every choir be as well incensed as the sacrament. So that if *latria*, that is the special honour due to God, stood in such things, then were we great idolaters not in our worship done to saints only and their images, but also to men one to another among our-self. But albeit that God ought of duty to have with our body the most humble and lowly reverence that we can possibly devise, yet is not that bodily worship *latria* but if we so do it that in our mind we consider and knowledge him for God, and with that consideration and intent do him that worship. And so doth, as I think, no Christian man to image or saint either. And so is avoided the peril of idolatry for that first point ye spake of.

Now as touching the second, that the people take the images for the saints themselves, I trust there be no man so mad nor woman neither, but that they know quick men from dead stones, and tree from flesh and bone. And when they prefer as ye spake of our Lady at one pilgrimage before our Lady at another, or one rood before another, or make their invocations and vows some to the one and some to the other, I ween it easy to perceive that they mean none other but that our Lord and our Lady, or our Lord for our lady showeth more miracles at the one than other. And that they intend it their pilgrimage to visit some of them one place and some another or partly sometime as the place lieth for them as their devotion leadeth them, and yet not for the place but for that it liketh our Lord by manifest miracles to provoke men to seek upon him or his blessed mother, or some other holy saint of his, in those places more specially than in some other. The thing itself also showeth that they take not the images of our Lady herself. For if they so did, how could they possible in any manner wise have more mind to the one than to the other? For they can have no more mind to our Lady than to our Lady. Moreover, if they thought that the image at Walsingham were our Lady herself, then must they needs think that our Lady herself were that image. Then if in likewise they thought that the image at Ipswich were our Lady herself, and, as they must therewith needs think that our Lady herself were that image at Ipswich, then must they needs think therewithal that all those three were one thing, And then every two of them were one thing. And so must they by that reason suppose that the image of Ipswich were the selfsame image that is at Walsingham. Which if ye ask any of them whom ye take for the simplest, except a natural fool, I dare bold you a wager she will tell you nay. Besides this take the simplest fool that ye can chose, and she will tell you that Our lady herself is in heaven. She will also call an image an image, and she will tell you a difference between an image of an horse and an horse indeed, And then appeareth it well whatsoever her words be of her pilgrimage by a common manner of speech to call the image of our Lady, our Lady as men say, Go to the King's Head for wine not meaning his head indeed, but the sign, so meaneth she none other in that image but our Lady's image, howsoever she call it, and if ye will well prove that she neither taketh our Lady for that image nor that image for our Lady, as both must she take if she take the one, talk with her of Our Lady and she will tell you that our Lady was saluted with Gabriel; and that our Lady fled into Egypt with Joseph and yet will she not in the telling say that our Lady of Walsingham or of Ipswich was saluted of Gabriel or fled into Egypt. Nor if ye would ask her whether it were our Lady of Ipswich or our Lady of Walsingham that stood by the cross at

Christ's passion, she will I warrant you make answer that neither of both. And if you demand her farther which Lady, then, she will name you none image but our Lady that is in heaven. And this have I proved often, and ye may when ye will and shall and it true, except it be in one so very a fool that God will give her leave to believe what she list. And surely for this point I think in my mind that all those heretics that make as though they found so much peril of idolatry among the people for mistaking of images, do but devise the fear to have some cloak to cover their heresy wherein they bark against the saints themselves. And when they be marked, they say they mean but the misbelief that women have in images.

Now as touching the third point of superstitious manner of wet-shipping, or unlawful petitions desired of saints, as one sample may serve both, if women offer oats to St. Wilgefort to have her uncumber thorn of them husbands, somewhat is it indeed that ye say, and yet not all thing to be blamed that ye seem to blame. For as to pray to St. Appoline for the help of our teeth is no witchcraft, considering that she had her teeth pulled out for Christ's sake. Nor there is no superstition in such other things like. And peradventure, since St. Loy was a farrier, it is no great fault to pray to him for the help of our horse.

Well, then, quod he, since St. Crispin and St. Crispiane were shoe-makers, it were well done in likewise to pray them sit down, and mend our shoes. And pray to St. Dorathe for some flowers because she beareth always a basket full.

Nay, quod I, the things be nothing like. For the one thing pertaineth nothing to our necessity, the other we may do ourself or soon find who shall. But as for your horse is a thing wherein, as well as in our own bodies, a right good leech may fail of his craft and is to many a man a greater loss than he may well recover. And albeit that God commanded that we should chiefly seek for heaven and promiseth that if we so do, all other things that we need shall be cast unto us " and would that we

#### **BE NOT CAREFUL FOR FEAR OF LACK**

should into wise live in anxiety and trouble of mind for any that of lack, considering that our father in heaven purveyeth neat for the yew birds of the air by whom he setteth nothing so much as he doth by us, yet willed not he the contrary but we should with our bodies labour therefore, having our hearts all the while in heaven. And willed also that we should ask it of him without whose help our labor will not serve. And therefore our daily food one of the petitions of the *paternoster*, the prayer that himself taught his disciples. And that horse he set not so little by but that rather than it should perish, he reckoned it no breach of the sabbath day to pull him out of a pit. And therefore indeed, meseemeth, that devotion to run somewhat too far if the smiths will not for any necessity set or, a shoe upon St. Loy's day, and yet lawful enough to pray for the help of a poor man's horse. But as for your teeth, I ween if they ached well you would yourself think it a thing worthy and not too simple to ask help of St. Appolin, and of God too.

#### **A MEARY TALE**

Yea, marry, quod he, and of the devil too rather than fail, as the Lombard did, for the gout, that when he had long called upon God and our Lady and the holy company of heaven and yet felt himself never the better, he began at last to call as fast for help unto the devil. And when his wife and his friends, sore abashed and astonished, rebuked him for calling on the devil, which he wist well was naught, and if that he help him it should be for to good, he cried out as loud as he could

again, *Ogni aiuto e bono*, all is good that helpeth.

And so I weet would I, quod he, call on the devil and all, rather than abide in pain.

Nay, quod I, whatsoever ye say I cannot think you would believe in the devil as that Lombard did. Ye would rather fare like another, that when the frere apposed him in confession whether he meddled anything with witchcraft or negromancy, or had any belief in the devil, he answered him “*Credere en le diable, my sir no, io graund fatigue a credere in dio.*” “Believe in the devil” quod he, “Nay, nay, sir, I have work enough to believe in God, I.” And so would, I ween, that ye were far from all believing in the devil. Ye have so much work to believe in God himself that ye be loth methink, to meddle much with his saints.

When he had laughed awhile at our merry tales, In good faith, quod I, as I was about to tell you, somewhat indeed it is that ye say. For evil it is and evil it is suffered that superstitious manner of worship. And as for that ye told of St. Martin, if it he true it hath none excuse; but that it nothing toucheth our matter. For it is not of worshipping, but despiting and disworshipping of saints. Touching the offering of bread and ale to St. Germin, I see nothing much amiss therein, where ye have seen it used I cannot tell. But have myself seen oftentimes, and yet am I not remembered that ever I saw priest or clerk fare the better therefore, or once drink thereof, but it is given to children or poor folk to pray for the sick child. And I would ween it were none offence in such fashion, to offer up a whole ox and distribute it among poor people. But now as for our merry matters of St. Wallery because the place is in France we shall leave the matter to the university of Paris to defend. And we will come home here to Paul’s, and put one ensample of how that is to say the superstitious manner and unlawful petitions, if women there offer oats unto St. Wilgefort, in trust that she shall uncumber them of their husbands. Yet can neither the priests perceive till they find it there, that the foolish women bring oats thither, nor it is not, I think, so often done, nor so much brought at once, that the church, may make much money of it above the finding of the canon’s horses.

Nay, quod he, all the oats of an whole year’s offerings will not find three geese and a gander a week together.

Well, quod I, then the priests maintain not the matter for any great covetise; and also what the peevish women pray they cannot hear. Howbeit if they pray but to be uncumbered, me seemeth no great harm nor unlawfulness therein. For that may they by more ways than one.

#### HOW WOMEN MAY BE UNCUMBERED OF THEIR HUSBANDS

They may be unnumbered if their husbands change their cumbrous conditions. Or if themself peradventure change their cumbrous tongues, which is haply the cause of all their cumbrance. And finally if they cannot be uncumbered but by death, yet it may be by their own, and so their husbands safe enough.

Nay, Nay, quod he, find them not such fools I warrent you. They make their covenants in their bitter prayers as surely as they were penned, and will not cast away their oats for naught

Well, quod I, to all these matters is one evident easy answer, that they nothing touch the effect of our matter, which standeth in this, whether the thing that we speak of, as praying to saints, going

in pilgrimage and worshipping relics and images, may be done well: not whether, it may be done evil. For if it may be well done, then, though

#### PUT NOT AWAY THE GOOD USE FOR THE BAD

many would misuse it, yet doth all that nothing minish the goodness of the things self. For if we should, for the misuse of a good thing and for the evils that grow sometime in the abuse thereof not amend the misuse but utterly put the whole use away, we should then make marvellous changes in the world. In some countries they go on hunting commonly on Good Friday in the morning for a common custom. Will ye break that evil custom or cast away Good Friday? There be cathedral churches into which the country cometh with procession at Whitsuntide, and the women following the cross with many an unwomanly song and that such honest wives as out of the procession ye could not hear to speak one such foul ribald word as they there sing for God's sake whole ribald songs as long as their throats can cry. Will you mend that lewd manner; or put away Whitsuntide? Ye speak of lewdness used at pilgrimages. Is there, trow ye, none used on holy days? And why do you not then advise us to put them clean away, Sundays and all? Some wax drunk in Lent of wiggles and craknels, " and yet ye would not, I trust, that Lent were fordone? Christmas, if we consider how commonly men abuse it, we may think that they take it for a time of liberty for all manner of lewdness. And yet is not Christmas to be cast away among Christian men, but men rather monished to amend their manner, and use themself in Christmas more Christianly. Go me to Christ's own coming and giving us our faith and his holy gospel and sacraments. Be there not ten the worse therefore against one the better? Be not all the paynims, all the Jews, all the Turks and all Saracens, all the heretics, all the evil living people in Christendom, the worse by their own fault, for the coming of Christ? I trow they be. And yet would no wise man wish that Christ had not come here. Nor it had be no right that God should have left the occasion of merit and reward that good folk would with his help deserve by his coming for the harm that wretehes would take thereof by their own sloth and malice. Nor in likewise right were it none that all worship of saints and reverence of holy relics and honour of saints images—by which good devout folk do much merit—we should abolish

#### MEN DO MERIT BY WORSHIPPING OF SAINTS AND RELICS

and put away because some folk do abuse it.

Now touching the evil petitions; though they that ask them were, as I trust they be not, a great people, they be not yet so many that ask evil petitions of saints as there be that ask the same of God himself. For whatsoever they will ask of any good saint they will ask of God also. And commonly in the wild Irish and some in Wales too, as men say when they go forth in robbing, they bless them and pray God send them good speed that they may meet with a good purse and do harm and take none. Shall we therefore find fault with every man's prayer because thieves pray for speed in robbery? This hath as I say, no reason, although, they were a great people and abused a good thing. And whereas the worst that ye assign in our matter is that, as ye say, the people do idolatry in that ye say they take the images for the saints themselves or the rood for Christ himself, which as I said I think none doth, for some rood hath no crucifix thereon, and they believe not that the cross which they see was ever at Jerusalem nor that it was the holy cross itself; and much less think they then that the image that hangeth thereon is the body of Christ himself. And although some were so mad so to think, yet were it not, as ye call it, the people. For a few doting dames make not the people. And over this, if it were, as ye would have it seem, an whole people indeed, yet were not a good thing to be put away for the misuse of bad folk.

## THE TWELFTH CHAPTER

*The author confirmeth the truth of our faith and usage in the worship of images by the consent of the holy doctors of the Church approving the same, as appeareth well in their writings whom God hath by many miracles testified to be saints. The Messenger eftsoon doubteth whether can be sure that miracles told by them were true or not, or themselves saints we may be most sure of theirs and consequently by their miracles told by any saints we may be most sure of them that they be surely saints. And in this chapter also proveth that the miracles and consent of those holy doctors so prove that this must needs be the very true church in which they have written, and miracles have been done. Whereupon is finally concluded eftsoons the truth of the principles in question, and therewith finisheth the second book.*

AND we be very sure that the thing is good, and our way good therein, and our belief therein right, not only by reasons and authority by which I have proved it you more that once already, but also by that all the old holy saints and doctors of Christ's church, as St. Jerome, St. Austin, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St Gregory, with all such other, as plainly we read in their books, did as we do therein, and believed thereof as we believe. And since we see what they believed, we need not to doubt what is best that we believe. For if any sect believed better than other we be sure of the best were they that so well believed, and lived therewith, that God hath accepted them for saints, and by miracles, openly declareth that their faith and living liked him. Whereas on the others side of such as believed otherwise, as were these manifold sects, of obstinate heretics, we see not one a saint among them nor one miracle showed for them.

I wote never, quod he, whether this reason that ye make would surely satisfy the other side or no. For men may peradventure answer yea that there is many a glorious saint in heaven of whom we see no miracles in earth, nor haply never heard of their name.

That may well be, quod I, and suppose it very true.

May it not also be, quod he, that though it were hard to think but that of miracles some among so many must needs be true, yet, since some also may be <sup>o</sup> feigned, may it not be that those be feigned which be <sup>o</sup> told to have been done by them whom ye rehearsed? Them, I mean, that of old have written for your part. I mean those whom ye call the old doctors of the Church and whom the church taketh for saints.

This, quod I, were worse than anything that we spake of yet-to-for. The worst was before, that we should pray to no saints, And now ye would either that we should have none, or, at the least, that we should know none.

Yes, quod he, ye may have saint and know for saints and many one since the apostles' time, though those be none whose wilting you would authorize by their sanctifying.

Then fall you, quod I, to that point again, that ye think it may be that the church may take for

saints and worship as saints then that be none.

Surely, quod he, the proof that ye have laid unto the contrary; though it be somewhat probable, yet seemeth me not very strong not able and sufficient to strain a man to consent thereto. For though the assistance of God and his holy spirit will not suffer his whole church to agree and consent together in any damnable error, yet may he suffer them well to err in the knowledge and worship of a saint, and mistake for a saint one that were a damnable wretch. For therein were no more danger to man's soul nor no more honour taken from God than when the people do worship an host unconsecrated, mistaking it through the default of an evil priest for the sacred body of Our Lord himself. And this ye doubt not but it is sometime done.

Forget not by the way, quod I, that ye still agree that God will  
GOD WILL NOT SUFFER HIS CHURCH TO AGREE IN ANY DAMNABLE ERROR  
not suffer his whole church to agree in any damnable error, and fall in a false faith. And therewith remember that though it were no damnable error to take one for a saint that were none or a bone for a relic that were none, yet were it a damnable error to worship any if we should worship none at all. And therefore since the church believeth that we should worship them, that kind of belief can be none error but must needs be true. Nor that kind of worship can be none idolatry; but must needs be good and acceptable to God. And so our principal matter standing still sure and fast, we shall see somewhat further whereto your words will weigh and amount. Ye deny not, quod I, but there be some saints and some miracles.

No, quod he.

To what purpose, quod I, were miracles specially wrought by God?

WHEREFORE MIRACLES WERE WROUGHT

Was it not to the intent to make his messengers known and the truth of his message? As when he sent Moses to Pharaoh, were not the miracles done by God to make Pharaoh to perceive thereby the truth of his word

Yes, quod he.

When Christ, quod I, sent his disciples to preach the power that he gave them to do miracles, was it not for the proof of the doctrine that they taught, as is well witnessed in the Gospel?

Yes, quod he.

If this be thus, quod I, as indeed it is, ye have most cause to believe of all miracles those that are told and reported as done for the doctors of Christ's church, since miracles were specially devised by God for a knowledge of his true messengers, and a proof of their message. So that where you would we should not utterly be deceived in saints and miracles but yet we might be deceived in doctors whom we take for saints and in their miracles, now it seemeth on the other side that of all other we be of them and of theirs most sure.

This is well, quod he. But yet always it runneth in men's minds that miracles may be feigned.

Be it so, quod I, so that it run again in men's minds that all be not feigned. And then, if you think any true, this reason abideth still, that since miracles were specially given by God for the knowledge of his doctors and declaration of his doctrine, those miracles be especially to be taken for true that be reported to be done by his doctors. For they serve for the comprobation of his holy doctrine: And for because ye say that miracles may be feigned, that we spake of Moses and Christ's disciples putteth me now in mind. There were of old time also false doctors and miracles falsely feigned, were there not?

Yes, marry, quod he.

By whom were those miracles feigned, quod I?

Marry, quod he, some by men as there be now and some by the devil, and haply so there be now too.

Well, be it, quod I, both twain and ye will. But were there not in the old time both twain found out and vanquished by the true doctors sent by God and true miracles for them wrought by God? As when the serpent of Moses devoured all the serpents made by the witchcraft of the Egyptian jugglers. <sup>21</sup> And when the prophet Daniel did by the steps of the false priests' feet find out the mean whereby the meat was eaten that they feigned to be eaten by the idol Bel. <sup>22</sup> And when the prophet Helias vanquished by miracle the false prophets of Baal. <sup>23</sup> And the holy apostles and disciples of Christ did, at their word, all to break in pieces the false idols in sight of the paynim people. So that alway God hath prepared his true doctors, to destroy by plain miracles the false miracles whereby men were and might be deceived. Is not this thus, quod I?

Yes, quod he.

Well then, quod I, if our old holy doctors were false, and their doctrine untrue, and their miracles feigned, it is not enough now to say so. But if any of them that so say be sent by God to reprove it, then must they prove that they be sent so. And that not in words only; but let some of them come forth and, at their word, breakout images, as Christ's doctors did the paynims. And to prove our miracles feigned let them do some very miracles themselves.

As for miracles, quod he, be none articles in any man's creed. And there is not so simple a sort of heretics but they might, if they were set thereon soon match you with miracles whereof they might feign fifteen in a forenoon. And then, as we said now, it would be thought that though some were untrue, yet all were not lies.

It were easy indeed, quod I, if men were mad among whom they should report them, and would nothing do for the trial.

I wis yet if they did, quod he, yet might a few witted men devise and feign a thing of such a fashion that it would be believed and hard to try the truth out.

Let it be so, quod I, but yet would it not long hold among good Christian people. But God would either bring the falsehood to light or soon cast it out of credence. What labour took Philostratus

to make a book full of lies, whereby he would have had Appolonius Thianeus<sup>24</sup> in miracles match unto Christ. And when he had all done, he never found one old wife so fond to believe him.

But I pray you tell me quod I, be there not of heresies many sects?

Yes, quod he.

Is there, quod I, any more very churches of Christ than one?

No more, quod he.

Is not that it, quod I, that is true?

Yes, quod he.

Be not, quod I, then all the sects of heresies false?

Yes, quod he.

Who is likely, quod I, to feign and lie the company that is the true part, or some of them that be false?

It is, quod he, more likely that they should all lie that be false, than the company that is the true part.

Then false and feigned miracles, quod I, be they lies or not?

What else? quod he.

Then, quod I, by your argument it seemeth that they were much, more likely to be among every sect of heretics than in the church?

So seemeth it, quod he.

How happeth it then, quod I, if miracles be feigned, that among all the false sects of heretics where, such false stuff should be by all reason most rife is none at all spoken of but miracles told only in the church of Christ which is only, as ye agree, the true part?

There be, quod he, peradventure some done either miracles or marvels, but they dare not speak of them for fear of persecution.

If they were, quod I, false marvels only done by the devil, it would not help your matter. For then must you grant very miracles of God only done in Christ's church. And if there had been very miracles of God done for any sect whom we call, heretics, that sect had been no sect of heretics but the very church—or else had God by miracles testified the truth of a false faith; and that is impossible.

And thereof should have followed that except there were of Christ two churches of two contrary faiths, and both true, which were impossible else not some, but all the miracles done, told, and wrought in one church, had been either feigned or done by the devil, whereby should it follow that our church were not the very church but a false sect of heretics which were, as I have already proved you diverse wise, as far impossible. But now for the more clearness of our part therein, and for the further proof that ours is the sure church, and only the doctors and the doctrine of our church approved by miracles, never hath there been any done for the doctors of any sect of heretics. For if there hath any true miracles been done by God, and then the sect not a false sect but the true church all the persecution that could have been could never have quenched the fame thereof, as well appeareth by the miracles done in our church in all such time as both the Jews and the paynims pursued it. Now since there be so many false sects and but one church true, and miracles not spoken of in any but in one, it is a good token that the matter and substance of them is true. For else they were as likely to be spoken of in more, since of the false and lying sects be so many. And then also miracles being true, and being done but in one of all those many companies each calling himself the church, it is a good proof that the same one in which only they be done is only the very true church of Christ, to which his holy spirit and marvelous majesty giveth his special assistance. And surely of all miracles that ever God hath wrought for his church, I see not in my mind lightly a more marvellous, than that as many sects of heretics as hath sprung and parted out of Christ's church, and each of them labouring to be taken for the very church, yet hath our Lord hitherto never suffered neither the devil to do any wonder for them that might have the colour and face of a miracle; nor as false as they be themselves yet he not suffered them hitherto not so much to do as feign a miracle for their part. Which is to my mind not only great wonder; but also, their confessed falsehood considered, a very dear proof that they could never have been kept from it but by the special providence of God and his tender cure upon his chosen church by which it hath liked him hitherto that miracles, among other things, have been one good and sure mark between his church and all those erroneous sects that been sprung out thereof and be not his church but would seem to be. For as for Paynims, Turks and Saracens, which by open profession are of another flock and bear not the name of Christ nor look for him, he suffereth the devil sometimes to delude with wonders and marvels. But the Jews that still gape after him, their miracles as far as I can hear be gone to the intent they may know that he hath left them and given them up, which was wont to work all those wonders for them. Now as for heretics which falsely feign themselves to be his own, flock, and presume to bear and profess his name, he keepeth them from the honour of any miracle doing to the end that the lack thereof among all their sects, and the doing thereof in his only church, may be among many other

**ONE GOOD MARK TO KNOW HERETICS**

things, one good mark and sure token, whereby all these false sects of them may be discerned and knowen from his very true church, that is to say, from the whole congregation of true Christian people in this world, which, without intermixon of obstinate heresies, profess the tight Catholic faith. Now is it not only true that miracles be wrought only in the church, and thereby do show which is the very true church, but also they do show that those holy doctors for whom God hath showed them were good men and of the right belief. For if it were, as ye would of late have had it seem, that it might peradventure be so, that the holy doctors of our faith—whom we take for saints—were indeed no saints nor saved souls but haply those were saved souls and saints in heaven—though it were unknowen here in earth—which did teach the doctrine here that we know call heresies, then were it a wonderous change that, whereas God among the

Jews provided that in every age there were some good men, by their good living and his high miracles, so notable and well known to the people that men had them alway like bright lively stars whose doctrine they might boldly believe and whose living they might surely follow, he would now, in his special church of Christ, not only do nothing like, but also do clean the contrary.

For if he should take that way that ye say, to leave, ever since the apostles' days, all the true interpreters of his and their holy writing and doctors of the very true faith lie to the world unknown; and then, on the other side, set forth with miracles, or suffer so to be set forth with marvels, that his church should take and accept for saints such evil persons or hypocrites as construed the scriptures wrong and ever since his apostles' days have taught false errors; and led his flock out of the right way in a by-path to hellward with wicked heresies and idolatry; their [if that be so] hath not God sent the holy ghost, and himself also tarried still therein, to teach his church the truth, as he said he would. But he then had holpen to beguile them himself, which were impossible for God to do, and more than blasphemy for any man to think. For this were not like the sufferance of an unconsecrate host, whereof ye put the sample, wherein the people's invincible ignorance with their devout affection may without harm to their sould be suffered in the thing that seldom happeth and endureth for so short a while.

But if God would leave all good doctors unknown, and suffer his church to be deceived with miracles and marvels done by them that taught heresies and set forth idolatry, then should himself, as I say, not only suffer his honour and right faith and religion to be perpetually lost, but help also himself to destroy it. Which whoso could think possible were worse than Judas and more mad than any man in Bedlam.

And therefore can it not in no wise be that the church can be deceived, in that they take for saints these holy doctors of the church. Nor they so being, can it in any wise be that the doctrine wherein they consent and agree can be false or untrue. Among which doctrine, since the things whereof we speak, I mean the praying to saints, the worship of images, reverencing of relics, and going in pilgrimages, is a part, as by their books plainly doth appear, we may well and surely conclude that none of these things be damnable or displeasing to God, but things highly to his contentation and pleasure.

And since we further perceive that their books be written in divers regions and sundry ages, we thereby well perceive that these things be parcel of the rites, usages and belief of Christ's church, not only now, and of late, but continually from the beginning hitherto. And since it is plainly proved you, that the church can in no wise be suffered of God to fall into any damnable error thereby, it is yet most surely concluded, that these things be none such. And consequently proved that no text of scripture, seeming to sown <sup>as</sup> to the contrary, can be so taken or understanden. Nor that the church cannot, in prejudice of the faith, misunderstand the scripture. And that the substantial points of the faith,

#### A MOST SURE RULE

therefore learned of the church, is one of the surest rules that can be founden for the right interpretation of scripture . And that no sect of heretics can be the church of Christ; but that our church is the very church. And it is also clearly proved that the matter of miracles therein daily

done is neither feigned by men, nor done by the devil, but only by the mighty hand of God. And such objections as ye laid unto the contrary of any point aforesaid be, as far as I can see, sufficiently answered, except that ye have any further objection to lay therein, which if ye have, ye get no thank to spare.

Whereunto he said and sware therewith that he so fully felt himself answered and contented therein, that he thought himself able therewith to content and satisfy any man, that he should happen to meet with, that would hold the contrary. Whereupon for that day we departed till another time, in which we appointed to peruse the remnant of the things that he had in the beginning purposed.

## THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 23. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 153 and 155 note.

<sup>3</sup> In *de Civitate Dei* (i, 12 & 13 ), St. Augustine writes that denial of burial to Christians does them no harm and argues that careful funeral arrangements are rather for the solace of the living than for the comfort of the dead. Dives had a splendid funeral; but Lazarus, who had a squalid one, was really the person to be envied. But “nevertheless,” he adds, “the bodies of the dead are not on this account to be despised and left without burial; least of all the bodies of the righteous and faithful, which have been used by the Holy Ghost as His organs and instruments for all good works. Our Lord Himself, too, though He was to rise again the third day, applauds and commends to our applause the good work of the religious woman who poured precious ointment over His limbs, and did it against His burial.”

<sup>4</sup> In order that.

<sup>5</sup> Ameins.

<sup>6</sup> Crack, crease.

<sup>7</sup> Kerchiefs.

<sup>8</sup> I. Cor. I. The Vulgate rendering differs from this in its latter section: *et non sint in vobis scshismata: sitis autem perfecti in eodem sensu, et in eadem sententia*. And that there be no schisms among you: but that you be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment. Douai version.

<sup>9</sup> Gal. I. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. 50. 5, 24.

<sup>11</sup> 4 Kings 13. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Mark 6. 56.

<sup>13</sup> Acts 19, 12.

<sup>14</sup> The statue of this saint is still to be seen at Beauvais.

<sup>15</sup> Eight-century saint. His tomb is at onhaye, near Dinant.

<sup>16</sup> Burned.

<sup>17</sup> Matt. 6. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Little buns and biscuits which were dipped in wine.

<sup>19</sup> Bene.

<sup>20</sup> Bene.

<sup>21</sup> Exod. 7. 12.

<sup>22</sup> Dan. 14. 13-20.

<sup>23</sup> iii Kings (Douai version), 18. 19-40.

<sup>24</sup> Vide Philostratus in honour of Apollonius of Tyanae. Trans. J. S. Phillimore, 2vols. Oxford, 1912.

<sup>25</sup> mean.